

## THE GOLDEN FLEECE IN BRITAIN

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THE Order of the Golden Fleece is the most lustrous order of chivalry after the Garter.<sup>1</sup> Recently it became necessary to counter an expression of incredulity that a suspended 'Fleece', as used in England for 'base' commercial purposes (Fig. 1), could possibly derive from the Order.<sup>2</sup> That it does so is clear from its unnatural shape, with hooves and with horns, whereas a natural fleece may be exemplified by the amorphous mass of curls on the tokens classified in the Appendix (below) at 3.58.9. Ancient representations of the Golden Fleece did not take the same form.<sup>3</sup>

The heraldic writer Randle Holme<sup>4</sup> faced the difficulty of what is illustrated in Fig. 1 being called something it was not:

XXIX. He beareth Azure, the *Golden Fleece*. This is so well known in the signs of London, by the term of *Fleece*, that I dare give it no other Blazon, neither indeed can I give it a more proper expression. This is a Sheep hung by the middle in a Chain from the cheif [*sic*] point.

The main concern here is the so-called 'Fleece' on tokens of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, its meaning, and its contribution to municipal heraldry and to sign names. The writer is conscious of venturing into a vast field, some areas of which may be unknown to him.



Fig. 1. Holme 1688, ii, 169, fig. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove 1907a; Hommel 1947; Groeningemuseum 1962; De Terlinden 1970; Bruxelles 1987; Cockshaw 1996a; Sainty 2006, 265–93.

<sup>2</sup> J. Labrot, pers. comm. (e-mail to author, c.2006); Thompson 2006–7, a revised version of a talk given at the National Numismatic Congress in Cwmbrân, 15 April 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Daremberg and Saglio 1873–1918, iii, 617, fig. 4146; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981–99), ARGONAUTAI 21 (pl. 432).

<sup>4</sup> Holme 1688, ii, 175.

### The Order of the Golden Fleece (1430)

The Order was founded in Brugge (Bruges) on 10 January 1429/30 by Philip the Good (1396–1467), Duke of Burgundy from 1419, to celebrate his marriage to Isabella of Portugal. The lack of primary documents on the foundation has allowed various theories to flourish on the reason for the choice of emblem, but the contemporary chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet (c.1390–1453) described it unambiguously as ‘*une toison d’or en samblance et remembrance de la toison que jadis conquist anciennement Jason en l’isle de Colcos, comme on le trouve escript en istoire de Troyes*’, ‘a golden fleece in similitude and commemoration of the fleece which in ancient times Jason conquered on the island of Colchis, as is written in the story of Troy’ (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 2. Berry 1828–40, pl. LXXXVI.

The matter of Troy became an important theme in the twelfth century among princes and the nobility. Following the troubadour Benoît de Sainte-Maure, it began with Jason's voyage to recover the Golden Fleece from Colchis.<sup>6</sup> In 1393 Philip's grandfather, Philip the Bold, ordered tapestries from Paris representing the myth, which from his earliest childhood therefore surrounded the boy, *grand lecteur d'anciennes histoires*. Soon after founding the Order, Philip the Good had a chamber in his castle at Hesdin (Pas-de-Calais, commune of Le Parcq, destroyed 1553)<sup>7</sup> painted to represent the story of Jason, with some sort of mechanical

<sup>5</sup> De Monstrelet 1857–62, iv, 373.

<sup>6</sup> Hight 1949, 50–5 and 576, n.20; Gerritsen 1998, 140–5, s.v. 'Hector'; Braund 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Thiébaud 1986, 159.

production of thunder and lightning which Caxton would mention in his *Prologue to the History of Jason* (1477). Moreover, at the time Constantinople was besieged by the Sultan; Turkish forces had captured Philip's father at the Battle of Nicopolis (1396), and he fitted out a fleet on the Adriatic for a new crusade. The Golden Fleece was that sought by Jason.

However, it became a problem for the Duke that this patronage was not Christian. Indeed, the Church considered Jason immoral for promising marriage to Medea and living with her, but then abandoning her. At the first chapter of the Order, held at Lille in 1431, its chancellor Jean Germain, bishop of Nevers, sought to persuade the Duke to replace Jason's fleece with the fleece of the biblical Gideon. This could be done without modifying the statutes, which did not speak of the emblem.<sup>8</sup> The Duke bowed to this pressure, and attribution of the Golden Fleece to Gideon may be found in the report of Olivier de La Marche (c.1428–1502) that *Gédéon prend la place de Jason*,<sup>9</sup> in Giovio (1561),<sup>10</sup> in an English work of heraldry (1660),<sup>11</sup> and as late as 1999 in the Spanish encyclopaedia of emblems.<sup>12</sup> Other fleeces have been proposed over the years.<sup>13</sup>

After the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–13) there was a division into an Austrian and a Spanish Order, but the Treasure remained in Vienna.

