The rôle of English war captains in England and Normandy, 1436-1461.

By Anne Elizabeth Mary Marshall.

M.A.

1975

Erratum: Page 76 does not exist.

Sgan gorau ar gael

Best scan available

MEMORANDUM

I declare that this thesis, and the research upon which it is based, are my own independent work. Wherever I have incorporated the suggestions, or benefited from the assistance, of others, this has been clearly stated.

This work has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, nor is it being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree in this or any other University.

Candidate : Jane Marshall.

Director of Studies :

Ralph A. Griffiths.

October 1974.

SUMMARY

This thesis is intended as an investigation of the background and careers of the English captains who fought in Normandy at the end of the Hundred Years' war. Its particular aim is to study the captains who made up the councils and retinues of the two principal contestants in the 'Wars of the Roses', Richard, duke of York and Edmund, duke of Somerset. Although the documentation is incomplete, especially with respect to the Beauforts, an attempt has been made to trace the part played by the English captains in the civil wars.

A comparison is made of the king's lieutenants in Normandy (1436-50) and a brief account given of the role of politics in their appointment (CHAPTER I). An examination follows of four English captains in the service of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick in Normandy and of their careers after the death of the earl in 1439 (CHAPTER II). The formation of the council and retinue of Richard, duke of York after his appointment to Normandy in 1436 is illustrated along with an account of the grants and offices bestowed upon the captains involved (CHAPTER III). An analysis of the muster-rolls for the army of Richard, duke of York in 1441 reveals the nature of his retinues in Normandy (CHAPTER IV). The careers of the Beaufort brothers who succeeded him is then given and an attempt made to investigate the captains and soldiers of their affinity (CHAPTER V). The muster-roll of the army of John, duke of Somerset in 1443 complements those of York's force in 1441; the loss of Normandy during the lieutenancy of Edmund, duke of Somerset was due in part to his inability to raise an army of distinction (CHAPTER VI). Finally, the consequences of the English army's return to England in 1450 are examined in relation to Cade's rebellion, while an attempt has been made to estimate the

part played by English captains in the retinues of York and Somerset in the 1450s (CHAPTER VII). Some consideration of the link between the ending of the Hundred Years' War and the outbreak of the 'Wars of the Roses' is offered as a CONCLUSION.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES:

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SWANSEA.

THE ROLE OF ENGLISH WAR CAPTAINS IN ENGLAND AND NORMANDY, 1436-1461.

BY

ANNE MARSHALL (NEE RASTRICK), B.A.

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Magister in Artibus, October 1974.

PREFACE.

I would like to thank Dr. R. A. Griffiths for suggesting the original project, for his critical reading of the manuscript and the many useful suggestions for its improvement. His helpful supervision and patient encouragement are sincerely appreciated. Special thanks are due also to Dr. E. B. Fryde for originally encouraging an interest in this period, and to Dr. C. T. Allmand for his helpful comments, particularly on the location of documents. The typing of the manuscript by Mrs. M. L. Griffiths is gratefully acknowledged.

CONTENTS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. Original Sources: A. Unpublished.

Public Record Office, London.

Chancery, Early Chancery Proceedings.

Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI and Edward IV.

Miscellanea.

Supplementary Patent Rolls.

Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts.

Exchequer, E. R., Issue Rolls.

E.R., Warrants for Issues.

K.R., Memoranda Rolls.

K.R., Various Accounts.

T.R., Council and Privy Seal.

Inquisitions post mortem.

Miscellanea.

King's Bench, Ancient Indictments.

Coram Rege Rolls.

Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence.

Ancient Petitions.

Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts.

Rentals and Surveys, General Series (Rolls).

Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills.

British Museum, London.

Additional Charters.

Additional Manuscripts.

Cotton Manuscripts.

Egerton Manuscripts.

Egerton Rolls.

Harleian Manuscripts.

Royal Manuscripts.

Consistory Court of London, Wills preserved in the Guildhall Library.

Consistory Court of Norwich, Wills, preserved in the District Probate Registry Office, Norwich.

Longleat Manuscripts.

Westminster Abbey Muniments.

French Sources.

Archives de l'Orne.

Archives Nationales, Paris,

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Manuscrits Français.
Nouvelles Acquisitions.
Pièces Originales.

B. Published.

Calendar of Charter Rolls.

Calendar of Close Rolls.

Calendar of Fine Rolls.

'Calendar of the French Rolls', 44th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1883); 48th Annual Report....(1887).

'Calendar of the Norman Rolls, Henry V, '41st Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1880); 42nd Annual Report....(1881).

Calendar of Papal Registers.

Calendar of Patent Rolls.

'Calendar of Recognizance Rolls, '37th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1876).

Calendar of Ancient Deeds.

T. Basin, Histoire des regnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI, ed. C.Samaran (2 vols., Paris, 1944).

R. Blondel, 'De Reductione Normanniae', in Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-50, ed. J.Stevenson (Rolls series, 1863).

T. Bonnin (ed.), Cartularie de Louviers, documents historiques originaux du Xe au XVIIIe siècle (Evreux, 1877).

Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London (1189-1556), ed. J. G.Nichols, Camden Soc., LIII (1852).

The Chronicle of John Hardyng, together with the continuation by Richard Grafton ed. H.Ellis (London, 1812).

Chronicles of London, ed. C.L.Kingsford (Oxford, 1905).

The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, trans. T.Johnes (10 vols., London, 1810).

Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (3 vols., Paris, 1864).

Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel, ed. S.Luce (Société des Anciens Textes Francais, 2 vols., 1826).

E. Curtis (ed.), Calendar of Ormond Deeds (Dublin, 1939).

F. Devon (ed.), Issues of the Exchequer, 10 Henry III - 39 Henry VI (London, 1837).

H.Ellis (ed.), Original Letters illustrative of English History (11 vols., London, 1824-46).

An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, ed. J.S. Davies (Camden Soc., LXIV, 1856).

R. Fabyan, The New Chronicles of England and France, ed. H. Ellis (London,1811)

E.Hall, The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, ed. H.Ellis (London, 1809).

F. Hall (ed.), A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports, 1432-1955 (London, 1966).

T. Hardy, Rotuli Normanniae in Turre Londinensi asservati Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae regibus (Record Comm., 1835).

Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.Gairdner (Camden Soc., n.s., vol. XVII, 1876), containing 'Gregory's Chronicle'.

V. Hunger (ed.), Quelques Actes Normands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles.(Paris, 1910).

Incerti Scriptoris chronicon Angliae de regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI, ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1848).

'John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400-1462', ed. G.A. and M. A.Harriss in Camden Miscellany, XXIV (Camden Soc., 4th ser., IX, 1972).

P. Le Cacheux (ed.), Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI, concernant la domination Anglaise (1422-35) (2 vols., 1907, 1908).

J. Leland, Itinerary in England and Wales, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith (5 vols., London, 1906-10).

C. Munro (ed.), Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Beckington and others, written in the reigns and Henry V and Henry VI (Camden Soc., LXXXVI, 1863).

N.H.Nicolas (ed.), A Journal by one of the suite of Thomas Beckington, 1442 (London, 1828).

N. H. Nicolas (ed.), Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England (7 vols., London, 1834-37).

N. H. Nicolas (ed.), Testamenta Vetusta (2 vols., London, 1826).

The Paston Letters, 1422-1509, ed. J. Gairdner (6 vols., London, 1904).

Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento, 1278-1503 ed. J.Strachey et al. (6 vols., London, 1783).

T. Rymer (ed.), Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiusque generis acta publica.... (20 vols., The Hague, 1704-35; 4 vols., in 7 parts, Record Comm., 1816-69).

Six Town Chronicles, ed. R. Flenley (Oxford, 1911).

J. Stevenson (ed.), Letters and Papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI (2 vols., in 3, Rolls ser., 1861-64).

J. Stevenson (ed.), Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-50 (Rolls ser., 1863).

J. Stowe, The Annales of Generall Chronicle of England...with the continuation by Edmund Howes (London, 1615).

J. Stowe, A Survey of London, ed. C. L. Kingsford (2 vols., Oxford, 1908).

Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., n.s., vol. XXVIII, 1880).

J. Twiss (ed.), The Black Book of the Admiralty (4 vols., Rolls ser., 1871).

J. de Waurin, Recueil des croniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne, ed. W. and E.L.Hardy (5 vols., Rolls ser., 1864-91).

G. Williams (ed.), Memorials of the reign of Henry VI: Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, secretary to Henry VI and Bishop of Bath and Wells (2 vols., Rolls ser., 1872).

William Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge Ms. 210 by J. Harvey (Oxford, 1969).

II. Works of Reference.

G. E. Cokayne (ed.), Complete Peerage of England....(12 vols. in 13, London, 1910-59).

Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M.Powicke and E.B. Fryde (Royal Historical Soc., guide and handbook no. 2, London, 1961).

Handbook of Dates for students of English History, ed. C.R. Cheyney (Royal Historical Society guide and handbook no.4, London, 1970).

E.F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485 (Oxford, 1961).

P.R.O., List of Escheators, compiled by A. C. Wood (1928).

P.R.O., List of Sheriffs (1963).

J.C. Wedgwood (ed.), History of Parliament, Vol. I. Biographies of the members of the Commons House, 1439-1509 (London, 1936); Vol. II, Register of the Ministers and the Members of both Houses, 1439-1509 (London, 1938).

III. Secondary Works.

C.T.Allmand, 'The Collection of Dom Lenoir and the English Occupation of Normandy in the Fifteenth Century' Archives (1963-64).

C.T. Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy', Econ. Hist. Review, 2nd. ser., XXI (1968).

C.T. Allmand, 'La Normandie devant l'opinion Anglaise à la fin de la guerre de cent ans', extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes, t. CXXVII (1970).

A. Anstis (ed.), The Record of the most Noble Order of the Garter (London,1724)

G. Baker, The History and Antiquities of the county of Northamptonshire (2 vols., London, 1822-30).

J. G. Bellamy, The Law of Treason in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1970).

F. Bouquet (ed.), Documents concernant l'histoire de Neufchatel-en-Bray et des environs (Rouen, 1884-85).

R. Bouteiller et M. Durand, 'La Garrison Anglaise de Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc', extrait de La Revue des Etudes Historiques (Paris, 1931).

Boutell's Heraldry, revised by J.P. Brooke-Little (London, 1970).

C. Brown, Lives of Nottinghamshire Worthies (London, 1882).

J. C. Browne, 'Knights of the Shire for Kent, 1275-1831', Archaeologia Cantiana, XXI (1895).

E. Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy, 1435-50' (unpublished University of Oxford B.Litt. thesis, 1968).

A. Butot, 'Les Capitaines Anglais de la bastille du Pont d'Ouve pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans,' Notices, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'Arch. et d'Histoire Naturelle du département de la Manche, n.s., vo LXV (1957).

A. Butot, 'Les Capitaines Anglais de Saint Lô pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1418-1450)', Notices, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d' Arch. et d'Histoire naturelle du départment de la Manche, n.s., vol. LXII (1954).

A.D. Carr, 'Sir Lewis John - A Medieval London Welshman', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, XXII (1967).

A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War', Welsh History Review, IV (1968).

W. Fowler-Carter, 'Notes on Staffordshire Families: Arblaster of Longdon', William Salt Archaeological Soc., Collections (1925).

P. B. Chatwin, 'Documents of Warwick the Kingmaker in the possession of St. Mary's Church, Warwick', Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society (1935).

Collectanea, Topographica et Genealogica, vol. I (London, 1834).

W. A. Copinger, The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution (7 vols., London, 1905-11).

E. Cosneau, Le connétable de Richemont: Arthur de Bretagne, 1393-1458 (Paris, 1887).

C. Cotton, The History and Antiquities of the Church and Parish of St. Laurence, Thanet, in the county of Kent (Ramsgate, 1895).

E.F.L. de Courtilloles, Chronologie Historique des grands baillis du comté et duché d'Alençon (Paris, 1872).

G. Demay, Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection Clairambault à la Bibliothèque Nationale (2 vols., Paris, 1885).

A. Deville, Histoire du Chateau et des Sires de Tancarville (Rouen, 1834).

Sir W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire (London, 1730).

Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, ed. J. Clay (3 vols., Thoresby Soc., Leeds, 1899).

H. du Morey, 'La ville, le chateau et le pays d'Exmes pendant l'occupation anglaise, de 1417 à 1442', Bulletin de Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne, VIII (1889).

C. R. Elvin, Records of Walmer (London, 1890).

H. T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses (Cambridge, 1915).

R. Eyton, The Antiquities of Shropshire (12 vols., London, 1856).

'Feet of Fines for Somerset, Henry IV-Henry VI', ed. E. Green, Somerset Record Soc., XXII (1906).

E. Foss, 'Hackington, or St. Stephen's, Canterbury', Trans. of the Kent Arch. Soc., VII (1858).

K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1328-1498 (London, 1967).

K. Fowler (ed.), The Hundred Years War (London, 1971).

H. de Frondeville, 'La vicomté d'Orbec pendant l'occupation anglaise (1417-1449)', Etudes Lexoviennes, I V (1936).

Glamorgan County History, Vol. III: The Middle Ages, ed. T. B. Pugh (Cardiff, 1971).

R. Gorges, 'Sir Thibault Gorges, Knight Banneret, 1401-70', Proceedings of the Somerset Arch. and Natural History Society, LXXIX (1933).

R. A. Griffiths, 'The Glyn Dŵr Rebellion in North Wales through the eyes of an Englishman', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, XXI (1967).

R. A. Griffiths, The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages, Vol. I. South Wales (Cardiff, 1972).

B. Grimshaw, The Entwisle Family (Accrington, 1924).

T. de Guerin, 'Our Hereditary Governors', Trans. of the Guernsey Soc., VI (1909-12).

S. W. Bates-Harbin, 'Members of Parliament for the County of Somerset', Somerset Arch. and Natural History Soc., LXXXIII (1939).

G. L. Harriss, 'The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry between Lancaster and York', English Historical Review, LXXV(1960).

E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of Kent (2 vols., Canterbury, (1778).

A. Hellot, Essai sur les Baillis de Caux de 1204 à 1789 (Paris, 1895).

V. Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire aux XIVe - XVe siècles (Paris, 1925).

V. Hunger, Le Siège et la Prise de Caen par Charles VII en 1450 (Paris, 1912).

C. L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1913).

J. Lair, Essai Historique et Topographique sur la Bataille de Formigny (Paris, 1903).

J. R. Lander, The Wars of the Roses (London, 1965).

J. E. Lloyd, Owen Glendower (Oxford, 1931).

L. C. Loyd, The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families (Harleian soc., CIII, 1951).

G. Lipscomb, The History and Antiquities of County Buckinghamshire (4 vols., London, 1847).

K. B. McFarlane, 'A Business Partnership in War and Administration, 1421-1445', English Historical Review, LXXVIII (1963).

K. B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Soc., 5th ser., VII (1957).

K. B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973).

K. B. McFarlane, 'The Wars of the Roses', Proceedings of the British Academy, L (1964).

W. Mathews, The Ill-Famedd Knight (California, 1966).

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, n.s., vol. III (1880); 5th ser., Vol.VI (1926-28).

R. Mollet, A Chronology of Jersey (Société Jersiase, 1949).

R. A. Newhall, Muster and Review (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

N. H. Nicolas, History of the Battle of Agincourt (London, 1827).

M. Nortier (ed.), Les Sources de l'Histoire de Normandie au département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Nogent sur Marne, 1959).

'Original Letters of Sir John Fastolf', Notes and Queries, 10th ser., XII (1909).

J. B. Payne, An Armorial of Jersey (Jersey, 1865).

E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War (London, 1965).

A. J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century' (unpublished University of Bristol Ph. D. thesis, 1968).

T. C. Porteus, A History of the Parish of Standish (Wigan, 1927).

G. Poulson, The History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness (4 vols., Hull, 1841).

M. R. Powicke, 'Lancastrian Captains', in Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969).

A. E. Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III' Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. E. F. Jacob et al. (Manchester, 1933).

Y. Probert, 'Mathew Gough, 1390-1450', Trans. of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1962).

T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXVI (1953).

T. B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-36 (Board of Celtic Studies History and Law ser., no. XX, Cardiff 1963).

Sir J. H. Ramsay, Lancaster and York (2 vols., London, 1892).

W. R. B. Robinson, ' Sir Hugh Johnys: A fifteenth century Welsh Knight', Trans. of the Glamorgan History Soc., XIV (1970),

A. Rogers, ' The Lincolnshire County Court in the fifteenth century', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, V (170).

J. T. Rosenthal, 'The estates and finances of Richard, duke of York (1411-60)', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, II (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965).

J. S. Roskell, The Commons and their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-152 (Manchester, 1965).

J. S. Roskell, ' Sir William Oldhall', Nottingham Medieval Studies, V (1961).

J. S. Roskell, 'William Alington of Horseheath, Speaker in the Parliament of 1429-30', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., LII (1958).

C. D. Ross, The estates and finances of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, (Dugdale Soc., Occasional Papers, No.12, 1956).

W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1913).

E. Sarot, Le Chateau de Règneville (Coutances, 1911).

C. L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV (2 vols., London, 1923).

E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, Lancastrian Poet (London, 1961).

J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and the English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', English Historical Review, LXXIX (1964).

R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster (2 vols., London, 1953).

R. L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966).

R. S. Thomas, 'The Political career, estates and "connection" of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford (d. 1495)' (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1971).

R. Triger, Une forteresse du Maine, 1417 à 1450 (Mamers, 1886).

S. Tucker, Pedigree of the Family of Chetwode of Chetwode, county Buckinghamshire (privately printed for Sir George Chetwode, Bart., London, 1884).

M. G. A. Vale, English Gascony, 1399-1453 (Oxford, 1970).

M. Veyrat, Les Baillis de Rouen (1171-1790) (Rouen, 1953).

K. H. Vickers, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (London, 1907).

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire (4 vols., London, 1937).

R. Virgoe, 'The Death of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XLVII (1964-65).

R. Virgoe, 'Some Ancient Indictments referring to Kent, 1450-52', Kent Archaeological Soc., XVIII (1964).

R. Virgoe, 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, LV (1973).

The Visitation of Herefordshire made in 1569, ed. F.W.Weaver (Exeter, 1886).

The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancashire, by William Flower, 1567, ed. F.R.Raines (Chetham Soc., 1870).

The Visitation of the County of Leicestershire, 1619, ed. J.Fetherston (Harleain Soc., London, 1870).

The Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1514 and 1618-19, ed. W. Metcalfe (London, 1887).

The Visitation of theCounty of Nottinghamshire in the years 1569 and 1614, ed. G. W. Marshall (London, 1871).

The Visitation of Shropshire, 1623 (Harleain Soc., vol. XXVIII, 1889).

Visitations of the County of Somerset, 1531 and 1573 (Exeter, 1885).

H. T. Weyman, 'Shropshire Members of Parliament' (Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans., 4th ser., vols. X - XII (1926-28).

Chapter I.

THE KING'S LIEUTENANTS IN FRANCE.

The years following the Congress of Arras and the death of the English Regent of France, the duke of Bedford, in 1435 witnessed a growing division amongst the English councillors over future policy in France. At the head of those bent on an active prosecution of the war was the king's uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.[1] His old opponent, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, led those prepared to make a bid for peace; later, Beaufort's protégé, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was to follow in his footsteps. This division was to some extent reflected in the appointment of Bedford's successors in France and the duchy of Normandy during the next decade.

Of the men chosen to hold together the threatened English territories, Richard, duke of York, as yet a young and untried soldier, and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, an experienced campaigner and companion-in-arms of Henry V, were numbered amongst the wealthiest lay landowners in the kingdom.[2] Similar authority was entrusted in turn to the two Beaufort brothers, nephews of the Cardinal, John, earl of Somerset and his younger brother Edmund, whose wealth, to begin with, stemmed rather from their political connections than from their landed estates.[3]

---

1. For a study of Gloucester, see K.H.Vickers, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (London, 1907).
2. For studies of York and Warwick, see J.T.Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, duke of York, (1411-60)', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, II (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965), and C.D.Ross, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', Dugdale Soc., Occasional Papers, no.12 (1956).
3. Virtually nothing has been written on the Beaufort brothers. For them, see G.E.Cockayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. V.Gibbs and others (12 vols., in 13, 1910-59), vol. XI, pp. 39-53.

1. The King's Lieutenants in France.

At the time of his first commission as lieutenant-general of France on 1 May 1436, Richard of York was a young man of twenty-five with no real experience of either administration or military affairs. As the surviving male representative of the families of Mortimer and York, the young duke became heir to a vast accumulation of estates. As a direct descendant of Edward III through both his parents, Richard eventually inherited the 'legitimist' claim to the throne of England. Some of his ancestors had held no great reputation for loyalty to the Crown, as witness his father, Richard, earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in 1415 for his part in the 'Southampton Plot', when he conspired to kill Henry V and his three brothers. The family honour was in part retrieved by the death in that same year of Cambridge's brother, Edward, duke of York at Agincourt. His title passed to his nephew, Richard, and with it went a claim to considerable property.[1]

It was the death of his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster in 1425 that brought the young duke the bulk of his property. The Council of the Minority awarded their custody variously to Cardinal Beaufort, his brother Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, until Richard came of age.[2]

---

1. As K.B.McFarlane pointed out, if the earl of Cambridge's treason had followed the death of his brother, that estate would have been forfeited also. As it was, the earldom of Cambridge was a 'courtesy title' granted him by his brother. As a younger son, York's father held only a small annuity from Richard II and later the dower lands of his second wife from a former marriage. Since his heir, Richard, was the son of his first marriage, the forfeiture of Cambridge's property did not greatly affect the status of the future duke of York. K.B.McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), pp. 185-86.
2. E.F.Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485 (Oxford, 1969), p. 226; C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 401; C.F.R., 1422-30, pp. 85, 103-5; P.P.C., III, 313.

Richard's own marriage and wardship had been purchased from the Crown in 1423 by Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, for the sum of 3,000 marks.[1] In the Neville household at Raby, York spent the rest of his youth, and there he was betrothed to Cicely, the youngest of the earl's twenty-two children.

In addition to the earldom of Ulster and the lordships of Trim and Connaught in Ireland, the duke succeeded to vast territories in central and south-east Wales and the Marches from his Mortimer uncle, the product of amalgamation over the years of several great inheritances.[2] He also acquired lands in most of the English counties, with concentrations in Hertfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, the east Midlands and southern Yorkshire, with administrative centres scattered throughout the country at such places as Ludlow, Conisborough, Fotheringhay and Sandal.

In the spring of 1432, York obtained livery of his inheritance, at that time the richest in England. By this date his property had been in the Crown's possession for up to seventeen years, during which time it had acted as a useful financial pool for the increasing number of royal creditors. Not surprisingly, it was reported that 'much waste, exile and destruction' had been done, whilst Richard was now ordered to find security in Chancery to pay £969 7s. 2½d. to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who had held part of York's Welsh and Marcher estates.[3]

To restore the balance, the death of York's mother, Anne Mortimer, countess of Huntingdon, in September 1432, and of the two remaining

---

1. C.P.R., 1422-30, p. 64.
2. Those of the families of York, Mortimer, Clare, Despenser, De Burgh, Geneville, Braose and Marshal.
3. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 207.

dowagers of York, Philippa, Duke Edward's widow, and Joan Holland, wife of the first duke, in the two years following, meant the final re-incorporation of their dower lands into the duke of York's estate.[1]

An estimate of York's income from his English lands alone, based on the tax returns for 1436, gives a net total of £3,230; a sum usually taken to be less than the true amount.[2] Combined with receipts totalling £3,430 from his Welsh estates and estimated from a valor of 1443-1444, it seems likely that York enjoyed a substantial income apart from the returns from his lands in Ireland and his annuities.[3] As heir to some of the greatest inheritances in the kingdom, York seemed destined to aspire to the highest honours that the kingdom could offer. In an age when inexperience counted for little beside wealth and position, there seemed every likelihood that the duke would be preferred to a prominent position of power in the realm.

When Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick took up his formal commission as lieutenant-general of France and Normandy on 16 July 1437, he was nearing the end of a distinguished and profitable career. Since receiving his knighthood at the coronation of Henry IV in 1399, he had fought for that sovereign and his son both in England and in France.

---

1. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, II (1965), 120.

2. T.B.Pugh and C.D.Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income of Tax of 1436', B.I.H.R., XXVI (1953), 14.

3. York was entitled to a £1,000 annuity originally granted to Edmund of Langley in November 1385; but it is doubtful if he ever received payment of this.

On the death of Henry V, he became a councillor during the Regency, and from June 1428 to May 1436, during a respite from military service, tutor to the young King Henry VI.[1]

In 1403 Beauchamp succeeded to the family estates, which were spread through eighteen English counties, the main conglomerations being in Warwickshire and Worcestershire.[2] As with the duke of York, Beauchamp's inheritance had been augmented by good fortune, his family benefiting from the absence of younger sons which would have entailed alienation of land. The earl's first marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, brought him lands in Wiltshire, Berkshire, Northamptonshire and the south-west, netting an income of £550-£600 a year; these he retained by 'the courtesy of England' after her death in 1422.[3] The earl made a second, more profitable marriage to Isabel Despencer, the widow of his cousin, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, in 1423. As sole heir to the Despencer lands, Isabel brought her husband some fifty manors in England and the lordship of Glamorgan in south Wales. Finally, the death of Joan, lady of Abergavenny and widow of Sir William Beauchamp, meant the addition of a further eight English manors in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Oxfordshire, as well as the lordship of Abergavenny.[4] An extract from a valor of 1432-33 suggests that the net income of Beauchamp's estates totalled about £4,500, and that by the time of his death in 1439 it probably amounted to about £4,900.

---

1. G.E.C., XII, pt. ii, pp. 378-82.
2. C.C.R., 1402-5, pp. 35-36.
3. McFarlane, op.cit., p. 197.
4. Ross, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', p. 5.

In addition, his service as captain of Calais, lieutenant in France, and councillor and tutor to the King provided him with further sources of income.[1]

Warwick was also the beneficiary of a lawsuit by which his first countess had fought to establish a claim to part of the Berkeley estate, in opposition to the male heir, James Berkeley. Although the dispute was settled in 1426 in favour of Berkeley, the earl won life tenure of seven manors in Gloucestershire, Somerset and elsewhere.[2] This decision merely postponed a settlement and caused a resumption of the dispute thirteen years later after the earl's death. By this date, the three daughters of his first wife, Margaret, Eleanor and Elizabeth, co-heiresses to the Berkeley portion of their mother, had married, respectively, John, Lord Talbot, Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain, and George Neville, Lord Latimer. An assize of novel disseisin was issued in August 1440 in order to examine the disputes over property which had arisen between the heiresses and James, Lord Berkeley.[3] The affair was given increased importance by the action of Talbot and Beaufort, then in charge of siege operations before Harfleur. The King was informed by his Council in Normandy that the two captains were threatening to raise the blockade if the assize were held on the appointed day. Consequently, the councillors begged that all proceedings be postponed until Harfleur was taken, pointing out the great danger that would be presented to the duchy if the town remained in French hands.[4] The

---

1. McFarlane, op.cit., p. 199.
2. Ross, loc. cit., p. 12.
3. C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 325.
4. Ibid., See also R.L.Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966), appendix XVI, pp. 231-41, for the disputes between Richard Neville, earl of Warwick and Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, which can be traced back to the confusion over details of the Beauchamp inheritance.

co-operation of John, Lord Talbot and Edmund Beaufort in this piece of blackmail, was doubtless assisted by their presence on the interim council that was appointed to govern Normandy in the absence of a lieutenant-general following Beauchamp's death in 1439 and before York's arrival in the summer of 1441.

As lieutenant-general of France, it seems certain that the earl of Warwick was a compromise choice. Like York, he was qualified by wealth and position, but whereas the former was initially too young and inexperienced to cope with the formidable task involved, Beauchamp was advanced in years and disinclined to provide the vigour the position demanded. The remaining appointees as lieutenant-general - John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, and, after his death in 1444, his brother Edmund - failed to exhibit even the qualifications enjoyed by York and Warwick: those of a substantial landed estate and a prominent place in the ranks of the English aristocracy.

By comparison with York and Warwick, the Beauforts were minor landowners. As the offspring of the eldest son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and his mistress Katherine Swynford, the two brothers, like their father before them, had to rely heavily on the generosity of the Crown. Gaunt had purchased land for his bastard offspring, whilst an act of legitimization in 1396 enabled the Beaufort children to marry into the families of contemporary noblemen.[1] John, the first earl of Somerset, married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of the earl of Kent. His estates were further increased by royal grants, including

---

1. Rot. Parl., III, 343; C.P.R., 1396-99, p. 86.

that of Corfe Castle and lordship and of certain lands forfeited to the Crown.[1] Before his death in 1410 John, earl of Somerset received an annual grant of £500 to be taken from the petty customs in the port of London for himself and his male heirs.[2]

John's widow remarried, in 1410, Thomas, duke of Clarence, the king's second son, and the earldom of Somerset passed to her eldest son, Henry. Henry died unmarried in November 1418, when the title devolved on his brother John. He and his younger brothers served with their stepfather in France, until Clarence was killed at Baugé in Anjou on 22 March 1421. John remained a prisoner of the French for the next eighteen years, and although the laws of inheritance further increased his patrimony, it was left to his landless younger brother Edmund to accrue further grants of both office and land. John was granted seisin of his lands in September 1425; in June 1427 these were extended by the death of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter without children; his property reverted to his nephew, John.[3] Margaret, duchess of Clarence survived

---

1. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 160/38 (by letters patent dated 8 January 1410). On 20 August 1425 the inquisition held on Henry Beaufort, second earl of Somerset, valued the castle and lordship of Corfe at 20 marks per annum (ibid., 15/18 m.14). After John Beaufort's death in 1444, Corfe was conveyed to his brother Edmund, at whose death it was said to be worth £21 (ibid., 160/38). On the attainder of Edmund's son and heir, Henry Beaufort, in 1466, Corfe was valued at £7 per annum (P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Edward IV, 322). Amongst the lands acquired through forfeiture were those held in Wales formerly by Owain Glyndŵr, including the lordship of Cynllaith Owain; in 1465-1466 this was bringing in an income of £49 18s. 3½d. to Margaret Beaufort (R.S.Thomas 'The political career, estates and "connection" of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford (d.1495)' (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1971), p.113).
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, series I, 177/13 m.1 (25 October 1409). This was to meet in part a £1,000 yearly grant made to him at the Exchequer by letters patent on 12 November 1404.
3. C.C.R., 1422-29, p. 230; C.F.R., 1422-30, p. 176.

until 1440, when her dower lands and income, derived from her first husband, seem to have been divided between her two surviving sons, John and Edmund.[1]

Unfortunately, evidence for the finances of the Beaufort brothers is extremely fragmentary, surviving only in a handful of Ministers' and Receivers' accounts, miscellaneous enquiries by Inquisitions post mortem and a very few other published sources. Such documentation that does exist is seldom complete and an accurate study of their lands is still wanting. It seems certain that the earls' most important group of estates was centred in Somerset and Dorset, with the remainder for the most part situated in the home counties and the midlands. Much of the income of both brothers was drawn from the royal Exchequer at Westminster.[2]

In 1436, in the absence of his lord, Earl John's receiver-general, Thomas Sutton, declared before the chancellor and treasurer of England that the total annual income of Somerset's English lands for the purposes of taxation was £1,000. Of this total, £20 was assigned from the issues of Somerset, £500 came from the petty custom of London and £333 from the Exchequer.[3] Beaufort's income was limited by two main factors. The first was the temporary

---

1. On 19 February 1440 John, earl of Somerset was granted the custody of all the lands and manors of his mother Margaret, duchess of Clarence, (C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 382). Twenty-one days earlier his brother Edmund had received 500 marks which his mother had collected yearly at the Exchequer in lieu of dower, (ibid., p. 375).

2. For the lands held by John and Edmund Beaufort, see Appendix I.

3. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 1 m.6; Pugh and Ross, B.I.H.R., XXVI (1953), 615. The sum of £1,000 was the value placed on John, duke of Somerset's inheritance by opponents of the earl of Suffolk, who was accused of attempting to marry his son John to Margaret, the duke's heiress, (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Third Report, Appendix, p. 280).

alienation of his mother's dower lands; the second (and more important) was the payment of £24,000 as ransom to the French.[1]

The same taxation record of 1436 assigned to Edmund Beaufort, who held the French title of count of Mortain, an English income of £205 derived principally from the dower lands of his wife Eleanor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and widow of Thomas, the eighth Lord Roos.[2] As a younger brother, Edmund had started life at a disadvantage. Although he succeeded to the earldom of Somerset on his brother's death, the family estates passed to John's young daughter Margaret, although £500 from the petty custom was granted to Edmund.[3] Throughout his career, the fortune of the younger Beaufort relied heavily on Crown patronage.

From the earliest years he found some favour.[4] In January 1425 Queen Joan granted him, during her lifetime, the office of constable of Nottingham castle, together with the custody of Sherwood Forest, at a yearly income of £20.[5] In 1427 he obtained the French county of Mortain, previously held by his step-father Clarence, and for the

---

1. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 515.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 2 m.1.
3. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 243.
4. So much so that, according to one chronicler, Queen Katherine chose Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain, to be her husband before she married Owen Tudor. If such a match was intended, there were obvious dangers in view of Beaufort's royal antecedents. The Latin chronicler continues that such presumption was instantly crushed by Gloucester and many other lords, and severe penalties were said to have been threatened against anyone marrying Katherine during the minority of the King. J.A.Giles (ed.), Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V, et Henrici VI (London, 1848), part 4, p. 17.
5. C.P.R., 1436-41, p.19.

next two decades he acquired offices and titles both at home and abroad.[1] But it was not until after the death of his elder brother that he held any land of consequence in his own right. By the time of his own death in 1455, Edmund Beaufort's English income was in excess of £1,300.[2]

Like his contemporary royal favourite, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the younger Beaufort rose from the ranks of the poorest earls first to a marquessate and, finally, to a dukedom. That this was achieved primarily by royal favour earned both men not only a degree of power and a fortune unheralded by their earlier status, but also the enmity of any who felt their own position thereby usurped or neglected.

2. Politics and the appointment of the King's Lieutenants.

The duke of Bedford's death on 24 September 1435 deprived the English in France of a leader of distinction. The struggle between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, thereafter

---

1. P. le Cacheux (ed.), Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination Anglaise, 1422-35 (2 vols., Paris, 1907, 1908), II, 349 (22 April 1427). Apart from the captaincies and posts of command in Normandy, Edmund Beaufort received a grant of the constableship of Carmarthen castle and the stewardship of the commotes of Widigada and Elfed in south Wales during pleasure, on 8 August 1433 and this was confirmed for life on 21 July 1438. He had demonstrated that Sir John Skidmore was not eligible to continue holding these posts, since he had married Alice, the daughter of Owain Glyndŵr, whose lands were held by John Beaufort. (C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 286; 1436-41, p. 188). This was augmented by a further grant for life of the offices of captain and constable of Aberystwyth castle and Windsor in 1435 and 1438 (C.P.R., 1429-36, p.498; C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 188.) The following decade saw him endowed with various sums of money in lieu of lands, and with the titles of earl of Dorset (1442), marquess of Dorset (1443) and duke of Somerset (1448). For details of these grants of money and land, see Appendix I.

2. Appendix I.

assumed a more crucial importance as both aimed to control affairs in France and the direction of the war. Meanwhile, the treaty of Arras deprived England of her Burgundian ally, and the French, thereby encouraged, proceeded to drive the English from the Ile-de-France. The English Council procrastinated until February of the following year before indentures were drawn up naming a new lieutenant-general; by then Arthur of Brittany was laying siege to Paris.[1]

There was no very wide choice of successor to Bedford. As the king's representative in France, the appointee had to be of noble birth, and high rank to govern an army composed mainly of noble retinues, and preferably an experienced professional soldier in view of the deteriorating situation. Gloucester himself could hardly consider leaving the English Council in the hands of his enemy Beaufort, and perhaps it was his influence that gave the young duke of York his first professional charge.

Bedford's death may also have provoked fundamental discussion about the future conduct of the war. Sir John Fastolf, one of the most experienced of the English captains, previously master of the regent's household and governor of Anjou and Maine, prepared a report after the conclusion of the Treaty of Arras, in which he advocated a return to the great chevauchées of the fourteenth century. He stressed the inadequacies of peace treaties and promises, which were easily broken, and any alliance by marriage with the French. Fastolf urged the king to lay aside siege warfare, 'for the sieges hathe gretely hindred his conquest in tyme passed, and distruyd his peple, as welle lordis, capetaines, and chieftaines, as his othere peple, and wasted and consumed innumerable good of his finaunces, both in England and in Fraunce, and of Normandie'.[2] He further expressed a dislike for the degree of

---

1. E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War (London, 1965), pp. 295, 306.
2. J. Stevenson (ed.), Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, during the Reign of Henry VI (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1864), II, pt. 2, pp. 575-85.

French participation within the English Council in Normandy, and desired 'that the King ordeine in this lande sufficient counseiles of Englisshe menne, expert and knowyng them in the werre, and that the werre may be counceiled and gouverned bi speciallie, and not to be demened so moche be the Frenshe Counseile as hit hathe be done herebefore'.[1]

For the time at least, Fastolf was to be disappointed. Richard of York, as yet young and untried, indented on 22 February 1436 to serve the king in France for one year, with 500 men-at-arms and 2,200 archers.[2] One baron and seven knights were to be included among the former, and the remainder would consist of esquires. York's formal commission as lieutenant-general of France and Normandy was issued on 1 May 1436, and it granted him the usual rights attached to the office, 'excepte tante seullement les offices de conestable, chancellier, mareschal, tresoriers et gouverneurs des finances', which were retained at the disposal of the king.[3] He further received certain powers of pardon and patronage that had been denied to the interim Council governing France in the meantime. This Council was headed by Louis of Luxembourg, bishop of Thérouanne and chancellor of France, presumably the individual against whom Fastolf's objections were directed.

The formal title bestowed on the duke, and on subsequent commanders, was that of 'lieutenant-general et gouverneur de nostre Royaume de France et duchie de Normandie'; the duke of Bedford had accepted more sovereign powers as 'Gouvernant et Regent'. That the appointment of Richard, duke of York was for one year only suggests

---

1. Ibid..
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 52/208.
3. B.N., MS. Fr. 23,189 f.137.

that his appointment was in the nature of a trial. As it was, the long delay in his nomination encouraged the French, who captured Paris at Easter 1436, whilst commissions to muster York's army continued to be sent out up to the end of May, when Sir John Popham, one of Bedford's distinguished commanders, and William Gloucester, master of the king's ordnance, were ordered to meet the duke on his arrival in France.[1] The army had crossed the channel before 20 June, when the English treasury ordered payment to be made for those ships which had conducted York to Normandy.[2]

The duke's term of office was marked by active campaigning under professional captains; amongst them John, Lord Talbot, Thomas, Lord Scales and Sir Thomas Kyriell were pre-eminent. Between them they captured Pontoise and Ivry in the Ile-de-France as steps towards an eventual recovery of Paris. In September York attended the siege at the abbey of Fécamp, after which, as one chronicler reports, he 'did no more in all his time'.[3] Another attributed the duke's inactivity to his youth, and to the fact that his councillors would not risk encouraging him to give battle, through fears for his personal safety.[4] In any case, a year-long indenture was too short to enable York to pursue any large-scale campaigns. There are signs that Richard himself was anxious to play a more active role. Apparently at the time of his discharge from office, he was preparing to recover Montereau, lately fallen to the dauphin.[5] Certainly the situation in Normandy was more

---

1. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 608. For Popham, see J.S.Roskell, The Commons and their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523 (Manchester, 1965), pp. 235-37
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 52/370.
3. C.L.Kingsford, Chronicles of London (London, 1905), p. 141.
4. Giles op.cit., p. 18.
5. Ibid..

stable than before his assumption of office. In December 1435 a small army had been sent from England under the command of Sir Henry Norbury and Richard Wastness, esquire,[1] in order to strengthen Rouen, where it was rumoured that 'ther was so moch treson walking that men wist not what to do'.[2]

Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain had also assembled a body of troops, not far inferior in number to that which accompanied York. In January 1436, Mortain bound himself to serve with 400 men-at-arms and 1,600 archers in 'Anjou, Maine and Sannoy and other parts of France out of the king's obedience' for two years.[3] This army was diverted instead to Calais, where England's erstwhile ally, the duke of Burgundy, was preparing to lay siege. The honour of vanquishing Burgundy fell not to the duke of Gloucester, who was presiding over the formation of a considerable army to throw back the attack, but to Beaufort and his companion in arms, Roger, Lord Cameys.[4]

At the beginning of April 1437, the Council, noting that York's indentures were due to expire, sent messages instructing him and all other captains to remain at their posts until further appointments to office had been made.[5] The duke's return to England has been attributed to a division in policy between the English Councillers over the question of the defence of France and Normandy. Certainly peace proposals were being discussed in the form of any embassy to France to be accompanied

---

1. C.P.R., 1429-36, pp. 525, 526. It was made up of seventy men-at-arms and 900 archers.
2. Kingsford, Chronicles of London, p. 140.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 52/196.
4. Gloucester was to be accompanied by the earls of Huntingdon, Warwick, Oxford, Devon and Stafford, and the Lords Hungerford, Welles, Beaumont, Cromwell and Tiptoft, most of whom had seen service in France during the 1420s. Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. i, pp. xlix-liii.
5. P.P.C., V, 7.

by the duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England since Agincourt. York completed his term of office, but his indentures were not renewed; possibly he himself regarded the financial terms as uninviting.[1] He remained in Normandy until his successor, Richard, earl of Warwick, delayed by a series of storms, finally arrived in July. For the next two years he withdrew into the political background.

Warwick himself admitted that his new command was 'full farre from the ease of my years and from the continuall laboure off my person att sieges and daily occupation in the warre'.[2] In a list of articles submitted by him to the English Council, the earl requested 'as large and ample power as the duke of Yorke had', together with payment for his army, and a promise of payment for the 800 men-at-arms and the archers already in France. His personal retinue was to be composed of thirty lances and accompanying archers. Beauchamp also asked that John, Viscount Beaumont, Robert, Lord Willoughby and Henry, Lord Bourgchier might be sent with him. The Council reported that 'Willoughby is agreed to goe, and another shall be entreated to goe also'.[3] The remaining articles showed some concern for a number of large sums of money owed to the earl for his past services. £12,606 out of a total of £14,110 was due to him for the custody of Calais, held by Warwick ten years previously. He finally agreed to release

---

1. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p. 466. £18,000 was shown to be owing to him in a warrant of 1439. In his first term of office, he was not granted the proceeds of Norman taxation, as was afterwards the case.
2. Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. i, pp. lxvi - lxxi.
3. Ibid..

£1,000 of this sum on condition that the King granted payment or assignment of the rest. These demands were concluded by a safety clause to the effect that if any of the above articles agreed upon were afterwards broken, then Warwick would be free to return to England without charge or blame, provided that the King had been notified. The Council gave a qualified assent in reply.

Richard, earl of Warwick received his formal commission of office on 16 July 1437 and was invested with the same title of lieutenant and governor-general as York had had, 'by the advice' of the duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort at the head of the King's Council.[1] Beauchamp's appointment seems to have been a political compromise between the Cardinal and Gloucester. He had spent many years as one of Bedford's trusted commanders in France, though age prevented his taking any vigorous part in campaigning. As Miss Burney has noted, most of the military organisation and administration during his period of office was left in the hands of the chancellor of France, Louis of Luxembourg.[2]

In 1439 Cardinal Henry Beaufort headed an embassy working for a settlement with the French at Oye, but this came inconclusively to an end in October. The death of Warwick at Rouen on 30 April plunged the English government into a further quandary of indecision as to his successor. An interim Council was formed to supervise the conduct of the war three weeks later. This time two candidates were proposed by the opposing parties headed by Gloucester and the Cardinal. The conflict within the English Council delayed the appointment of a new lieutenant-general for over a year, whilst both sides sought to gain the upper hand.

---

1. Foedera, X, 42.
2. E.Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy, 1435-50' (umpublished University of Oxford, B. Litt. thesis, 1968), p. 128.

The Cardinal, promoting family interests in the person of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, who had recently been released from his long captivity in France, seemed to have the initial advantage. The interim Council was composed of Louis of Luxembourg, now archbishop of Rouen, Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Lisieux, the abbots of Fécamp and Mont Saint Michel, the two Beaufort brothers (John and Edmund), together with the leading field commanders, the Lords Talbot, Scales and Fauconberg. Luxembourg was to remain 'toujours l'un et le principal', and as few as four of these councillors could form a quorum. Wide powers were given to them in the appointment of civil and military offices, with command of 'toutes autres choses que faire pourions se presens y estions en notre personne'; but they were unable to grant away any part of the royal domain, a privilege reserved for the lieutenant alone.[1]

This was the first real introduction of John, earl of Somerset to political prominence. Presumably with the aid of Cardinal Beaufort, he received a further appointment as 'lieutenant et governor general sur le fait de guerre, partout nos royaume de France et duchie de Normandie', in a document that states that Humphrey, duke of Gloucester has been appointed to go with an army to France, although his arrival has been delayed by the need to assemble the troops.[2] A further reference, during the period of York's second command, mentioned the powers which, ' my lord of Gloucestre had, or shulde have had nowe late'.[3] If Gloucester had offered himself as a candidate for the vacant lieutenancy, he was unsuccessful.

Opposed to the Cardinal's attempts to achieve a settlement, early

---

1. B.M., Add. MS. 11,542 f. 78.
2. Ibid., f. 81.
3. Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. ii, p. 585, from the Collections of William Worcester in Lambeth MS. 506.

in 1440 Gloucester sought to stir up his countrymen's xenophobia in a vitriolic attack against Beaufort, who was urging the release of Orleans as a necessary preliminary to peace negotiations with the French. He criticised the greed and ambition of the prelate and accused him outright of conspiring to estrange not only himself, but also the duke of York, the earl of Huntingdon and other lords from the king and his Council. Gloucester concluded by saying that it was not unknown to the king 'how oft tymes that I have offerd my service unto you for the defence of youre Royaume of Fraunce and lordeshipps there, where I have be put therefro by the labour of the said cardinal, in preferring othre of his singular affection'.[1] Whether he stepped down in favour of Richard, duke of York, or whether Beaufort saw the younger man as the lesser of two evils in the absence of any other real alternative, it is now impossible to know. Certainly John Beaufort was in no hurry to give up his commission, and he continued to use the title sometime after York's official commission on 2 July 1440.[2] Henceforth, York and the Beaufort brothers, propelled as they were by the same instinct for political survival, came more and more to represent opposing policies. But whereas Gloucester and the Cardinal were both thereafterwards to stand aside from the struggle, the one discredited by the accusations levelled against his wife, Eleanor Cobham, the other chiefly through old age, leadership of the Beaufort's cause for a while lay with William, earl of Suffolk, who took over control of French affairs; York had no such powerful patronage on which to rely.

The second commission of Richard of York as lieutenant-general

---

1. Ibid., pp. 440-51, from Ashmole MS. 856. f.392^{r}.
2. Jacob, op.cit., p. 467.

enlarged the powers previously exercised by him; at the same time it marked the appearance of an experienced hand-picked group of men working in the ducal interest. These men compiled a list of articles, in which they were described as 'the chieff councelle of the ryghte hyghe and myghty prince Rychard, duc of York, being made gouvernant of the Royaume of Frannce, that ys to wete John Fastolf, Sir William Oldehalle, Sir William ap Thomas knyghtis and othyrs of his discrete councelle at hys second voyage'.[1] York's appointment was this time extended to five years, from 2 July 1440 to 29 September 1445. Like Warwick, the duke requested the attendance at his council of at least one representative chosen from the three estates, thus restricting the choice to the bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, John, Viscount Beaumont, Walter, Lord Hungerford, John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley, and the knights, Sir John Popham and Sir John Stourton.

Through the advice of his councillors, York obtained powers identical with those exercised by Bedford, and an annual grant of £20,000 supported by 'sothe seurties and assignacions of payment as may be truly kepte and holden hym, and the saide good in no wise to be emploied to none other wise'.[2] Evidently the duke had learnt from past experience the need for financial safeguards. Further articles specified action to be undertaken for the keeping of the seas and protection of the mouth of the Seine, whilst a move for reform, instigated perhaps by the captains on York's council, showed itself in the duke's request to appoint 'notable capitaines unto the keping of the same placis and charges soche as be his discrecion he shalle think most expedient for the seuirte and saufegarde of thaime'.

---

1. Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. ii, pp. 585-91.
2. Ibid..

This refreshing and hopeful indication of future vigour was eclipsed by the extraordinary length of time that elapsed before the final departure of York and his army for France. Neither men nor money were forthcoming; two years previously the Council had recognised that the attractions of service in France and Normandy were wearing thin, and 'there beth but few captains as of knights or squyers that wollen go and namely for a months wages'.[1] From February to May 1441 commissions for the mustering of troops were regularly sent out, only to encounter further delay. By June the Council at Rouen were tired of waiting, and issued a plaintive appeal for relief denied them for two years past, 'as well under the pretence of the letters which you have sent us, announcing the arrival of my lord, the duke of Gloucester.... as also under the pretence of the arrival of my lord, the duke of York, sometime since promised by you, and for long expected by us, but in vain'.[2] York arrived shortly afterwards round about 25 June.[3]

It was not long before he discovered a rival for his authority. By 1439 it was clear that the English were prepared to accept peace by relinquishing a portion of their claims in order to confirm their sovereignty over Normandy and Aquitaine. Shortly after York began his second term of office, the question as to whether Normandy or Aquitaine should receive aid arose as a dilemma to face the English Council. It has been noted that with the decline of Gloucester's influence from 1440, appointments and rewards in Gascony were monopolised by the royal Household, headed by Suffolk.[4] The encroachments there

---

1. P.P.C., V, 90-91.
2. Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. ii, pp. 603-7.
3. G.A. & M.A.Harriss, 'John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400 to 1462,' Camden Miscellany (Camden Soc., 4th series, IX, 1972), p. 187.
4. M.G. A.Vale, English Gascony, 1399-1453 (Oxford, 1970), p. 117.

of the French in the autumn of 1442 were reported by some of Suffolk's closest supporters, and by 21 September the King replied in a letter to Sir Robert Roos and Bishop Beckington that 'we have appointed our cousin of Somerset and with him a right noble puissance of war to pass into our said duchy'.[1]

York had to content himself with the Council's assurance that there was no question of encroachment on his authority, that Somerset was to be 'the shelde to his said cousin of York.... betwix him and the adversarie',[2] and that his commission would function only 'en tous les lieux où Richard duc d'York n'exerce pas son pouvoir'.[3] Inevitably, York was affronted, and whilst Somerset received £25,000 as an advance payment for his expedition, Richard was kept waiting for the £20,000 due to him by his contract of service. With Gloucester unable to help, York was for a time left stranded in the political background. He was supported only by a small group of Anglo-Normans, who had little influence within the English court party. Of these, John, Lord Talbot, Sir Andrew Ogard and John Stanlow arrived in England to protest at the expedition headed by Somerset.[4]

After the treaty of Tours, 'Richard duke of Yorke and diverse other capitaines repaired into England, bothe to visite their wifes, children and frendes, and also to consulte what should be doen if the

---

1. G. Williams (ed.), Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI: Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1872), II, 216.
2. P.P.C., V, 260-61.
3. John, duke of Somerset's official title was 'lieutenant et capitaine général du Royaume de France en tous les lieux où Richard duc k'York n'exerce pas son pouvoir'. S. Luce (ed.), 'Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel', in Société des Anciens Textes Français, no. CCXXXI, II, 157.
4. P.P.C., V, 289.

truce ended'.[1] York's term of office expired on 29 September 1445, but probably not before he had faced charges of financial misgovernment in France launched by Adam Moleyns, dean of Salisbury, keeper of the privy seal and Suffolk's right-hand man. He was also accused of seeking to favour members of his council to the detriment of Normandy.[2] These charges were effectively countered by members of the Norman 'Chambre des Comptes'. Sir Andrew Ogard and John Stanlow again appeared to speak in defence of the duke, together with his councillor, Sir William Oldhall.[3] The eventual appointment of Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, as the successor to York was achieved not without difficulty. In return, the Council packed York and his councillors off to Ireland, whilst Sir John Fastolf directed Beaufort to 'make you seure of your trew and stedfast frendis in stedfast alliaunce of youre kynne and stedfast feithe',[4] advice not without some prophetic significance for the future.

---

1. Edward Hall, The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, ed. Sir H. Ellis (London, 1809), p. 205.
2. B.M., Harleian MS. 543 f. 161r - 63r.
3. John Stanlow was treasurer of Normandy until about 1446. There was a John Stanlow in the retinue of Ralph Cromwell at Harfleur in June 1421 and as lieutenant of Dieppe in 1422 and 1424 (P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 50/9; B.N., MS. Français, 25767/10; 25767/77). By 1428 he was one of the treasurers of the 'Chambre des Comptes', and in 1429 'capitaine et gouverneur de la conté d'Eu'. He was at Verneuil in 1431 and in the following year was treasurer and governor-general of Finances, a position he still held in 1446. In 1438 he held the captaincy of Lisieux (B.N., MS. Français, 25769/475; 25770/638; 25775/1377; Stevenson, op.cit., II, pt. ii, p. 204). His wife Margaret was a member of the escort bringing Margaret of Anjou to England in 1445, and later a gentlewoman in Queen Margaret's household. In 1448-49 Stanlow acted with Thomas, Lord Scales, Sir Andrew Ogard and others as one of York's commissioners enquiring into estate accounts in Dorset (P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 1113/9 m.2).
4. Stevenson, op.cit., II, part ii, pp. 592-94.

Chapter II.

RICHARD BEAUCHAMP AND HIS CAPTAINS.

When Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick sealed his indentures as lieutenant-general and governor of Normandy on 12 June 1437, he was fifty-five years old and nearing the end of his career. He had first served at home against the Welsh rebels, led by Owain Glyndŵr, in 1402, but he held no official appointment until 1414, when he became captain of Calais and governor of the marches of Picardy. Thereafter, the earl remained more or less continuously on military service in France, where he held several commands, together with the comté of Aumale, which was granted to him and his male heirs by Henry V in 1419.[1]

On the death of the Regent, John, duke of Bedford, in 1435, Warwick was second-in-command of the field forces in France[2] and one of the few remaining members of the 'Agincourt generation' to remain on active service abroad. Many of his contemporaries had been succeeded by their sons or grandsons; others had retired to England as absentee captains; a few had been killed in the war. The 1420s and 1430s had seen the rise of a new generation of captains from amongst the lesser nobility, leaders like John, Lord Talbot, Thomas, Lord Scales and William Neville, Lord Fauconberg. On their heels followed knights, esquires and that group of men 'ennobled' by war. These latter frequently enjoyed an independent existence outside the retinues of the noble captains, serving whom and when they pleased.[3] Others remained solely in the service of one lord, forming over the years the nucleus of his company.

---

1. G.E.C., XII, pt. II, p. 380.
2. See p. 25 n.1.
3. For Andrew Trolloppe, see appendix.

Earl Richard's long service in France and Normandy makes possible a brief study of the men who served continuously in his retinue; brief because of the lack of substantial records in the form of muster or counter rolls. Furthermore, the death of the earl before the cessation of hostilities in Normandy enables the careers of his retainers to be traced, either with a subsequent lord, or independently in England and France. In this way some insight can be gained into the relationships between lord and retainer, the importance of Normandy to the men themselves, and their mutual relationships (if any) as retainers of a single lord.

The absence of the earl of Warwick from Agincourt is particularly to be regretted, since this famous battle is unusually well documented. Instead, the names of the captains and soldiers who made up his retinue, or who did duty in the garrison towns under the earl's command, have to be drawn from a few sparse records of musters, from the grants of safe conducts, and from other financial evidence.[1]

It is clear that some at least of Warwick's men were retained for life: for example, Sir Thomas Burdet and Sir Thomas Lucy were so retained on 8 November 1407 in return for an annual fee of £20.[2] The antiquarian William Dugdale recorded that Sir William Peyto was similarly retained in 1423-24 at 20 marks a year[3], whilst Sir William

1. Warwick held command at Calais on 5 February 1414, and Beauvais on 2 February 1419. He was granted the comté of Aumdle on 19 May 1419. He then commanded at Rouen before 31 January 1423, at Calais during 4 February 1423 - July 1423 and again on 1 March 1424. He was captain and lieutenant-general of the king and the regent in the field in 1426-27; he commanded at Falaise in 1427, St. Lô in 1427, Rouen during 1429-30, and at Meaux-en-Brie about 1430-38. Then, in 1435 he was lieutenant in the field in Bedford's absence, lieutenant and governor-general of Normandy from 16 July 1437, and in command at Rouen during 1437-39, and at Harfleur in 1438.
2. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8772.
3. Sir William Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire (London, 1730), vol. I, p. 476.

Mountford, Richard Curson and John Nanfan, esquires, were all holding life annuities before the earl's death in 1439. The latter four all served under Warwick in France at some period.

Both Sir William Peyto of Chesterton and Sowe, and Sir William Mountford of Colshill in Ardern, were Warwickshire landowners of moderate income. John Nanfan held the manor of Birtsmorton in Worcestershire, a county where the earl of Warwick held much property, and other land in Cornwall.[1] The influence of the earl can be seen in the elections to the shrievalty of Worcestershire and Warwickshire. The Beauchamp family had been hereditary sheriffs of Worcestershire from the time of the Norman conquest, and Mountford, Curson and Nanfan all held the office at one time or another.[2] Sir William Mountford and Sir William Peyto also served as sheriff of Warwickshire and M.Ps. for the county, along with Sir Thomas Burdet and others of the Beauchamp association.

William Mountford was at Calais with Warwick shortly after the latter's appointment to the captaincy in 1414. In 1417 he was a member of the retinue that Warwick led to the siege of Calais.[3] By the 1420s he had become steward of the earl's household and one of the chief members of his council.[4] There is no evidence that Mountford saw

---

1. He was described as 'of London, alias of Trethewell, Cornwall, alias of (Birts)morton, Worcestershire' (D.K.R., XLVIIII (1887), 379). Unfortunately, no Inquisition post mortem or accounts relating to Nanfan's property seem to have survived.
2. Sir William Mountford in 1423 and 1440-41; Richard Curson in 1424, and John Nanfan in 1427 and 1441-42. P.R.O., List of Sheriffs, p. 158.
3. B.M., Add. Ms. 38, 525 f.52.
4. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8773.

further service in France until April 1438, when he held the town of Honfleur for Warwick, shortly before the earl's death; it was a sign, perhaps, that there was a shortage of soldiers willing to undertake such service.[1] Like those other regular captains who served the earl in France, Mountford's duties to his lord were also discharged in England, and in return he received a life annuity of £26. 13s. 4d. from Warwick's manor of Yardley in Worcestershire.[2] In 1440 Mountford acted as joint executor with John Nanfan and other Beauchamp retainers for the Countess Isabel of Warwick.[3]

This pattern of service was followed by other captains acting under the earl's orders in France. Sir William Peyto, of an old established Warwickshire family, had been retained by Beauchamp in 1423-24. In 1432 he indented to serve in France and Normandy for six months with thirty men-at-arms and 150 archers.[4] By 1433 at latest, Peyto was acting as captain of Aumale, which was granted to the earl in 1419.[5] After the death of the earl's son Henry, duke of Warwick in 1446, Sir William remained in receipt of a £20 annuity from the Beauchamp manor of Lighthorne in Warwickshire.[6]

Less is known of Richard Curson, Warwick's chamberlain. He would

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1403.
2. P.R.O., Special Collections, Rentals and Surveys, 18/45 m.3. I am indebted to Dr. R.A. Griffiths for this reference.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 360; P.C.C., Luffenham 27.
4. Dugdale traces Peyto's pedigree to Richard de Pietavia (1277-78). His grandfather was the first Peyto to bear the title of knight; he married the sole heiress to the lordship of Chesterton. Dugdale, op.cit., pp. 472, 476.
5. Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI, concernant la Normandie sous la domination Anglaise (1422-35), ed. P. le Cacheux, vol. II, p.271, no.CCXXXIV. Aumale had been captured by the French on 14 August 1429, but was retaken by the English, under the earl of Suffolk, in 1430. Peyto was absent from the garrison in November 1435, when his lieutenant was chased from Aumale by four of his English soldiers who then refused to hand the fort over to Warwick. All four were later pardoned.
6. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Memoranda Rolls, 220/m.108.

appear to have been securely established in the earl's service by December 1423. On the 10th of that month, Warwick confirmed a settlement whereby Sir William Mountford, Sir William Peyto and other of the earl's retainers guaranteed a recognisance of £100, on condition that within three years of Richard Curson's marriage to Isabel Godard, the couple should have an estate to the value of £40 a year, over and above certain lands already granted to them by the earl.[1] He was, perhaps, a younger son, with little or no estate of his own, but whatever the truth, Curson's career was certainly encouraged by Warwick. In 1424 he was sheriff of Worcestershire and by 1429 was acting as lieutenant for the earl at Rouen.[2] When Warwick, as the royal tutor, accompanied the young Henry VI to France in 1431 for the coronation at Paris, Curson was appointed one of the esquires of the king's body, with wages of fifty marks a year.[3]

Until the death of Warwick in 1439, Curson served chiefly at Rouen, where he remained as lieutenant under John, duke of Bedford, John, Lord Talbot, and finally, Richard, earl of Warwick.[4] During the earl's lifetime, Curson held at least two other captaincies, both of them probably through Beauchamp. Thus, in 1433 he became captain of

---

1. C.C.R., 1422-29, p. 127. Richard Curson is easily confused with another man of the same name who also served in Normandy at this time. This second Richard Curson served at Alençon, Bayeux and Coutances; the two latter places being under the command of York's councillor, Sir William Oldhall. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,838; B.N., Ms. FR, 25775/1372; 25776/1539.
2. B.M., Add. Ch. 110.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, pp. 19, 55. It was an appointment of prestige rather than of profit, for six years later his wages were still unpaid. He was then granted 50 marks a year from the Exchequer, 'notwithstanding that he may have been abroad on the king's service, instead of attendent on his person, for part of the time'.
4. See Appendix II, and henceforth, for all further references to captaincies of garrisons.

Sangatte castle, an outpost of the town of Calais, whose government was normally retained in the hands of either the duke of Bedford or the earl of Warwick.[1] On 1 February 1437 Curson was appointed captain of Chateau Gaillard, 'at the relation of the earl of Warwick', before the latter had officially taken over as lieutenant and governor-general from Richard, duke of York.[2] As councillor as well as soldier, Curson was occasionally an absentee captain when required to be on his lord's business elsewhere. In November 1437, the English Council noted that he was to be sent to England by Warwick with letters, and to report on the state of affairs in Normandy.[3]

Both he and John Nanfan were at Rouen to settle matters after the death of the earl, before Beauchamp's body was conveyed to England for burial. Together with four members of Beauchamp's English council, Ralph, Lord Cromwell and John, Lord Tiptoft, Curson was appointed executor of Warwick's will.[4] And like other of the earl's captains, Curson was in receipt of certain fees from Beauchamp's English lands; before 1439, these included a life annuity of £16 11s. 4d. from Comberton (in

---

1. Two of the men who took part in Curson's marriage settlement, Richard Buckland and Richard Selling, had close connections with Calais and its outlying castles. Buckland was one of the duke of Bedford's executors, and treasurer of Calais in 1427 and later. In that year, he, together with John Shirley, a servant of Warwick, and John Hall, a soldier elected by his comrades to represent the Calais garrison, met with representatives of the Council to discuss the soldiers' arrears (P.P.C., III, 242-43). In 1447 Richard Selling was described as 'knight, alias marshal of the town of Calais, esquire'; he held the post of lieutenant there for John, duke of Bedford, and lieutenant of Balingham castle for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (P.R.O., Chancery, Pardon Rolls, 39 m.44; C.P.R., 1436-41, p.27).
2. See Chapter I, p.17.
3. P.P.C., V, 72.
4. P.C.C., 19 Rous.

Warwickshire) and other annuities from Wick by Pershore in the same county, and Perry Bar in Staffordshire, all of them totalling £23 8s. 8d.[1]

John Nanfan first appears in the service of the earl of Warwick in 1423, when the new countess, Isabel Despenser, referred to him as 'her squire'.[2] It seems likely that Nanfan entered the Beauchamp circle through the Lady Isabel's patronage, afterwards enjoying offices and annuities from the lordship of Glamorgan, which was part of the inheritance she brought to Warwick. By 1439 Nanfan was in receipt of £40 annually as constable of Cardiff castle and receiver of Glamorgan; by 1444 he had acquired the office of chief forester of Glamorgan at a further £20 a year.[3] Although Nanfan was retained to serve in France for six months in 1435, with a retinue of forty men-at-arms and 340 archers, it was not until the appointment of the earl of Warwick as lieutenant of France and Normandy that he occupied any military post.[4] Then, on 22 February 1438, he replaced York's adviser, Sir Andrew Ogard, as captain of Touques, a post he held for the next nine years. Together with Sir William Mountford, Nanfan was appointed by the Countess Isabel as executor to her will, dated 1 December 1439. In that year the Beauchamp lands were committed to their keeping, and that of Sir Ralph Butler, Sir William ap Thomas and others of the earl's affinity.[5]

---

1. P.R.O., Special Collections, Rentals and Surveys, 18/45 m.5, 11.
2. Wedgwood, op.cit., p. 622.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 17. In July 1447 Nanfan was granted £60 annually during the minority of Anne Beauchamp, daughter of Henry, duke of Warwick, 'in consideration of his long service to Henry V in his wars of France, where he was taken prisoner, and ransomed at great cost, and to the king and the late earl of warwick and his wife, and to the said late duke about whom in his tender age he attended at the king's command, and without fee'.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 51/311.
5. P.C.C., Luffenham 27; C.P.R., 1436-41, p.360.

After the death of the earl of Warwick, his captains and retainers in Normandy had to look elsewhere for patronage, if they were to prosper. The most obvious candidate to attract their allegiance was Warwick's own son-in-law, John, Lord Talbot. Talbot, together with his brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Cokesey, had served alongside Warwick at the siege of Meaux, which lasted for six months, from November 1421.[1] All three continued to serve him in close conjunction. In 1424 Talbot married Margaret Beauchamp, the eldest of the earl's three daughters by his first wife, Elizabeth Berkeley. The two magnates joined forces at the siege of Pontorson in 1427, becoming temporary joint-captains when the town surrendered on 8 May. Shortly afterwards, in June 1429, Talbot's career came to a sudden halt, when he was captured in battle near Patay by the archers of the French captain, Poton de Xaintrailles. He remained a prisoner until the fortunate capture of Xaintrailles by the earl of Warwick at Beauvais in August 1431, although the negotiations for his exchange were not completed until 1433.[2]

During the first lieutenancy of the duke of York, Talbot was granted the office of marshal of France, an honorary post which he reinforced by holding the lieutenancy of Rouen until the arrival of Warwick to take up command in 1437. From then until the death of the earl, Talbot became his right-hand man. Placed in charge of the field forces, Lord Talbot also held several key frontier garrisons, including Caudebec, Falaise, Vernon, Creil, Meaux and Pontoise.

Both Sir William Peyto and Richard Curson frequently served Talbot in Normandy during Warwick's lifetime. In 1436 Curson was acting

---

1. Sir Hugh married Joan, half-sister of John, Lord Talbot by his mother's previous marriage to Thomas, Lord Furnival. In 1429 Cokesey was appointed sheriff of Worcestershire, and before Warwick's death, he received an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. from the earl's manor of Abberley, in the same county. P.R.O., Special Collections, Rentals and Surveys, 18/45 m.1.
2. A.J.Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the 15th century' (unpublished University of Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968), pp. 148-150.

as lieutenant for Talbot at Rouen; in 1438 he was described as 'late lieutenant of Château Gaillard for Lord Talbot'. In 1434 and 1436, Peyto acted as Talbot's lieutenant at Neufchâtel, only a few miles distant from Aumale, where he held the captaincy for Warwick. Similarly, it is quite possible that the John Wenlock who commanded the foot lances under Warwick at Rouen in September 1430 was the same person who occupied the post of receiver of Blackmore for Lord Talbot.[1]

Both Peyto and Curson continued to serve in Normandy after the death of Warwick, but now under the patronage of Talbot. By 1443, Richard Curson was captain of Honfleur, where he remained until the town's final surrender to the French in 1450. Talbot likewise commanded Harfleur, on the opposite bank at the mouth of the Seine, until January 1450. As part of the conditions accepted by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset in October 1449, John, Lord Talbot was to remain as a hostage of the French until certain English garrison towns, including Honfleur, were surrendered. Thomas Everingham, lieutenant at Harfleur, and Richard Curson at Honfleur continued to defend their charges, in defiance of this agreement, until the end of January and the beginning of February 1450, when 'lack of rescous' forced them to surrender.[2] Curson may even have died as a result of these hostilities, for he was certainly dead within a year, when his widow was granted £100 per annum until £1,400 had been paid to her as executrix of her husband's will.[3]

---

1. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,678; R. Bouteiller et M. Durand, 'La Garnison Anglaise de Rouen, au temps du Jeanne d'Arc', Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Historiques (Paris, 1931). Here Richard Curson commanded fourteen mounted lances, eleven foot lances and seventy-five archers. The names include Peter Beauchamp and Thomas Curson, junior.
2. Stevenson, op.cit., p. 327; Fabyan, op.cit., p. 626.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 502.

Sir William Peyto continued his military career, first at Creil in 1440-41, and then during the following year at Rouen, where he became lieutenant for the town and its walls under Talbot's command. At the end of 1442 the French laid siege to Dieppe, and Peyto accompanied Lord Talbot's army to attempt a counter siege. Here he was left in joint command with Sir John Rippley and Talbot's bastard son, Henry, at 'le bastilde sur le polet', which was erected on high ground before the beleaguered port. The siege lasted for ten months until 14 August 1443, when Peyto and the others surrendered to the Dauphin and the Bastard of Orleans.[1] Edward Hall puts the number of English dead at 300, although the three commanders enjoyed the privilege of ransom shortly afterwards.[2] In order to raise the large, but unspecified, sum Peyto was forced to apply to the king for licence to mortgage his manors of Chesterton and Sowe (in Warwickshire) and of Upley (in Staffordshire).[3]

A muster of this period, dated February 1443, names Peyto as a knight banneret, whilst Dugdale speaks of him as lieutenant-general of the marshalship of France, which was enjoyed by Talbot.[4] This connection with Lord Talbot did not, however, prevent Peyto establishing a close association with another son-in-law of Richard, earl of Warwick. This was Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, who had married Eleanor Beauchamp, widow of Thomas, Lord Roos, around 1436. In 1449 Peyto was in charge of conducting the duke's retinue from England to France.[5] The antiquarian also noted a grant in which the knight styled himself'Guillaume Peto, chivalier, maistre d'ostel de treshaut et puissant prince monsr. le duc

---

1. J.H.Ramsay, Lancaster and York, (Oxford, 1892), vol. II, p. 36.
2. Edward Hall, Chronicle, p. 195.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, pp. 251, 501.
4. B.M., Add. Ch. 12, 167; Dugdale, op.cit., p. 477.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 54/11.

de Somerset, général gouverneur en France et Normandy'.[1] Instead of following Talbot to Aquitaine after the loss of France, Peyto seems to have continued to serve Somerset. In December 1451 he received a safe conduct to go with him to Calais, and another in June 1453, although from 11 May to 8 November in the latter year he was in London, despite a summons to cross the seas.[2] This tardiness was probably the result of a number of legal wrangles concerning his estates, and one of them concerned the famous - or infamous - Sir Thomas Malory of Penny Newbold, himself an erstwhile follower of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick.[3]

Of the three captains serving Beauchamp in Normandy in 1439, only John Nanfan did not seek the patronage of either of Warwick's sons-in-law. Instead he sought opportunities in the royal service. By 1444 Nanfan was an esquire of the body to the king, and on 14 February 1444 received several tallies to the amount of £1,073 4s. 1½d., presumably in repayment for a recent expedition to Guienne.[4] From July 1445 to December 1446, he held office as one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, and in 1447 was granted a pension of £50 a year.[5]

---

1. Dugdale, op.cit., p. 477.
2. D.K.R., XLVIII (1887), 390, 396; C.P.R., 1452-61, pp. 75, 139.
3. For two of these actions, see P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 15/77; 78. Malory was accused of using threatening behaviour against Katherine Peyto's bailiff of Sibbertoft in Hampshire. At this time Sir Thomas was engaged in a number of criminal activities with a company of men drawn mainly from his local parish of Monk's Kirby. One enterprise of which he was accused was an attempt on the life of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, in 1449. Malory had previously served with Richard, earl of Warwick at Calais in 1414-15 as a lance man, with two archers. After the death of Henry, duke of Warwick, in 1445, he was named as an annuitant of the Beauchamp manor of Berkeswell in Warwickshire, along with several other retainers: William, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, John, Lord Ferrers of Groby, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir William Peyto and Sir James Fiennes. W.Mathews, The Ill-Famed Knight (California, 1966), passim; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Memoranda Roll, 220 m.107, 108, 109.
4. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 315.
5. Wedgwood, op.cit., p. 622.

In company with another esquire for the body, William Herbert, John Nanfan was sent with messages to the duchess of Burgundy at the end of 1450 or early in 1451.[1] Also in 1450, Nanfan was holding office as 'occupier of the issues and profites' of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.[2] These islands had been granted by Henry VI to his young favourite and namesake, Henry Beauchamp, duke of Warwick in November 1445, with remainder to Warwick's heirs, so that in due course they passed to the duke's daughter Anne, who died in July 1449. They then passed to Anne Beauchamp, sister of the duke of Warwick by their father's second marriage to Isabel Despenser. She had married Richard Neville, who assumed in right of his wife the title of earl of Warwick.[3] Whether or not Nanfan obtained his office through Neville, in the summer of 1452 he was appointed royal governor of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. But the parliament of July 1455, which assembled after the battle of St. Albans, deprived Nanfan of this office, which reverted to the sole control of Warwick. Nanfan, however, retained his title until the end of the duke of York's protectorship, and it may be assumed that he was acting for the earl.[4] Although distinguished by some as a Lancastrian supporter, this was not the only connection that Nanfan had with the opposing Yorkist party. In June 1457 he stood as mainpernor for York's supporter, Sir William Herbert of Raglan, his companion of former years in Burgundy.[5] As

---

1. P.R.O., E.R., Warrants for Issues, 67/129; 69/189.
2. B.M., Royal Ms. 17 B XLVII f. 165 b.
3. R. Mollet, A. Chronology of Jersey (Société Jersiaise, Jersey, 1949), p. 15.
4. T. de Guerin, 'Our Hereditary Governors', Transactions of the Guernsey Society, vol. VI (1909-12), pp. 223-24.
5. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 360.

keeper of the Beauchamp lands at the request of Isabel of Warwick in December 1439, Nanfan had shared these duties with a number of co-appointees, who included William Herbert's father, Sir William ap Thomas, and Richard, duke of York.[1]

It can be conjectured that although Nanfan's later career was spent in royal service, his former ties with the Beauchamps gave him a certain immunity from Yorkist attack. In 1457 his position as governor of Jersey and Guernsey was again confirmed, and on 12 May 1460 he was appointed once more, this time for a period of ten years.[2] The islands were shortly afterwards, in 1461, overrun by the French under the command of the Seigneur de Surdeval, with the connivance (as rumour had it) of the governor, John Nanfan. Other reports say that he was dead by 1459, perhaps at Blore Heath, or else that he was killed in battle in 1465.[3] Certainly he is not mentioned in the records after 1460.