### British Knights of the Golden Fleece

British names amongst the Knights of the Golden Fleece are listed below for their possible influence on use of the device.<sup>14</sup> With the obvious exception of H.M. the Queen, all are in *ODNB*, the first in *ODNB online* only; their appearance in *ODNB* has been the criterion for defining names as British.

- 1461** Brugge, Lodewijk van [Louis de Bruges; Lodewijk van Gruuthuse], earl of Winchester (c.1427–92), courtier and diplomat.
- 1468** Edward IV (1442–83), king of England and lord of Ireland, his sister Margaret (1446–1503) being duchess of Burgundy.
- 1491** Henry VII (1457–1509), king of England and lord of Ireland, who was painted in oil wearing the collar in 1505.<sup>15</sup>
- 1505** Henry VIII (1491–1547), king of England and Ireland, whose inventory includes 'a Coller of golde of thordre of the golden flees with one flees hanging thereunto with twoo other lesse fleeces all in case of blacke lether', and 'a golden Flese of golde'.<sup>16</sup>
- 1531** James V (1512–42), king of Scots.
- 1555** Philip [Philip II of Spain, Felipe II] (1527–98), king of England and Ireland, consort of Mary I, and king of Spain, *chef et souverain* of the Order from 1555, the badge being present on medals of Mary.<sup>17</sup>
- 1624** Campbell, Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll (1575/6–1638), magnate and politician.
- 1665** Leslie, Walter, Count Leslie in the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire (1606–67), army officer and diplomat.
- 1699** Taaffe, Francis, third earl of Carlingford (1639–1704), army officer and politician.
- 1704** Fitzjames, James, first duke of Berwick-upon-Tweed (1670–1734), army officer in the French service.<sup>18</sup>
- 1757** Browne, Maximilian Ulysses von, Jacobite third earl of Browne, and Count von Browne in the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire (1705–57), army officer in the imperial service.

<sup>8</sup> Tourneur 1956.

<sup>9</sup> De La Marche 1883–8, iv, 164–6; Gruben 1997, 131–3.

<sup>10</sup> De Tervarent 1997, 440–1, s.v. 'toison d'or'.

<sup>11</sup> Carter 1660, 187.

<sup>12</sup> Bernat Vistarini 1999, 82, no. 121.

<sup>13</sup> Sainty 2006, 269.

<sup>14</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove 1907b, 92–6; Groeningemuseum 1962, 38–81; Sainty 2006, 277.

<sup>15</sup> National Portrait Gallery 416, illustrated in *ODNB*.

<sup>16</sup> Starkey 1998, 76 item 2588, 83 item 2950.

<sup>17</sup> Hawkins 1885, i, 75–87, nos 26, 30, 32–5, 37–9, 42–55, and 1904–11, pls v.5, 7–8, 11 and vi.5.

<sup>18</sup> For James Francis, second duke of Berwick, KGF 1714, see *GEC* (Cokayne, Complete Peerage) ii, 164–5 and xii/2, appendix H: 'The alleged attainder of the Duke of Berwick-upon-Tweed'. Resolution of this might include Charles, ninth duke, KGF 1900, but his son, KGF 1926, discarded the Berwick title (*GEC* ii, 167).

- 1802** Acton, Sir John Francis Edward, sixth baronet (1736–1811), naval officer and administrator in the Neapolitan service, the diploma conferring it being in Shropshire Archives.<sup>19</sup>
- 1812** Wellesley, Arthur, first duke of Wellington (1769–1852), army officer and prime minister; conferred by the acting government of Spain, and confirmed 1814 by Ferdinand VII.
- 1814** George IV (1762–1830), king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and king of Hanover, the first non-Catholic recipient of the Austrian Order.
- 1834** William IV (1765–1837), king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and king of Hanover.
- 1841** Albert (1819–61), prince consort, consort of Queen Victoria.
- 1852** Edward VII (1841–1910), king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland [etc.].
- 1878** Taaffe, Edward Francis Joseph, Viscount Taaffe of Corren (1833–95).
- 1893** George V (1865–1936), king of Great Britain, Ireland [etc.].
- 1902** Arthur, first duke of Connaught and Strathearn (1850–1942).
- 1902** Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale [etc.] (1845–1923).
- 1912** Edward VIII (1894–1972), *later* duke of Windsor.
- 1988** Elizabeth II, queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

No general explanation for use of the device is apparent, but it is worth drawing attention to the ‘Golden Fleece of gold’ in the inventory of Henry VIII.