---

1. C.P.R., 1436-41, p.359. Nanfan may have come in contact with Sir William ap Thomas and his son through his offices in the lordship of Glamorgan (above p.30 n.3), which he held until 1445. After 1435 the Beauchamp family also held the lordship of Abergavenny. Sir William ap Thomas served as deputy-justiciar of south Wales in 1439, and in 1440 was sheriff of Glamorgan. Before his death in 1445, he was one of the leading political figures in south-east Wales and acted for a number of magnates, including Joan, Lady Abergavenny. R.A.Griffiths, The Principality of Wales in the later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government (Cardiff, 1972), p.147; Glamorgan County History, ed. Glanmor Williams, vol. III; The Middle Ages, ed. T.B.Pugh (Cardiff, 1971), Appendix II, p.691, for a list of sheriffs of Glamorgan. John Nanfan, together with Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, Thomas and John Throckmorton, and Henry Griffiths of Usk, were pardoned as sureties when the king was called to Hereford in April 1457 to suppress disturbances caused by William Herbert.
2. C.C.R., 1454-61, pp. 244-45; D.K.R., XLVIII (1887), 441. On 8 December 1455, Nanfan was granted the keeping of all customs pertaining to the staple of Calais which were imposed on goods entering the realm from the channel isles; he was to enjoy this custody from 24 September 1452, the date of his original appointment as governor, in the ports of Dartmouth and Exeter. He was granted the same privilege in the port of Southampton on 12 February 1457, as from 1 November 1456 (C.C.R., 1454-61, pp. 84-85, 159-60). On 13 June 1458 he was granted all the above customs for ten years, as from 24 September 1457 (ibid., pp. 244-45).
3. J.Bertrand Payne, An Armorial of Jersey (Jersey, 1865), p.75; Wedgwood, op.cit., p.622. The seigneur de Surdeval was the son-in-law of Pierre de Brézé, count de Maulevrier and seigneur de la Varenne and Brissac, one of the most famous of the French commanders who fought against the English in the years leading up to 1450. In 1457 he led a successful plundering raid on the port of Sandwich.

Those captains and lieutenants serving under Warwick in France and Normandy were, thus, men with close personal associations with the earl. Retained by him, they were indentured to serve overseas in his company and under his command. Correspondingly, they received annuities and offices on his estates or at his disposal. Two of Beauchamp's most prominent captains elected to remain in France, transferring their service to his sons-in-law; whilst the third entered the royal service, though he still retained an interest, albeit indirect, in Beauchamp property. Sir William Peyto had some landed estates of his own, although since he was forced to mortgage the chief of these at the time of his ransom, there is every indication that they were not substantial.

Nanfan was a larger landowner, his interests included the export of tin from the mines in Cornwall, where much of his property was situated. He was able to lend the Crown 22,938 livres tournois in 1444, and surrender 8,938 livres in order to receive payment of the balance.[1] Richard Curson seems to have been less prosperous and, accordingly, appears to have gained proportionately more through his service to Warwick. Apart from the fees and offices he obtained at the hands of the earl, he also received in August 1441 a grant of the gold and silver mines in Devon and Cornwall for twenty years; for this his wife was granted £1,400 after his death.[2]

In comparison with those captains who obtained posts under the duke of York's governorship, Warwick seems to have exercised some

---

1. J.R.Lander, The Wars of the Roses (London, 1965), p. 43 n.
2. It was evidently a grant of some value. In 1445 Curson leased the mines to William, earl of Suffolk, Henry Trenchard, Robert Horn and Clement Lyffin for £300 per annum until the year 1464. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 397; ibid., 1447-54, p. 323.

restraint in the appointment to captaincies, though if the number of Talbot's followers be included in the total, the figure would be somewhat similar. There were also a number of lesser individuals who enjoyed similar privileges to the captains: for example, Matthew Smallwood, who had served with Beauchamp in 1417 and was in receipt of £2 16s. 8d. from the earl's manor of Perry Bar in Staffordshire before 1439.[1] Others include John Denyssh, John Duffield, William Forsted and William Willingham. These were all present in the earl's retinue in Normandy on 15 December 1427, and all received safe conducts to accompany him to France ten years later, in 1437.[2] Of these men, John Denyssh was keeper and treasurer of Warwick's household in 1438,[3] whilst Forsted became his 'maistre des ordonnances' for France in the same year.[4] Dennyssh, Duffield and Willingham were also each receiving a £10 annuity, as were other esquires of Beauchamp's household before 1439.[5] In 1436 John Duffield was in receipt of a further annuity of £1 10s. 4d. from Henry, Lord Grey, in whose company he served in February 1438 when Grey was in Normandy, engaged in operations under the direction of the earl of Warwick.[6] There was a certain measure of continuity even amongst the ordinary garrison soldiers who did not

---

1. P.R.O., Special Collections, Rentals and Surveys, 18/45 m.11.
2. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25767/262; D.K.R., XLVIII (1887), 319.
3. Or Devenyssh. B.M., Add. Ch. 139. He is frequently mentioned in accounts relating to Richard Beauchamp.
4. B.M., Add. Ms. 12006.
5. P.R.O., Special Collections, Rentals and Surveys, 18/45 m.5, 6. A Thomas Gerard was receiving £10, and he was probably the same man as the captain of Montereau-fait-Yonne (1436-37) and Gisors (1439).
6. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25775/1394; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Miscellanea, 7/31, pt. 1 m.20. Two of the earl's councillors, John Throckmorton and Hugh Erdeswick, were also receiving annuities from another Beauchamp retainer in 1436, William, Lord Ferrers: ibid., m.19.

receive annuities from Warwick. Thus, William Day was at Chateau Gaillard under Curson in 1437-38; in 1446 he was at Honfleur with the same captain, together with William Rigley, now a foot lance, who had previously served Curson at Rouen in 1436-37 as a mounted man-at-arms.[1] It seems likely that Richard Curson had a nucleus of soldiers under his command, in very much the same way as Warwick employed his captains.

That these names are taken from only a few surviving sources suggest that there were probably many more garrison soldiers in the service of Beauchamp and his captains operating on a regular basis. The same holds true for the captains themselves. A number of knights and esquires who served with Warwick at Calais in 1414-15 continued to serve in France over the next twenty years or so, at the same time maintaining their links with the earl at home. These included Sir John Beauchamp and Humphrey Stafford, esquire, both of whom took part in the marriage settlement made in favour of Richard Curson in 1423. Sir John also became one of the keepers of the Beauchamp lands after Warwick's death.

Another of the company at Calais was the Warwickshire knight, Sir William Bishopston.[2] From 1427 (and probably until 1431 when the place was surrendered) Bishopston was captain of Chateau Gaillard, where Curson and Talbot were later to serve. Also at Calais with Bishopston and the others was Nicholas Burdet, the son of Warwick's retainer, Sir Thomas Burdet. In 1424 Burdet was captain of Lincourt,

---

1. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25774/1286, 1308; 25775/1374; 25777/1764, 1782.
2. Of Bishopston, Warwickshire, W. Mathews, op.cit., pp. 71, 72.

and in November of the same year captain of Carentan and bailiff of the Cotentin - positions which he occupied, probably continuously, down to at least 1435. From 1433 to 1436 Burdet held the post of captain of the castle of Rouen - which had been held by Sir John Beauchamp in 1429. His fellow captain of the town of Rouen during this time was Richard Curson, who served in turn the duke of Bedford, the duke of York and Lord Talbot.

Sir Thomas Malory does not appear to have returned to France after his sojourn at Calais in 1414. Yet other men might choose not to serve after an initial period. Sir William Mountford does not seem to have spent much time in France after his first years of service - certainly not on the regular basis of Peyto, Curson and the rest. Another Beauchamp retainer, Sir Thomas Stanley, although pardoned in 1416 for distributing 'coats of vesture and livery' contrary to the law - it was discovered that he was doing nothing more sinister than providing the king with soldiers to serve at Calais under Warwick - never himself led a company overseas for the earl.[1]

It is difficult to estimate whether the captains who followed the earl of Warwick saw the service they gave him in terms of greater profit at home or abroad. Without doubt both were influential. After 1439 Sir William Peyto and Richard Curson continued to make the war in France their career, whilst John Nanfan preferred to pursue his fortune at home in the royal service. Even then it would seem that his old connections with Beauchamp stood him in good stead, whilst Warwick's ties of kinship with Talbot and Beaufort acted as stepping stones for

---

1. C.P.R., 1413-16, p. 403.

for those of his captains who wished to enter their service. This Beauchamp tradition persisted to the extent that Sir William Peyto, twenty years after the earl's death, was buried in the Beauchamp family church at St. Mary's in Warwick, in the south aisle next to Sir Thomas Beauchamp, his patron's father.[1.]

---

1. The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith (London, 1908), pt. V, p.42.

Chapter III.

RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK: HIS CAPTAINS AND COUNCILLORS, 1436-50.

1. The Bedford Influence.

Six months were allowed to pass after the death of the Regent before the indentures of Richard of York as lieutenant-general of France and Normandy were sealed. In the meantime, the French council, headed by the chancellor, Cardinal Louis of Luxembourg, was left to cope with the successive crises occasioned by the loss of Paris shortly after Easter 1436. Thereafter, Rouen became the administrative centre of the Anglo-Norman community.

Responsibility for the continuation of the war, in the absence of the new governor, lay with the field commanders who had served under Bedford - the Lords Talbot, Willoughby and Scales, together with those captains who had made up the retinue and household of the Regent. The most prominent members of this latter group were Sir John Fastolf, master of Bedford's household and governor of Anjou and Maine, and the duke's four chamberlains, Sir Ralph Butler, afterwards Lord Sudeley, Sir Andrew Ogard, Sir Thomas Rempston and Sir Bernard de Montferrant. Sixty-seven other lords, knights and esquires completed the Regent's retinue.[1]

Previously centralized under the personal rule of the duke of Bedford, they now found themselves temporarily masterless. Some of the older captains left France altogether; others remained as independent

---

1. For their names, see Stevenson, op.cit., II, 434-37. Richard Curson is wrongly designated 'Knight'.

captains of their own fortresses or transferred to the service of other lords. Among the latter was Sir Thomas Rempston, who by August 1439 was a member of John, earl of Huntingdon's retinue, as it embarked for Guienne. After the earl had returned to England, Sir Thomas remained as seneschal there until 1442.[1] Huntingdon's patronage was also extended to Rempston's son-in-law, Sir Brian Stapleton, who served as lieutenant to that same lord when, as duke of Exeter, he was admiral of England.[2] In 1454 both Sir Brian Stapleton and Sir Thomas Rempston were ordered to attend upon Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, a prisoner in Pontefract castle.[3]

The decision of Sir Ralph Butler to return to England was probably influenced less by Bedford's death than by his own appointment as chief butler of England on 28 January 1435. In order to serve about the king's person, Sir Ralph was said to have resigned all the captaincies which he had held in France by grant of Henry V.[4] Sir Bernard de Montferrant, a Gascon knight, remained to serve at first in Normandy, then later in his native Gascony, where he held the lordships of Gassac, Aquigny and Vermes. He continued to support the English until their final defeat in 1453, when he wisely made his peace with the victorious French.[5]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/22; A Journal by one of the suite of Thomas Beckington, ed. N.H.Nicolas (London, 1828), pp. 189-90. He was captured by the French at St. Sever on 14 July 1442.
2. Stapleton's elder brother, Sir Miles, was also the duke's agent for his Norfolk lands in 1443. The Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. J.Twiss (Rolls Series, 4 vols., 1871), vol. 1, p.253. For his marriage to Isabel Rempston, see C.F.R., 1452-61, p. 226. As Brian Stapleton, esquire, he was in receipt of a £10 annuity from his neighbour, Thomas, Lord Scales in 1436. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 2 m.19.
3. J.Lee-Warner, 'The Stapletons of Ingham', Norfolk Archaeology, vol.III, p. 205; P.P.C., VI, 218.
4. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 447. He did in fact surrender Crotoy and Gamarches, which was demolished on the orders of the Council in Normandy. His connection with France did not cease entirely, since by 10 August 1446 he was an absentee captain at Arques. Appendix II: Arques.
5. For Montferrant's career and that of his father, see M.Vale, English Gascony, 1399-1453 (Oxford, 1970), passim.

Both Sir John Fastolf and Sir Andrew Ogard became increasingly immersed in the operations of the duke of York, although as royal councillors they retained a degree of independence that separated them from York's own advisers. Their long service under Bedford and other royal captains had determined their policy towards the conduct of the war and, it must be said, by the death of Bedford both had done extremely well for themselves out of it. Sir John Fastolf's success story is too well known to need much recounting. K.B.McFarlane has described his progress from an esquire worth £46 a year to a landowner in England with an income of over £1,450 per annum, much of this wealth being derived from good fortune in the French war.[1] At the battle of Verneuil in 1424 alone, Fastolf noted that he had made 20,000 marks as part of the 'gains of war'.[2] At the end of his life he could boast that he had been the councillor of Thomas, duke of Clarence, Thomas, duke of Exeter, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, Richard, duke of York, John, duke of Somerset and John, duke of Norfolk.[3]

Sir Andrew Ogard, originally Andres Pedersen of Denmark, was also the recipient of a number of valuable grants and offices throughout the time of his service with the duke of Bedford.[4] In 1423 he was master of the waters and forests in Mortain. By 1426 Ogard had been

---

1. K.B.McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', T.R.H.S., 5th ser., VII (1957), 94-116.
2. Ibid., p. 95 n.2.
3. K.B.McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), p.36, citing Magdalen College, Oxford, Fastolf Papers, 69 m.5.
4. He was naturalised in 1433. R.P., V, 339-40.

granted the barony of Blagny and other lands, and in 1430 he received the lordships of Auville and Merville, which together with other fiefs were worth 1,500 livres tournois a year.[1] On 14 October 1434, Sir Andrew was granted the barony of Desneval in Caux, with other lands and lordships in return for his services. William Worcester, Fastolf's secretary, estimated that Ogard's French lands and offices were worth together £1,000 sterling a year. He was also reported to have kept a store of French gold worth 7,000 English marks in the house of a fellow captain, Robert Whittingham.[2]

Both Fastolf and Ogard invested their profits from the French war in English lands and property, as did the entrepreneurs John Winter and Nicholas Molyneux, whose careers in France have also been described by Mr. McFarlane.[3] Moreover, they and many of their fellow officers who had served under Henry V and the duke of Bedford, were able to undertake expensive building programmes. Their careers and fortunes, and those of

---

1. For a list of his lordships and lands in Normandy, see V.Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire aux quatorzième et quinzième siècles (La Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, Paris, 1925), pp. 81-82; Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI, concernant la Normandie sous la domination Anglaise (1422-1435), ed. P. Le Cacheux (2 vols., Paris, 1907, 1908), Vol. II, pp. 388-89; B.M., Add.Ch. 120.
2. William Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 210, by John Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p.49. Between 1430 and 1450 there were three Robert Whittinghams living, representing three generations of the same family. The eldest, a London merchant, died about 1440. His son, served as treasurer of Calais in 1441 (he had married the daughter of Richard Buckland, a former holder of that office) and was knighted in June-July 1445. He died in 1452 and it was probably this man that Worcestre intended. His son, the third Robert Whittingham, served as lieutenant to Edmund, duke of Somerset at Caen in 1450. The family held lands mainly in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, together with property in London. G.Baker, The History and Antiquities of the county of Northamptonshire (2 vols., London, 1822-41), vol. I, p. 493; P.P.C., V, 164; V.Hunger, Le Siège et Prise de Caen par Charles VII en 1450 (La Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, Paris, 1912), p.15. (Hunger confuses the treasurer of Calais with his son).
3. For the activities of these men, see K.B.McFarlane, 'A Business-Partnership in War and Administration', E.H.R., LXXVIII, (1963), 290-308.

many others, owed much to their success in the French wars under Henry VI's father, or his uncles Clarence, Exeter and Bedford.[1] As councillors of the last, they formed a coherent group. An illustration of this can be seen in the relationship that existed between Fastolf, Bedford's principal councillor, and several other members of the duke's retinue.

11. The Norfolk Group.

In 1401, when Sir John Fastolf came of age, his property in England consisted of a few farms near the town of Caister in Norfolk, and some tenements in Yarmouth. At the time of his death on 5 November 1459 he held Caister castle and fourteen other manors and lands in Norfolk, six manors and lands in Suffolk and manors and land in Wiltshire and Yorkshire, together with property in Surrey and London.[2] His marriage to Millicent, the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope, in 1409 brought him the estates in Yorkshire and Wiltshire. However, Caister in Norfolk remained the seat of his estate administration.

A cursory survey of the duke of Bedford's retinue reveals the names of several close members of Sir John Fastolf's affinity in Norfolk. The most prominent of these were also connected with the knight through marriage. Sir Philip Branch, in 1435 lieutenant of Fastolf for Anjou

---

1. Worcestre estimated that the manor of Rye, near Ware in Hertford, cost Ogard £1,100 to purchase. He also purchased the castle and manor of Buckenham in Norfolk from his father-in-law, Sir John Clifton, for 650 marks. (Harvey, op.cit., pp. 47, 49). For the property held by Ogard and his second wife Alice, the widow of Sir Hugh Cokesey, see P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, 38 and 39 H.VI no.49; Exchequer, K.R., Inquisitions post mortem, series I, 197 (a); 206 (8).
2. For Fastolf's lands, see P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Inquisitions post mortem, series I, 185 (4); 206 (9); Chancery, Inquisitions Post Mortem 38 and 39 H.VI, no.48; Magdalen College, Oxford, Fastolf Papers.

and Maine, had married Margaret, Sir John's sister.[1] Sir Henry Inglose had wed Anne Gyney, the knight's cousin, a daughter of another Margaret Fastolf.[2] As Henry Ynglish, he had served in the king's retinue at Agincourt in 1415 and later under Thomas, duke of Clarence.[3] He received a safe conduct in November 1422 to serve with William, earl of Suffolk, then governor of Lower Normandy.[4] Both he and Sir Philip served under their kinsman at various times. In September 1424 Branch headed Sir John's retinue as grand master of the Regent's household, whilst Sir Henry Inglose was at Chartres in January 1429 as a mounted lance in Fastolf's company which was assembled in preparation for the siege of Orléans.[5]

A third member of Bedford's retinue, Sir Robert Harling, was referred to by Fastolf in his will as 'my neveu, that was slayn at the sege of Seynt Denys in Fraunce'.[6] He was the son of Fastolf's half-sister Cecily. At his death Sir Robert left as heir to his property in Norfolk a daughter Anne, then a minor aged nine. Her wardship was the subject of some dispute. In November 1436 Humphrey, earl of Stafford was bound by recognizance in 1,000 marks to deliver the unmarried girl into Chancery before 10 February 1437; this was then cancelled because

---

1. Stevenson, op.cit., II, 436; B.M., Add. Ms. 19, 129 f.43.
2. For Sir Henry Inglose of Dilham in Norfolk, see W.A.Copinger, The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution (7 vols., London, 1905-1911), vol. V, p.4. He also held Pickworth manor in Rutland. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, 29 HIV, no.9.
3. N.H.Nicolas, History of the Battle of Agincourt (London, 1827), p.386; Harvey, op.cit., p.359.
4. 44th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1883): 'Calendars of the French Rolls', pp. 601, 612; 48th Report (1887), op.cit., p.221.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/93; B.M., Add.Ch. 11,611.
6. Paston Letters, III, 157.

William, earl of Suffolk presented her there on 9 February, and one month later was granted her marriage on payment of £100.[1] By the time of her marriage, at the age of eleven in 1438, Anne seems to have been in the wardship of Sir John Fastolf, who received the sum of £1,000 from her bridegroom, Sir William Chamberlain.[2]

Several knights and esquires from Norfolk families seem to have fought in France under Sir John's patronage. At the siege of Pontorson in March 1426, Fastolf's company included Brian Stapleton and John Bernay.[3] The latter afterwards served as Sir John's proctor in France, and is continually referred to throughout the Paston correspondence as his servant. Fastolf's garrison at Fresnay-le-vicomte in February 1435 is also of interest, since it contained two men who played an important part both in the French war and in the civil disturbances that troubled England in the 1450s.[4] The first of these was Osbert Mundford of Hockwold in Norfolk, afterwards treasurer of Normandy for Edmund, duke of Somerset. His wife was Elizabeth Bernay.[5] The second of these men was the famous captain Andrew Trollope, who, after a career of piracy under the earl of Warwick at Calais in the 1450s, deserted him at Ludford field in 1459. A rather confused pedigree gives Trollope as the husband of Elizabeth,

---

1. C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 102. For Harling's lands, see P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Inquisitions post mortem, 158 (5). He held the manor of Fauconer in East Harling, Norfolk, of Ralph, Lord Cromwell; the manors of Felbridges and Alma Mainwaring of John, duke of Norfolk, both valued at £10; the manor of Stratton and 20 acres of land of Sir Henry Inglose, and other lands of William, earl of Suffolk's manor of Saxlingham.
2. 8th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Section II, part I, p. 268.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/216, ~~xxxxxxxx~~
4. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25767/195, here assigned wrongly to the year 1425 and filed accordingly. Cf. B.N., Ms.Fr., 25772/964, dated 22 July 1435.
5. Probably John Bernay's daughter. The Visitation of Norfolk, 1563, 1613, ed. W. Rye (Harleian Soc., vol. XXXII, London, 1891), p.200. He is to be distinguished from Osbert Mundford of Feltwell, his cousin.

Mundford's sister, and this is confirmed by the will of Osbert Mundford, senior.[1] Mundford was captain of Fresnay-le-vicomte in 1449, when he was captured by the French, but he was released as the result of negotiations for the surrender of the garrison conducted by Andrew Trollope and Jenkin Baker, duo superbissimi et teterrimi omnium predam sequentium quos sustinet Nordmania.[2]

Although this examination of a few Norfolk captains is but a sketch, it gives an idea of the kind of relationships that endured in France as the result of territorial proximity and of the ties of marriage at home. These links are usually easier to see in the retinues that mustered as part of the armies passing over to Normandy, though more often than not such connections can be traced in the garrisons themselves.

111. York's Council: Service and Maintenance.

At the time of his first appointment to office in France, York's council was barely formed. On 20 May 1436 the members of the Norman Council who were given powers to negotiate for a truce included the chancellor of France, Richard, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Suffolk, Sir John Fastolf and Sir Ralph de Sage.[3] The army embarked for France the following June, when York's retinue was swollen by the companies of Salisbury, his brother-in-law, and the earl of Suffolk.

---

1. Ibid; Consistory Court of Norwich, 17, 18 Brosyard.
2. R.Blondel, de Reductione Normanniae, ed. J.Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1863), p.170.
3. French Rolls, op.cit., p.312.

Another member of the Neville clan, William, Lord Fauconberg, may also have joined the departing troops.[1]

Fastolf may have crossed later to join York in France, for in December 1436 a meeting of the Cinque Ports' representatives were considering the case of one of the bailiffs of Yarmouth whose horse had been taken and maltreated by one of Sir John's servants.[2] This expedition seems to have been the first in which the earl of Salisbury took part in support of his young kinsman. A further concession to York's lack of experience was made by the English Council, who delegated Sir John Popham pur y assister a notre dit cousin sibien en counsailx come autrement pur la bonne gouvernance diceulx.[3] Popham had been a member of Bedford's household, serving in association with Sir John Fastolf as chancellor of Anjou and Maine.[4]

This first appointment of York's was marked by no flood of new captains taking over garrison commands. Even Rouen and Cherbourg, which were taken directly into his hands, kept on the whole their old lieutenants. Moreover, several years passed before the duke received a territorial grant of any size. The only noticeable alteration was a slight increase in importance of the field commanders, Lord Talbot in particular as York's captain for the wars, but this was natural enough in view of the duke's youth. On 18 June 1424, John, Lord Talbot had been retained for life, by

---

1. The Chronicles of London, ed. C.L.Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p.141.
2. A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports, 1432-1955, ed. F.Hall (London, 1966), pp. 8-9.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 52/31.
4. The inscription on his tomb in St. Sepulchre's Church, London, named him 'chancellor of Normandy, captayne of Vernoylle, Pearch, Susan and Bayon and treasurer of the king's household'. J.Stowe, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (2 vols., Oxford, 1908), vol. II, pp. 33-34. By Michaelmas 1437 Popham was treasurer of the royal Household, for which office he was granted 100 marks annually from the fee farm of the castle and cantref of Builth, held by York as part of his Mortimer inheritance. C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 150. He also received a bequest in the will of Edward, duke of York of 'my new brigaundiers of red velvet.... my helmet which I wear and my best hors, excepting the above'. Testamenta Vetusta, ed. N.H.Nicolas (2 vols., London, 1826), vol. 1, p.189. In 1436 Popham's income was estimated at £122, which included a 20-mark annuity from Richard of York. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea 7/31 pt. 1, m.42.

York's uncle, Edmund, earl of March, at an annual payment of £100 from some of the earl's Welsh lordships.[1] Richard of York was still paying this sum to Talbot in 1443-44.[2] Whether or not Talbot was retained by the duke as a councillor it is difficult to say; certainly he joined Sir Andrew Ogard and John Stanlow, treasurer of Normandy, in 1443 on a mission to England to protest at the treatment meted out to York as a consequence of Somerset's proposed expedition to Guienne.[3] Ogard and Stanlow were both named as councillors of York in the year 1448-49.[4]

If Richard of York had been finding his feet during his first period of office, there were no signs of hesitancy by 1440. At that date he had a ready-made council at his disposal. The three men who styled themselves the duke's 'chieff councelle' were Sir John Fastolf, Sir William Oldhall and Sir William ap Thomas. Fastolf and Oldhall held a rather ambiguous position at first as private councillors to the duke and royal councillors advising on the government of France.[5] Sir William ap Thomas may have accompanied the duke to France in 1441, for a man of that name was present in York's retinue although not as a 'knight'; but it is unlikely that he remained there for any length of time.[6] More probably he acted as a link between the duke's council and his estates at home. By 1443-44 Sir William was chief steward of all the Welsh lands of Richard of York.[7]

---

1. C.P.R., 1422-29, p.332.
2. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, General Series (Rolls), 818.
3. See p.22.
4. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/9 m.2.
5. Sir William Oldhall was appointed to the great council of France in 1438 at a salary of 1,000 livres tournois. B.N., Ms.Fr. 26063/34117. His authority was recognised by the English Council, which wrote to York in the mid-1440s requesting the presence of Oldhall in England 'to advise us and oure conseill, in such things as shalbe occurrend and touche oure Reaume of France and Duchie of Normandie, as he that of reason shulde have moast perfite knowlege in the same, considering his longe abode with you there, and of our counseil'. Letters of Margaret of Anjou, ed. C. Monro (Camden Society, 1863), p.70.
6. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33; B.M., Egerton Ms.3660, F, I - 661, for his expenses incurred on York's business in 1443-44. For his offices and career, see R.A.Griffiths, The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government, I, South Wales, 1277-1536 (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 147-48.
7. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, general series (Rolls), 818 m.7.

By the end of the decade a number of captains, both lords, knights and esquires, were being named as councillors of the duke. It is useful to attempt to distinguish between those who, like Fastolf and Ogard, had other masters, and those men, like Sir William Oldhall, who became totally involved in the policies of York. The principal difference lay in the granting of office and land from the duke's English estates.

The duke of York's personal council was unusual in several respects. Most baronial councils, like that of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, were drawn from three sources: fellow magnates, the more well-to-do tenants, and neighbouring landowners. Richard of York had the advantage, or disadvantage, once he had achieved his majority, of building up his own group of advisers. Bedford's death and York's appointment to France as his successor meant that the young duke attracted several of the Regent's retinue, mainly older men and experienced campaigners. Unfortunately, no indentures between York and his councillors have survived, but whereas most lords retained for peace first and then for war, the duke's councillors had their priorities reversed.[1]

Not that York neglected the interests of his councillors in England; indeed, he was generous in his distribution of office and lands. But it is significant that several of his closest advisers, Sir William Oldhall and Sir Edmund Mulso in particular, had no obvious connections with the duke either as tenants or even as neighbouring landowners. There were, of course, other councillors, for example, Sir Walter Devereux of Weobley

---

1. Cf. McFarlane, The English Nobility, pp. 104-105, who concluded that the main purpose of life retainers was service in peace rather than in war; whilst service in the king's army was probably not the main purpose of the bond. This is only partly true of York in 1436 and 1440, when he needed both the retinues and the service of others to make up an army for France.

in Herefordshire, who held his home manor from York and his office of constable of Wigmore castle.[1]

Neither Ogard nor Fastolf appears to have held office on York's English estates, though Sir John was granted a life annuity by the duke on 7 May 1441, pro notabile et laudabile servicis ac bono consilio, before York's army had left for France.[2] Both worked on York's private behalf on a number of occasions; the most intriguing example, in 1445, was the issue of letters of warrant in the duke's name by Sir John Fastolf, Sir Andrew Ogard and Sir William ap Thomas, ordering £10 to be paid for a copy of the articles between John of Gaunt, King of Castile and duke of Lancaster, and John, son of Henry, sometime count of Trastamare, his adversary.[3]

The council governing France and Normandy during York's second period of office can perhaps be represented by that body of men appointed to organise a meeting with the French on the question of a truce in the autumn of 1442. Relevant powers were accorded to York, the chancellor, Louis of Luxembourg, the bishops of Lisieux and Bayeux, John, earl of Shrewsbury, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, Thomas, Lord Scales, William, Lord Fauconberg, Sir Thomas Hoo, Sir John Montgomery, Sir Andrew Ogard, Sir Richard Harington, Walter Colles and John Wenlock, esquire.[4]

---

1. R.L.Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966), p. 230.
2. B.M., Add. Ch. 14,598.
3. B.M., Egerton Roll 8782.
4. Rymer, XI,13. Hoo, Montgomery and Harington were the bailiffs, respectively, of Montes, Caux and Caen. Ogard was then captain of Caen.

Sir Thomas Hoo and Sir Richard Harington, bailiffs of Mantes and Caen, retained their posts until the English defeat. On 26 January 1442, Hoo, then captain of Verneuil, was also described as maistre de lostel to Richard of York.[1] In view of the earl of Suffolk's increasing interest in the affairs of France this is not too surprising, for Sir Thomas was Suffolk's man; in 1436 he was receiving a £20 annuity from the earl.[2] Moreover, Hoo's service also extended to John, Lord Talbot, for whom he acted as lieutenant at Gisors between 1434 and 1438.[3] Sir John Montgomery, bailiff of Caux and, incidentally, brother-in-law of Lord Sudeley, returned to England in 1445; his office was given to York's councillor, Sir Walter Devereux.[4]

Of the two remaining lords, William, Lord Fauconberg was York's brother-in-law, and Thomas, Lord Scales was paid a 200-mark annuity by the duke for the two years 1443 and 1444, drawn on the customs and subsidies of the port of Kingston-on-Hull.[5] Scales was another Norfolk landowner, whose family seat at Middleton dominated the area of Kings Lynn. His property involved him in various land settlements with William, earl of Suffolk in the 1440s; he was reported by Fastolf, in a letter to John

---

1. B.M., Add.Ch. 463, concerning a scheme for the capture of Galardon, proposed by François de Surienne. Hoo agreed to co-operate in return for half the booty if the scheme were carried out successfully, which it was later in the year.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt.1 m.7. Hoo started his career as an esquire in the household of Thomas, duke of Exeter, in whose will he received unum de cursariis meis vocatum Dunne (J. Nichols, Royal Wills (London, 1780), p.262. In later years he was involved in numerous transactions concerning land in Norfolk and Suffolk, usually in close association with the earl of Suffolk's notorious supporters, Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon. At Hoo's death, Tuddenham and Heydon were his feoffees in the rape of Hastings (P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 26/117; see also B.M., Harleian Ch.541/9; 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, on the earl's betrothal to Alice Chaucer)
3. Appendix II: Gisors.
4. Montgomery had succeeded his brother-in-law at Arques in the early 1430s; in turn he was followed by John Norbury, esquire, the son of his wife Elizabeth by her first marriage. As Butler was again holding the captaincy in 1446, it is possible that the post was in his gift and that other captains there were his lieutenants. Montgomery was also described as a councillor of York's in 1448-49 (P.R.O., Minister's and Receiver's Accounts, 1113/9 m.2).
5. B.M., Egerton Roll 8782.

Bernay in January 1450, to be gathering his men in support of Suffolk's unpopular followers, Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon, 'and peraventure speke grete wordis, with noo grete hurte if he doo no more'.[1]

Together with Sir Andrew Ogard and Sir William Oldhall, Lord Scales was accused in 1445, by Adam Moleyns, keeper of the privy seal and Suffolk's supporter, of having profited from the supposed financial malpractices of the duke of York.[2] However, political problems apart, the earl of Suffolk in the next few years still worked with York's councillors in transactions concerning land in Norfolk. Ogard, in particular, came to use the earl of Suffolk as his feoffee and mainpernor by the late 1440s. Sir John Fastolf and Sir Henry Inglose joined with Sir Thomas Tuddenham, John Heydon and William, marquess of Suffolk as feoffees for the estates which Sir Andrew had received by his marriage to Sir John Clifton's daughter. A few days later, on 30 November 1447, Oldhall agreed to enter an obligation by which he and Ogard were bound to Suffolk, Heydon and others in the sum of £400, on condition that Sir Andrew performed certain covenants.[3] By August 1448 Ogard had a new set of feoffees for his wife's manors in Chester, including Richard, earl of Salisbury, Thomas, Lord Scales, Thomas, Lord Hoo and two of his ex-lieutenants, Sir Thomas Fleming and Maykin Longworth. Longworth by this date was Suffolk's lieutenant, whilst two other esquires named in this deed, Osbert Mundford and Thomas Wake, served in the same capacity under Edmund, marquess of Dorset.[4]

---

1. 'Original Letters of Sir John Fastolf', Notes and Queries, 10th ser., vol. XII (1909), p. 203. In 1449 (?) Sir John Fastolf had stood surety for Lord Scales over a debt which Scales was unable to pay without having to sell some of his land (Paston Letters, I, 72). Scales's man sent to arrange the details with Fastolf was called Pessemerche. A John Pessemerche was in Scales's garrison at Domfront on 6 June 1430 and again on 25 September 1434 (B.M., Add.Ch. 11,725; B.N., N.A. 8602/22).
2. See Ch. I, p. 25.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, pp. 111-12; P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 26/142.
4. 37th Report of the D.K.P.R., Appendix II, No.1, 'Welsh Records, Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester, 1 Henry V - 24 Henry VII', p. 569.

Ogard died in 1454, when the wardship and marriage of Henry, his heir, was granted to Queen Margaret.[1] Neither the duke of York, Fastolf nor Oldhall received bequests in Sir Andrew's will, his principal executors being Alice, his wife, and John Bourchier, Lord Berners, to whom he left a cup worth twenty marks with instructions that after Berners's death it was to go to Humphrey Bourchier, his heir, for whom Sir Andrew had stood as godfather.[2] It would seem, then, that Ogard's territorial interests drew him to Suffolk and his neighbouring landowners, such as Berners, rather than to the duke of York, though Sir Andrew was still acting as York's councillor in 1448-49. Had he lived longer it is doubtful whether he would have actively supported York; probably, like Fastolf, he would have maintained at a sympathetic distance. Both men were getting on in years and had too much to lose.

IV. Sir William Oldhall and Sir Edmund Mulso.

The 1440s saw the consolidation of York's council. By the end of the decade a number of men who had served under the duke in Normandy received grants of land and offices from York's property in England and Wales. Foremost amongst these captains were Sir William Oldhall and Sir Edmund Mulso. The former was a Norfolk landowner with many years' experience in France, a member of Bedford's retinue and, together with Sir John Fastolf, an executor of the Regent's will.[3] The latter, an undistinguished,

---

1. C.F.R., 1452-61, p. 246; Ogard's daughter also entered the queen's service and for her marriage he had provided 1,000 marks, a sum more suitable to a wealthy baron.
2. P.C.C., 2 Stokton.
3. Nicholas, Royal Wills, p. 274.

and probably landless esquire, first appears as a member of the duke of York's retinue in 1441. By 1450 Oldhall, Mulso and others of the duke's affinity were administrating a solid block of York's estates, covering an area directly to the north and north-west of London and stretching through the midland counties of Northampton, Rutland and Lincoln.

Sir William's family estates were centred in Norfolk, where he held six manors, together with another substantial cluster in east Cambridgeshire, grouped around the manor of Ditton Valence.[1] By 1430 Oldhall had married Margaret, the sister of Robert, Lord Willoughby and widow of Sir Thomas Skipwith. She brought with her the keeping of two manors in Yorkshire, and eight others with various lands in Lincolnshire, to hold during the minority of her son, William Skipwith. Oldhall's career seems to have developed at a distance from that of Lord Willoughby, although their continued service in Normandy must have brought them into frequent contact. Willoughby did grant the couple an annuity of 120 marks, in return for money which Sir William had lent his brother-in-law, and by September 1431 they had been granted the Willoughby manor of Whetacre in Norfolk.[2]

Oldhall's career can be traced back to 1416 when, as an esquire, he was stationed at Harfleur under Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, and there he served at the side of Fastolf.[3] At the siege of Rouen he shared lodgings with fellow members of Beaufort's household, who included Sir Philip Branche, Sir Henry Inglose and Sir John Clifton.[4] In 1423 he fought

---

1. For notes on these manors, see J.S.Roskell, 'Sir William Oldhall', Nottingham Medieval Studies, V (1961), 89-90. One pedigree states that his father Edmund had married a daughter of Sir Henry Inglose (Visitations of the County of Somerset, 1531 and 1573, ed. F.W.Weaver (Exeter, 1885), p.72).
2. Paston Letters, I, 16; B.M., Harleian Ch. 43 B.30.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 47/39.
4. Harvey, op.cit., p. 361.

at the battle of Cravant, before renewing his indentures from 1 May 1424 to serve with forty-five men-at-arms and 135 archers. Three months later he took part in the second great battle of the decade, at Verneuil in Perche.[1]

Shortly afterwards, Oldhall was appointed grand seneschal of Normandy by the duke of Bedford, and this office he retained until 16 November 1425.[2] Over the next ten years Sir William held a variety of captaincies. In February 1427 he received payment with Richard Wydeville and Nicholas Morley, esquires, for an embassy led by them to Jaqueline of Hainault, duchess of Gloucester and to the duke of Burgundy, where they were forced to stay longement en attendant leur response sur les matières.[3] By September 1434, Sir William was joined at his garrison of Essay by his stepson, William Skipwith, who served as a mounted spearman.[4] Although Oldhall held the castle of La Ferté Bernard in Perche, his affairs under the Regent had never prospered to the same extent as those of Fastolf.

On 19 February 1436, the king, on the advice of Richard of York as lieutenant-general, granted Oldhall all the Norman lands and lordships which had previously belonged to the late Sir Herault Vanclouz. The grant was issued on condition that Oldhall and his heirs should always dwell in the king's French dominions.[5] These terms reflected the English government's concern that the recipients of such grants should fulfill

---

1. Edward Hall, p. 117; Stevenson, II, 385, 394; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 40/188.
2. His seal as seneschal was an écu au lion, penche, timbre d'un heaume à lambrequins couronné et cimé d'une tete de lion. G. Demay, Inventaire des Sceaux de la collection Clairambault à la Bibliothèque Nationale (2 vols., Paris, 1885), vol. II, no. 6845.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 43/188.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25771/890.
5. B.M., Add.Ch. 128. He became baron of Creully and of Courseulles, and Lord of Villiers, all in the baillage of Caen, paying one tenth of 1,000 saluz d'or to the king. This was an indication, perhaps, of the annual value of the lands. Burney, op.cit., p. 250.

their commitments for the defence of the land at a time when French successes were threatening to overrun large parts of the duchy.

In 1438 Oldhall was appointed to the great council in France.[1] It is likely that the nucleus of York's council, with Oldhall at its centre, had been in process of formation ever since 1436, the date of the duke's first appointment to France. The first grants from the duke's estates were being made before the second army under his command left England in 1441. At about the same time, Sir William is mentioned for the first time as chamberlain to the duke of York, an office he was to hold for the next fifteen years.[2]

Eleven days after the grant of a £20 annuity to Fastolf, on 18 May 1441, Oldhall was pardoned for having acquired for life Duke Richard's manors of Standon in Hertfordshire, Pleshy in Essex, Hamuldon in Buckinghamshire and Swanscombe in Kent.[3] By November 1444 he had received a further grant of lands in Ireland, and by February 1449 he was holding the duke's manor of Hunsdon, also in Hertfordshire. In 1447 York had received licence to build at the latter place an embattled tower constructed from stones, lime and sand; together with other modernisations, the cost was estimated at £4,667.[4] The tax return of 1436 had declared Sir William's annual income to be £216, of which £73 6s. 8d. came from the lands of his stepson in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (William Skipwith came of age before the end of the decade). It is not known whether the £80 annuity that Oldhall and his wife received from Robert, Lord Willoughby was included in this total.[5]

---

1. Above p. 51 n.5.
2. Before the army left England in 1441. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 26/475.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 531.
4. Ibid., 1441-46, pp. 273, 277; ibid., 1446-52, pp. 77, 233 324; Harvey, op.cit., p. 49.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt.2 m.2, 24.

From evidence such as this, it would seem that Sir William's lands and offices in France, together with the estates granted him by York, formed the major part of his income. The grants included, on 10 October 1444, an annual pension of 2,000 salus d'or from York's French revenues, over and above any previous gifts.[1] He also acquired a number of important stewardships on the duke of York's English estates. This practice of converting the stewardships of groups of manors into sinecures was by now well established.[2]

By 1450 Oldhall, Mulso and others were controlling, themselves or by deputy, estates in the south-east and midland counties of England belonging to York and including Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire. Oldhall's most significant post in view of later events, was the stewardship of the honour of Clare in Suffolk, at a fee of £15 yearly, with an additional 20 marks for the constableship of Clare castle. To these was added the stewardship of Thaxted in Essex, some thirteen miles to the south-west of Clare, at a fee of £5 a year.[3] By 1450-51 Sir William was also steward of Hitchen in Hertfordshire, holding the manor of Ansty in the same county for life.[4] Besides enjoying other smaller grants of land, in 1449-50 Oldhall shared the profits of the duke's Gloucestershire estates, possibly as part of a pension.[5]

---

1. B.M., Add. Ch. 147.
2. McFarlane, The English Nobility, p. 107.
3. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/10.
4. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8364.
5. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 850/27 m.2-5. This was perhaps in lieu of his pension granted from York's French revenues.

After the return of York's council from Normandy, and later still from Ireland, these stewardships were of central importance to the way events turned out for, or were directed by, the duke of York. Certainly Mulso, if not Oldhall, was no mere sinecurist. Sir William himself, was henceforth described as 'of Hunsdon', rather than of his own Norfolk or Cambridgeshire estates. His career after 1450, and that of the other captains who had served York in Normandy, shows how devotedly this body of men turned to serving the duke's interests at home.

Next to Oldhall, York's closest retainer in these years was Edmund Mulso. Details of his early life are lacking, though it is probable that he was the younger son of Thomas Mulso of Newton Parva, Northamptonshire.[1] Either Mulso's father or his elder brother, another Thomas, was serving on 9 June 1421 as part of the retinue of Sir Ralph Cromwell at Harfleur, whilst an undated muster belonging to this period records a Thomas Mulso as a mounted spearman in the garrison of Beaumont-sur-Oise.[2] In September 1429, Thomas Mulso the younger was granted the goods of Hector Dampierre, valudd at 300 livres tournois.[3] On 24 February 1433, Thomas Mulso and John Delabere of Herefordshire acted as mainpernors for Anne, countess of Stafford and her sons by her second marriage, Henry and Thomas Bourchier.[4] Henry, Lord Bourchier and his half-brother, Humphrey, earl of Stafford, had close family links with the duke of York. Their mother, Anne Plantagenet, was the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, whilst

---

1. Wedgwood, op.cit., p. 618. A different branch of the family was established at Thingdon in the same county.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 50/9; 54/23.
3. Le Cacheux, II, 369. See Burney, op.cit., p. 232, concerning a dispute over this grant.
4. C.F.R., 1430-37, p. 141.

Humphrey himself had married Anne Neville, the tenth daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmorland, and the sister of Cecily, later duchess of York. Henry was to marry York's own sister, Isabel.[1]

Thomas Mulso was in France again by 1438 as a member of the retinue of Sir Thomas Rempston, although by April of the same year, he was lieutenant of Touques under the captaincy of John Nanfan.[2] Thomas remained in France until at least 1440, and probably for some time afterwards. The Bourchier connection with the Mulso family may have been the link that introduced the brothers into York's body of retainers. On several occasions they acted as feoffees to use for Edmund Mulso, and both Henry, Lord Bourchier and Thomas, then archbishop of Canterbury, were made overseers of his will, dated 1 May 1458.[3]

Edmund Mulso is first mentioned in the records as an esquire in the retinue of Richard, duke of York, embarking for Normandy in 1441. At first his activities were restricted to field service at Pontoise and later at Lisieux, under the direction of William, Lord Fauconberg. Thereafter he began to receive several payments, a employer a certaine causes secretes.[4] York also employed Mulso on a number of embassies, as a result of which on one occasion he received the gift of a 'double harneys' from the dauphin.[5] Mulso had taken up his first military command by May 1443, when he was holding the garrison of Neufchâtel de Lincourt; this was followed at the end of 1444 by his appointment to Pontaudemer. York returned to England in 1445, by which time Mulso was

---

1. In 1449-50, the countess of Eu had a £100 annuity from her brother. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/10.
2. French Rolls, p. 320; Appendix II: Touques.
3. P.C.C., 24 and 25 Stokton.
4. B.N., P.O. 2080/2, 5: Nouv. Acq. 2320/242, 243, 265.
5. P.C.C., 24 and 25 Stokton.

captain of Pont de l'Arche, a post he held until at least March 1446, and which was retained thereafter by his brother Thomas as lieutenant.

Thomas Mulso had taken the muster of his brother's troops at Neufbourg in June 1442.[1] By October 1444 he was captain of Tancarville and lieutenant for his brother Edmund at Pont de l'Arche in 1446. In the summer of 1448, his company from this garrison were ordered to the fortifications before Elboeuf, although Thomas himself was absent.[2] At the end of the English occupation he was in command of the duke's own fortress at Bernay, and by this date had definitely joined Edmund in York's service.[3]

Before York's army had left for France on 22 March 1441, Edmund Mulso had received a grant of the lands in France forfeited by Denis de Heugeville, a rebel.[4] On 20 November 1443 he obtained his first grant from York's English estates, the manor of Greys in Cavendish, situated some two miles to the north-east of Clare in Suffolk. Four months later this was granted in turn by Mulso to his receiver John Smith of Cavendish, who by charter dated 7 June 1444 transferred it (and other properties) to the use of Henry, Viscount Bourchier, Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, William, marquess of Suffolk, Sir William Oldhall, John Doreward, John Harleston, John Stodhaugh, Edmund Mulso and his other brother William.[5]

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25776/1568.
2. B.M., Add.Ch. 6987.
3. Thomas Mulso was married twice, although nothing is known about either lady. A daughter Alice, by his first marriage, became the wife of Thomas Tresham, son of the lawyer William Tresham, speaker in the parliament of 1449 and who was murdered the following year on his way to meet the duke of York. P.C.C., 24 Stokton.
4. C.T.Allmand,'The Collection of Dom Denoir and the English Occupation of Normandy in the Fifteenth Century', Archives, VI (1963-64), 206. In 1447 Sir Edmund was 'seigneur de Saint Denis le Tiboult et d'autres fiefs'. B.N., P.O. 2080/18.
5. C.C.R., 1461-68, pp. 114-15.

Between March and June 1446 Edmund Mulso was knighted in England, and by the same year he had received a further grant from the duke of York - the manors of Richmond in Thaxted and Pentlow, both in Essex. The stewardship of York's second main centre of administration at Fotheringay was bestowed on Sir Edmund by the duke's letters patent on 27 June 1446; this covered, amongst other properties, the lordships of Nassington, Yarwell and Deeping.[2] The stewardship was a life office with an annual fee of 5 marks, and Mulso was able to supplement this by a further £10 as constable of Fotheringay castle.[2] As with Oldhall, his constableship not only provided a fee but also the means to raise a defensive body of men from the surrounding country if need be. From there Mulso's authority was extended northwards into Lincolnshire, where he was installed as steward of Grantham.[3] By 1449-50 he was joint steward with John Doreward of York's honour of Rayleigh in Essex.[4] He obtained a further grant of land in the lordship of Clarethall in Suffolk, in recompense for the manors of Finmere in Oxfordshire and Bierton in Buckinghamshire, thereby consolidating his hold in that area.[5]

Of all the estates granted by York to his officers, the only set of accounts that seem to have survived for this period are the documents relating to the manors of Greys, Clarethall, Pentlow and Richmond. A bundle of twenty bills, receipts, lists and letters concerning these lordships is attached to the accounts for the year 1452-53.[6] They

---

1. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6 m.2, 3, 6.
2. Ibid., m.2.
3. Ibid., m.6.
4. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/10.
5. W.A.M. Ms. 12,166 m.3.
6. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, 430/6905.

contain a wealth of minor detail which throws light on the circumstances of one of York's most prominent councillors. In the autumn of 1452, Sir Edmund seems to have been with York in London, where on 11 December he paid £6 7s.6d. for ten pieces 'of blew clothe for lyvrey'. In May of the following year he was at Ludlow, whence John Smith, Mulso's chief official at Greys, received a letter that is worth quoting at length.[1] After acknowledging receipt of various sums of money and requesting more, Sir Edmund instructed Smith 'that ye wool ride to Stodhawe to see maistresse Clere, for hit is my desir and Stodhawes to, and that bee youre too wyssedoome ye may goo to here for myn excuse of my long taryng, and that ye recomande me to her, lettyng her witte that my lorde hathe been soo gretely troubled in dyvers wyses that he hadde to doo, that y myght in noo wyse entende to doo for my selfe, withoute that y hadde grettely deshonnored me and hurte me grettely in many wyses. The whiche i truste to god, and to here goode discrecion, that she wolde not that i were deshonnoured, nor hadde no shame. And i truste to god to see to your costes in such wyse that ye shall hold you plesid. And also i sende you a token closed in this letter, that bee youre too wysdomes ye take here, yef hit plese her to receyved. Praing you to doo as wel as ye can, for to a wyse man ther neede not muche writting'. He concluded with a postscript: 'item, i sende yow a coppie of the letter that Stodhawe sende me, the weche letter i pray yow, whan ye have rede hit, that ye wool breke hit'.

The letter sums up nicely the duty that bound Mulso to the duke of

---

1. No.7 in the collection, shewn between m.4 and m.5.

York, a mixture of honour and self interest, and which kept him apart from his lady.[1] It also emphasises the fact that those lands granted to him by the duke were Mulso's headquarters, and he refers to the sums of money 'owyng me for the revenues of partie of my lyvelode'. That Smith was kept in close touch with events is seen from the mysterious letter mentioned in the postscript. Elsewhere Smith refers to the repairs in progress at Greys, which were being 'hasted as fast as they may', and there were similar plans for Pentlow. Moreover, Walden, receiver for the honour of Clare, obtained only £10 at Sudbury, 'whiche my mayster Oldehalle hadde'; Oldhall at this time was in sanctuary at Westminster.[2]

V. Service and Maintenance.

York's years of service in Normandy saw the recruitment and consolidation of his council. Some men, like John Flegge, John Langley and John Wingfield, accompanied the duke to France in 1441.[3] Many others were attracted to his circle once he was established in command there. These latter included another member of Bedford's old retinue, Sir John Salvain, bailiff of Rouen, to whom York granted an annual pension of 200 salus d'or in 1447,[4] after the duke had left Normandy for good. Perhaps this was one way of safeguarding his interests, but Sir John

---

1. A Mistress Clere occurs in the Paston Letters of this period. She was Elizabeth Clere, widow of Robert Clere of Ormesby. In or around 1463 she was mentioned as a possible wife for John Clay, the son of York's retainer of the same name who was then acting as chamberlain to the duchess of York. Paston Letters, I, 287.
2. No. 4 in the collection.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts 53/33.
4. B.M., Add.Ch. 12,332. A member of Bedford's retinue, he was bailiff of Rouen for twenty-five years until his death in 1449. In 1443, under York's second administration, he was appointed a king's councillor, with wages of 1,000 livres tournois per annum (B.M., Add.Ch. 4016). After the duke returned to England in 1445, Salvain was charged with the guard of Lisieux, Chateau Gaillard and the Pont de Seine Quelques Actes Normands des XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles, ed. V. Hunger (La Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie, Paris, 1910).

died shortly before the English were finally defeated in April 1449.

Another captain taken up by York also died on service. Sir John Cressy had had a somewhat chequered career by the time that he came to York's attention. On 12 November 1429 he had been retained for life by Thomas, Lord Roos for service in England.[1] Roos died in France the following year. In April 1432 Sir John was serving as lieutenant to John, earl of Arundel at Rouen. Once more his service ended abruptly, when Arundel was killed at Gerberoy in 1434. By February 1435 he was lieutenant for Henry, Lord Bourchier at Eu, and in October 1437 Cressy was stationed at Caen, whose captain was the duke of York.[2]

Cressy had returned to England by 10 September 1439, when he was arrested in the Great Hall of Westminster and required to find surety of the peace. A scuffle broke out in the presence of the chancellor, treasurer and presiding justices in which Cressy was narrowly prevented from murdering his guard. Breaking free, Sir John ran into the nearby Exchequer, brandishing his knife and calling on his followers to 'slay the yokel who would have arrested me'.[3] Needless to say, he was pardoned, possibly in anticipation of his forthcoming services in France. In 1441 Cressy led a retinue of nineteen men-at-arms in York's army, and when the duke received a large grant of French lands sometime before June 1444, Sir John was probably the first captain to be appointed to three of the

---

1. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 330. In return, he received a grant of the manor of Braunston in Northamptonshire, and a twenty-mark annuity from the manor of Eakring,, with board for himself, an esquire, a yeoman and a groom with four horses, whenever he was in attendance on Lord Roos.
2. By June 1435 he was a 'king's knight', at which date he made Sir Ralph Butler, John Hotoft and others feoffees for his manor of Luton in Bedfordshire, before setting off for France once more (C.P.R., 1429-36, p.463). Cressy also held the manors of Dedford in Northamptonshire and Wheathampstead in Hertfordshire. Another branch of the family succeeded to the estates of Mortimer of Chelmarsh, in Shropshire, and, on the failure of this line, Chelmarsh was inherited (according to one source) by Richard of York as heir of the earl of March. R.Eyton, The Antiquities of Shropshire (12 vols. London, 1856), vol.III, p.44.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, pp.361-62. Two months later he was one of the J.Ps. for Hertfordshire. Ibid., p. 583.

captaincies which now came under York's control - Lisieux, Orbec and Pont l'Evêque. At the time of his death a few months after these appointments, he was holding the office of councillor to the king en son vivant.[1]

This grant of land to York, the first of any size that he received, was unique in one way, in that it created a new apanage from the baillage of Evreux. This covered the counties of Evreux and Beaumont le Rogier, and the vicomtés of Orbec and Bretheuil, an area containing the garrison towns of Lisieux, Conches, Bernay, Beaumont le Rogier, Orbec and Pont l'Evêque.[2] Situated between the river Touques to the west and the Charentonne and Risle to the east, the area was a frontier zone between Upper and Lower Normandy, between Perche and the sea. The difficulties of administering such a territory probably inspired the creation of this 'buffer state'.

Before September 1445, a further grant of the lordship of St. Sauveur Lendelin, previously held by John, duke of Somerset, was bestowed on York's son, Edmund, earl of Rutland; at the same time, all the duke's Norman estates were placed in the charge of Sir William Oldhall's servant, Richard Bontemps, as controller.[3] At the duke's return to England in 1445, his steward of Evreux, Durand de Thieuville, was appointed bailiff of Evreux, Beaumont le Rogier, Orbec, Conches and Bretheuil.[4] York's

---

1. Hunger, Quelques Actes Normands, II, 71, 73. Cf. n.4, p.66. His tomb in Dodford church was inscribed with the words Hic iacet Johannes Cressy miles d'nus isti ville quondam capitani de Lycieux, Orbef et Pontiesque in Normandia ac consilari d'ni Regis in Francia, qui obit apud Tove in Loreina 111° Marcii anno dni MCCCCXLIIII. G. Baker, The History and Antiquities of the county of Northamptonshire (2 vols., London, 1822-30), vol. I, p.360, where there is also a splendid description of the tomb, his ancestors' arms including those of Mortimer.
2. H. de Frondeville, La Vicomté d'Orbec pendant l'occupation Anglaise (1417-1449) (Etudes Lexoviennes, IV, 1936), pp. 1-5.
3. B.N., P.O. 2714/4; ibid., 3056/5.
4. B.M., Add. Ch. 6970, 11,605.

closest retainers were then appointed to the garrisons in this area. These captains included Sir William Oldhall, John Clay, John Flegge and John Wingfield. John Clay's career in France had begun as far back as February 1421, when he was serving as a man-at-arms in the garrison at Rouen.[1] In 1423 he was a member of the retinue of Sir John Salvain, bailiff of Rouen, and six years later Clay was in command of the small fortress of St. Katherine by the outer walls of the city.[2] Thereafter, he was given the keeping of the bridge and in 1441 was lieutenant of Rouen castle for the duke of York.[3] By 1443-44 John Clay appears as treasurer of the duke's household.[4]

John Flegge and John Wingfield were both members of York's retinue in 1441. The latter was probably the son of Sir Robert Wingfield, one-time servant of York's nephew, John, earl of Norfolk.[5] The former, John Flegge, may have served as a foot lance in John Stanlow's garrison at Eu in October 1429.[6] On 28 March 1440 York, in a grant issued at Usk, appointed Flegge keeper of his great park at Bardfield in Essex.[7] This was followed, on 24 January 1443 at Rouen, by a further grant as keeper of the park and warren at Bardfield, pro bono et laudabili servicis.[8] When, in 1449, John Flegge received a safe-conduct to accompany York to Ireland, he was described as 'of Stratfeld, Berkshire, esquire, alias of Great Wrotting, Suffolk, esquire, alias late of Denbigh in Wales, yoman'.[9] All these places belonged to the duke of York. Flegge obtained

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts 49/31; 50/22.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/48; 25769/446.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25772/971; A.N., K67/1/21.
4. B.M., Add.Ch. 12,193.
5. Wedgwood, op.cit., pp. 915-16.
6. B.M., Ms.Fr. 25768/422.
7. W.A.Ms. 12,167 m.4.
8. Ibid.
9. C.P.R., 1446-52, p.228.

several grants of land from the duke, to hold jointly with his wife Agatha, and they were principally in the honor of Clare, where he was York's bailiff of Depford-strand until at least 1465.[1] Other grants included the custody of Stratfield Mortimer in Wiltshire in 1451, and forty acres of wood within the lordship of Great Wrotting for two years in return for a payment of £46 13s. 4d.[2] On 26 September 1460, Flegge obtained custody of the manor of Much Wrotting, for a period of ten years paying £5 annually.[3]

Clay, Flegge and Wingfield followed the fortunes of York for twenty years, all surviving to witness the reign of his son Edward, who became king on 4 March 1461. On 26 June in the same year, John Wingfield was knighted, as was John Clay shortly afterwards.[4] These three men represent only a fraction of the minor gentry who served the duke of York consistently over the two decades 1440-60. There were, no doubt, many others like James Green, who appears only twice in the records: once in York's retinue of 1441 and again as a 'yoman' in 1461, when he was granted a twenty-mark annuity for over thirty years' service to the king and his father.[5]

Besides service in Normandy under the duke of York and receipt of office and grants from his estates, one further factor tended to bring his councillors together; this was the comparatively high number of marriages contracted between them. Thus, although Sir Edmund Mulso never

---

1. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1114/10 m.1; W.A.Ms. 12,167 m.4.
2. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/1 m.13; C.F.R., 1452-61, p.36.
3. C.F.R., 1452-61, p.284.
4. Wedgwood, op.cit., pp. 916, 187.
5. C.P.R., 1461-67, p. 51.

seems to have married, his sister Margaret became the wife of John Langley probably a short time before 8 March 1449, when the couple received a life grant of £20 from the issues of York's manor and lordship of Holmfrith in Yorkshire. This replaced a grant earlier in the same year of an annual rent from Mershwood Vale in Dorset.[1] Langley, a Northamptonshire esquire, had served in the duke's retinue in 1441. The first record of his connection with York occurs in March 1434, when Langley was given a £4 annuity from the manor of Winston in Gloucesershire.[2] As 'of Burton, Northamptonshire, esquire', he also attended York in Ireland in 1449.[3] In May 1453 he, along with Sir Walter Devereux, was one of the duke's feoffees for Narberth in south-west Wales.[4] In recognition of his good service to York and his son, in February 1462 John Langley, by then a 'king's servitor', was given custody of the royal park at Chiltern Langley in Hertfordshire, together with the office of under-parker there.[5] By the following November he was an usher of King Edward's Chamber, and in recognition of their past services he and Margaret were granted a tun of wine every Martinmas for the rest of their lives.[6]

Simon Reyham, receiver of Pont à Mer in 1441-43, and cofferer of York's household in 1450-51, may have married a second sister of Mulso.[7] He acted as executor of Sir Edmund's will in 1458, whilst his wife Alice was left a bequest of £20 in it, and her two daughters a further twenty marks each. Mulso's other executor was Sir William Oldhall, to whom he left

---

1. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, 560/8901; C.P.R., 1461-67, p.146.
2. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 850/28 m.6.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 328.
4. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 71.
5. Ibid., 1461-67, p.118.
6. Ibid., p. 474.
7. Rosenthal, loc. cit., p. 179. In 1454 'Simon Rayam', citizen and grocer of London, was joint-recipient with Sir Edmund Mulso and others of a gift of goods and chattels of a fellow London citizen. C. Cl.R., 1447-54, p. 504

'a gown of fyne ffrensh blak, or of pewke, and a furre with the pursyll of brown martraine for the same'. Margaret Clay received £40.[1]

In the same year, 1458, Sir William Oldhall granted Sir Edmund Mulso and a group of East Anglian knights and esquires his manor of Ditton Valence, in order that they might give effect to his last will when made.[2] This was eventually dated 15 November 1460, and his executors were headed by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, and included John Heydon, his brother-in-law, William Lexham and his servant Thomas Petwyn. To the earl of March Oldhall left equum meum gracium ambulante, and to Edmund, earl of Rutland, York's second son, he left goods to an equal value.[3] Mulso left a similar bequest to Edward of March, 'as for my remembrance to his gode lordship'.

Sir William's own daughter and heiress, Mary, married Walter Gorges, the son of Sir Theobald Gorges of Wraxall in Somerset.[4] Sir Theobald was one of the small group of seven knights who had accompanied York to France at the time of the duke's first appointment in 1436.[5] Thereafter he served under John, earl of Somerset in 1440, as lieutenant for Scales at Domfront in 1441, and he held the captaincies of Coutances, Alencon and Caudebec in turn.[6] On 11 July 1446 he received a safe-conduct as a member of the duke of York's company, and in December was lieutenant at Rouen.[7] In November 1448, Sir William Oldhall, Sir Theobald

---

1. P.C.C., 24 Stokton.
2. C.A.D., vol. I, B. 1244.
3. P.C.C., 21 Stokton.
4. For this family, see R. Gorges, 'Sir Thibault Gorges, Knight Banneret, 1401-70', Proceedings of the Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., LXXIX, (1933), 64-69, with facts related to Gorges's service in France by R.A.Newhall. Walter was Sir Theobald's son by his first marriage to Joan, daughter of Sir Richard Hankford.
5. French Rolls, p. 310; Wraxall in Somerset.
6. French Rolls, p. 335; Appendix II, sub garrisons.
7. French Rolls, p. 370; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25778/1799. John and Richard Hankford mustered in this garrison.

Gorges and his son Walter Gorges lost their claim to the rich barony of Rencheville to Edmund, duke of Somerset, then lieutenant of France and Normandy. Mention of la damoiselle Marie Oldhalle, femme dicelui Waluter, indicates that Oldhall was attempting to maintain some claim to the barony as part of his daughter's dowry.[1]

At about the same time, Sir Theobald took a third wife, Joan, daughter of York's retainer, John Flegge. York was interested in the match to the extent of granting Gorges 500 livres tournois, from the issues of his own wages as lieutenant-general as part of certain sums received by the knight pour son mariage.[2] It was probably on this account that Gorges obtained 200 salus d'or on 27 April 1447, granted to him by the duke of York for a period of two years.[3]

From June 1452, after his attainder for alleged complicity in Cade's rebellion, until York's accession to power as protector of England in 1455, Sir William Oldhall remained in sanctuary in the London church of St. Martin le Grand. At his release he accused Sir Theobald and Walter Gorges of various underhand dealings concerning 'a certeyn writyng sealed with his sele, conteynyng wordes of relesse, supposed to be made by your bisecher, to Sir Theobald Gorgys, knyght, where there was, and yit ys, grete notable services to hym due by the said Sir Theobald, which writyng was so made in the salvacion of the same duete for his sustennaunce and fyndyng in hys grete necessitie, and to put a parte thentent and purpose of his said ennemyes of the haueyng of the said duete'. Oldhall then

---

1. Burney, op.cit., Appendix VI.
2. The Visitation of the County of Somerset in the year 1623, ed. F.T.Colby (Harleian Soc., XI, London, 1876), p. 72; W.A.Ms. 3,479A; B.M., Add.Ch.496.
3. B.N., P.O. 1360 sect. 30741 no.11.

went on to accuse Sir Theobald and Walter of having removed the writing from his chest in St. Martin's.[1] The ill-feeling engendered between the two parties, continued until Oldhall's death in 1460. After his death, Walter Gorges accused the knight of having refused to settle a yearly rent in tail of forty marks on him and his wife, Oldhall's own daughter, as had been agreed in their marriage contract. In addition, he stated that Oldhall and two of his servants had attacked him at the rectory of Little Fransham, which the Gorges held at farm, and he was only saved from a murderous attack by the timely intervention of his wife. Thereupon Oldhall forcibly abducted his son-in-law, and made him swear to submit to his judgement in the disputes between them, for which Walter bound himself in the sum of fifty marks. He further accused Oldhall as a result of Gorges's continued refusal to co-operate, of bringing a false action against him and causing him to be fined 500 marks and imprisoned.[2]

It is most likely that these marriages amongst York's retainers grew naturally out of service to the duke. York undoubtedly recognised the benefits to himself of such alliances within his own 'connection', as witnessed by the grants and pensions he gave to these couples; by such means he succeeded in cultivating a tradition of foreign and domestic service. Oldhall's clash with the Gorges, at a time of crisis for the duke, reveals the weakness of such bonds when tested by the dictates of personal profit. It may be that the Gorges were influenced by political motives. Gorges had served under Beaufort in the past and his lands in Somerset and Dorset made him a neighbour of the Beauforts. Sir Theobald's

---

1. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 17/28. One of Oldhall's pledges on this occasion was 'Thomas Petwyne of London, gentleman'. As Thomas Petwyn, he had served as an archer in the knight's personal bodyguard as York's councillor in June 1445; he received a £20 annuity in Oldhall's will as Petwyn servienti meo. B.M., Add. Ms. 21,411 f.30; P.C.C., 21 Stockton.
2. C.P.R., 1452-61, p.541.

manor of Wraxall also seems to have been held of James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire, who was York's steward in Dorset but in the 1450s a member of the Beaufort affinity.[1]

From the time of his appointment to France in 1436 to his final departure from that country in 1447, Richard of York had succeeded in building up a body of councillors from diverse sources and backgrounds, uniting them both to each other and ultimately to himself by the use of pensions and offices in France and in England. The granting of stewardships and other offices from amongst his English and Welsh inheritance was to have important consequences in the decade following the loss of Normandy. These grants also acted as the means whereby York's council and retinue in France were easily assimilated into the duke's service at home. Thus, York bound the local interests of his followers to those of himself.

Such a network of personal and administrative interests amongst the duke's adherents could easily be converted to military purposes, thereby underlining the relationship that existed between service to York at home and abroad. A comparison of the names of those men serving under the duke of York in 1441 and those indicted for plotting against the king in the 1450s is particularly revealing in this respect.

---

1. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8793.

CHAPTER IV.

The Muster of Richard of York in 1441.

In comparison with that of 1436, the duke of York's second army for Normandy can be studied in detail, in terms of both retinue and individual members. Two muster rolls survive. The first, numbering some 160 men-at-arms from fifteen retinues, mustered on 26 March 1441.[1] With few exceptions, most of these men were included in the main muster roll of the same year.[2] As early as 24 July 1440, the king had agreed to a petition from York that, considering the great expense involved in the gathering of an army, he should be allowed to send a company of 200 men-at-arms with archers in advance to Normandy. These were to be led by un notable capitaigne ou capitaignes and were to precede him into France and serve there for six months.[3] In fact, York's army did not finally depart until June 1441.

The sparse records relating to the duke's retinue in 1436 do yield some clues as to its formation. Of the 500 men-at-arms who indented to serve him then, the names of only thirty have survived. Among the seven knights were Sir Theobald Gorges, who in the 1440s became closely linked to members of York's affinity, Sir John Radcliff and Sir David Howell.[4] A small group of esquires came from the Welsh marches, which was one of the duke's main areas of influence. On the second occasion in 1440 the

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Various Accounts, 54/9.
2. Ibid., 53/33.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 56/305. That these expenses were very substantial can be seen from York's methods of raising funds prior to 1436, when a group of men, including Richard, earl of Warwick, Walter, Lord Hungerford, Sir Ralph Butler and Richard Dixon, esquire, agreed to pay the duke of York an annual sum of 2,000 marks in return for the farm of various marcher lordships, and certain manors and lands in ten English counties for a term of twenty years. B.M., Harleian Ch.53 H.17.
4. Of Wraxall in Somerset, Shelfangle in Norfolk, and of Pembroke in south Wales respectively. French Rolls, p. 310.

marcher contingent was chiefly represented by the Herefordshire gentry, who included John Barre, Kynard Delabere and John Scudamore.[1] John Barre was related to John, Lord Talbot, whose sister Alice had married Sir Thomas Barre, John's father.[2] Barre's own sister Joan married Kynard Delabere.[3] In 1444 John Barre was in receipt of a £20 annuity from York's lordship of Mawardyn.[4]

The duke's household was also represented in 1436 by the presence of Richard Dixon and Richard Leyland. Dixon had been responsible for the payment of the duke's personal debts in 1431, during York's first visit to France to witness the young king's coronation.[5] After the death of Richard's mother, Anne Mortimer, in 1432, he was appointed joint-keeper with Thomas Stockdale of the manors of Staundon and Plasshes, which were after granted by York to Sir William Oldhall.[6] Richard Leyland was described in September 1437, as tresorier de l'ostel to the duke and he led his own retinue under York in 1441.[7] Clearly the duke drew a good proportion of his troops from his own estates and household. This tendency is more evident in 1441, when it is possible to investigate more closely the nature of his retinue and those others who made up his army.

According to the most detailed muster roll, York headed an army of 582 men-at-arms in thirty-nine different retinues.[8] These were captained

---

1. Ibid.
2. Pollard, op.cit., pp. 224-25.
3. The Visitation of Herefordshire, made in 1569, ed. F.W. Weaver (Exeter, 1886), p.24. Barre was of Rotherwas and Barr's Court in Herefordshire, and of Knebworth in Hertfordshire.
4. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, 818.
5. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8774 m.1.
6. C.F.R., 1430-37, p. 88.
7. B.M., Add.Ch. 11,958. A Richard Laylande had served in Humphrey of Gloucester's company at Agincourt (Nicolas, Agincourt, p. 335). Another man of the same name had been treasurer of the household of John, duke of Bedford and may well have transferred into York's service after the Regent's death. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 276.
8. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33.

by the duke himself, two earls, one lord, twelve knights and twenty-five esquires (of whom three jointly led a company of archers).

1. York's Personal Retinue.

York led the largest retinue consisting of 106 men, of whom ten captained their own retinues. As in 1436, there were many amongst them who can be identified as tenants and retainers of the duke. Again, not surprisingly, a substantial proportion of these men-at-arms came from York's Welsh and border estates. The names of John Barre and John Scudamore both appear once more, this time leading retinues of one and five men-at-arms respectively. Another member of the Scudamore family, Philip, was also present, along with one of the Herefordshire Whitneys, two members of Sir William ap Thomas's family, and Henry Griffith and Walter Devereux. Both Griffith and Devereux headed their own retinues, and both were the recipients of grants and offices from the duke's Welsh estates in the 1440s.[1]

Devereux's company contained six men-at-arms, including William Merbury, probably a kinsman of Devereux's wife Elizabeth, the daughter of John Merbury, sometime justiciar of south Wales. Merbury and two others of this company, Thomas Irville and William Turner, were still members of Walter Devereux's retinue in 1443, when they were sent to safeguard the towns of Arques and Neufchâtel.[2] Of the remaining three men-at-arms,

---

1. In 1443-44 Henry ap Griffith was master forester of York's lordship of Builth, a position which he held for life in return for a £10 fee. In the same year he was granted £39 for a similar office in the honor of Clare in Suffolk, and a £10 annuity from the lordship of Clifford in Wales (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, 818). Devereux held Weobley of the duke of York and was constable of Wigmore castle. In 1443-44 he was in receipt of a £20 annuity from York's manor of Pembridge in Herefordshire. Storey, End of the House of Lancaster, p. 230; P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, 818.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25777/1647.