### Claude Paradin, 1591

Claude Paradin’s *Devises Heroïques* was first published in Lyon in 1551, republished in 1557 with the addition of sixty-four *imprese* and prose commentaries, then published in Latin by Plantin at Antwerp as *Symbola heroica* in 1562. In 1591 this was turned into *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin, translated out of Latin into English by P. S.* (London).

From one version or another Paradin was known in England from 1560, and as such was among the earliest emblem books in the country.<sup>20</sup> His book was a source for tournament *imprese* under Elizabeth, and for the decoration of her warship *The White Bear*. Paradin was drawn on by Thomas Palmer who lectured in rhetoric at St John’s College, Cambridge, from 1557, and Cambridge students were referring to continental collections of *imprese* in the 1570s.<sup>21</sup>

Fig. 3 reproduces one of Paradin’s emblems.<sup>22</sup> It is accompanied by a text which records ‘In the year after the birth of Christ, 1429, the company of the order of the knights of the Garter,’ in mistake for the Golden Fleece, and continues (with spelling and punctuation modernised):

begun by the same Philip duke of Burgundy, having purchased a most majestic name by the donation of the golden fleece. After this he chose four and twenty noble men of tried fidelity to be of the number of this honourable society, adorning them with a chain of gold, wherein was the flint stone burning throughout the whole chain, and the golden fleece hanging before the breast, imitating herein (as may be supposed) the marinal expedition of Jason into Colchos by diligent observation, as it were, of his virtue and goodliness [*godlines*], whereof he was said to be so desirous, that he deserved the name of good, and the praise of an excellent wit, the order whereof his Epitaph, which also sheweth the invention of the golden fleece, doth declare in these words:

I to th’intent the church might be,  
both safe and sure likewise,  
From tyrant’s rage, invented have  
the goodly golden fleece.’

<sup>19</sup> Illustrated by Sainty 2006, 279.

<sup>20</sup> Bath 1994, 22, 282.

<sup>21</sup> Daly et al. 1993, 5–7.

<sup>22</sup> Daly et al. 1993, 37–8.

D E V I S E S. 49  
*Pretium non vile laborum.*  
 He reaped no small reward of his labors.

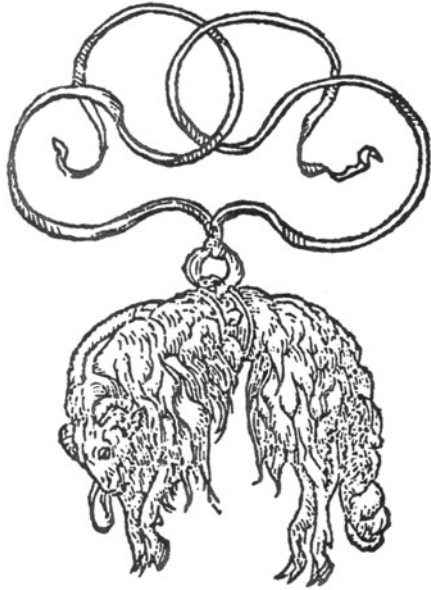


Fig. 3. Paradin 1591, 49.

### An eviscerated emblem?

John Savile, first Baron Savile of Pontefract (1556–1630), matriculated in 1572 at Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>23</sup> He might have been aware of the resonances within the device of the suspended ‘fleece’ when he defended the interests of the northern clothiers in the House of Commons, and eventually secured a royal charter for Leeds (1626), with seal as in Fig. 4; but nothing suggests that anything more than wool was intended by the device. No papers indicate his thinking.<sup>24</sup> Lord Savile’s house at Howley, ‘exceeding neat’ in Camden’s view,<sup>25</sup> and traditionally visited by Rubens,<sup>26</sup> had been destroyed by the eighteenth century. A field survey of the site did not reveal any decorative details,<sup>27</sup> and neither does Whitaker’s illustration of one facade.<sup>28</sup> The obvious meaning of support for woollen manufacture is clear in one clause of the Leeds charter of 1626, here in translation:<sup>29</sup>

Whereas our town of Leedes in our county of York, is an ancient and populous town, and the inhabitants. . . for many years past, have had, and skilfully exercised. . . the art or mystery of making and working woollen cloths. . . [etc.]

The suspended ‘fleece’ appeared in Leeds for the first time on the seal accompanying that charter, in which the King ‘assigned, nominated, constituted, and made. . . our beloved Sir John Savile, knight, to be the first and present alderman’, i.e. mayor, although Savile’s duties as Comptroller of the Household, and Vice-President of the Council of the North, prevented his performing that office in person.

<sup>23</sup> *ODNB*.

<sup>24</sup> The Latin autobiography of Sir John Savile in Calderdale Archives is by another Yorkshire MP and judge (1546–1607).

<sup>25</sup> Camden 1695, col. 710.

<sup>26</sup> *DNB* s.v. Savile (not sufficiently established for *ODNB*).

<sup>27</sup> Ainsworth 1989.

<sup>28</sup> Whitaker 1816.

<sup>29</sup> Leeds 1952, 7.



Fig. 4. Boyne 1858, pl. 10.

The arms of various branches of Savile were *Argent on a bend Sable three owls of the field*,<sup>30</sup> although his father, Robert Savile, Esq., bore those arms with *Over all a bendlet sinister*.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, as John Savell of Howley, Esq., he was ascribed the arms with *Over all a bendlet sinister Gules*,<sup>32</sup> but as Sir John Savile he seems to have abandoned the bendlet sinister with its suggestion of illegitimacy. The owl supporters on the seal make clear Savile's responsibility for obtaining the charter, but the fleece does not derive from the arms of Savile.

### Civic heraldry

In the period 1635–1842, when no arms seem to have been granted to any city or town, Leeds provides an example of arms formed from seal devices.<sup>33</sup> At Dugdale's 1665–6 Visitation of Yorkshire the arms of Leeds were recorded on the strength of *long user*.<sup>34</sup> The origin of the 'fleece' in the arms of Leeds was understood within the College of Arms: it is 'commonly called the *golden fleece*, and is the badge pendent to the collar of that order of Knighthood', affirmed its (self-proclaimed) registering clerk.<sup>35</sup> Leeds bears *Azure a fleece Or, on a chief Sable three mullets Argent*, according to Fox-Davies,<sup>36</sup> and in the simplified blazon of Fitzalan Pursuivant, C.W. Scott-Giles, *Azure, a golden fleece, on a chief sable three silver stars*.<sup>37</sup> Like Fox-Davies, Briggs muddied the waters by translating golden fleece into 'a fleece Or', as though it were a simple fleece with a golden tincture.<sup>38</sup> Scott-Giles's practice seems the best, to use a special term for a special shape: *a golden fleece*, which indicates its origin, without suggesting that it refers directly to the Order of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 5). However, that must be the source of 'the golden fleece of Leeds'.<sup>39</sup>

Many of the tokens listed in the appendix were issued in areas dependent on the wool trade. They follow, and appear to have copied the arms of the town (since 1893 City) of Leeds. From the municipality the golden fleece has spread to various local institutions, such as the Leeds

<sup>30</sup> Burke 1884, 900.

<sup>31</sup> Glover 1875, 639–51, at p. 646: Sir William Fayrfax's 'Booke of Arms'.

<sup>32</sup> Tonge 1863, xxiv.

<sup>33</sup> Hope 1895, 195.

<sup>34</sup> Lumb 1909, 183; Turner 1924, 279–80.

<sup>35</sup> Berry 1828–40, i, sig. R2a, 2C4a-b.

<sup>36</sup> Fox-Davies 1915, 432–3.

<sup>37</sup> Scott-Giles 1953, 404, but for 'roses' in the final paragraph read *mulletts* (or stars).

<sup>38</sup> Briggs 1971, 228–9. As pointed out by Turner 1924, 279, the chief 'of the last', i.e. *Or*, given in Burke 1884, 594, probably derives from the dotted chief on Wardell's plate. The arms on the 1836 seal of Leeds in Boyne 1858, pl. 10, likewise do not correspond to the Petrasanta convention of hatching, for which see (e.g.) Fox-Davies 1985, 60 (as *Petra Sancta*; for *Gentilitia* read *Gentilitiae*).

<sup>39</sup> Hope 1895, 195.