Richard Walwyn may be linked with Devereux through a grant made to the latter in 1441 of the wordship and marriage of the three daughters of John Walwyn, esquire.[1] The other two soldiers, Laurence and Nicholas Melinton, were perhaps the Laurence and Nicholas Myllington of Framlingham in Norfolk who, as supporters of John, duke of Norfolk, York's nephew, were accused in February 1452 of having attempted to subvert the election of knights of the shire for that county.[2]

A number of men in York's retinue have already been mentioned as holding offices and fees from the duke. They included Richard Leyland, John Flegge, John Langley, John Wingfield and Edmund Mulso. Henry Mulso, esquire, captained one man-at-arms and some archers. Other office-holders under York were also numbered in this retinue. John Profoot in 1447-48 was receiver-general of the duke's finances 'de la mer';[3] and William Browning had been commissioned by York as his treasurer of the wars at the outset of the expedition.[4]

Several men of minor stature in this retinue were also receiving fees within the next few years. On 21 August 1443 John Cotes, a Northamptonshire esquire, was granted office as parker of Fotheringhay by the duke's letters patent, dated at Rouen.[5] Another man, John Washbourne, was in receipt of the issues of the customs in the port of London which had been granted to York; the sum amounted to £6 13s. 4d. in 1446.[6] William Scot

---

1. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 154.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, T.R., Council and Privy Seal, 84 m.24.
3. B.M., Add.Ch. 492, 1513, 8031.
4. Ibid., 142. William Browning, senior, of Melbury Sampford in Dorset, had been the duk 's receiver for Somerset and Dorset since at least 1436-37; from 27 May 1449 he was surveyor there for life. After the duke's attainder he was continued in office by Henry VI. He was also employed by Sir James Ormond to collect revenue from his lands in these counties. B.M., Egerton Rolls, 8781, 8783-85.
5. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6 m.2.
6. B.M., Egerton Ms., 3600 D.f.77. Washbourne was dead by 1 May 1458, when Edmund Mulso requested prayers to be said for his soul. P.C.C., 24 Stokton.

is mentioned in the duke's accounts as having ridden to Beaumaris from London in 1449-50, perhaps in connection with York's sudden return from Ireland after Cade's rebellion.[1]

One of these esquires, John Newport, was captured in 1445 at Dieppe where, as 'familier unto oure cousin the Duc of York', he was ransomed for the sum of 1,500 salus d'or. To aid him in this matter, the king granted Newport £100 and a licence to ship uncustomed wool.[2] A year later Newport was occupying the office of steward of the Isle of Wight for York;[3] by 1450 the islanders were petitioning Parliament to remove him, citing numerous examples of his oppressive rule and greedy ambition.[4] His discharge both from the stewardship and from York's service seems to have been complete. Thereafter, he followed a career at Court, and although denounced as one of the king's unscrupulous advisers in 1451, he remained in Henry's service.[5]

A small group of esquires from Yorkshire was also included in York's personal retinue. William Skipwith, Oldhall's step-son, and Leonard Hastings, the father of Edward IV's servant, William, Lord Hastings, both held office on the duke's estates in that county. The former, as Sir William Skipwith, was indicted in 1452 of having, with others of the duke's affinity, assisted in raising 100 armed men at Grantham to aid York.[6] However, he did refuse to serve against the king at St. Albans in 1455, for which betrayal he was afterwards expelled from his Yorkshire office

---

1. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8785.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 62/235.
3. York had inherited the island from Philippa, duchess of York and 'dame de l'ysle de Wyght', who died in 1433. Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 234.
4. R.P., V, 204.
5. He is described as a 'king's servant' between 1433 and 1460, according to Wedgwood, op.cit., p. 630.
6. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 65A m.20.

as steward of Hatfield and Conisborough by the duke of York.[1]

Hastings had succeeded his brother Sir Richard, who in turn had inherited the family estates from their eldest brother Sir Ralph, who was beheaded for his part in the Scrope rebellion of 1405.[2] Leonard Hastings served under the earl of March at Agincourt in 1415, following his nephew to France twenty-five years later at the head of one man-at-arms and several archers.[3] Probably he served in Normandy only for the term of his indentures. Knighted by February 1446, Dugdale describes him as a servant held in great esteem by the duke of York.[4] On 5 March 1435, Hastings had received a yearly rent of £15 from York's manor of Clarethall in Essex, and by 30 September a further grant of £15 a year for life. Clarethall was later granted by the duke to Edmund Mulso; in return, Leonard Hastings obtained the revenue from all York's lands within the lordship and manor of Cottingham (Yorks.) on 1 October 1448.[5] From the duke's manors in Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1444, he was taking a fee of £5 as chief ranger of the forest of Ware, a post which he held from October 1422.[6] In his will, dated 8 October 1455, Hastings requested his feoffees, headed by Richard of York, 'the right high and mighty Prince, my gracious and special Lord', to deliver his lands to his wife Alice for the term of her life.[7] The remaining Yorkshire esquires included John Savile - of either Thornhill or Copley - and Godfrey Hilton of Irnham in Lincolnshire and Swine in Holderness. None of these four men held office in Normandy under

---

1. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 552.
2. G. Poulson, The History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness (4 vols., Hull, 1841), vol. II, p. 22.
3. Nicolas, Battle of Agincourt, p. 336.
4. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 279.
5. Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Mss. of R. R. Hastings, esquire, (1928), vol. 1, p. 158.
6. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, 818.
7. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, p. 279.

the duke. Others, like John Pennington, who was in York's retinue, can be traced holding office in France, but nothing is known of Pennington's background.[1]

Apart from the tenants or retainers of the duke, two other groups of soldiers in this retinue can be discerned, though both types tend to overlap. These comprised experienced captains who had served under more than one commander in the past, and were to do so again in the future; and, secondly, members of the king's household who were directed to go with York's army to France in 1441.

Robert Saltmarsh is an example of the first group. In 1423-24 he was captain of Pont l'Évêque, a member of John, duke of Bedford's company ten years later, and captain of Pont l'Évêque once more for a short time in 1445.[2] Cuthbert Colville had been a member of the retinue of Sir Philip Chetwind, accompanying the earl of Huntingdon's army to Aquitaine in 1439.[3] He reappears in 1449 as one of the captains leading the last English army to Normandy under Sir Thomas Kyriell.[4] Delays in the payment of wages for this army, which was quartered at Portsmouth for nearly five months, caused a great deal of disturbance and finally resulted in the murder of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester and keeper of the Privy seal. Moleyns had arrived to take the musters of the army and to pay the second quarter-year wages, when he was attacked by a group of shipmen 'and sum mys-a-wysed men of the sowdyers'.[5] In 1451 Cuthbert

---

1. Either he was an absentee captain or had embarked with troops sent ahead of the main army, for by March 1441 he was captain of Pontaudemer, later held by Edmund Mulso (A.N., K67/1/7). Mulso and Sir Richard Wydeville also seem to have been serving in Normandy by early 1441. Ibid., K67/1/1,12.
2. B.M., Add. Ch. 92; French Rolls, p. 300; A.N., K68/18/1.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 53/22.
4. Alias Chamberlain. Stevenson, op.cit., II, 765.
5. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 189; 'John Benet's Chronicle', Camden Miscellanea, XXIV, 24.

Colville was indicted of having attacked and murdered Adam Moleyns. He was then described 'as of London, esquire, alias soldier, alias of the king's household'.[1] It was probably as a king's esquire that he had served under both Huntingdon and York; and there seems to be little evidence to link Moleyn's murder with Richard of York, as did one chronicler,[2] since Kyriell's army was led by an amalgam of courtiers and followers of the duke of Somerset.

Other members of the king's household ordered to go with York in 1441 were Pierres Rousseau, a king's serjeant-at-arms, and John Clampard, who in 1436 was the king's 'canoigner' and by 1449 joint master-smith at the Tower of London with his brother Stephen.[3] Rousseau had been assigned £10 to equip himself in readness for the army's departure in return for attending the duke as a sergeant-at-arms. He agreed to receive no further payment and to remain in France for six months, as from 1 September 1440. The delays involved in recruiting the army resulted in Rousseau receiving additional sums.[4]

York's personal retinue, then, was composed of several different groups. For the most part they included tenants and retainers who recruited a following from amongst their own servants, associates and kinsfolk. This pattern was repeated throughout the companies which made up the army as a whole, from John de Vere, earl of Oxford, at the head

---

1. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 109 m.25.
2. Chronique de Mathieu D'Escouchy, I, 303.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 54/139; 65/242. By 1414 artillery was placed under the jurisdiction of the newly-formed Ordnance department. The equipment was manufactured by contract on an almost industrial scale, and stored in England at the Tower of London, in Normandy at Caen. The Clampards were evidently both suppliers and master craftsmen who profited from the war industry, (K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1328-1498 (London, 1967), p.116). See also H.M.C., 8th Report (1881), p. 634, for the supplying by Stephen Clampard of an iron grating weighing 1,438 lbs. to the dean and chapter of St. Pauls at a cost of £63. 2s. 0d.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 56/301; 57/183.

of sixty men-at-arms, to Walter Devereux, esquire, at the head of six. York also included in his ranks soldiers of some experience who presumably regarded service as lucrative enough to volunteer more than once. Others, like Rousseau and Clampard, were required to go by the king in order to fulfill special duties.

York's chamberlain, Sir William Oldhall, was not included in the duke's retinue but led his own company of forty-two men-at-arms. At least two o these had already seen service under Oldhall. Richard Curson and William Hughes had been stationed at Bayeux, captained by Sir William, in October 1438, and Curson had also been in his garrison at Essay in September 1434.[1] By October 1441, these two men, together with Richard Bontemps, a third member of the retinue, were installed at Coutances under Oldhall. Hughes remained in the garrison there throughout 1445 and 1446, under the orders of Sir Theobald Gorges.[2]

Richard Bontemps and John Harpesfield, serving with Oldhall in 1441, were both members of his household. In that year, Bontemps was <u>clerc de notre aime et feal conseiller, William Oldhall, chevalier,</u> whilst Harpesfield was described in 1442 and 1443 as his <u>clerc et serviteur</u>.[3] In June 1445 Sir William, in his capacity as a king's councillor, was entitled to a personal bodyguard of three men-at-arms and thirteen archers. At this date the three soldiers were Richard Bontemps, John Davy (who had also served at Bayeux in 1438) and Henry Don.[4] Bontemps had

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25771/890; 25775/1372.
2. Ibid., 25776/1539; A.N., K68/18/28; Luce, <u>Mont-Saint-Michel</u>, II, 198-99.
3. A.N., K67/1/43; B.M., Add.Ch. 12,133; <u>Les Sources de l'histoire de Normandie</u>, ed M.Nortier (Nogent-sur-Marne, 1959), p.601.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1372.

been introduced into the duke of York's administration by 3 September 1446, when he was contreroleur de la recepte generale des finances et revenues of the lands granted to York in 1444.[1] On 24 February 1447 Richard Bontemps and Simon Desplaces were jointly administering the receipt and expenditure of York's fee as lieutenant of France and Normandy.[2]

Oldhall's company in 1441 contained its own sprinkling of professional mercenaries. Aymer Aymesworth (who, together with William Orford, then in Sir Richard Wydeville's retinue) crossed with Sir Thomas Rempston to Aquitaine in 1439.[3] He had also served in the company of William Glasdale, bailiff of Alençon, in the spring of 1426.[4] Another man, Thomas Wilcotes, had also gone to Aquitaine in 1439 in the company of John, earl of Huntingdon.[5] A third soldier of Oldhall's following, Richard Paris from Westerham in Kent, had been granted a safe-conduct to cross to France in 1431 with Edmund Beaufort.[6] In June 1446 Paris was in charge of one man-at-arms and a band of archers under the orders of John Stanlow, treasurer of Normandy, pour chevaucher et garder le pays autour le bourg Achautres. He had previously served for a brief period in the operations conducted by Adam Hilton at the bastide before Elboeuf in September 1441.[7]

11. Sir James Ormond's Indentured Retinue.

Much has been written on the subject of the contracts and sub-contracts

---

1. B.N., P.O. 3056 m.6.
2. B.M., Add.Ch. 496. Similarly, Sir John Fastolf's servant, Nicholas Molyneux, was introduced into York's administration.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/22.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/143; /217.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Varous Accounts, 53/22.
6. French Rolls, p.280.
7. B.M., Add.Ch. 12,224; 12,286; Add.Ms. 21, 411 f.32.

by means of which armies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were raised.[1] Of the indentures that survive for York's army of 1441, the largest number concern the composition of Sir James Ormond's retinue. For the forty-one men-at-arms led by Ormond, seventeen individual indentures can be found to illustrate the formation of his company in a way unparalleled for the remainder of York's captains.

Sir James Butler (or Ormond as he was better known) was the heir of James, earl of Ormond, who served as York's lieutenant in Ireland in 1450. Sometime before July 1438, Sir James had married Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Stafford and Maud Lovell, and through this aliance he became a landowner of note in Dorset and the south-western counties.[2] For the next ten years or more, he worked in fairly close co-operation with his neighbour, Richard, duke of York. On 24 March 1446, by letters patent issued by the duke in London, Sir James was appointed York's steward of various lordships in Dorset, occupying the office for life and holding the farm of certain lands there. In 1450-51 Ormond received the sum of £13 6s. 8d. for these offices, with an additional fee of £2 as steward of the lordship of Marshwood in Dorset, held as before for life.[3]

The late 1430s had seen Ormond preoccupied with estates in Essex and Cambridgeshire which were in the hands of himself and of his brothers John and Thomas. His chief rival in this area was John, Lord Tiptoft, of whom Ormond declared that if he should recite the wrongs 'doon by the

---

1. For articles on the indenture system see, for example, A.E.Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. E.F.Jacob et al. (Manchester, 1933), pp. 283-97, and J.W.Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and the English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', E.H.R., LXXIX (1964), 718-46.
2. G.E.C., II, 153.
3. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/11 m.1, 3; B.M., Egerton Roll, 8783. Ormond held at farm the manors of Tarrent Gunville, Wareham, Stuple and Criche.

seid lord Typtot unto other men of the shyre of Cambrygge, he shold make to longe a boke'.[1] The quarrel resulted in accusations from both sides and a bloody clash was only narrowly diverted between 180 of Tiptoft's men and Ormond's supporters, led by Henry Filongley and William Tyrell, in Cambridge market-place.[2]

Ormond's attempt to appoint one of his own men to the double shrievalty of Cambridgeshire and Essex at about the same time was made in conjunction with Sir Robert Cromwell, first cousin of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, who also led a retinue of nine men-at-arms under York in 1441.[3] One of Cromwell's own company here, was Walter Tailbois, possibly the father of William Tailbois of Kyme in Lincolnshire, the 'powerful gangster' who was accused of a murderous attack on Ralph, Lord Cromwell in the parliament of November 1449.[4] Sir Robert did not survive the term of his indentures; writs diem clausit extremum were issued on 8 December 1441 after his death.[5]

All the indentures that survive for Sir James Ormond's retinue conform to a similar pattern. Each man-at-arms was to serve 'complete with bassent or salade with visere, speare, axe, sebard and dagge'. In all but two cases, the men were to be accompanied by two, three or four archers, who were to be 'wele chosen men and likly persones'. These were to be fitted

---

1. B.M., Egerton Roll 8791.
2. Ibid.
3. B.M., Egerton Roll 8792. After the death of his father, Sir William Cromwell, in 1429, Sir Robert's lands, wardship and marriage were entrusted to his uncle, Ralph, Lord Cromwell. C.F.R., 1422-30, p. 265; ibid.,1437-45, p. 251.
4. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, p. 494. Walter Tailbois was of Harbotell and Otterbourn in Northumberland, and Sotby in Lincolnshire. He died in 1444. In 1452 and 1453, a William Tailbois was holding the fee-farm of York's lordship of Shillinghope in the honour of Clare. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6 m.4d. See also R.Virgoe,'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', Bull. John Rylands Library, LV (1973), 459-82.
5. C.F.R., 1437-45, p.196, for the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln and Berkshire.

out with a 'good jakke of defence, salades, seberds and sheves of Xl arowes at least', and all were to be mounted.[1] Each sub-captain was to take 12d. a day, the archers taking 6d. with the usual reward. All were bound to serve for one year from the date of the indenture wherever it should like Sir James to command them. The customary reserving clauses were included, together with instructions on the method of payment. In addition, a somewhat unusual feature was that each man was to wear the livery of the duke of York, according to his degree. Lastly, the sub-captains were required to maintain certain standards of discipline laid down in the statutes of war.[2]

Furthermore, Ormond's retainers bound themselves by certain sums of money (which varied from the £200 put up by Sir William Saintgeorge, to the £40 raised by the majority) to Sir James Ormond to guarantee the fulfilment of their contracts. These sums were usually raised in conjunction with one or more mainpernors, who were willing to bear the responsibility in the event of non-performance of any of the clauses stipulated in the indenture. In comparison with the sums of money raised for certain soldiers in 1425, the amounts mentioned here were comparatively small. In that year, the mainpernors for Nicholas Carington, esquire, were bound in the sum of £1,000 that he would fulfill his obligations, and other esquires were bound in the sums of 500 and 100 marks.[3] The names of several mainpernors in 1441 reveal the sub-captains' association with Ormond; for example, Laurence Cheyne, esquire, who acted as co-surety for Ralph Butler,

---

1. See P.R.O., Chancery, Miscellanea, 10/26 no.8; and Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed. E.Curtis (Dublin, 1935), vol. 111, pp. 126-28, for the indenture with Thomas Prendergast. The exceptions were Sir William Saintgeorge, leading five men-at-arms and eighteen archers, and James Scudamore with six archers.
2. These are set out in full in The Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. J.Twiss (Rolls ser., 4 vols., 1871), vol. 1, pp. 282-95.
3. C.C.R., 1422-29, pp. 197, 198.

a man-at-arms, both of Ditton in Cambridgeshire, took part in Sir James's attempt to influence the county elections for sheriff.[1] John Butler of Ireland, who indented on 22 February 1441, was the brother of Sir James; as John Ormond, esquire, he was captured by the French at the surrender of the garrison of Vernon in August 1449.[2] Ralph Butler may also have been related to Ormond.

More than one of the mainpernors called upon to guarantee the service of Ormond's company had served in France or was later to do so. These included Laurence Rainford, who stood guarantor for Thomas Dore of Essex, George Nessfield of Yorkshire, who acted for Thomas Wales, and Sir Philip Redford, who stood for Thomas Prendergast, a 'gentleman, of Ireland'.[3] Sir Philip's co-surety was Owen Tudor, the second husband of Henry V's queen, who was himself to serve in France in the 1440s.[4] By this bond, dated

---

1. B.M., Egerton Roll, 8792.
2. Stevenson, Narratives, p. 269; Idem, Letters and Papers, I, 621.
3. In April and July 1443, Laurence Rainford, esquire, was captain of Regneville (B.N., 25777/1642; ibid., Nouv. Acq. 8602/29). He was taken prisoner at Formigny, on 15 August 1450, but was no doubt ransomed, for several weeks later he was amongst the English besieged in Caen. On 4 November 1450 he received 300 livres tournois pour le recompenser de certains chevaulx et autres biens, (Escouchy, III, 374). George Nessfield was captain of Vire from 21 April to 25 December 1420. On 5 September 1428 a man of the same name was serving in the garrison at Tombelaine, where he was acting as 'controlleur' in March 1430 and the two years following. On 24 March 1438 he was at Coutances under John, Lord Darcy (B.N., Nouv. Acq. 1482/6; A.N., K64/23/12; Hunger, Vire, pp. 67-68). Sir Philip Redford was probably related to York's councillor, Sir Henry Redford. They both received safe-conducts to cross to France with the earl of Arundel in March 1430. Together with Laurence Rainford, Sir Philip was pardoned of having murdered William Birmingham on 2 March 1441 in the parish of St. Nicholas Coldabbey in London. French Rolls, p. 268; C.P.R., 1441-46, pp. 84-85, 89.
4. Owen Tudor, the grandfather of Henry VII, had been imprisoned in Newgate gaol after the death of Henry V's queen, Katherine, to whom he had been secretly married and who had borne him two sons, Jasper and Edmund, later to be created earls of Pembroke and Richmond respectively, by their half-brother Henry VI. Early in the summer of 1438, Owen escaped from Newgate, wounding his keeper in the process. After sponsering Thomas Prendergast, Tudor himself crossed to France where, in an indenture dated 20 December 1444, he was appointed captain of Regneville in succession to William Minors, who had agreed to surrender the office in exchange for 300 livres tournois. The muster of Tudor's men-at-arms on 22 December 1445 shows the garrison to have been composed of five spearmen and fifteen archers. He seems to have remained at Regneville until the final surrender of the garrison in 1449. Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, ed. J.C.Nichols (Camden Soc., 1852), p. 17; C.A.D., VI, no. C4734; Luce, Mont-Saint-Michel, II, 191; A.N. K68/12/23; E.Sarot, Le Château de Regneville (Coutances, 1911), p. 23.

Sir James, whilst Laurence Cheyne, his supporter, was indirectly concerned with the raising of the retinue, as doubtless were others of his affinity. The presence in York's army of Sir Robert Cromwell, Ormond's partner in his recent campaign of intimidation in Cambridge, suggests that the two young men saw, or were persuaded to seek, opportunities in a career abroad.

111. Three Noble Retinues.

Three members of the English nobility contributed retinues to swell York's army in 1441. The largest company, after the duke's own, was the sixty soldiers led by John, earl of Oxford. Henry Bourchier, count of Eu in Normandy, York's brother-in-law, commanded forty-three men-at-arms, and John, Lord Clinton and Say provided a further nineteen. What evidence there is suggests that their companies were formed in a similar way to that of York and Ormond.

William Kighley and John Lightfoot, serving under the earl of Oxford, had previously served in the retinues of the earl's brothers, Sir Robert and Richard de Vere, as part of the army accompanying John, earl of Huntingdon to Aquitaine in 1439.[1] William Mortimer remained in France to serve in the garrison at St. Lô under Sir Robert Vere, where he was stationed in 1443 and 1445.[2] A fourth member of Oxford's company, John Lewis, went to France again in 1443 as a man-at-arms with Sir Robert, in the expedition led by John, earl of Somerset.[3] Oxford himself was never closely involved

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/22.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25777/1674; ibid., Nouv. Acq. 8602/36.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 54/5.

in the occupation of France, except for this one occasion. For his younger brothers the wars provided an opportunity to pursue their own fortunes: Sir Robert de Vere remained in Normandy until the end of the occupation, and he was one of the knights surrendered as a hostage to the French after the taking of Caen.[1]

Henry Bourchier, count of Eu led a company of men, many of whom were connected with the service of his half-brother, Humphrey, earl of Stafford. Foremost amongst these was Edmund Arblaster, esquire, who headed Bourchier's retinue. He was probably the son of Thomas Arblaster, Stafford's steward of Newport and Atherton. A Thomas Arblaster had fought at Agincourt in the company of Sir William Bourchier, Henry's father.[2] Edmund had already seen action in France, for in September 1438 he was granted a licence to ship uncustomed wool to Normandy to help defray his ransom.[3] He was unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner once more before the end of the war. By 1454 he was still unable to pay the ransom demanded of him; and William, Lord Neville, who had agreed to stand surety for its payment, petitioned the king to allow him to surrender Arblaster to his French captor.[4]

Another member of this retinue was Henry Bruin, the heir of Sir Maurice Bruin of South Ockendon in Essex, a county where both York and Bourchier held estates. Sir Maurice had previously acted as steward to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and on 30 May 1439 had been appointed by the

---

1. V. Hunger, Le Siège et Prise de Caen, p. 12 n.1.
2. Longleat Ms. 6411 m.3d; and see W. Fowler Carter, 'Notes on Staffordshire Families; Arblaster of Longdon', William Salt Arch. Soc. Collections (1925), pp. 1-24; Nicolas, Agincourt, p. 360.
3. French Rolls, p. 325.
4. P.P.C., VI, 208.

duke to the keeping of Rysbank Tower in Calais harbour.[1] Henry Bruin's mother, Elizabeth, was a sister of Sir Henry Redford, afterwards councillor to the duke of York.[2] Redford received a safe-conduct to cross to France under Stafford, then duke of Buckingham, in the spring of 1445.[3] In 1450 Henry Bruin was appointed steward of the Isle of Wight, to replace York's servant John Newport; after all, his own family owned estates in Hampshire.[4] Like William Tyrell, a member of York's retinue in 1441, Bruin married a daughter of Robert Darcy, an Essex lawyer who in his time acted as feoffee for the dukes of York and Buckingham, Henry, Lord Bourchier and Sir James Ormond.[5]

John Bourchier, esquire, the earl's son, also led a company of nineteen men-at-arms under York in 1441. Both he and his father were employed at the siege of Pontoise shortly after landing in Normandy, and though the count"s company at the siege contained none of the retinue which had accompanied him to France, five of his son's company were serving at Pontoise in September 1441.[6]

The last noble retinue in York's army was that commanded by John, Lord Clinton and Say. He too was connected by marriage with York's councillor, Sir Henry Redford, for his father Sir William had taken as his third wife, Mary, the widow of Sir Henry Redford the elder, of Carlton Paynell and Castlethorpe in Lincolnshire.[7] As one of the poorer members of the nobility Lord Clinton's fortune was adversely affected by his service

---

1. Leland, Itineraries, IV, 3; French Rolls, p. 328.
2. The Visitation of Essex, ed. W.Metcalfe (Harleian Soc. 1878), vol. II, p155
3. French Rolls, p. 365.
4. R.P., V, 204-5.
5. P.R.O., Chancery, Miscellanea, 9/16; C.C.R., 1429-35, p. 258; ibid., 1447-54, p. 142; C.P.R., 1436-41, pp. 532-33.
6. A.N., K67/1/27, 41.
7. G.E.C., III, 315. In 1399 Sir William became one of the co-heirs of the barony of Say in right of his grandmother. The barony was conferred by deed of John, Lord Clinton and Sir Roger Fiennes, dated 1 November 1448, on the latter's younger brother, Sir James Fiennes; although the title had been relinquished, the Clintons continued at times to use it.

in France. He had served in the 1420s and 30s but this was probably his last journey, for no further mention of service appears in the records other than his capture by the French and his ransom for 6,000 marks. He remained in captivity for six years before the sum could be raised.[1]

By 1450-51, Henry, Lord Bourchier was being referred to as a councillor of his brother-in-law, the duke of York.[2] John, Lord Clinton was a member of that small company of nobles which supported York at St. Albans in 1455. By December 1457 he was in receipt of a yearly fee of 40 marks from the duke's Gloucestershire estates, and was eventually attainted with other Yorkist supporters in the Coventry Parliament which met in November 1459.[3] Both had tenuous links with Sir Henry Redford, but there is no evidence to suggest that any of the three men had any special relationship with Richard of York before the 1450s.

IV. The Company of Knights.

Of the twelve knights in York's army, only four did not hold any office under York in France. Three of the knights, Sir John Cressy, Sir Ralph Gray and Sir Robert Cromwell, died before the duke's period of appointment was over. The rest remained in France, or returned there later to serve as captains in the garrisons under the control of the English. Apart from

---

1. Ibid..
2. B.M., Egerton Roll 8364.
3. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 850/28; E.F.Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, pp. 511, 516.

Cromwell, the three knights who held no further office, Sir Lewis John, Sir Robert Conyers and Sir Henry Hussey, had all had some experience of service in France.

Sir Lewis John was in fact a tradesman who had prospered sufficiently to rise above his fellows and who, by his own two marriages and by those of his children, became allied to a number of noble or important gentry families.[1] He had, however, fought at Agincourt at the head of two men-at-arms and six archers.[2] Together with Edmund Beaufort, he had served as a member of Cardinal Beaufort's retinue in 1430, and in February 1438 he was instructed by the English Council to prepare a report, in conjunction with Sir John Popham, on the state of the English garrisons in France and Normandy.[3] He was knighted the following year. No doubt old age prevented his continuing service in France - possibly even bad health, for Sir Lewis died in 1442, a year after York's army left England.

Sir Robert Conyers, leading eight men-at-arms, had been a member of Bedford's retinue in the 1430s.[4] Together with several of the most important members of York's council, he was one of the witnesses to a charter of the duke's, dated at Bury St. Edmunds in February 1447.[5]

---

1. Of East Horndon and Thorndon in Essex. See A.D.Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War', W.H.R., vol. IV (1968), pp. 38-39; idem, 'Sir Lewis John - a Medieval London Welshman', Bull. Board of Celtic Studies, XXII (1967), 260-70. His first wife was Alice de Vere, sister of Richard, earl of Oxford; his second was Anne Montague, daughter of John, earl of Salisbury. He had nine children, the Fitzlewis's, of whom Anne afterwards married Thomas Butler, brother of James Ormond, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire; Mary became the wife of Anthony Wydeville; Henry married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Edmund, duke of Somerset; Elizabeth married, about 1455, the Yorkist knight Sir John Wingfield, and Margaret had married the Lancastrian knight, Sir William Lucy, two years earlier.
2. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years War', p. 39.
3. French Rolls, p. 282.
4. Stevenson, Letters and Papers, II, 436, 541. A Robert Conyers was at Evreux in November 1423. In February 1429 he was lieutenant at Avranches and in 1433-34 was joint-captain with John Harpelay of Cherbourg for Bedford, and lieutenant there the following year. In December 1435, after the Regent's death, Conyers became captain of Cherbourg. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/49; 25769/465; 25772/945, 1036.
5. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 231.

His son John by his marriage with Maud Fitzralph was attainted with other Yorkists by the Coventry Parliament.[1]

There were two men named Henry Hussey in France during this period, father and son, whose careers tend to overlap. Sir Henry Hussey the elder had fought at Agincourt in the retinue of Humphrey of Gloucester, and in 1421 he was holding the captaincy of Gaillon.[2] He died in 1449, his son having begun his military career some ten years previously, when he crossed to France in 1439 as an esquire underRichard Wydeville.[3] It was probably he, as Sir Henry Hussey, who was serving in November of the following year as one of the lances a la conduite of Edmund, earl of Dorset. In 1441 he was leading thirteen men-at-arms in York's army.[4] Two of the men in this company, Hugh Conway and Hugh Mortimer, headed their own small companies. A third soldier, Raoulin Say, was lieutenant for the duke of York at Rouen by November 1441.[5] Hussey seems to have had nothing more to do with the wars in France thereafter. Instead, he concentrated on his own private affairs, which included the harassment of the abbey at Durford in Sussex where, in 1454, the abbot complained that Hussey 'ii or iii tymes yerly hath made assawte with force of armes'. Hussey's 'riottous rewle' was still continuing two years later, when the abbot declared that as a result of his activities, the brethren were afraid to hold divine service.[6]

---

1. R.P., V. 348.
2. Nicolas, Agincourt, p. 352; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 49/30. In June 1418 he was serving in the retinue of Thomas, duke of Exeter.
3. French Rolls, p. 329.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1449.
5. Ibid., 1480.
6. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 22/174; 26/615.

The remaining knights in York's retinue all held captaincies during the duke's second administration. Sir Ralph Grey, whose retinue was only three men short of the sixty led by the earl of Oxford, was captain of Mantes later in the same year.[1] Sir William Bucton, who had probably served at Agincourt, was a contemporary of Fastolf and Oldhall.[2] In January 1424 he was captain of Mantes, serving with the army that conquered Maine. From at least May 1436 until October 1438, he was in charge of the garrison at Lisieux.[3] In 1441 he led a company of nine men-at-arms and by the end of the year was heading the castle garrison at Rouen under John, Lord Talbot.[4]

John Montague, the bastard son of Thomas, earl of Salisbury, was named as one of York's personal retinue, and he also provided a man-at-arms and archers under his own command. After the death of his father at Orléans, he served intermittently in France, where he was captain of Argentan in August 1434. Under York he was appointed captain of Fresnay in 1446.[5] Sir William Chamberlain, at the head of thirty men-at-arms, had served in France in 1430 at Pontoise under Robert, Lord Willoughby.[6] In 1438 he married Anne, the daughter of Sir John Fastolf's nephew, Sir Robert Harling. He had returned to France by the autumn of 1439, when he surrendered the market at Meaux to the French.[7] William Dawn of Overy (Cheshire), a member of his company at that time, also served in his retinue in 1441.[8] By February 1442 Chamberlain was captain of Gerberoy, and in November 1445 he was captain of the Seine bridge at Rouen for the duke of York.[9] Only one

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25776/1538. Of Heton in Yorkshire, he died in France before November 1444.
2. He was later involved in a dispute concerning prisoners captured at Agincourt. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 6/76.
3. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,536; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25773/1085; A.N. K64/23/9.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25776/1546; Nouv. Acq. 8602/24. He was of Welwickthorp in Holderness.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25771/888; 25777/1774.
6. B.M., Add.Ch. 11,663.
7. P.P.C., V, 385, 387.
8. French Rolls, p. 328.
9. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25776/1613; 25777/1755.

soldier from 1441, William Preston, remained to serve in both of these garrisons. In July 1446 Preston had transferred to the service of Robert Wawain, another ex-member of Chamberlain's retinue.[1]

The last of the knights was Sir Richard Wydeville, who stood at the head of thirty-four men-at-arms. His unauthorised marriage to Jaquetta, the duke of Bedford's widow, had cost him £1,000, the price of the king's goodwill.[2] His father, Richard Wydeville, esquire, a veteran of the wars, owned lands in the shires of Bedford, Northampton, Devon and Lincoln, areas whence came certain of his son's soldiers in 1441. These included William Bertram, who acted as Sir Richard's mainpernor in July 1445 and was described as 'of Asplegyse, county Bedfordshire, gentleman'; he did so again in June 1450 as 'of Grafton, Northamptonshire, esquire'.[3] Bertram was evidently a member of Wydeville's household. In October 1446 he was granted licence to ship from the port of London twenty pieces of woollen cloth for the clothing of Wydeville's servants and household, and without payment of customs.[4]

Three members of this retinue, Guy Bitellsgate, Nicholas Hawk and John Strelley, were serving in Wydeville's garrison of Alençon in March 1444, a captaincy which he held, probably continuously, until 1449.[5] Bitellsgate may have had some family connection with his captain, since Wydeville's father had married a lady of that name.[6]

---

1. B.M., Add.Ms. 21,411 f.33; Add.Ch. 12,292.
2. R.P., IV, 498.
3. C.F.R., 1437-45, p. 320; ibid., 1445-52, pp. 153, 158.
4. C.C.R., 1441-47, pp. 240, 253.
5. See Appendix II; Alençon.
6. G.E.C., XI, 17.

William Orford, who has been already mentioned as having served under Huntingdon in 1439, and Ive Iveson represented the professional element. After the expiration of his indentures, Iveson returned to France in 1442 at the head of a company of archers under the direction of Sir Henry Clifford, and served with Lord Talbot at Dieppe.[1] Thus, the members of these companies were free to serve both when and under whom they preferred. More often than not, those men who appear time and again in the retinue of the same captain were attached to his household and affinity in England.

The rest of the army was composed of esquires enjoying minor commands. Seventeen of these men were of the duke's retinue; two were under Sir Henry Hussey; John Bourchier, esquire, was probably with his father, the count of Eu; and the remaining five were possibly all professional soldiers. Three of this five certainly were. The names of Thomas and William Damport and of James Standish occur more than once in the records of the English occupation. The Damports were most likely cadets of the family settled at Bramhall in Cheshire.[2] Thomas had served the duke of Bedford as an esquire of the Chamber, and he held land worth 100 <u>salus d'or</u> in the baillages of Caen and the Cotentin.[3]

From this examination of York's army in 1441, it can be seen that its formation was not based merely on a haphazard formation of retinues. The main bond between a captain and his retainers was a territorial one; each man's retinue contained a nucleus usually composed from his own family, his household, tenants, neighbours and well-wishers. These then supplied

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 54/2.
2. <u>Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancashire by William Flower, 1567</u>, ed. F.R.Raines (Chetham Soc., 1870), p. 19.
3. <u>Le Cacheux</u>, II, 350.

their own companies from similar 'connections'. The most experienced soldiers in this army of 1441 were the knights, whose retinues frequently contained a core of men who had seen service under them in the past. If a man's associates did not serve in person, then, like LaurenceCheyne, they could contribute to the raising of his retinue indirectly. Service by the captains seems to have been principally directed by personal inclination. Some, like the earl of Oxford, served only once, whilst many others returned to France time and again.

The duke of York's powers of appointment and patronage in his second period of administration were directed towards the promotion of his own captains and supporters. A good example of this was Sir William Oldhall, who held no less than six captaincies in four years besides various other offices. Whenever possible commands went to members of his personal retinue, including Walter Devereux, Edmund Mulso, John Wingfield, John Flegge and others who had had no previous experience of military service. Devereux and Mulso were especially singled out for appointment, and they received knighthood in these years. Richard Bontemps, Oldhall's servant, was not the only member of that knight's company to receive office from the duke of York. John and Philip Harnois came to his notice through their association with York's chamberlain. John had been a mounted spearman at Essay under Sir William Oldhall in July 1436, whilst Philip served under him at Bayeux in October 1438, and by 1445 was at Pont de l'Arche which was captained by York.[1] In May 1445 John Harnois, now bailiff of Mantes, was commissioned by the duke to accompany Sir Richard Merbury to the court

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25773/1141; 25775/1372; 25777/1731.

of Charles VII in order to discuss the proposed marriage between York's son Edmund and one of the French princesses.[1] The project was abandoned in the face of the growing clamour over the cession of Maine and York returned to London for good at the end of the year.

York also attracted to his service some of the captains already established in Normandy. These included Sir John Salvain, John Stanlow, treasurer of the duchy, and Sir Henry Redford. One French source states that Redford married Jeanne de Brionne, a lady descended from one of the most illustrious houses in Normandy, though his first term in France seems to have been under York in 1436, by which date he had been married for over five years to Ellen, widow of Thomas Barneby, who outlived Redford to die in 1461.[2] Sir Henry served as captain of Vernon in 1436 and again in 1438, in which year he also became captain of Essay and bailiffof Alençon. During York's second administration, Redford retained the post of bailiff, and in 1444 was York's lieutenant at Rouen.[3] On 4 August of the same year, he was appointed maistre des eaues et forestz within his own bailiwick of Alençon. He successfully petitioned to be allowed to hold this post by deputy, since his appointment to Rouen prevented him from performing his duties in person.[4] Redford was further exempted from payment of £60 which he had undertaken to contribute towards the works at Rouen castle, in return for a grant of lands whose estimated annual value was £600. His claim set forth that as a result of the war, he was unable to find so large a sum.[5] There are indications that other of York's servants were

---

1. Stevenson, II, 79-86.
2. E.F.L. de Courtilloles, Chronologie Historique des grands baillis du comté et duché d'Alençon (Paris, 1872), p. 12; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 47/159. For Barneby, see R.A.Griffiths, 'The Glyn Dŵr Rebellion in North Wales through the eyes of an Englishman', Bull. Board of Celtic Studies, XXII (1967), 151-68.
3. Appendix II.
4. B.M., Add. Ch. 3981.
5. Ibid., 4011.

[illegible]stem.[1]

[illegible]ender,

[illegible]ined

he

[illegible]o

[illegible]ebing

[illegible]ended

[illegible]ums

[illegible]ell

[illegible]ess

Salisbury, received £100; a similar sum was paid to Sir John Beauchamp, whilst Sir James Fiennes received £40.[1] These payments represent a possible attempt by the duke to ensure the continuance of his appointment in France when his indentures expired. For a whole year the English Council was unable to come to a decision regarding the appointment of a new lieutenant. Instead, a group of officials, led by the French chancellor, Sir Thomas Hoo, was left to govern France as best they might. Prior to the confirmation of Somerset's appointment in December 1446, the populace of Rouen were puzzled by various proclamations made first in favour of Beaufort and then in favour of York.[2]

The conclusion of Somerset's indentures of office did not prevent the duke of York on 9 June 1447 from ordering the payment of two clerks, qui ont fait et escript hastement seven royal mandates incorporating his last letters of commission, as well as further payments for their despatch to the provinces. Whether Somerset's appointment was not effective until his army was finally gathered in readiness to depart, or whether, as Miss Burney writes, there was an attempted coup by York's council, it seems certain that York continued to regard himself as head of the interim council governing France.[3] Judging from an aquittance made by Sir Edmund Mulso to Simon Desplaces and Richard Bontemps in March 1447, the duke was still in receipt of his pension as lieutenant of the duchy at that date.[4]

Rouen may also have remained in York's hands for an appreciable time. A muster of the troops there, ordered by Somerset on 28 November 1447,

---

1. Ibid., 8787.
2. Burney, op.cit., p. 140.
3. Ibid..
4. B.N., P.O. 2080/20.

previously made to him as compensation. Heth's reply that he intended to put his trust in the general pardon recently issued to York's followers, was met by the statement that 'thogh he had the pardon sealid with a cartefull of wax it shulde not avayle him'. Recognising the force of this remark, Heth then complied with Doket's demands.[1]

Though a relatively unimportant member of York's affinity, who had served the duke both in England and in France, Heth demonstrates the importance attached to political power. As the duke's fortunes advanced, so did his. Similarly, York's councillors, united by their service in Normandy, their grants of office, fees and property from the duke's estates in England, and the ties amongst themselves of friendship and marriage, formed a compact group whose fortunes, whether in France or in England, were dependent on those of York himself. Over the next decade, Oldhall, Mulso and the rest of York's council who had returned with the duke from France into England and were, with few exceptions, wholehearted in their support of his actions. As Mulso saw it, both duty and honour were involved, whilst Oldhall spent three years in virtual imprisonment as a result of his connection with York.

It has often been suggested that the private armies which took part in the civil strife that followed the end of the Hundred Years' War were formed from the retinues which the lords had raised for service in France. While it is true that the two leading contestants, the dukes of Somerset and York, and many other lords had served in France, it can be seen from an analysis of York's retinue - and, indeed, of Somerset's - that the

---

1. C.C.R., 1454-61, pp. 77-78.

companies so raised were not merely an amalgam of mercenaries spoiling for a fight, but part of an existing confederation of household servants, retainers, neighbours and kinsmen. No doubt there were free-lance mercenaries involved in the civil disputes who were also veterans of the French wars, but they are of small importance compared with the number of men who followed their patrons from England to France and back again. York may have been an exception in that some, his chief councillors among them, joined him through service in France. But more often than not a lord's war retinue was formed from amongst an already established affinity in England.

Chapter V.

THE BEAUFORT FAMILY AND THE FRENCH WARS.

Henry V's conquest of France and its subsequent occupation by the English saw the creation of a tradition of service abroad by a number of noble and gentry families. Not least amongst these were members of the Beaufort family, headed by Thomas, duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset. In 1415 Dorset was present at the siege of Harfleur and ranked with the king's brothers as one of the principal captains in France. For his services he was created duke of Exeter in 1416, and two years later he received a grant of the French comté of Harecourt and the castle and lordship of Lillebonne, to be held in tail male.[1]

The four sons of Exeter's brother, John, earl of Somerset, the eldest of Gaunt's three illegitimate sons, also served in France in the first years of the conquest. Henry Beaufort, heir to the earldom of Somerset, was with Henry V in France in 1415, but he died unmarried three years later at the age of seventeen.[2] His three younger brothers, John, Thomas and Edmund, served with their step-father, Thomas, duke of Clarence, and all three were captured in the field at Baugé in 1421, where Clarence himself was killed.

Edmund seems to have been released after only a short period, for he was back in England by 1425.[3] His brothers were not so fortunate.

---

1. G.E.C., V. 201-3.
2. Ibid., XI, 45.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, p.19.

In 1427 the English Council received a petition from the earl of Somerset and his brother Thomas, in which they requested the mediation of John, duke of Bedford and their uncle, Thomas, duke of Exeter, to secure their release. By this date they had been purchased from their original captors by John, duke of Bourbon - or, rather, by his mother, since the duke himself was a prisoner of the English.[1] Negotiations for the ransom of Thomas Beaufort, created count of Perche after the death of Thomas, earl of Salisbury at the siege of Orleans in 1428, were under way by 1430, for in August of that year he was stationed at La Charité sur Loire at the head of 120 men-at-arms and 360 archers, and by November he was in Paris.[2] In February 1431 his mother, Margaret, duchess of Clarence, granted Thomas 2,000 marks from her dower of £2,000 paid at the Exchequer. On 14 March following, the count of Perche received licence to export £3,000 in gold as part of his ransom.[3]

On 8 February Thomas and his brother Edmund, count of Mortain, indented to serve the king in France for six months, each commanding 130 men-at-arms and 460 archers.[4] In April both Perche and Mortain were captains in the army leaving for France under the command of James, Lord Audley and Walter, Lord Fitzwalter, and in May the brothers indented specifically to serve at the siege of Louviers.[5] The siege operated for six months before Louviers was finally handed back to the English on the

---

1. P.R.O., Special Collections, Ancient Petition, 41/7018.
2. B.M., Add.Ch. 11,671; Demay, Inventaire des Sceaux, 11,7074. The Complete Peerage makes no mention of Thomas Beaufort as holding the title of count of Perche. After his death the title passed to Humphrey Stafford, earl of Buckingham.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 47/163; C.P.R., 1429-36, p.112. In April 1430 Cardinal Beaufort and the duchess of Clarence agreed to become bound for the payment of his ransom. Foedera, V, 6.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 47/166,168.
5. Foedera, V, 7; Bonnin, Cartulaire de Louviers, II, CCCLXXXII.

ng

heirs did not altogether lose over this. Margaret Beauchamp, the earl's widow, received 2,000 saluz d'or in 1447 from the duke of Orléans and others, who had stood as surety for Angoulême. At the time of Margaret's death in 1482, discussions over the payment of this ransom and that of the duke of Orléans himself were still in progress.[1]

Another, more enigmatic member of the Beaufort family also served in France in the 1440s. This was John Beaufort, 'bastard of Somerset', who led a retinue under his kinsman, the duke of Somerset, in 1443.[2] He was probably an illegitimate son of John, second earl of Somerset, the father of John and Edmund, though the date of his service in France implies that he could have been the son of the third earl. The third earl, during his years of imprisonment in France, is known to have had a bastard daughter Tacyn, who was presumably of French origin for she was granted letters of denizenship in 1443; but there is no mention in the records of a bastard son nor any evidence to show that the bastard of Somerset was other than English.[3] Moreover, this John Beaufort received a bequest of £400 cum certa quantitate vasorum argentorum secundum discrecionem dictorum executorum meorum in a second codicil to the will of Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, whilst none of the prelate's other nephews nor their children were remembered.[4] This may have been an attempt to atone for the sins of the fathers; the cardinal himself had a natural daughter Joan by Alice, the daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel who married Sir Edward Stradling and, afterwards, John Charleton, lord of Powis.[5]

---

1. B.M., Add. Ch. 12,347; W.A.M. Ms. 12287-12321.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 54/5.
3. P.P.C., V, 288.
4. J.Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 340.
5. S.Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, Lancastrian Poet (London, 1961), pp. 353-54, quoting the Elizabethan antiquary Rice Merrick in his Morgania Archaiographia of 1578 (ed. J.Corbett, 1887).

The bastard of Somerset appears again in France during the lieutenancy of Edmund Beaufort in March 1448, in command of eleven men-at-arms and thirty archers serving in the field around Séez. He remained in that area until July 1449, when he was ordered to serve about the person of the duke of Somerset. From 15 to 23 August he was at the abbey fortress of St. Katherine in Rouen and probably witnessed the surrender of the city two months later.[1] His military service did not end with the loss of Normandy. Together with a number of captains, chiefly associated with Somerset, he was a member of the army sent from England to Guienne under John, earl of Shrewsbury in 1453.[2] Two years later, following the death of Edmund Beaufort at St. Albans and the rise to power of the duke of York, a commission dated 3 September 1455 was issued for the arrest of the bastard of Somerset and for his imprisonment in Guildford gaol until further order.[3] Thereafter, he appears no more in the records.

I. The Retinues and Garrisons of the Beaufort Brothers.

Edmund Beaufort returned to France in the spring of 1427. On 22 April he received a grant of the comté of Mortain.[4] By 1438 he was styling himself 'earl of Dorset, count of Mortain and Harecourt, governor for the

---

1. Archives de l'Orne, A412; B.M., Add.Ms. 11509 f.9-11d.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 69/92.
3. C.P.R., 1452-61, p.305.
4. C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 404; Le Cacheux, II, 349.

king of the countries of Anjou and Maine'.[1] His first garrison command in France seems to have been as captain of Neufchâtel, which he was holding by October 1429. Two of the five men-at-arms stationed here had served together the previous year on a commission to hunt down brigands.[2] One of these, Percival Banester, was in garrison at Harfleur in 1431, at Neufchâtel de Lincourt under Lord Talbot in 1434, and was a member of the same garrison on field service in June 1438. There is no indication that any of this 1429 garrison served with Beaufort on any further occasion.[3]

Several other musters for the counts of Mortain and Perche survive to cover the next two years. Two are for Mortain's retinue for the months of April and May 1430, and a third, dated August of the same year, is for the garrison at Gisors, which Mortain held together with Gournay and Neufchâtel in 1430.[4] A fourth muster is for his own garrison of Mortain in June 1431, and a fifth lists his company at Liège in the following September.[5] A distinction can be made between three different types of company under Beaufort's command. These comprised the count's own personal retinue, an operational command for service in the field, and the more stable groups that were stationed in garrison.

Not surprisingly, Mortain's retinues for April and May 1430 contained many of the same names. Of these men, seven reappear in the garrison at

---

1. B.N., P.O., 1017/2. G.E.C. gives the earliest use of the titles of Dorset and Harecourt as 1440. The comté of Harecourt had been granted in 1418 to his uncle Thomas, duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset. Exeter died on 31 December 1426; by 31 March 1437 Edmund Beaufort had assumed the title of earl of Dorset, which was apparently recognised by the Crown, and by 1438 he seems to have received a grant of the comté of Harecourt. B.M., Add.Ch. 6908; G.E.C., XI, 49.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25768/428; ibid., 319.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/587; 25771/859; 25774/1330.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/488, 497, 517.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/594; B.M., Add.Ch. 11,731.

Gisors in August. Two of the soldiers, William James and John Butler, also served in the count of Perche's retinue at Louviers in July 1431, so there was some slight element of continuity.[1] James remained at Louviers after Perche's death and in November of the same year was in the company of Sir Roland Standish, in association with the knight's brother, James Standish, who had also served under Mortain in April and May 1430.[2] After the death of John, duke of Bedford in 1435 and Sir Roland's death at Gerberoy the previous year, James Standish entered the service of Edmund Beaufort and, later, that of his brother, the earl of Somerset.[3]

Of the fifteen men-at-arms and thirty-seven archers who served with Mortain at Liège in September 1431, only two soldiers can be later identified with the Beauforts. These were Richard Ditchfield of Ditton in Lancashire and Thomas Delahay, who both served twelve years later in the personal retinue of John, duke of Somerset as part of the army formed for Guienne in 1443.[4] Ditchfield also acted as mainpernor for Edmund, duke of Somerset in December 1451, twenty years after the first recorded date of his service.[5]

The remaining musters involving Edmund Beaufort are those for the garrison of Alençon, which survive for the years 1437 and 1441 when the fortress was under his command.[6] In March 1437, Beaufort's lieutenant at Alençon was Thomas Everingham, a retainer of John, Lord Talbot who had served at Alençon in 1434 under Sir John Fastolf, and was marshal there

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/613.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/652.
3. In a petition to the king on 21 November 1436, James Standish related that he had served under Bedford in France for fifteen years and was now in the service of Edmund, count of Mortain. C.P.R., 1436-41, p.29. For the careers of the Standish family in France, see Biographical Appendix: Standish .
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various 54/5. Ditchfield was serving at Rouen with a company of 24 archers in May 1439. B.N., P.O. 1045/2.
5. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 552.
6. B.M., Add.Ch. 6908; B.N.,Ms.Fr. 25775/1440, 1503.

in November of the same year.[1] Everingham was probably continuing his duties at the garrison, though by this date Edmund Beaufort's interests had become linked to those of Lord Talbot by his marriage to Eleanor Beauchamp, the widow of Thomas, Lord Roos and sister of Talbot's wife, Margaret. Together with Talbot and Beaufort, Thomas Everingham took part in the siege of Harfleur in 1440, this time in Lord Talbot's company.[2] It was here that the two lords acted together in a threat to raise the blockade unless the English Council delayed a legal action concerning a dispute over part of their wives' inheritance.[3] Everingham continued to serve both Talbot and the Beauforts. In November 1443 he stood as co-feoffee for John, duke of Somerset for certain manors in Somerset and five other counties.[4] His son, Thomas Everingham the younger, remained in France as captain of Harfleur until the town was eventually lost by the English in 1449. He died with Talbot at Castillon in 1453, serving with an army sent from England and composed principally of Beaufort men.[5]

Only the muster of Edmund Beaufort's personal retinue in November 1440 includes the names of some of his closest associates in the years to follow. They include Richard Ditchfield, John Court and Richard Frogenhall.[6] Other members of this company were recruited from professional garrison soldiers, amongst whom was Edmund Fastolf, who had served at Harfleur in

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25771/826; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 48/298. For his service with Talbot, see Pollard, op.cit., pp. 222-23.
2. Ibid., p. 223. From this time onwards he becomes confused with his son Thomas, who was lieutenant of Harfleur in 1440, after the town was won, He also held the offices of bailiff of Caux, mayor of Harfleur, and captain of Montivilliers in 1448. M.Veyrat, Les Baillis de Rouen, p. 139.
3. See Chapter 1, p.6.
4. H.M.C., Hastings Mss., p. 346.
5. Pollard, op.cit., p. 223.
6. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1449.

1415 under Beaufort's uncle, Thomas, then earl of Dorset. In October 1435 Fastolf was stationed at Alençon, which was captained by Sir John Fastolf, a possible relation.[1]

Other names from Dorset's garrison at Harfleur in 1415 recur from time to time in the service of his nephews. Percival Banaster, who has already been mentioned, was named with Richard and John Banaster; two men bearing the same names were with John Beaufort's army in 1443.[2] Richard Thornes, esquire, was described by Edmund Beaufort in 1443 as notre serviteur; whilst the surnames Hesketh, Standish and Dewhurst, all of Lancashire origin, occur more than once in connection with the garrisons and retinues of the Beaufort brothers.[3]

John Court was bailiff of Mortain for Edmund Beaufort by June 1448.[4] For the third quarter of that year he was serving in the field at the head of ten mounted spearmen and thirty archers. From December to March 1449 he kept the same company at Mortain, both for service there and in the field, and he remained as captain of that garrison until its final surrender.[5] He was probably related to Henry Court, whose marriage (as the brother and heir of Thomas de Court) was granted to Edmund Beaufort in February 1434.[6] In March 1436 Henry Court was a member of Mortain's retinue bound for France, and by February 1448 he was a co-feoffee of Somerset's manor of Canford and of the town of Poole in Dorset.[7]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 47/39; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25772/1044.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 54/5.
3. B.N., P.O. 1017/6.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25778/1812.
5. B.N., P.O. 888/2, 3.
6. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 243.
7. 'French Rolls', p. 309; C.C.R., 1454-61, p. 20.

Another esquire who became one of Beaufort's principal captains in France after his appointment as lieutenant-general was Richard Frogenhall of Teynham in Kent.[1] In November 1437 Frogenhall became escheator for Kent and Middlesex, but by February 1439 he was serving under Edmund Beaufort in France, accompanying him to the siege of Harfleur in the autumn of 1440, where he commanded eight mounted spearmen and forty archers.[2] He had received office in Beaufort's comté of Harecourt by February 1442, when he was styling himself captain and bailiff of Harecourt and procureur-général for the earl of Dorset.[3] The former office he retained until the surrender of the garrison on 5 September 1449. Frogenhall was back in England in 1443, where once again he held office as escheator for Kent and Middlesex; in this capacity he conducted an inquisition into the lands of John, duke of Somerset in those counties.[4] Beaufort's appointment in France saw Frogenhall's return to France, though before the arrival of the duke. As Sir Richard Frogenhall he acted with the new treasurer of Normandy, Osbert Mundford, in the negotiations leading to the surrender of Maine in 1447.[5] From March to June 1449 he was in charge of a large company on field service, comprising twenty mounted spearmen and sixty archers based at Rouen.[6]

Sir Richard seems to have been at Harecourt in the following September,

---

1. E.Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of Kent (Canterbury, 1778), vol. 11, p. 681. He was the son of John Frogenhall, esquire, who died on 11 November 1444. The figure supposed to represent him in Teynham church wears the SS collar of the dukes of Lancaster which was restricted, by ordinance of Parliament, 2 Henry IV., to esquires and knights of the king's Household, and was to be worn only in the king's presence. E. Foss, 'Hackington or St.Stephens Canterbury', The Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Soc., vol. 7 (London, 1858), p. 89.
2. P.R.O., 'List of Escheators compiled by A.C.Wood' (1928), p. 254; B.M., P.O. 1017/4; 1252/2.
3. B.M., Add.Ch. 12,123.
4. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 325.
5. Stevenson, II, 693-95.
6. B.N., P.O. 1252/4.

when the garrison surrendered to the French; one report says that the captain was then taken to Louviers, where he was publicly dishonoured by being hung from his heels at the gate of the town.[1] If this was in fact Frogenhall, then he had been released by the end of October, when he was appointed one of the commissioners at Rouen to discuss the terms of the town's delivery to the French. As bailiff of Alençon he was one of the hostages handed over by the English to guarantee the surrender of Rouen.[2] Although Sir Richard returned to England in 1451, his ransom remained outstanding until 1453, when in July the king was prevailed upon to grant him the shipping of uncustomed wool to the value of 1,100 marks towards payment of the full sum of 2,000 marks. In return, the knight was to surrender a grant of 500 marks towards his ransom, granted by the duke of Somerset, and a further 600 marks donated by the gentry of Kent from a 1,000-mark reward granted to them for the taking of Jack Cade.[3]

Perhaps the king's generosity was prompted by the need for Frogenhall's services, for the same month, on 25 July 1453, Sir Richard indented, together with a small company of courtiers and Beaufort supporters, to go with an army to Guienne.[4] The death of John, earl of Shrewsbury and the French blockade of Bordeaux combined to prevent the army's departure and thereafter there is little mention of Frogenhall in the records. Probably he remained a close supporter of the Beaufort family. At an

---

1. Stevenson, Narratives of the Expulsion of the English, pp. 273-74.
2. Stevenson, II, pp. 608, 611.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 69/180. Between 1457 and 1460, a certain Thomas Bettenham complained that Frogenhall, when taken prisoner in France, was put to surety of 100 marks. He then returned to England leaving George Bettenham and Henry Chambre as guarantees, promising to raise loans for their deliverance. Frogenhall having done nothing, and the prisoners' expenses mounting to over £200, William, Lord Fauconberg was persuaded to stand surety for Bettenham, who then returned home, but with no means of raising the money for himself and with the prospect of having to return to France unless he could find £100. Frogenhall had then encouraged Thomas Bettenham to bind himself in £100 to Fauconberg for a time which had now elapsed, and Sir Richard was still refusing either to pay up or to deliver surety. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 26/110.
4. M.Vale, English Gascony, p. 233.

unknown date he had married Mary, the second daughter of Margaret Beauchamp, duchess of Somerset, by her first husband, Sir Oliver St. John.[1] Frogenhall's name appears for the last time as one of the commissioners of the peace for Kent on 28 January 1471 during the Readeption.[2] Judging from this meagre evidence, it would appear that Edmund Beaufort, like Richard of York, relied chiefly on men whom he himself had introduced into France; these were the captains who received office from him. Other professional soldiers, like James Standish, joined Beaufort from the retinues of deceased captains but seem to have held few important posts. The conservative nature of the Beaufort garrisons is best illustrated with reference to those held by John, earl of Somerset.

Following his release from imprisonment in France, it was not long before John, earl of Somerset returned to that country to take up his duties at the head of the interim council governing after the death of the earl of Warwick in 1439. In that year he was holding the captaincies of several garrisons, including Avranches, Cherbourg and probably Tombelaine. Avranches and Tombelaine were situated close to each other and as such were normally held as a single command. In the 1420s the two garrisons had been under the command of Thomas Burgh, who was succeeded about 1429 by William, earl of Suffolk. Somerset held both of these captaincies until his death in 1444. During this time his lieutenant at Avranches was John Lampet and at Tombelaine Maykin Longworth. Lampet had been lieutenant at Avranches since 1430.[3] In 1435 he was at the siege before Dieppe with a contingent drawn from the garrison at Avranches.[4]

---

1. Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, vol. I (London, 1834), pp. 308-9.
2. C.P.R., 1467-77, p. 617.
3. B.M., Add. Ch. 7965.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25772/981.

He remained as lieutenant there until Somerset's death and was still occupying the post in 1446, when the captain was Richard of York.[1] Other members of the garrison who had served there for a number of years included John Nessfield and William and Hugh Croston (who had been stationed there in 1426 under Burgh), Robin of Milby (there since 1429) and many who had served under Suffolk.[2] Of the forty men-at-arms stationed at Avranches under Suffolk in December 1430, seventeen were still there under Somerset in June 1439 and sixteen in September 1443. Several of the same men were still serving with John Lampet under the duke of York in 1446.[3]

Exactly the same situation existed at Tombelaine. Here Thomas Ellalle, a member of the garrison in 1442 under Somerset, had served there since at least 1424; whilst Thomas Fairclough, and George and Christopher Dewhurst were at Tombelaine by February 1429.[4] Soldiers also transferred from one garrison to the other. Thus, John Nessfield, and William and Hugh Croston, serving at Avranches in 1443, had been stationed together at Tombelaine in 1429.[5] Maykin Longworth and his brother Elys were both esquires from Lancashire who had served in France from the early years of the English conquest.[6] In 1428 they served, together with James Standish, in the company of John, Lord Talbot.[7] In October 1430 Maykin and Elys led a joint retinue to the siege of Louviers conducted by Thomas, Lord Scales and Edmund Beaufort amongst others. Their retinue is interesting in that it contained Thomas Ellalle, who has already been mentioned, and Richard Holland, a member with Maykin Longworth and Thomas Ellalle of the Tombelaine garrison in 1435.[8]

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25777/1788.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/146; 25769/465.
3. B.M., Add.Ch. 7965; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1406; 25777/1788.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 26295/847; 25767/107; B.M., Add. Ch. 1439.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25777/1650; B.M., Add. Ch. 1439.
6. See Biographical Appendix: Longworth.
7. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,612.
8. B.M., Add.Ch. 7967; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25773/1060.

Elys Longworth had entered the garrison at Vire by 1437, and in the same year was appointed lieutenant there by the captain, Lord Scales.[1] The brothers may well have detached their retinue from Louviers. Of the twenty-four men-at-arms under them in 1430, five had previously served with them and Standish under Talbot in 1428. Whilst Ellalle and Holland joined Maykin at Tombelaine, Elys was joined at Vire by two others of the original five, Gilbert Clayton and Hugh Carington.[2] Carington replaced Elys Longworth as lieutenant of Vire in December 1437, and for several years the post was held alternately by the two men. Unlike John Lampet at Avranches, the Longworths seem to have been recruited into the personal service of the Beauforts. On 8 October 1438 Elys was appointed bailiff of Mortain for Edmund Beaufort, though he was still lieutenant of Vire in August 1445.[3] Maykin acted with Lord Scales, members of the king's Household and other Beaufort supporters as a feoffee-to-use of Sir Andrew Ogard in 1448.[4] He remained at Tombelaine until the garrison's surrender to the French in 1449, whilst his brother joined Sir Thomas Kyriell at the head of the last English army to leave for Normandy in 1450.

The earl of Somerset's garrison at Falaise in March 1440 showed the same conservative tendencies as Avranches and Tombelaine.[5] Robert Cherry had been there in 1420 under Hugh, Lord Fitzhugh and again in 1427.[6] Denis Penington had served there in 1429 under Sir Thomas Kingston and was

---

1. V.Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire, p.101.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25774/1225; 25775/1358. Lord Scales's garrison at Vire seems to have provided a number of men-at-arms who served at different dates in the Beaufort garrisons. For example, John and William Nessfield were serving at Vire, then under Sir Andrew Ogard, in March 1423 (B.M., Egerton Ch.149). Richard Damport and William Sidington, at Vire in March 1438, were at Falaise under Somerset in 1440 (B.N., Ms.Fr., 25774/1334; 25775/1506); and William Mortimer at Vire in September 1438 was also at Falaise in 1440 (B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1358).
3. B.M., Add. Ch.441.
4. 37th Report of the D.K.R., 'Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester', p. 569.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1506.
6. B.M., Egerton Ch. 146; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25768/242.

still in the garrison commanded by Richard of York in 1445-46.[1] Thomas Clappam had been a member of William, Lord Fauconberg's company at Vernon in 1437, was at Falaise in 1440 and five years later was in garrison at Arques, which was captained by Richard Harington.[2] Three others had been stationed together at Vire in 1438.[3] Even Edmund Beaufort's lieutenant at Harecourt in 1440, Simkin Waller, had been posted to that garrison in 1429, before it came under Beaufort's authority. By 1442 Waller had been replaced by Richard Frogenhall.[4]

Although the Beauforts do not seem to have stuffed their own garrisons with men connected with them in England, a number of their captains in the 1440s were introduced via family connections. Unlike the duke of York, the Beauforts were never in power as lieutenants or deputies long enough to place their supporters in the available captaincies. Only in the last three years of the English hold on Normandy, from 1447-50, was Edmund Beaufort able to promote his own men to positions of authority both in the administrative and military sectors. It was on the Beaufort captains that the burden of supplying an army for Normandy in 1450 fell.

2. Family Connections.

In the will of Cardinal Beaufort, dated 20 January 1446, Edmund Beaufort was made co-executor together with Richard Waller. Waller was then magistrum hospitii of the prelate, after a career which had started

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/445; 25777/1728.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25773/1199; 25775/1506; 25777/1720.
3. Richard Dampport, William Mortimer and William Sidington. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1334.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/459; Stevenson, II, 309; B.M., Add.Ch. 12,123.

in the service of Thomas, duke of Clarence.[1] Of Groombridge in Kent, he had fought at Agincourt and had played a part in the capture of the duke of Orleans. As a result, Waller was allowed to bear on his 'antient crest', which was a walnut tree proper, the arms of the captured duke.[2] Orleans's younger brother, John, count of Angoulême, was held a prisoner at Groombridge in Waller's custody for a number of years.[3] Subsequently, Waller continued to serve in France. In 1424 he fought at the battle of Verneuil, and in the following year received office as captain and bailiff of Evreux and captain of Conches.[4] He had returned to England by the early 1430s and was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1433.[5] Ten years later, in 1443, Richard Waller was in charge of the purveyance of ordnance for the expedition to Guienne led by John Beaufort.[6] In 1446 he was the co-recipient, with Edmund, marquess of Dorset and Sir Thomas Kyriell, of a quit-claim of the manor of Saint Nicholas in Kent made by Sir John Cheyne of the Isle of Sheppey and certain other Kentish gentlemen.[7] Both Kyriell and Cheyne became connected with the Beaufort family in the late 1440s and 1450s, and together with Sir Richard Frogenhall and Richard Waller, they formed something of a 'Kentish group' among the supporters of the Beauforts - and in a county where Edmund Beaufort at least held some land.

---

1. J.Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 331.
2. Hasted, History of Kent, II, lxxxviii, 431.
3. Hasted erroneously states the prisoner to have been Orleans himself. A short article in 'Miscellaneous Notes', Archaeologia Cantiana vol. XLIV (London, 1932), pp. 273-74, corrects this assumption. Angoulême was handed over to Thomas, duke of Clarence in 1412 as a hostage. Orleans's capture at Agincourt delayed the boy's ransom (he was then aged fifteen). As Clarence's personal prisoner he passed into the charge of his widow Margaret, mother of John, earl of Somerset, and after her death into the hands of her son. For the problems surrounding this ransom, see above p. 110-111.
4. Newhall, Muster and Review, p. 43; B.M., Add.Ch. 107; Stevenson, II, 395; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/191; 25768/256. In 1425 and 1427 a Simon Waller served under Richard Waller at Evreux; he was possibly the same Simkin Waller who was later in Edmund Beaufort's garrison at Harecourt. The same garrison of Evreux in 1425 also contained Thomas Soresby, who served with Edmund in 1430. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/488.
5. P.R.O., List of Sheriffs (Lists and Indexes, IX, 1963), p. 136.
6. P.P.C., V. 233.
7. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 441.

Two other men from Cardinal Beaufort's household served under his nephew Edmund in France. In a petition dated 18 July 1446, Christopher Barton and Richard Greenacres, 'servants of the Cardinal of England', complained that they had been retained for a number of years in the king's wars with attendant loss of goods (including lands repossessed by the French), besides having to pay subsidies towards ransoms 'of certain the king's lieges' from prison, for which they had no repayment.[1] Christopher Barton also held the office of king's serjeant, and was the son of Gilbert Barton in Lancashire.[2] In October 1442 he received a grant of the constableship of Lancaster castle, an office which he still occupied in August 1457.[3] His service in France had commenced by February 1438, when he and two other Beaufortians, Richard Thornes and Thomas Maunsell, were serving in the retinue of Sir Henry Grey under the orders of the earl of Warwick.[4] In 1443 Christopher Barton led eleven men-at-arms in the personal retinue of John Beaufort, and in 1450 was one of the small group of captains who accompanied Sir Thomas Kyriell to France.[5]

Less is known about Cardinal Beaufort's other servant, Richard Greenacres of Preston, also in Lancashire. On two occasions, in 1451 and 1452, Greenacres stood as mainprise for Edmund, duke of Somerset.[6] In June 1452 he was appointed controller of the subsidy of tunnage and poundage in the port of London, which office he was instructed to exercise in person.[7] Other members of the same family probably saw service in France before 1450.

---

1. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 454. The king granted them an old ship lying at Southampton, 'with all its tackling and the largest anchor save one, beyond the anchors belonging to the ship among such as be on the left-hand side, as one goes to the water from the water-gate of the said town'.
2. W.Flower, Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancashire, ed. F.R.Raines (Chetham Soc., 1870), p.57.
3. R.Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancashire (London, 1953), vol.1, p.497.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1394.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 54/5; Stevenson, II, 765.
6. P.R.O., 1445-52, pp. 243-44; ibid., 1452-61, p.20.
7. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 552. In 1452 he was described 'as of London'.

A Robert Greenacres of Worseton (Lancashire) was a member of Thomas, earl of Salisbury's retinue in 1428, whilst a William Greenacres was in the personal retinue of John Beaufort in 1443, along with Christopher Barton.[1]

The marriages of the two Beaufort brothers also gained them some useful associates amongst the policy-makers and captains of England and France. John Beaufort married relatively late in life, at the age of thirty-eight in 1442, hampered as he had been by his years of imprisonment in France. His wife was Margaret, the daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletsoe by Edith, daughter of Sir John Stourton. Margaret was the widow of Sir Oliver St. John, by whom she had had five children. Margaret's cousin, Sir John Stourton, acted on at least two occasions as a feoffee-to-use of the duke and duchess during their short marriage, and in later years in a similar capacity for Edmund Beaufort.[2] Stourton himself had served in France in the 1430s. In 1436 he had taken part in the duke of Gloucester's expedition to Calais, and was nominated to join the army in France at the appointment of the earl of Warwick the following year. He seems to have acted in an advisory capacity, for in 1440 York requested his assistance concerning the management of the war, but Sir John held no captaincies at any date, his function remaining simply that of councillor.[3] His administrative talents were recognised in his appointment, for a short period, as treasurer of the royal Household in 1446, and on 13 May 1448 he was created Baron Stourton of Stourton in Wiltshire by the king

---

1. 'French Rolls', p. 258; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 54/5.
2. H.M.C., Report on the Manuscripts of R.R.Hastings, vol. 1, p.346; C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 349. In July 1443 Stourton was co-feoffee for the lands ond of Owain Glyndŵr, which had been forfeited to John Beaufort's father, in order to perform the duke's will.
3. Stevenson, II, li, 586; P.P.C., V, 8. From July 1438 to May 1439, John, Lord Stourton had custody of the duke of Orléans at Stourton.

and a Council dominated by Suffolk and the duke of Somerset.[1] Together with four others, Stourton was appointed to the commission whose duty it was to guard Calais for five years from April 1450, before the garrison was handed over to Somerset in 1452.[2]

John Beaufort's marriage also drew into the Beaufort circle three knights, one of whom, Sir Richard Frogenhall, was already a member of his brother Edmund's affinity. Frogenhall, as previously mentioned, married Mary St. John, daughter of Margaret, duchess of Somerset by her first husband. Margaret's sister Eleanor was married to Sir John Cheyne, a Beaufort supporter in the 1450s, whilst her first cousin, Cicely Stourton, widow of John Hill of Spaxton had married Sir Thomas Kyriell by 1437.[3]

Edmund Beaufort also married a widow, Eleanor Beauchamp, the daughter of the earl of Warwick and the wife of Thomas, Lord Roos, who had died in France in 1430. They were married by 1436, the year which saw the birth of their eldest son Henry. The marriage brought Edmund into close contact with his brother-in-law, John, Lord Talbot and with Talbot's retainers such as Thomas Everingham. Like his brother, Edmund acquired a ready-made family in the person of the young heir to the lordship of Roos, Thomas, and two younger children, Richard and Margaret. Thomas, Lord Roos remained on good terms with his step-father, joining him in France at the end of the war. At the capture of Rouen he was one of the hostages handed over to the French.[4]

---

1. G.E.C., XII, pt. 1, p.301.
2. 'French Rolls', p. 382.
3. Collectanea Topographica, vol. 1, pp. 308-9.
4. Stevenson, II, 611. In 1455, when Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower of London, Thomas, Lord Roos acted as one of his four mainpernors. Thomas's marriage had been granted to John, Lord Tiptoft, who married him to his own daughter, Phillipa. The couple's eldest children were named Edmund and Eleanor after the duke and duchess of Somerset.