*LEEDS City and County Borough Council*

ARMS: Azure, a golden fleece; on a chief sable three silver stars.

CREST: On a wreath gold and azure, an owl proper.

SUPPORTERS: Two owls proper, each with a gold crown on its head.

MOTTO: *Pro Rege et Lege*—'For King and Law.'

The arms were recorded by the heralds in 1666. The crest and supporters were added by the Corporation and confirmed by a grant in 1921.

'Leeds is rendered wealthy by its woollen manufactures,' stated Camden, writing in 1590. The fleece stands for this industry. The roses are from the arms of Thomas Danby, Mayor of Leeds in 1661. The owl is the crest of the Savile family, and as such also appears in the arms of Dewsbury. The black chief on a blue field illustrates the fact that the heraldic rule against placing colour on colour does not necessarily apply to chiefs.

Fig. 5. Scott-Giles 1953, 404.

Incorporated Chamber of Commerce,<sup>40</sup> and the Yorkshire Numismatic Society. A suspended 'fleece' also appears in the arms granted in 1877 to Bury, in 1883 to Bacup, and in 1891 to Nelson, all in Lancashire, and in those granted in 1917 to Stourbridge in Worcestershire.<sup>41</sup> More instances could be adduced from Australia.<sup>42</sup> The Borough of Colne in Lancashire used the device without authority: a fleece above a fess charged with two Roman coins, representing the supposed Roman occupation of *Colunio*.<sup>43</sup>

### Sir William Vaughan (c.1575–1641)

In the very year of the first Leeds charter, for fanciful notions of a crusade to the east there was substituted a westward outlook in a rambling, yet pragmatic work, by William Vaughan, one of the Vaughans of Golden Grove (*Y Gelli Aur*) in Carmarthenshire, younger brother of the first Earl of Carbery:

*The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts, under which are discovered the errours of religion, the vices and decayes of the kingdome, and lastly the wayes to get wealth and to restore trading so much complayned of, transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the southermost part of the iland commonly called the Newfoundland, by Orpheus junior [pseud.] (London, 1626).*

This included an important early map of Newfoundland. Vaughan purchased a part of that land, endowing it with Welsh names, and promoting its colonization. He referred to trading as 'the Golden Fleece, more certaine then Iason's Fleece' because the sheep could be shorn for eight months space without intermission, and of bodies far bigger than the Peru sheep [i.e.

<sup>40</sup> Briggs 1971, 230.

<sup>41</sup> Briggs 1971, 44–5 (Bacup), 87–8 (Bury), 277 and 279 (Nelson), 372 (Stourbridge).

<sup>42</sup> Neubecker 1974, 206–7.

<sup>43</sup> Scott-Giles 1953, 209–10, but for 'chevron' read *fess*.

llamas] which the Spaniards 'bragge to equalize Asses for proportionable greatnesse'. No Savile connection with Vaughan has been found, however, nor with such creative works as the river pageant *The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece* by Anthony Munday (1623).

### The 'Fleece' on Royal Farthing Tokens

On tokens the first appearance of the device supposedly would be on Charles I Richmond farthings, Peck's privy mark 29, *Fleece*, 'Sometimes recorded as tooth, but it is almost certainly intended for a fleece, i.e. the woolly skin of a sheep suspended from the middle'.<sup>44</sup> A constant danger with drawings is that they may incorporate an element of interpretation of what the artist supposed he was seeing. A more accurate drawing by Everson shows the mark domed in chief, with a ridged surface, two descenders at too tight an angle for the body of a sheep, with no indication of head or horns, and no means of suspension.<sup>45</sup> One could hardly hope for a clearer specimen than the one illustrated as Fig. 6, yet no certain identity for the mark can be offered. Tentatively this writer would offer for consideration the cloven hoof of a deer, goat, or bovine, perhaps '*Bull's foot*'. This does have a presence in heraldry when a beast is hoofed (*unguled*, *onglé*) of a tincture different from the body, e.g. the arms of Musterton, *Gules a unicorn passant Argent, armed and unguled Or*.<sup>46</sup> *Armed* refers to the horn, but although horns are found alone, as are legs with hooves, a hoof has not been found as a separate charge. The enlarged illustration may facilitate a more certain identification.



Fig. 6. Image courtesy of Nigel Clark.