Two other members of the Roos family saw service in France. These were Thomas's uncles, Sir Robert and Sir Richard Roos. Sir Robert may have been the Robert Roos at Vernon under John Burgh, esquire, in October 1423, and again at Avranches under Thomas Burgh in March 1426.[1] In December 1436 he was captain of Chateau Gaillard, before his activities were transferred to the diplomatic sphere.[2] He was employed by the duke of Suffolk on embassies to the French king and elsewhere before his death in 1449. A Richard Roos was serving in the retinue of Thomas Redhugh, captain of Lisieux, in 1431 and 1432. In January 1435 he was in the garrison at Gisors, captained by John, Lord Talbot.[3] Shortly afterwards he returned to England, discarding the career of a soldier in favour of that of a poet. He gained the patronage of Humphrey of Gloucester and, later, that of Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. As chief court poet, his work throws light on the scandals and relationships within the court circle both in the body of his poetry and by the use of acrostic anagrams. His poem 'The Black Knight' was inspired by Edmund Beaufort and possibly written at the time of the latter's marriage to Roos's sister-in-law, Eleanor.[4]

However, the principal source of support for the Beaufort brothers lay with their uncle, Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, whose disagreements with

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/43, 146.
2. Newhall, Muster and Review, p. 134 n.296.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/729; B.M., Add. Ch. 7, 964; B.N., Ms. Fr. 25772/1052.
4. E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, Lancastrian Poet (London, 1961), pp. 57-79, 211-20. The person of the Black Knight is identified through some of the following references:

   a). Mention of the woodbine, one of Beaufort's personal crests (two others were the cresset and the helmet); from Ms.Ashmole 763 f.191, a sixteenth-century list of fifteenth-century badges.
   b). l.578 refers to the phrase 'mortal peyne', i.e., MORTalpAYNE, alp possibly standing for Alianora, princess.
   c). The Black Knight is described in ll.163-64, 'so wel y-mad by good proporcioun, if he had be in his deliver strengthe', phrases which expanded BEAU and FORT, a device previously used by Chaucer.
   d). lls. 155-68 alone reveal the anagrams A(L)IAN. B-W. FORT: B-SHAM (P), MorTAyen.

the duke of Gloucester over the conduct of the war in France were reflected after Bedford's death in the nominations to the lieutenancy of France and Normandy. In 1440, before York's arrival in France, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset was styling himself lieutenant et gouvernor general de France et Normandie pour Monsieur le Roy, though this appointment was never officially confirmed.[1] No doubt this and the earl's proposed expedition to Guienne in 1443 were backed by the Cardinal. Edmund Beaufort's influence and contacts in the English Council were not weakened by the death of his uncle in April 1447. In November of the same year he was granted an annual pension of 10,000 livres tournois as compensation for the loss of Anjou and Maine.[2]

The lack of documentation of both the lands and the armies of the Beaufort brothers hinders any examination of their followers even approaching that of York. Probably many of John Beaufort's retainers held office on his English estates, but Edmund received no large grant of land in England until after his return from France in 1450. Their followers do not appear to have formed so compact a group as that of York, though there is some slight indication that their men tended to come from certain areas of England where the Beauforts held land or exerted influence.[3] The only detailed illustration of the composition of an army under the command of one of the Beaufort brothers is the expedition led by John, earl of Somerset and raised for Guienne in 1443.

---

1. B.N., P.O. 2,714/4.
2. Hunger, Le Siège de Caen, p. 9.
3. Hugh Keen of Martock in Somerset, who received a safe-conduct to serve with John Beaufort in 1440, came from one of Somerset's own manors; so did a companion of Keen's, William Roper of Sampford Peverell. Cf. Chapter VI.

an ar

John, earl of Somerset indented to serve for one year in the kingdom of France, and to do all he could for the relief of Guienne, 'all the ways to him possible if the king's adversary abide there during a whole year'.[1] Richard of York was to be informed that 'suche power as is given to my lord of Somerset is to be used in other places than be nowe in the kyngs obsissance. And in the whiche my said lorde of York cometh not'. It was emphasised that Somerset's authority was to be in no way prejudicial to that of York, that he would only be passing through Normandy 'into the grounde occupied by thennymes'. Further ambiguous phrases gave Somerset powers virtually to hunt down the French army 'wherever he be', presumably in either Normandy or Guienne.[2]

Beaufort's army was to comprise 800 men-at-arms and 3,400 archers, including barons, bannerets and knights, 'as many as he may gete unto ye nombre of .iiii. Barons, viii Banerets and xxx knyghtes'; the musters were to be held at Portsmouth on 17 June. About the same time his appointment was revised so that he was to serve in Guienne only in the event of an invasion by the French king, his duties now being to campaign <u>en nostredit Roiaume de France et duchie de Normandie et pais occupees et tenuz par nostre adversaire et lui faire guerre, et pur reduire et mettre en nostre obeissance la plus diceulx pais</u>.[3]

Preparations seemed to be going well when, on 3 May, Somerset requested the forwarding of the day of muster from 17 to 3 June. The Council decided

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 59/163; K.R., Various Accounts, 71/4/916.
2. <u>P.P.C.</u>, V, 251-52, 260.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Acc unts, 71/4/916.

to retain the original date, and Somerset was ordered to select lands to the value of £600 from the 'books of the kings livelihood'; his choice seems to have fallen on the lands and earldom of Kendal.[1] On 28 August 1443 he was created earl of Kendal and at the same time duke of Somerset.[2] The army nevertheless failed to embark on 17 June as planned. On 28 June Somerset was informed that John Yerd, the king's harbinger, would accompany the main body of the army across the Channel before returning for the rest, a scheme necessitated by lack of transport.[3] The previous day orders had been given for a deduction from the second payment to be made to Somerset, in respect of the barons, knights and bannerets who had received payment for the first quarter-year, but who had failed to muster with his army. The money was to go instead to Sir Lewis Despoys, who was leaving with a retinue for Guienne.[4]

The muster day was extended, but the commissioners again reported a number of absentees. The Issue Rolls reveal that this first quarter's payment had been made on 6 April to five barons, eight bannerets, thirty knights and 3,400 archers, omitting the men-at-arms; otherwise these were practically the identical numbers specified in Somerset's indentures.[5] Three months later, on 6 July, Beaufort's retinue was said to consist of one banneret, six knights, 592 men-at-arms and 3,949 archers.[6] The body of archers had increased even further before the army departed, since the

---

1. P.P.C., V, 267, 281.
2. According to G.E.C., XI, 47, and The Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M.Powicke and E.B.Fryde (London, 1961), p. 449, this was the date of his official creation as duke of Somerset, though he seems to have been styling himself duke of Somerset since June 1443. C.P.R., 1441-46, pp.201-2; P.P.C., V, 292, 293-94.
3. P.P.C., V, 293-94.
4. Ibid., 292.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Issue Rolls, 748 m.4.
6. Ibid., 749 m.12.

king agreed to rebate 200 men-at-arms in return for the same number of archers, thereby making 600 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers.[1]

Somerset had complained in July that by taking his musters in different places, his retinue was in doubt as to where the actual point of assembly was. The Council had countered with a number of accusations, including one that a man in Somerset's retinue had mustered for three men, and none of these bore his real name; also that the men who did not want to cross to France had mustered in the name of those who had already crossed, and then 'yeed to their labours ayen'. As a result, several men were imprisoned. Damage done to towns near the places of muster was a cause of further complaint, and the king saw fit to remind his cousin of all that had been done for him, stating that 'of that litil of his demaines remayning in his hands departed with him mor largeley than he hath do to any man in cas semble in his dayes'.[2] These difficulties leave little doubt that warfare, at least outside the garrisons, was becoming increasingly unpopular amongst nobility not already committed to the defence of France. As early as 1438 the English Council was having difficulty in finding men for the rescue of Guisnes, since 'there beth but few capitains as of knights or squyers that wollen go'.[3] Most of the professional captains at this time were already occupied in holding Normandy under York, and it would appear that many of those holding commands in the 1440s rose from the ranks rather than by appointment fresh from England.

---

1. P.P.C., V, 409: 'the which nombre of men had, he oweth of reson and by the tenour of his indentures to be fully content without asking to have any great nombre for lakke of barons, banerets or knights'.
2. P.P.C., V, 412.
3. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

1.

taken

three

retinue, only three men can be connected with his estates, though several others had previously served under him in France. It has been suggested that the composition of this army reveals the unwillingness to serve amongst the gentry and knightly classes, and its undistinguished nature is underlined by the extension of the ratio of archers to lances from the customary 3:1 to 10:1.[1]

This lack of enthusiasm for the war is emphasised by Somerset's expedition, composed, it would seem, mainly from men drawn from a pool of mercenary soldiers. Three of Talbot's own retinue in 1442, Thomas Dalton, John Dawson and Durant le Vavassour, served with Somerset: Dalton and Dawson led their own companies and Vavassour was in that of John Wykes. Two other men from the army of 1442, Richard Banaster and Hugh Parker, led their own companies under Somerset.[2] The remainder served either directly under Beaufort or under one of his sub-captains.

Three more of Somerset's sub-captains had a similar measure of military service with Talbot. Richard Holland and James Standish had mustered together under Talbot in January 1428, whilst another member of the Standish family, Seth, had served under him in November 1440.[3] James had by this date entered the service of Edmund Beaufort. In July 1443 James led a company of eighteen men-at-arms and Seth one of the three. One of James's soldiers, James Winstanley, had also served with him in 1441 in York's army, together with Hugh Parker, who in 1443 was heading his own retinue

---

1. Pollard, op.cit., pp. 265-66.
2. Vavassour had been promoted by Talbot from being an archer to a spearman in 1441; Dalton was a member of Talbot's affinity after 1442, when he was described as the earl's servant. Ibid., p. 278.
3. B.M., Add.Ch. 11,612, 12,076.

of four men.[1] Several of the remaining sub-captains in Somerset's army had had previous military experience. James Ebblowe and Laurence Fairclough had served together under Jenkin Orell at Orleans in 1428. Fairclough had also been stationed in Suffolk's garrison at Tombelaine in 1431.[2] Thomas Langstrother served under Sir John Hanford in 1429, and William Harbottle with Sir Thomas Kyriell in 1435 and in the garrison at Pontoise, captained by Fauconberg, in 1441.[3] James Osbaldeston had gone with John, earl of Huntingdon's army to Aquitaine in 1439, in the retinue of Sir Thomas Rempston.[4] Only two captains, James Standish and Henry Green, seem to have seen previous service under the Beauforts. Green had been a member of Edmund, count of Mortain's retinue in June 1431.[5] Two others, Richard Ditchfield and Thomas Delahay, had also served with Mortain, but did not lead companies in 1443.

A few of the captains had closer links with the Beaufort family. John, bastard of Somerset served in his kinsman's retinue but likewise led no company of his own. Thomas Waryn in Somerset's retinue was described as 'squier and servant' to Edmund, duke of Somerset in 1451, at which time he was charged with the custody of William Parminter, one of the rebel captains of Kent.[6] Another man, Thomas Middlestreet, was probably related to John Middlestreet, who in 1437 had accompanied Edmund Beaufort to the negotations concerning the ransom and release of his brother.[7]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25768/340; 25770/648.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/453; 25776/1528; B.M., Add., Ch. 11,873.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/22.
5. B.N., Ms.Fr., 25767/594.
6. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 67/180. He seems to have been a Kentishman. A Laurence Wareyn of Thynham, Kent, was serving with Sir Thomas Kyriell in 1441; 'French Rolls', p. 342. Thomas was in France in August 1439, when he was sent to England to report on the siege of Meaux. Whilst crossing the Channel, he narrowly escaped death when the ship in which he was travelling nearly foundered in a violent storm off Sandwich. (The same storm destroyed the belfry of Sir Thomas Kyriell's church of Saint Laurence in Thanet.)
7. Foedera, V, 38.

Apart from James Standish, three other esquires leading their own companies were of the Beaufort affinity. Christopher Barton was a servant of Cardinal Beaufort and had fought in France since at least 1439. Thomas Wake was related to the Beaufort family through his ancestress, Margaret, daughter of John, Lord Wake, who had been married to Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent and son of Edward I. By her marriage she became grandmother to Richard II, and great-grandmother of Margaret Holland, the mother of John and Edmund Beaufort.[1] Wake's lands were centred in Northamptonshire, where he held the lordship of Blisworth, but through his marriage to Agnes, the daughter of Sir Thomas Lovell, he acquired the manors of Clevedon and Milton Clevedon in Somerset.[2] Thomas Wake died in 1458 holding land in seven counties, his lands in Lincolnshire being held of Margaret, duchess of Somerset as of her anor of East Deeping.[3] His son and heir, another Thomas, put aside any prior claims of loyalty to the Beauforts, and became an usher of the Chamber to Edward IV. His grandson, Roger Wake, was attainted in 1485 as a supporter of Richard III.[4]

Two members of the Bellers family, John and Anthony, served under Wake in 1443. John Bellers, 'of Howbey, alias Sutton, alias Ketelby, Leicestershire', came from a distinguished line, his family being descended from Hamon Bellers, lord de Mowbray.[5] In 1436 John was knight of the shire for Leicestershire; the following year he was accused with sixty others of having broken the close of a man in Lincolnshire and stealing

---

1. The Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1514 and 1618-19, ed. W.Metcalfe (London, 1887), pp. 52-53.
2. S.W.Bates-Harbin, 'Members of Parliament for the county of Somerset', Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. History Soc. (Taunton, 1939), p. 100; P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, 172/19; 177/43.
3. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 56/45.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 76/1/58; The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire (4 vols., London, 1937), vol. IV, p. 273.
5. 'French Rolls', p. 357; The Visitation of the County of Leicestershire, 1619, ed. J.Fetherston (Harleian Soc., London, 1870), vol. I, pp. 29-30. He acquired Howby through his marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of Anthony Sutton of Howby, Leicestershire, who had served as a page of Henry V in France. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 63.

goods worth £40.[1] On 10 June 1443, before he left for France, Bellers appointed his attorneys to convey the manor of Sawtry in Huntingdonshire to John, duke of Somerset, Thomas Wake, Everard Digby and others.[2] After the death of the duke of Somerset, Bellers continued to serve the Beaufort family. Together with Henry, earl of Dorset, the eldest son of Edmund Beaufort, Richard Waller and Richard Greenacres, John Bellers was the recipient of a [illegible] of a charter with warranty for certain lands in Leicestershire in June 1450. If he did [illegible] up arms [illegible] the Beauforts in the following years there is no record of it, although there are indications that John Bellers was out of favour with the Yorkist government; his name disappears from the list of justices of the peace after November 1458, only to reappear after the Readeption in December 1470.[4]

A kinsman of Bellers, Everard Digby, also captained a retinue under the duke in 1443.[5] Two of the men-at-arms in this company, Thomas Rocheford and Baldwin Saintgeorge, had served under Sir James Ormond in York's army of 1441, together with a third man, Robert Temple of Sybbesdon, Leicestershire. Temple had Sir James Ormond, John Bellers and Thomas Seyton as his feoffees in 1441, and all three were amongst the recipients of the manor of Lubbenham in Leicestershire in November 1443, together with Everard Digby.[6]

Wake, Bellers and Digby represent the small nucleus of Somerset's own tenants and neighbours who were persuaded to add their retinues to the

---

1. Ibid.
2. H.M.C., Hastings Mss., pp. 211-12.
3. C.C.R., 1447-54, p. 277.
4. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 63.
5. In 1443 Digby was 'of Offord Davy, alias Offord Cluny alias St. Neots, alias Avesbury, all in Huntingdonshire, alias Ruanston in Derbyshire, alias Digby in Lincolnshire, alias Corby in Warwickshire': 'French Rolls', p. 360. [illegible] genealogy gives Jane, daughter [illegible] James Bellers and sister of John, as the mother of Everard Digby. As the Bellers manor of Kettleby later passed into the Digby family, it is perhaps safe to assume that there was some relationship. Visitation of Leicestershire, p. 40.
6. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 117. Thomas Seyton had married Digby's mother by this

army in 1443, though their interests lay also close to Sir James Ormond. The remainder of the esquires leading retinues under Duke John were composed principally of mercenary soldiers, several of whom had a history of military experience. The men-at-arms who composed the retinues also had a core of professionals. Some like Richard and William Colbrand, the two men-at-arms serving under John Colbrand, had been garrison soldiers in France; others like Ive Iveson in John Dawson's retinue and Thomas Rocheford and Baldwin Saintgeorge seem to have served at intervals in armies departing from England.[1] The most obvious indication of the mercenary nature of this army was the large body of men present who had indented to go to Normandy as part of the army under Lord Talbot the previous year.

Amongst the knights only one - possibly two - had any connection with the Beaufort affinity. Sir Thomas Chetwode, leading two men-at-arms, was the father-in-law of Elys Longworth, who was created bailiff of Mortain by Edmund Beaufort in 1438; Sir Thomas Kyriell was the husband of Cecily Stourton, a cousin of the duchess of Somerset.[2] Sir Robert Vere, Sir Thomas Cusac and Sir Thomas Kirkeby were all professional soldiers; only Sir John Lisle and Sir John Redford seem to have been serving for the first time.

Kyriell was one of the professional 'itinerant' captains like Mathew Gough, who served under a number of lords, holding both garrison posts and army commands. By 1443 he had had twenty years' experience of warfare

---

1. William had served under Thomas Carington in 1431; Richard had been stationed at Honfleur in the 1430s. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25769/599; 25774/1291; 25775/1318, 1382; B.M., Add.Ch. 11,660.
2. S.Tucker, Pedigree of the Family of Chetwode of Chetwode, county Buckinghamshire (privately printed for Sir George Chetwode, Baronet, London, 1884), p. 7. Thomas, Lord Scales was a feoffee for Chetwode's manor of Warkworth; Elys Longworth served for a number of years under Lord Scales at Vire, Ibid., p. 28.

in France. In December 1439 Sir Thomas was appointed lieutenant of Calais, but was discharged from that office in August 1441 before the expiration of his contract. He remained absent from France until the formation of Somerset's army two years later, when he commanded the largest retinue of all the duke's captains, comprising eight-six soldiers; two of these, Henry Aston and David Howell, had been members of Kyriell's garrison at Gournay in 1435.[1]

Sir Robert Vere had accompanied John, earl of Huntingdon to Guienne in 1439 and had received the office of seneschal there in 1441. His retinue of fifty-eight men-at-arms under Somerset contained two men who had served with his brother, the earl of Oxford, in 1441. He remained in France for intervals until 1450, as captain of St. Lô and later of Verneuil.[2] Both Sir Thomas Cusac and Sir Thomas Kirkeby had served in France since the time of Henry V. Cusac had been a member of that king's Household and for a time was captain of the wars in Ireland, he himself hailing from Trim.[3] For all his long years of military service, Sir Thomas Kirkeby does not seem to have profited from the war. In 1450 he was given licence to ship uncustomed wool, since he had been taken prisoner many times, was still a prisoner and had been put to an excessive ransom.[4] Kirkeby was the only knight who did not lead his own retinue under Somerset; neither he nor Cusac ever seem to have held captaincies in France.

---

1. For Kyriell, see Biographical Appendix; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25772/1003.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Varous Accounts, 53/22; Vale, English Gascony, p. 245. Both he and his brother Richard held lands in Guienne, although in November 1444 Richard Vere was granted £20 a year as his lordship of Cauna was said to be of only 'the smallest value': C.P.R., 1441-46, p.313. Sir Robert was one of the men arrested, along with members of Gloucester's household and the duke himself, in February 1447. He had, however, returned to France in the following year: The English Chronicle, p.117. Possibly his services were required, for around this time he had received a safe-conduct to cross to France in Edmund Beaufort's retinue: 'French Rolls', p. 376(January-February 1447).
3. C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 434; ibid., 1441-46, p. 83.
4. C.R.R., 1446-52, p. 404.

Service to the Crown rather than to Beaufort seems to have been the chief criteria behind the presence of these knights in Somerset's army. In comparison with the company led by Richard, duke of York in 1441, John Beaufort's troops made a modest showing, with no barons and only a handful of knights in attendance. Whilst it is true that the minor captains had some professionals amongst them, the proportion of mercenary soldiers created an imbalance between those serving out of duty to the duke and those whose end was primarily material gain. There was, however, a small core of Beaufort supporters, associated with the duke through territorial connection, kinship or service in the past to himself, his brother or his uncle. A number of captains were drawn from Lancashire: Hugh Ashton, Christopher Barton, William Carington, William Chisvall, William Greenacres, Thomas Langstrother, James Osbaldeston, John Pemberton, William Rigmaiden, James and Seth Standish.[1] Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter had held lands in Lancashire which may have passed to Duke John, but it seems more likely that the king's duchy of Lancaster lands contributed a flow of both men and money to the wars.

Somerset's expedition ended in disgrace when his army proceeded to cross into the friendly territory of the duke of Brittany and sack the Breton town of La Guerche. Once established there, the duke refused to leave until he was paid the sum of 20,000 crowns, of which 10,000 crowns were eventually handed over and bonds entered into for the remainder. The duke of Brittany complained bitterly of this treatment, and the English

---

1. There were Rigmaidens of Wedacre and Cokeram in that county. William Rigmaiden had held the constableship of Lancaster castle before it was granted to Christopher Barton. John Pemberton was of Pemberton and Hugh Ashton of Littlewood, both in Lancashire. From neighbouring counties came John Davenport (or Damport) of Bromhall in Cheshire, and John Constable and William Tempest may have been members of the families of Constable of Halsham and Tempest Bracewell, both in Yorkshire, where John Beaufort held some land. The absence of men from Somerset and Dorset is striking. Visitation of Lancashire, pp. 19, 54; Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, ed. J.Clay (3 vols., Thoresby Soc., Leeds, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 120-21; B.M., Add.Ms. 29,646 f. 196, 197; P.R.O., Chancery, Pardon Rolls, 38 m.9, 13; 39 m.26, 29; 40 m.13; 'French Rolls', p. 359.

Council sent a sharply worded statement to Somerset 'that the Kyng wol and comaundeth straitely' that no further disturbance or damage be done to the people of that place.[1]

Basin depicts Somerset as homo animo ultra modum elatus et presumptuosus, sed in opere et effectu vanus et inefficax, a man distrustful of others who preferred to operate in an atmosphere of strict secrecy.[2] The duke of York, over whom in certain respects Somerset took precedence by his appointment, had been instructed 'to lete noon other persone in any maner have in knowlach therof' the purpose of this expedition.[3] After the failure of his enterprise the duke of Somerset returned to England and died shortly afterwards on 27 May 1444.[4] The following day a truce was declared between England and France, the result of negotiations for a marriage settlement which culminated in the betrothal of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou on 24 May in the same year.

2. The Question of Maine and the Lieutenancy of Edmund Beaufort.

Edmund Beaufort had been appointed governor of Anjou and Maine by 1438.[5] In March 1443 it was agreed that, as part of the terms of John, earl of Somerset's service, a letter should be sent to Richard of York

---

1. B.M., Cotton Mss., Julius BVl, f. 130.
2. T.Basin, Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI, ed. C. Samaran (Paris, 1944), vol. 1, p. 280.
3. P.P.C., V, 260.
4. Basin says that he died from an illness; other accounts say he committed suicide from disgrace, was killed by a bull (a crest or symbol of some lord possibly), or point to Suffolk and his group as the cause of his death. Basin, Histoire de Charles VII, p. 284; Kingsford, English Historical Literature, p. 341; G.E.C., XI, 48; Foedera, V, 133-36.
5. B.N., P.O. 1017/2. On 20 December 1438 he concluded a two-year truce with Charles of Anjou and the duke of Alençon for Maine and Anjou. E.Cosneau, Le Connétable de Richemont: Arthur de Bretagne, 1393-1458 (Paris, 1887), p. 279 n.4.

'that considered how that my saide Lord of Somerset hath upon the Kings Graunte of Anjoy and Mayne lettres patentz undre the Kings seel in Fraunce, after termes expired that my Lorde of Dorset hath in ye said landes, no thing be attempted ayenst my Lord of Somerset in that matter'. Somerset obtained a further concession which provided that whether or not the king appointed the earl of Dorset or anyone else, the grant should be reserved to the gift of Somerset for seven years.[1] It would seem that Dorset had held the county of Maine for his brother, Somerset, who was protecting himself against a renewal of the grant of governor of the county. Dorset was in fact reappointed, but for the above reason his letters were not sealed in France but in England. After his brother's death, the county of Maine passed wholly into his hands. The agreement to hand over the county of René of Anjou and the French King at the end of 1445 was probably a further reason for the delay in the appointment to the lieutenancy of France. One of the accusations later levelled at Suffolk was that Le Mans and Maine 'were the key to the well-being of all the kings obedience in France and Normandy'.[2] Several of Edmund Beaufort's closest supporters held offices and fees in Maine and it was they who were in part responsible for the long delay in the delivery of the county to the French.

On 28 July 1447 two well-known captains, Mathew Gough and Fulk Eyton, were appointed as commissioners with <u>plein povoir, auctorite et mandement especial</u> to hand over Maine to Charles VII.[3] The king's letters which they

---

1. <u>P.P.C.</u>, V, 252, 255, 263.
2. <u>H.M.C., Appendix to the Third Report</u> (London, 1870), p. 280.
3. <u>Stevenson</u>, II, 701. For Mathew Gough, see Y. Probert, 'Mathew Gough, 1390-1450', <u>Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion</u> (London, 1962), vol. for 1961, pt. II, pp. 34-44; H.T.Evans, <u>Wales and the Wars of the Roses</u> (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 48-62. For Eyton, see Biographical Appendix.

carried to France were signed in the presence of Edmund Beaufort, marquess of Dorset and earl of Somerset. They were read before his captain of Le Mans and Beaumont-le-Viconte, Osbert Mundford, on 23 September, who, though not denying their authority, yet il semble que les dictes lettres ni contiennent aucune descharge pour mondit seigneur le marquis de Dorset.[1] The reasons he gave were that since the government of Maine and the custody of Le Mans and other fortfesses in the area had been granted to Dorset by letters patent, le tout au terme de sa vie durant, he needed time to send to England for letters of discharge seeles de son seel et signees de sa main.

The fact that Edmund Beaufort had witnessed the king's letters of authority suggests some arrangement with Mundford to hinder the transaction, possibly in an attempt to negotiate for compensation. The original date for the transfer of Maine to the French had been arranged for 1 November. On 28 October Beaufort received a mandate from Henry that he deliver Maine 'in as much as you dread our displeasure', since it was understood that Sir Richard Frogenhall, Osbert Mundford and others of his affinity, ont refuse dacomplir le contenu en noz lettres et mandement devant diz disans que pour leur aquit estoit besoing quilz eussent sur ce voz lettres de descharge.[2] The two commissioners, Gough and Eyton, requested a delay of fifteen days from 1 January 1448 in order to make deliverance; on this day the truce, which was to have been extended on 1 November, was to be published. The English Council, obviously expecting further opposition

---

1. Stevenson, II, 704, 706-8.
2. Ibid., pp. 693-95.

from the captains, insisted that the truce remain in force, even if Lille, Fresnay, Beaumont and other garrisons were unco-operative.[1] On 6 January Thomas Hoo, chancellor of France, was writing to Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, assuring him that Maine would be handed over as promised.[2] Charles VII, however, grew tired of waiting, and news reached Rouen that a large French army was being raised to take Le Mans by force. The town was finally surrendered by the English on 16 March 1448. The two commissioners, Gough and Eyton, had demonstrated support for Mundford's actions by placing on record a protest in which they declared that the cession of Maine to France was made only in consideration of a secure peace, and that the king of England did not resign the sovereignty of Maine.[3]

Although Edmund Beaufort may be seen to have supported these attempts by Gough and Eyton to gain something concrete from the surrender of Maine, nonetheless he was not acting entirely on the basis of principle. Beaufort's official appointment as lieutenant-general of France and Normandy had been made on 24 December 1446, but it was not until after Maine had been handed over to the French that he took up his command in person. On 31 March 1448 Beaufort was created duke of Somerset, and on 8 April he indented to serve with 800 men-at-arms and 3,800 archers. Exactly a month later he arrived in Rouen.[4]

In return for the surrender of Maine, on 13 November 1447, Beaufort

---

1. Ibid., pp. 713, 715. Mundford was captain of Fresnay and Beaumont, so it is possible that Frogenhall was the captain of Lille.
2. Stevenson, I, 199.
3. Foedera, V, 189.
4. C.Ch.R., VI, 99; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 71/4/916; Blondel, De Reductione Normanniae, II, 266.

was granted an annual pension of 10,000 livres tournois for life, to be taken from the revenues of the baillages of Caen and the Cotentin.[1] In November 1448 Edmund's new treasurer of Normandy, Osbert Mundford, was informed that the duke had received only a fraction of this sum for the past year, since York's late treasurer, John Stanlow, had already assigned much of this revenue before the grant to Somerset was made known. The same day, 10 November, Mundford was authorised to pay the duke 1,550 livres tournois in compensation.[2] During this time the duke was receiving 30,000 livres tournois annually for his tenure of office.[3] The English also received 24,000 livres tournois from Charles VII for Maine, which was intended to compensate those english landowners who had been dispossessed. In a list of questions drawn up after the loss of Normandy respecting the alleged misconduct of the duke of Somerset, one concerned the distribution of this money which, it was claimed, had been applied to the duke's own advantage with the collaboration of Mundford.[4] Mathew Gough was one of the luckier cpatains; he received a pension of £200 (1,800 livres tournois) to be taken from the revenues of Normandy for life.[5] The loss of Normandy stopped all such payments.

Apart from this appointment as treasurer of Normandy, Osbert Mundford's association with Somerset was confirmed by the duke's grant in April 1448 of £40 a year for life, to be taken from the english exchequer 'for good service in France and Normandy'.[6] Mundford had entered Beaufort's service

---

1. Hunger, Le Siège de Caen, p. 9.
2. B.N., P.O., 2081/4; B.M., Add.Ms. 11,509 f.20.
3. Ibid., f. 38.
4. Foedera, V, 189; Stevenson, II, 722.
5. B.M., Add.Ms. 11,509 f.40d. John, Viscount Beaumont received 3,000 livres tournois as compensation for his barony of Mayenne and other lands in Maine by royal letters dated 9 March 1448. At about the same time, Thomas, Lord Hoo received a grant of 1,000 nobles d'or. Others, like Sir John Fastolf, were not so fortunate. Ibid., f. 20d-21d.
6. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 155.

by 1445, when he held the post of bailiff of Maine. His brother-in-law, Andrew Trollope, also a captain in France, began to gain some notice around this time.[1] Throughout 1448 Mundford was continually employed as an ambassador to discuss terms for a truce.

Any hope of a settlement with the French, however temporary, was dispelled by the sacking of Fougères by François de Surienne in March 1449. In answer to a complaint made by the French about infractions of the truce, Somerset replied, according to Charles, en ung stile desrogant a lonneur du roy; whilst the duke expressed surprise at the attack, he refused to give up the town.[2] In reprisal the French took Pont de l'Arche, whose captain, Lord Fauconberg, together with Osbert Mundford, was later captured at Pontaudemer.[3] From 20 June to 4 July 1449 a series of conferences was hurriedly convened at Port-Saint-Ouen and elsewhere, but with little success. By August three French armies were in the field under the leadership of Count Dunois, an illegitimate brother of the duke of Orleans, the counts of Eu and St. Pol, the duke of Alençon and the duke of Brittany. The English under Somerset retreated into Rouen, whence on 23 October Edmund, duke of Somerset, supported by Sir Robert Roos, Sir James Ormond and Thomas Saintbarbe, obtained an interview with Charles VII.[4] Agreement on the terms of the surrender was delayed by the reluctance of the English to hand over the earl of Shrewsbury as hostage, but the final terms left Talbot, Sir James Ormond, Thomas, Lord Roos, Sir Richard Frogenhall, Sir Henry Redford and others as prisoners of the French.[5] On 4 November Somerset and the English left Rouen for Caen, whence urgent pleas for reinforcements were sent to England.

---

1. Stevenson, II, 638. For Trollope, see Biographical Appendix.
2. Stevenson, I, 280-95.
3. Pont de l'Arche was taken on 15 May.
4. Blondel, De Reductione Normanniae, p. 282 n.1.
5. Stevenson, II, 628.

III.

John Clifton, whose company brought the overall total up to 3,516 men.[1]

Further sums of money were raised, the largest amount (£5,000) coming from the residue of Cardinal Beaufort's fortune, £1,773 from William, duke of Suffolk, and smaller sums contributed by the court circle. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Oxford and the bishop of Winchester each lent £100.[2] The money was given into the keeping of Somerset's servant, Thomas Maunsell, who himself provided £161.[3]

The delay over payment of the second quarter's wages, attributed by one chronicler to the fraudulence of Suffolk and others, kept the army hanging about at Portsmouth until March 1450.[4] In the past the activities of idle soldiers delayed at the coastal towns had been the subject of several petitions to Parliament, where reports of 'diverses Homicides, Murdres, Mainemes and heinouses Batries' were heard.[5] On 9 January Adam Moleyns was sent down to Portsmouth to distribute pay, 'Ande for hys covetysse, as hyt was reportyde, schippemen put hym to dethe and sum mys-a-wysed men of the sowdyers holpyn welle there-to'.

---

1. Twelve days before the battle of Formigny, a commission was set up to arrest at least sixteen men who had been retained by John Clifton to go with Kyriell but who had disappeared after receiving their wages. This was headed by his kinsmen, Sir Gervase and Robert Clifton, together with the sheriffs of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, where the family lands were centred. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 384.
2. P.P.C., VI, 86; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 65/224.
3. Probably the Thomas Mauncell of Burford, Yorkshire, who took the oath not to maintain peacebreakers in 1436. In 1449 he was acting as Somerset's paymaster-general and with others was authorised to pledge the king's jewels for as much as could be raised. In December 1450 there was still not enough money to send Kyriell's army and Maunsell was ordered to borrow on a long list of jewels delivered by Sir John Wenlock, one of the executors of Thomas, Lord Fanhope. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 378; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 36/21; 'French Rolls', p. 376; P.R.O., Exchequer, Issue Rolls 177 m.6; Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 65/221, 66/98.
4. Trinity College, Dublin, Ms. Chronicle E.6.10 ff. 165, printed in Camden Miscellany, XXIV, 196.
5. Foedera, V, 61.

One of the captains of Kyriell's army, Cuthbert Colville, was later tried for Moleyns's murder.[1]

The army finally arrived at Cherbourg on 15 March 1450, but instead of marching to relieve Somerset at Caen, Kyriell took it upon himself to win back Valognes and other places in the Cotentin at the request of the bailiff. Sir John Fastolf afterwards put down the failure of this army to achieve a victory over the French to greed and indiscipline amongst the 'pety capteyns'.[2] Certainly in his eyes the lack of a noble leader was a considerable drawback. Somerset then hastily raised a field army with 600 men drawn from Caen under Sir Robert Vere, 800 from Bayeux under Mathew Gough, and a further 400 or 500 from Vire under Sir Henry Norbury. This army joined with Kyriell's forces after the successful retaking of Valognes, but was caught up by French troops under Pierre de Brézé and the count of Clermont at a village named Formigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, on 15 April. The ensuing battle sealed the fate of English Normandy. The tide was turned in favour of the French by the arrival at the battle of Arthur de Richemont, constable of France, with 300 men-at-arms from St. Lô.[3] The lowest estimate of the English dead was 2,300 men, the bodies filling fourteen trenches.[4] The list of prisoners taken by the French included Sir Thomas Kyriell, Sir Henry Norbury, Sir Thomas Dring, Laurence Rainford, Jenkin Baker, William Herbert and Elys Longworth. Mathew Gough and Sir Robert Vere both managed to escape to their garrisons at Bayeux and Caen.[5] Vire was taken by the victorious French, though

---

1. 'Gregory's Chronicle', in The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.Gairdner (Camden Soc., 1876), pp 189; P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 109 m.25, where Colville is described as of the king's Household.
2. Stevenson, I, 592-98.
3. Blondel, De Reductione Normanniae, II, 175.
4. Stevenson, I, 630.
5. J. Lair, Essai Historique et Topographique sur la Bataille de Formigny (Paris, 1903), p. 63.

Gough at Bayeux succeeded in holding out until the middle of May. After his surrender of the town to Dunois, the French marched against Caen in force.

According to the Tudor chronicler, Edward Hall, there was some question as to whether Caen was in the keeping of Somerset or York, though there seems little doubt that the responsibility was Beaufort's.[1] With him at Caen were Sir Richard Harington, bailiff of Caen and one-time lieutenant of John Beaufort at Falaise, and captain of Argentan until its surrender in October 1449, Fulk Eyton, Sir Robert Vere, Sir Henry Redford and other captains who had retreated into this last stronghold of the English.[2] As at Rouen, a revolt amongst the citizenry hastened a treaty, which was concluded on 24 June 1450; on 1 July Caen was handed over to the French. The remnant of the English army made its way either to Calais or to Cherbourg and from there to England. Cherbourg under Thomas Gower continued to hold out for a short time, but it surrendered on 12 August in return for the redemption of Gower's son Richard, made a hostage at the taking of Rouen.[3] Thereafter, with the short-lived exception of Guienne, the English occupation of France was confined to Calais alone.