### Private tokens, seventeenth to nineteenth century

Numismatic representations of the Golden Fleece have been listed by De Witte (1907) and Smolderen (1996), and briefly discussed by Ehrhard (1977) and Cockshaw (1996b). They have no British content.

From the third quarter of the seventeenth century private tokens provide a number of representations. Those in the Norweb Collection are classified as they have been published in *SCBI*, but with 'a golden fleece' now replacing the awkward descriptions 'A fleece in the shape of the animal [or, of a sheep], perhaps suspended from a ring', and 'A fleece (so-called)'.<sup>47</sup> It does not pretend to be complete beyond the Norweb Collection. To these have been added examples of the same types on tokens of the eighteenth century,<sup>48</sup> and tokens of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *BMC English Copper* 1964, 27, 29 and 59 no. 165.

<sup>45</sup> Everson 2007, 29 and 31 no. 81.

<sup>46</sup> Burke 1884, 719.

<sup>47</sup> *SCBI* 31, xxiv; *SCBI* 38, xliii; *SCBI* 43, xx; *SCBI* 44, xxiii; *SCBI* 49, xxix; *SCBI* 59, liii.

<sup>48</sup> Dalton and Hamer 1910–18.

<sup>49</sup> Davis 1904; Withers 1999.



Attention may be drawn to a die-linked group in Leeds (*SCBI* 49, 5928, 5940 and 5956). Separate tokens dated 1650 were issued by Grace Brischo, William GLENSOVER (name not identified), and Matthew Stable. The single Norweb specimens appear to have been struck in that order (but their absolute chronology is unclear), for they are all from the same reverse die. So also was a token of Marmaduke Lovell,<sup>50</sup> an armiger who died in 1663, but otherwise nothing has been discovered about these issuers. Their common reverse reads IN LEEDES TOWNE 1650 around a golden fleece, as on the 1626 seal. Such die-linking would have necessitated an exceptionally long succession of token-issuing landlords at the sign of the Golden Fleece (if that were a single establishment), each passing the reverse die to the next, and it is tempting to wonder instead whether there was some sort of agreement, some partnership, perhaps within a large building like the Flower de Luce Inn in Farnham (*SCBI* 46, 4576, 4580–2, and 4583), or at least a wider acceptance from 1650 of the very device that the heralds would record in 1666 as the corporate arms of Leeds as a whole.

### Sign names

In 1994 the Centre for English Name Studies at Nottingham found the *Fleece* recorded as an inn or tavern name only from 1687 in the volumes of the English Place-Name Survey, and in 1664 in the diary of Samuel Pepys.<sup>51</sup> The *Golden Fleece* is first recorded as late as 1826.<sup>52</sup>

Yet in the appendix below are tokens bearing legends such as AT THE FLEECE TAVERN IN HOLBORNE 1651, and AT THE FLEECE TAVERNE IN COVEN[t] GARDEN [1651–72], a tavern which became notorious after the Restoration for its turbulent customers.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, AT THE GOLDEN FLEECE occurs on tokens in London in the 1650s, and in York in the 1660s, admittedly for unknown trades, but probably for taverns.

Other examples of earlier representations may be found on the following London trade-cards and billheads (Fig. 7):<sup>54</sup>

*Golden Fleece*, 1768 or 1769, hosiers  
*Golden Fleece*, c.1760, a mercer  
*Golden Fleece*, 1780 or c.1780, tailors  
*Golden Fleece*, 1740 or c.1760, woollen drapers

### Conclusions

This investigation has established the following:

1. The suspended 'fleece' with horns and hooves should be called a *Golden Fleece*, just as 'a golden Flese of golde' in the inventory of Henry VIII must have been 'golden' not from its composition or colour, but because of its shape.
2. Originally this shape represented Jason's Fleece, as designed for the Order of the Golden Fleece.
3. The tokens derive the image from Leeds and its seal of 1626.
4. The tokens offer occurrences of the sign names *Fleece* and *Golden Fleece* earlier than those found by the Nottingham Centre for English Name Studies.

<sup>50</sup> Dickinson 1986, 233, Yorkshire 202A; Sheppard 1925.

<sup>51</sup> Cox 1994, 89, 99–100.

<sup>52</sup> Cox 1994, 28, 92.

<sup>53</sup> Wheatley 1891, ii, 51–2.

<sup>54</sup> Heal 1947.

**GOLDEN FLEECE**

Fig. 7. Heal 1947, 183.

**APPENDIX: TOKENS BEARING A GOLDEN FLEECE IN THE  
NORWEB COLLECTION, WITH ADDITIONS**

- [3.58.1] *A golden fleece suspended, perhaps from a ring*
- i. 335 Soulbury, 767 Plymouth, 789–90 Tiverton (1661)
  - ii. 1648 Dursley (Fig. 8)
  - iii. 2062 Hereford, 2486 Deal (1664), 2617 Hythe (1669)
  - iv. 3489 Newcastle, 3830–1 Witney (clothier), 3834 Witney (clothier)
  - vi. 5928 Leeds, 5940 Leeds, 5956 Leeds (all three 1650, see above), 6159 York Y<sup>E</sup>GOLDE<sup>N</sup> [Fleece], 6160 York AT THE GOLDEN FLEECE
  - vii. 6666 Blackfriars, 6744 Cateaton Street, 6857 Dice Quay (1668), 7089 Holborn AT THE FLEECE AND ROSE, 7090 Holborn AT THE FLEECE TAVERN (1651)
  - viii. (in preparation, numbers from Williamson) London 736–7 AT THE FLEECE (TAVERNE), 1484 AT Y<sup>E</sup>FLEC<sup>E</sup> TAVERN, 2518, 2676 AT Y<sup>E</sup>FLEESE TAVERN (1667), 2677 AT GOL, 3049–50 AT THE (or



Fig. 8.

Y<sup>E</sup> GOLDEN FLEECE, 3159 *at the fleece* (1666), 3164 Y<sup>E</sup> GOVLDEN FLEECE (1657), 3517 AT THE FLESE

Uncertain 91 A STAPLE FARTHING, 92 (merchant of the Staple of England)

Additions from the seventeenth century (refs Williamson 1889–91, Dickinson 1986):

London 724 AT Y<sup>E</sup> GOLDEN [Fleece tavern] (1666)<sup>55</sup>

Southwark 96

Warwickshire 75 (Coventry clothier, 1666)

Yorkshire 202A (1650)

Ireland 364–5

Additions from the eighteenth century (ref. Dalton and Hamer 1910–18):

Lancashire 140–2, 156–7 (Rochdale mercer and draper)

Norfolk 12–13 (Norwich newspaper proprietor etc.)<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 9)

Yorkshire 27–8 (Leeds businessman?)

Additions from the nineteenth century (ref. Davis 1904):

Cambridgeshire 1 (March grocers and brewer)

Lincolnshire 1, 15 (Louth)

Somerset 6–7, 68–73 (Bath ironmonger and mercer & haberdasher etc.)

Wiltshire 7–8 = Withers 1999, nos. 1108–10 (Staverton woollen mill)

Yorkshire 1

Not Local 2–3, 6, 10–11



Fig. 9.

[3.58.2] *A golden fleece accompanied by a sugarloaf*  
viii. Williamson London 1741 (1666)

[3.58.3] *A golden fleece accompanied by letters*  
ii. 1774 Wotton under Edge (1667)  
vi. 5827 Calverley (1667)  
viii. Williamson London 453–4

Additions from the eighteenth century (ref. Dalton and Hamer 1910–18):

Kent 5 (Brookland grocer and draper)

Somerset 107–9 (Dunkirk woollen mill)<sup>57</sup>

Yorkshire 54

[3.58.4] *A golden fleece accompanied by an inscription*  
Williamson Cambs.133 (1670), illustrated Spink, 3 March 1982, lot 16 (part)

<sup>55</sup> Berry 1978, 52–3.

<sup>56</sup> Jewson 1975, 118; *ODNB* s.v. Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844).

<sup>57</sup> Rogers 1976, 193–5; Dykes 2004.

Addition from the eighteenth century (ref. Dalton and Hamer 1910–18):  
Dublin 454

[3.58.5] *A golden fleece suspended from a tree*

Eighteenth century:

Dalton and Hamer, Nottinghamshire 1–4 (Arnold worsted mill)

[3.58.9] *A fleece in the shape of an oval fesswise*

iv. 3147–8 Norwich (worsted weaver, 1665)

[5.14.149] *On a shield a golden fleece, from the arms of the borough of Leeds*

vi. 5947 Leeds

Additions from the eighteenth century (ref. Dalton and Hamer 1910–18):

Yorkshire 43–53, 55 (Fig. 10)

Additions from the nineteenth century (ref. Davis 1904):

Lincolnshire 2

Yorkshire 20–33

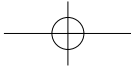


Fig. 10.

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