In these last years, Normandy suffered from a chronic shortage of men willing to serve outside England. Thirteen captains who made up Kyriell's army were recruited from amongst Beaufort's own followers, the court party and professional mercenaries. Sir Thomas Kyriell, Christopher Barton and

---

1. Hall's Chronicle, p. 215.
2. Hunger, Le Siege de Caen, pp. 11-19.
3. Stevenson, Narratives, pp. 365-67.

Simon Hammes had all led retinues under John Beaufort in 1443, whilst Thomas Davenport was probably the man of the same name who served under John Davenport in that same expedition.[1] Kyriell was by this time definitely a member of Beaufort's affinity. His brother John Kyriell had been appointed receveur général de la recompense paid to Somerset for the loss of Maine. John was with his brother at Formigny and remained in France, perhaps as a hostage for his brother, for the next twenty-two years.[2]

Elys Longworth, Beaufort's bailiff of Mortain, John Cusac and Sir Thomas Dring had all served in French garrisons. The two latter had never held any post of note. Cusac, perhaps a relative of Sir Thomas Cusac, who served with John Beaufort in 1443, had been at the siege of Pontorson in 1426 and in the garrison of Pontoise under Robert, Lord Willoughby in 1429 and 1431.[3] Dring had been a member of the garrison at Lisieux in 1438 under Sir William Bucton, and was at Alençon in 1442 when it was captained by Sir Richard Wydeville.[4] Cuthbert Colville was a professional who had served with York in 1441 and before that in the army led by the earl of Huntingdon to Aquitaine in 1439.[5] Nicholas Morley was of Aspenden in Hertfordshire; he had acted both as a justice of the peace and as knight of the shire on several occasions. In 1443 he had been sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, an office usually reserved for government men. He may have been a kinsman of Robert, Lord Morley, whose wardship and marriage had been granted in 1436 to Edmund Beaufort. Beaufort married him to Elizabeth Roos, his wife's sister-in-law by her first marriage.[6]

---

1. A Thomas Davenport also led a retinue under York in 1441.
2. See Biographical Appendix for the Kyriells.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/211; 25769/450; 25770/1431. In 1429 he served at Pontoise with Sir Thomas Chetwode and Thomas Rochefort, who were both members of John Beaufort's expedition of 1443.
4. A.N., K64/23/9; K67/12/80.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/22; 53/33.
6. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, p. 52; P.R.O., List of Sheriffs (Lists and Indexes, IX, 1963), p. 44. Sheriffs like John Hotoft, John Doreward, Robert Whitingham, Richard Alred, Richard Witherton, Thomas Tyrell, Conan Aske and Lewis John were associated with the government. Robert Whitingham's son was captain of Caen for Somerset in 1450.

The three remaining esquires were, like Morley, probably embarking for France for the first time.

The three most experienced captains, Kyriell, Barton and Longworth, were also the closest to Somerset, which is clear indication of the importance of a lord's 'connection'. Obviously it was to the advantage of the lieutenant-general if he could rely on a large affinity at home to swell his retinue abroad; the choice of noble leaders of armies was made partly for this reason, though the Beaufort brothers' resources of manpower seem to have been decidedly inferior in this respect to those of York and Warwick. Perhaps this was due to lack of land from which a pool of men could be drawn. This was true of the younger Beaufort, but personality may also have played a part. Although Edmund, duke of Somerset employed his own captains in administrative, diplomatic and military posts just as his predecessors had done, he was unable to raise an army of any standing from amongst his supporters, and the last army that left England for Normandy under Kyriell had a complement of only two knights, and a ratio of men-at-arms and archers that stood at 10:1.

Chapter VII.

THE RETURN TO ENGLAND.

'In croke of the mone came they thederward
And in the wylde wanyenge wente they homeward'.[1]

The end of 1449 and the beginning of 1450 saw a steady increase in the number of soldiers returning from Normandy to England. Kyriell's defeat at Formigny in April 1450 accelerated the process, and in August the citizens of London witnessed the remains of Somerset's defeated army passing through the city streets bearing 'stuff of armor and bedding, and houshold as well of Englissh as of Norman goodes, and men, women and children in right pover array, pitewus to see'.[2] Many had evidently lost homes, goods and livelihood, leaving Normandy with little more than the clothes on their backs. The return of these soldiers was seen by some as a social threat, since their relatively high standard of living in Normandy, engendered by grants of office and land, goods and houses and the profits from ransoms and booty could not easily be maintained in England.[3] The records of King's Bench for the years 1449-52 would seem to bear out the chroniclers' assertions that many ex-servicemen 'becam theves and manquellers'.[4]

Not surprisingly it was the common soldier who was the chief sufferer.

---

1. Kingsford, Chronicles of London, p. 152.
2. Six Town Chronicles, ed. R.Flenley (Oxford, 1911), p. 134.
3. Stevenson, 11,726.
4. In P.R.O., Ancient Indictments, nos. 262-68, there are numerous cases of soldiers arrested for theft, chiefly in the London area.

Sir Andrew Ogard stated that many of his old company returned 'in grete necessite and mendicate', and that he had dispensed meat and drink and money amongst them. More than this, Ogard continued, was the king's responsibility, 'as I have playnly yeve in writing afore this time in his parliament'.[1] Although Thomas, Lord Scales was commanded by Henry VI to distribute £50 'to the intent that our household may be discharged of the soldiers which daily resort to the same, unto our great charge and costs',[2] the idea remained that charity lay rather with the individual than with the government. William Worcester recorded Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter's generosity towards those of his soldiers who had fallen on hard times, and as Sir John Fastolf's executor he himself gave one mark to John Lawney, esquire, not only because he was Fastolf's kinsman, but also because he was cum domino in guerris Francie pluribus annis non habens unde vivere; a further 16d. went to John Chambre, quondam soldarius cum domino in Frauncia et valde pauper postea.[3]

Those who served the longest had the most to lose, both in terms of property and opportunity. By limiting themselves to warfare as a career, men had hoped for self-advancement and many attained it. Of his patron, Sir Gilbert Umfraville, John Harding wrote:

> '...his lyfelode excedednoght all clere
> An hundreth marke to leue upon in dede,
> Bot oonly of the werres thurgh his manhede;
> Yit helde he than a countenaunce and estate
> With hym that was a baron nomynate'.[4]

---

1. P.C.C., 2 Stokton. No record of such a statement seems to have survived.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 66/215.
3. William Worcester, Itineraries, p. 357.
4. H.Ellis (ed.), The Chronicle of John Hardyng, together with the continuation by Richard Grafton (London, 1812), pp. 221-29.

But reputation alone was not a marketable commodity in time of peace.

However, the common soldier, if he had no land to fall back on in England, usually had a trade to which he could return if he chose. To judge from the safe-conducts issued in the later years of the war, a good number of servicemen had temporarily abandoned a craft or trade in order to serve abroad.[1] Besides dispossession, many soldiers had personal grievances to voice, particularly over pay. In 1448 the garrison at Caen had protested that Sir Andrew Ogard, lately captain, and his lieutenant, James Dryland, had withheld their wages so that many of the soldiers 'be so empoverysed that they may no longere sewe, for some of them lieth in the countour and in other prisons for theire dispenses'.[2] One of their number, Robert Cherry, may be the 'Robert Chery, late of London, sowdiour, alias Robert Crabden, smyth', who in June 1449 was the subject of an enquiry into felonies committed in Gloucestershire.[3] Sir Andrew's conscience caused him to add a long explanatory clause to his will, in which he cited a release under the king's seal in Normandy for an assignment of £5,434 2s. 2d. towards debts incurred through unpaid wages. The sum, he claimed, took many years to materialise 'and grete rewards yeven for recoveraunce therof, inasmuche as there was noon other capteyn payed for that tyme but I'. For twenty-one months' wages, owed from York's tenure of office, Ogard received tallies which he declared willing to produce for inspection, and which the soldiers utterly refused to accept. Nevertheless, Sir Andrew insisted that he had discharged all monies received for the payment of his soldiers.[4]

---

1. See 'French Rolls', passim, for different trades.
2. P.R.O., Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence, 14448.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 285.
4. P.B.C. 2 Stokton.

An attempt was made to enquire into these and other similar complaints, for on 15 February 1452 John, earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas, Lord Scales and Sir Richard Harington, all ex-commanders in France, were among those appointed to hear accusations presented against Sir Thomas Hoo, the former chancellor of Normandy, Sir Andrew Ogard and other unnamed officers, concerning the retention of wages.[1] No judgement had been made by the time of Ogard's death and the soldiers were forced to wait until 1458 before the issue was taken up once more.[2]

Of 135 captains, lieutenants and bailiffs holding military office in Normandy during the last decade of the war, at least fifty-one (or 38%) had held military posts before 1436, whilst no less than 60% of that number had seen some sort of military service by that date. The importance of Normandy to these men was considerable. Two of these English captains are recorded as having changed their allegiance and there must have been others. Sir Richard Merbury, seigneur de Vignay, du Grippon et de Gondrecourt, had held seven different captaincies for the English in Normandy, where his four sons also served. Merbury had married a French heiress, Catherine de Fontenay, whose kinship to Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, may have encouraged the knight's defection. It was to de Brézé that Sir Richard surrendered the fortress of Gisors in 1450 on condition, it was said, that he retain his Norman lands and that two of his sons captured at Pontaudemer were released.[3]

---

1. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 537.
2. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 439.
3. Matthieu d'Escouchy, I,210; II, 535. By 1452 Merbury was bailiff of Troyes for King Charles, and shortly afterwards was described as his councillor and chamberlain.

Likewise, John Edward, a Welsh captain who held Roche Guyon, surrendered his charge to the French 'at the advice, prayer and entreaty of his wife'. She was also related to a noble French family and her husband's surrender was accomplished on the understanding that he should be allowed to enjoy his wife's property in return for accepting the sovereignty of Charles VII.[1] The exchange seemed a valid one. Many of the captains were younger sons or members of the squirearchy with little or no land to their name in England. A good proportion had spent the whole of their adult life in France, where they had managed to carve out both careers and estates for themselves. England, by comparison, had little to offer.

After 1450 it is possible to trace barely a quarter of the careers of these 135 captains present in Normandy at the end of the war. The opportunities for military service in England after that date were limited. Probably many retired into the country and applied themselves, like the veteran Sir John Fastolf, to the maintenance of their own estates and the affairs of local government.

Some captains received a small measure of compensation. John Lampet, in turn lieutenant and captain at Avranches for over twenty years, was granted a life annuity of forty marks. The list of disasters Lampet claimed he had endured in order to warrant this pension included three sieges of Avranches (the second of which had involved him in the personal expenditure of more than 500 marks), his own wounding, capture and ransom, and the loss

---

1. Stevenson, I,621; Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, p. 57.

of all his goods at the surrender of the town.[1] He was not totally without other means of support in England, for the records reveal that he owned various manors in the counties of Suffolk and Essex.[2] Like other veterans of the French war, Lampet's age probably prevented him from playing any part in the civil disturbances of the 1450s, even if he had been so inclined, and he was dead before the end of the decade.

Although York's later accusations against Somerset were founded on his alleged mishandling of Norman affairs, it was the duke of Suffolk who in 1450 became the scapegoat of popular opinion. The charges brought against him fall into two categories: treason abroad, where he was held responsible for the surrender of Anjou and Maine, and corruption at home through perversion of justice and the improper working of local government. On 2 May 1450 Suffolk was executed at sea on his way to exile by the crew of the 'Nicholas of the Tower', part of the semi-privateering fleet engaged in keeping the Channel.[3] The duke's death was followed by a scramble for position at Court, whilst dissatisfaction and fear increased amongst the commons; it was directed chiefly against the covetousness of Henry's advisers and their 'evil counsel'. A secondary concern among the men of Kent was a rumour that their county was to be laid waste in reprisal for Suffolk's death. On 4 June the commons of several shires adjacent to London put a number of reforms to the king, including the return of his true councillors, the dukes of Buckingham, York, Exeter and Norfolk with other earls and barons of the realm.[4]

---

1. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 569.
2. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 26/472. These were the manors of Brightwell, Waldringfield and Helmingham, called 'Lampetes', in Suffolk, and the manor of Lambourn in Essex. His career may have been assisted by his neighbour, the duke of Suffolk, who was captain of Avranches and the place may have remained in his gift.
3. R.Virgoe, 'The Death of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk', B.J.R.L., vol. 47 (1964-65), pp. 499-500. The 'Nicholas' had been engaged in the defence of the Channel in 1442; on 3 April 1450 Gervase Clifton, lieutenant of Dover castle, was ordered to commandeer the 'Nicholas' and send her to resist the king's enemies. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 380. Clifton himself owned 'Le Mary of Tower' and another ship, 'le Kathryn of Tower', was owned by Henry, duke of Exeter, then admiral of England, though a minor: ibid., p. 353.
4. Stow, Annales, pp. 388-89.

The part that the returning soldiers of Normandy played in Cade's rebellion is uncertain. On 22 June, between the two assemblies held by the rebels, a company of men from the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex was ordered to ride and arrest 'certain persons naming themselves soldiers' at Edenbridge, who were despoiling and robbing the inhabitants of the area. Whether these men were returned from Normandy, part of Cade's company, or both, there is no further means of telling.[1] If anything, the evidence suggests that returning soldiers were rather deployed against the rebels. On 30 June Thomas, Lord Scales received 100 marks from the Exchequer 'to kepe and holde to gedres for a certain tyme suche souldeours, oure ligemen and subgettis, as late ben comen ouer into this reaume from the parties beyonde the see'.[2] Scales probably included in this company Mathew Gough, who had returned to England after his escape at Formigny and the surrender of Bordeaux. As one of the most experienced of England's captains, who had served both on his own and under various lords, Gough was installed in the country's armoury, the Tower of London, to assist Lord Scales in the defence of the city.[3]

Certain individuals took precautions for their own safety. Sir John Fastolf at his property in Southwark sent one of his servants to Cade's camp 'to gete the articles that they come for'. The servant was recognised and captured by the rebels, who accused Fastolf of being 'the grettyst traytor that was in Yngelond or in Fraunce....the whech mynnysshed all the garrisons of Normanndy, and Manns and Mayn, the whech was the cause

---

1. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 357. The leader of the men sent to arrest the soldiers was Robert Poynings, esquire. It may have been this commission which led him to Cade, whom he joined as sword-bearer shortly after.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E. R., Warrants for Issues, 66/187.
3. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 193.

of the lesyng of all the Kyngs tytyll and ryht of an herytaunce that he had by yonde see'. The rebels had also heard that Fastolf had 'furnysshyd his plase with the olde sawdyors of Normaundy and abyllyments of werr' to destroy the Kentishmen if they came to Southwark. Fortunately for Fastolf's servant, he was saved by the intervention of Robert Poynings and despatched to his master with the advice 'to put away all his abyllments of werr and the olde sowdiors'; this he did. Following this, Sir John left Southwark with all his men to join Lord Scales and Mathew Gough in the Tower.[1] In the fighting that took place on the night of Sunday, 5 July, Gough was killed defending London Bridge. Another of the captains from Normandy may have been killed as a result of these disturbances. One chronicler states that in June Cade's men beheaded in Kent a squire named Stanlow. This was possibly John Stanlow, York's ex-treasurer of Normandy who came from Bromley in Kent, or else his kinsman Hugh Stanlow from Aylford in the same county.[2]

To judge from the outcry against Fastolf and the part played by Lord Scales and Gough, the English captains from Normandy did not consider Cade's cause to be their own; if anything the 'old soldiers' seem to have been resented and feared. If York was not actually behind the rebellion in 1450, he later made the demands of the rebels the basis of his plans for reform. As Dr. Storey has pointed out, the indictment of Sir William Oldhall in 1453 for supporting Cade, was made by a hostile and partisan jury, and as such little weight can be given to it.[3]

---

1. Paston Letters, I, 131-35. Poynings was married to John Paston's sister, Elizabeth; Paston was one of Fastolf's most trusted associates.
2. Chronicle of the Greyfriars of London, ed. J. Nichols (Camden Soc., 1852), p. 19; P.R.O., Chancery, Supplementary Patent Rolls, 39 m.6.
3. Storey, End of the House of Lancaster, p. 79.

On that occasion, Oldhall was accused of having, prior to Cade's revolt, plotted with Sir William Ashton of Saham in Norfolk and various members of the duke of Norfolk's household on 6 March 1450 at Bury St. Edmunds to depose the king in favour of the duke of York, fabricating bills and ballads averring that the king, by the advice of William, duke of Suffolk, James, Lord Say, Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, and William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, had sold the kingdoms of France and England to the French. Later, so it was said, Oldhall and Ashton had proclaimed Cade to be their leader and had sent letters on 26 May to the men of Kent, inciting them to rise and join York.[1]

The indictment of two other men, Robert Ardern and John Sharp, both of London, also links York's name with Cade's rebellion. Under a commission dated 11 May 1451, Ardern and Sharp were accused of having raised 300 men in Kent on 3 May 1450 under the leadership of John Wilkins, an accomplice of Jack Cade.[2] In 1453 the same two men were again indicted, this time of having conspired on 6 March 1452 in the London ward of

---

1. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 118m. 30; 271 m.117. The lordship of Saham belonged to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick at some date before 23 November 1451, when he conferred the stewardship of the estate on Sir William Oldhall, 'for the good seruicez yat (he) hadde doon unto us and shall doo hereafter'. The letter in which this grant is mentioned was dated 19 April (1456) and makes it clear that Oldhall had held this office before he took to sanctuary on 23 November 1453. During Sir William's confinement the post was occupied by Sir Thomas Tuddenham, but following Oldhall's deliverance from 'his said troubles...the said Tudenham hath not be frendely but demeaned him straungely unto us and in our materes'. The early date of this connection between York's chamberlain and the earl of Warwick is interesting. The letter also gives grounds for the connection of Sir William Ashton with Oldhall. The remainder of those accused alongside Ashton and Oldhall came from the duke of Norfolk's stronghold at Framlingham castle, but a few yeomen came from York's own towns of Sudbury and Grantham in Lincolnshire. Hugh Ashton, who was indicted at the same time, was also charged with having broken the close and houses of Edmund, duke of Somerset on 1 December 1450. This property was situated in Sudbury, where Beaufort also seems to have held an estate. P.B.Chatwin, 'Documents of Warwick the Kingmaker in the possession of St. Mary's Church, Warwick', Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Soc., vol. LIX (1935), p. 2; P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 118 m.8.
2. Ibid., 48 m.1, 9, 15, 16. Wilkins was described as 'of Stratford on Avon, Warwickshire, pedlar, alias of Westminster, yoman, alias of Merden, Kent, shipman'.

Baynardscastle to support York and the rebels at Dartford in Kent, and of having said that although the crown was heritable, power came from the assent of Parliament, by whose force the king could be deposed. Ardern and Sharp were also charged with having, on 20 April 1452, assembled in arms with others at York's town of Ludlow, and there murdered Richard Fazackerly, the king's valet of the Chamber.[1] Like the indictment against Oldhall that same year, this could be seen as an attempt to blacken York's name, but it is interesting that this second indictment does not mention the previous charges brought against the two men after Cade's rebellion. If the indictment was part of a scheme to weaken York politically, it is strange that this connection was overlooked.

If Cade's rebellion did not profit from the support of the returning soldiers, the first week in August 1450 was marked by a number of disturbances in London consequent upon the arrival from Normandy of Somerset and his army. The initial attitude of the soldiers was uncompromising. The morning after their entry into the city saw many of them 'yeden aboute in divers places, and wher that they sygh ony armes either of the duk of Suffolk or lord Say they pulled hem down and despoilled them'. Others broke into Greyfriars church where Say had been interred in order to deface his tomb and reverse his coat of arms as a traitor.[2]

London bore the brunt of the English retreat from Normandy, which culminated in a near riot at the inauguration of the city's mayor on 29 October, when forty armed soldiers 'made a countenance' to the train of

---

1. Ibid., 270 m.34; 103/1 m.15.
2. Flenley, Six Town Chronicles, pp. 134-36.

civic dignitaries. The only hope of order, according to the same chronicler, was the speedy despatch of this unemployed soldiery to Bordeaux 'and soo to have occupied theym in the werres', but the country's chronic indebtedness prevented such timely action.[1] The opening of Parliament on 6 November prompted further outbreaks of unruly behaviour.

The Parliament of 1450.

Somerset had entered London on 1 August 1450. By the middle of the month he had taken his seat in the king's Council and was presiding over the restoration of order in the country at large, where further disturbances were reported in Essex, Sussex, Kent and Wiltshire. York was at Trim in Ireland on 26 August but a few days later he landed in Anglesey. Apparently the Court had prior notice of his intentions and attempts were made to intercept the duke by the king's officers in north Wales. It was alleged that they had orders to imprison York in Conway castle, to behead his chamberlain, Sir William Oldhall, and to detain two more of his councillors, Sir Walter Devereux and Sir Edmund Mulso.[2] A former speaker for the Commons, William Tresham, was murdered on his way from his home in Northamptonshire to join the duke, who had avoided arrest and shortly afterwards reached London at the head of about 4,000 men.[3]

In an interview with the king around Michaelmas, York pressed for reforms which were reported to be 'muche after the comouns desyre'.[4]

---

1. Ibid.
2. J.Stow, The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England (London, 1615), p.394. Sir Walter Devereux is given as Sir William Devereux.
3. R.P., V. 211-13.
4. Paston Letters, I, no. 113.

Writs had been issued to summon Parliament on 5 September, and the popularity of York's cause was attested by the election of Sir William Oldhall as knight of the shire for Hertfordshire and subsequently as speaker. He was supported in Parliament by the presence of the duke's other principal councillors, Sir Walter Devereux standing for Herefordshire and Sir Edmund Mulso for Suffolk. Other Yorkist supporters included Thomas Mulso for Northamptonshire, Sir John Barre for Gloucestershire, and several of York's estate officials, particularly Thomas Palmer for Rutland, William Burley for Shropshire and William Browning for Dorset.[1] As many as twelve others have some claim to be regarded as supporters of York in this Parliament.[2]

Several Beaufort supporters and some prominent Household men also gained seats. Somerset's men probably included Everard Digby, elected for Rutland along with Thomas Palmer, Sir Richard Harington, lately captain of Caen and in 1450 knight of the shire for Lancashire, and John Bellers for Leicestershire. No other Parliament was to prove so favourable to the duke of York; yet little of importance was achieved.

Parliament opened on 6 November amidst scenes of excitement. York's badge was openly displayed in many places and on 23 November York, attended by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Devon, rode into London with a large company of armed men, 'and every lorde hadde hys bagge a-pon hys harnys, and hyr mayny also, that they myght ben knowe by hyr baggys and levereys'.[3] A petition for the banishment of courtiers headed by Edmund,

---

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 161-73.
2. K.B.Macfarlane lists a number of 'Yorkists' whose attitudes in 1450 cannot be presumed. These were Walter Blount (Derbyshire), Sir William Pecche (Kent), Thomas Frowick (Middlesex), Sir Roger Chamberlain (Suffolk), Robert Poynings (Sussex), Sir Thomas Parr (Westmorland), John Russell (Wiltshire) and Sir John Melton the younger (Yorkshire). Yet others who can be linked with York are Sir John Savile (Yorkshire), John Newport (Lincoln), Henry Bruyn (Portsmouth borough), Thomas Young (Bristol) and Thomas Uvedale (Sussex).
3. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 195.

duke of Somerset was firmly resisted by the king, and by the time Parliament was prorogued for the Christmas recess York's hold on the Commons had largely evaporated. The reasons for this loss of support may lie in a series of events that have so far passed almost unnoticed.

These were a series of risings or demonstrations in favour of the duke of York between 3 and 12 November 1450 by York's councillors and supporters in areas under his influence. Dr.R.L.Storey noted their existence, as recorded in the indictment files of King's Bench, but placed them in November 1451 as part of the sequence of events leading to the confrontation at Dartford in 1452.[1] These demonstrations were alleged to have taken place in the counties of Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex in November 1450. The date 1450 appears in five separate indictment files (one for each of the above-named counties and one for Trinity term 1455).[2] Each file covers indictments for similar risings that occurred in February 1452 and in one case in support of Jack Cade in June 1450.

A true appreciation of events is further confused by the existence in the Trinity term file for 1455 of an indictment accusing Sir William Oldhall of having, on 3 November 1451, helped and persuaded John Sturgeon, a yeoman of Hitchin in Hertfordshire, and others to rise against the king, a rising which took place on 20 February 1452.[3] If Dr. Storey's suggestion that the date 1450 was entered in error for 1451 in these files is correct,

---

1. Storey, End of the House of Lancaster, p. 249 (Ch. VI, n.13).
2. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 7/1,26/1,65a, 94/1, 278.
3. Ibid., 278/52.

then this indictment of 3 November 1451 would serve to corroborate his theory. However, this same file for 1455 also provides evidence of another indictment against Oldhall, accusing him of rising in arms against the king in support of the duke of York at Fotheringhay, and it is clearly dated as having occurred on 11 November 1450.[1]

Confusion arises from the fact that the demonstrations of 1450 and 1452 were organised by York's council and tenants in York's own strongholds and areas of influence; the same names and the same locations appear on both occasions. The first disturbances seem to have taken place at York's town of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire on 3 November 1450, when Thomas Palmer, lately elected knight of the shire for Rutland, was accused of having plotted against the king.[2] On 11 November Sir William Oldhall and Thomas Mulso and others were accused of raising a company of armed men against the king in support of York.[3] The clerks may indeed have been confused here, for the names of Thomas Semark, John Eston and Laurence Weaver, who were indicted along with Oldhall and Mulso in November 1450, were included in the indictment for February 1452, again for a rising at Fotheringhay, and their names were afterwards crossed out.[4]

The demonstration in Cambridgeshire took place at Royston on 10 November, four days after the opening of Parliament. The ringleader was

---

I. Ibid., 278/51.
2. Ibid., 94/1/2. The date is written both as 3 December and 3 November.
3. Ibid., 94/1/5; 278/51; Coram Rege Rolls, 777, Rex m.7.
4. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 94/1/12. Weaver and Semark were, however, pardoned in November 1452, along with those men who had taken part in the demonstrations earlier that year.

said to be John Wykes of Newmarket (Cambridgeshire).[1] Wykes does not appear to have served in France with York, but in October 1448 he received a safe-conduct to accompany the duke to Ireland, as did Oldhall and Sir Edmund Mulso.[2] Wykes was supported by Thomas Bernard and Robert Burley, both of Iselham, John Clopton, Richard Child of Harlton, and Sir William Saintgeorge of Easthatly, amongst others. Thomas Bernard had received the stewardship of York's lands in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire for life on 27 October 1447, whilst John Clopton, along with the duke's principal councillors, was a witness to one of York's charters on 28 February in the same year.[3] Sir William Saintgeorge had been a member of the retinue of Sir James Ormond, who had crossed to France in 1441 as part of York's army. His inclusion and that of RichardChild in the indictment concerning events in November 1450 indicates what was probably only a temporary relationship with York's supporters. In October 1452 both Saintgeorge and Child were amongst the jurors inquiring into the second rising of York's supporters under John Wykes, this time at Cambridge in February 1452.[4]

The 11 and 12 November saw demonstrations in favour of the duke of York at Grantham and Stamford in Lincolnshire. The names of those involved included a number of gentlemen, the remainder being yeomen, craftsmen and husbandmen from Grantham and the surrounding villages.[5] Three of the accused gentlemen, Richard Saltby, John Braunswell and John Somercotes, were all tenants or lessees of York.[6] Such relationships were less obvious

---

1. Ibid., 7/1/10.
2. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 227.
3. W.A.Ms. 12166 m.10; C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 231.
4. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 7/1/4,10.
5. Ibid., 65a/19, 36, 38, 41, 42.
6. Cf. P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6.

at Stamford, where a number of the men involved were merchants. One of the accused here, Simon Welby of Harlaxton, was said to have stolen several articles from among the goods of Edmund, duke of Somerset to the value of 40s.[1]

The last of these recorded disturbances took place at Chelmsford in Essex on 12 November.[2] Of the few named in the indictment, all came from Thaxted, a manor belonging to Richard of York. Their leader seems to have been John Plum (or Plumbe), described as 'parker' and afterwards bailiff of Thaxted for the duke.[3] The chief participants in all these events were the councillors, officials and tenants of the duke of York. The entry of the dukes of York and Norfolk and the earl of Devon into London on 23 November suggests either that they were arranged as demonstrations of strength to bolster York's prestige and put pressure on the government (and they were later interpreted in the worst possible light), or else that the so-called risings were simply York's retinue gathering to join the duke for his entry into London.[4] The idea that they formed part of a plot to depose the king seems unrealistic at this stage, in view of York's anxiety to appear as a leader of reform and at a time when he had a good opportunity to pursue his aims in Parliament.

One further incident connected with this first session of Parliament involved Sir William Oldhall, then speaker for the Commons. One chronicler

---

1. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 65a/26.
2. Ibid., 26/1/28.
3. He was holding this latter office in an account for the year 1451-52 and was occupying the same post in 1462. W.A.Ms. 12167 m.5; P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1114/2 m.9d.
4. York arrived in London in the company of his nephew, the duke of Norfolk. The two dukes had met at Bury St. Edmunds around 16 October to confer over the shire elections. Bury lies to the east-centre of a line drawn through the East Midlands linking Grantham, Stamford, Fotheringhay, Royston and Chelmsford. Presumably York remained in this area until his departure for London, and it would seem natural that his retinue would be drawn from these parts.

records that on 30 November those men who had accompanied their lords to Parliament, angry that those who were named as traitors had not been brought to justice (especially the duke of Somerset), made three attacks upon the lords in the royal hall at Westminster, saying 'Do justice and correction upon the traitors'.[1] Later Oldhall was indicted for an incident which, it was alleged, took place on 1 December 1450 and which otherwise bears a great similarity to the previous account.[2] It was stated that Oldhall had gathered great numbers of armed men at Westminster and had incited the men of Kent and others to kill the lords and magnates. To this end they had assembled at Westminster Hall, where the courts of King's Bench, Chancery and Exchequer were publicly sitting, and there with 'showtes orribles', they cried 'Justice, Justice'. If this was a true account of events it could help explain the loss of enthusiasm for York as a leader of reform.

The same day, 1 December, a large body of armed men attacked the duke of Somerset in his lodgings at the Friars Preacher in London, but through the intervention of York and his ally, Thomas, earl of Devon, he was led away in safety to the Tower. The lodgings of the former English chancellor of Normandy, Thomas Hoo, Lord Hastings were also despoiled, together with those of the unpopular Sir Thomas Tuddenham, keeper of the Great Wardrobe. Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon had earlier been reported to be offering more than £1,000 for Oldhall's 'good lordship'.[3] York now set himself

---

1. 'John Benet's Chronicle', ~~xxxVx2xx~~ Camden Miscellany, XXI V, 203.
2. P.R.O., Coram Rege Rolls, 777, Rex, m.7.
3. Paston Letters, I, no.113. Paston and his fellows were advised to 'crye on my Lord for justice of these men that arne indyted and telle her nammes, in speciall Todenham, Heydon, Wyndham, Prentys'. In November 1450 Justice Yelverton was writing that Sir Thomas Tuddenham's men 'have told here the falsest tales of Sir William Old all and of me that evere I herd speke of'. Ibid., no.125.

to restore order and on 3 December he rode with the king and all his lords through the London streets to Westminster with thousands of supporters, 'whyche was a gay and a gloryus syght if hit hadde ben in Fraunce, but not in Ingelonde, for hyt boldyd sum mennys hertys that hyt caused aftyr many mannys dethe'.[1] If York and Oldhall were behind this series of disturbances then they had badly misjudged the nature of their support and the measure of their influence. The Commons were eager to attack the Court, but unable to apply much pressure. The king's Council was not reformed with York as a member, nor could the duke secure the dismissal of Somerset. Parliament was prorogued from 18 December until 20 January 1451.

The following year a certain Stephen Christmas of Staplehurst in Kent was indicted for having attempted to raise the Kentish men against the king on 27 January 1451. Although he and others were accused of plotting against the king, there was no mention of either the duke of York or members of his council.[2] Yet Stephen Christmas had received a safe-conduct to cross to Ireland with York in February 1449. After 1461 he was rewarded for his services to the house of York by Edward VI.[3]

---

1. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 196.
2. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 267/92, cited by R.Virgoe in 'Some Ancient Indictments referring to Kent, 1450-52', Kent Archaeological Society (Record Publications, 18, 1964), p. 246. Christmas was alleged to have urged the Kentishmen to rise on the grounds that the king was intending to enter Kent cum magno posse de comitatis Lancastre et Cestre and destroy the country. Virgoe also mentions Nicholas Waterman of the parish of Cobham, who was accused of plotting to kill the king and announcing on 24 March 1451 that Cade was alive and of Mortimer blood, and that the kingdom belonged to him as of right. Could this be the Nicholas Waterman who was bailiff of York's property in Norfolk in 1450-52? Ibid., p. 245; P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 1113/12; W.A.Ms. 12166 m.11, 12167 m.10.
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 264. In January 1465 Stephen Christmas was one of the marshals of the king's hall in the palace of Westminster. It was here on 16 January that Christmas was wounded in a dispute with Thomas Saintleger, one of the esquires of the body. Saintleger was condemned by John, earl of Worcester, steward of the Household and constable of England, to lose his right hand but was afterwards pardoned. In June of the same year, Christmas was one of the king's esquires holding the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne against Henry VI's supporters in the north. C.P.R., 1461-67, p. 380; C. C.R., 1461-68, p. 318: P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 75/1/53.

Probably York was not entirely innocent of rabble-rousing tactics, and his increasing impatience at his position culminated in the request in Parliament of Thomas Young, the member for Bristol, that Henry should recognise the duke as heir presumptive to the throne. Enraged by the suggestion, the government imprisoned Young and towards the end of May 1451 Parliament was dismissed.

York's Council and the rising of 1452.

By the autumn of 1451 the duke of York found himself politically isolated. His following amongst the lords was limited to two malcontents, Thomas, earl of Devon and Edward Brook, Lord Cobham. Devon was motivated by his rivalry with a neighbouring landowner in Devonshire, William, Lord Bonville; Cobham by antagonism to a powerful neighbour of his own, James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire. Both Bonville and Wiltshire were supported by influential friends at court.

Edmund, duke of Somerset remained in the ascendant. On 11 September 1450, shortly after his return from Normandy, Somerset had acquired the prestigious office of constable of England and he presided over the restoration of order in the country. Early in October he was granted £40 by the king for having 'nowe late toke in Kent a risare ayenst our persoon'. Another, more dangerous rising under William Parminter, which spread through Surrey and Sussex, saw Somerset once more instrumental in bringing the 'contrarie labourers' to justice.[1] The king's confidence in Beaufort

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 67/38, 180. Parminter was placed in the keeping of Somerset's servant, Thomas Warren.

regarded the situation as dangerous enough to warrant voluntary sanctuary, into which he had entered by 23 November at the London church of St. Martin-le-Grand. He explained his course of action as a result of the enmity of 'certeyne undisposed persones' with designs on his lands and property.[1] On 28 January 1452 Sir William was seized from sanctuary by the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and Lords Lisle and Moleyns, though the protestations of the clergy restored him to the church shortly afterwards.[2]

On 3 February in a letter to the citizens of Shrewsbury, the duke of York itemised his grievances. The chief of these concerned Somerset, who was attacked for the loss of Normandy and for his unceasing efforts 'to corrupt my blood and disinherit me and my heirs...and such persons as be about me'. The citizens were urged to give him their support but to conduct themselves strictly according to law.[3] The civic authorities in several towns, chiefly in Kent, received letters despatched by the council on 17 February forbidding unlawful gatherings, and warning them to give no credence to letters unless they came under the great, privy or signet seal.[4]

By 12 February news of the duke's mobilisation had reached London.[5] In the indictments that followed Dartford, 10 February was given as the date on which York's men had plotted to wage war against the king at Ludlow. With the withdrawal of Sir William Oldhall the place of second-

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, T.R., Council and Privy Seal, 86/33.
2. Flenley, Six Town Chronicles, 139; 'John Benet's Chronicle', Camden Miscellany, XXIV, 206; here Oldhall is referred to not by name, but as 'a man who had committed crimes'.
3. Original Letters Illustrative of English History, ed. H.Ellis (London, 1824), Vol.I, pp. 11-13.
4. P.P.C., VI, 91.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 68/79.

in-command to the duke had fallen to Sir Edmund Mulso, who seems to have remained at Ludlow whilst York's army marched to London. As York moved down through the south midlands, demonstrations of a kind very similar to those of 1450 occurred once again at Fotheringhay, Stamford, Grantham, Chelmsford and in Cambridge, and also to the west at Ludlow and Hereford, whilst further support in the form of armed risings was reported in the south-west, where the duke's allies, the earl of Devon and Lord Cobham, were raising an army to join him.

The first of the risings on the duke's estates took place at his stronghold of Ludlow in the Welsh marches, from where York's army had marched south. The organiser here was said to be Sir Edmund Mulso, who succeeded in holding the town from the 10 February to 3 March. Mulso was aided in this enterprise by another former captain from the French wars, Fulk Eyton, together with his younger brother, Roger Eyton, and Thomas Herbert of Billingsley.[1] Fulk Eyton's original patron in France would seem to have been John Maltravers, earl of Arundel, who was killed at Gerberoy in 1434. Thereafter he served under his kinsman John, Lord Talbot. From 1435 to 1449 Eyton captained the garrison of Caudebec; in August 1449 he was captured by the French at Pontaudemer but secured his release and that of his men by paying a large ransom.[2] Together with Mathew Gough, he was one of the commissioners appointed to hand Maine back to the French, but who recorded their protest at the cession by denying that Henry had resigned his sovereignty of the county.

---

1. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 270a/77; 103/1/16 (taken at Bridgnorth on 10 August 1452 before Edmund, duke of Somerset, James, earl of Wiltshire, Richard Bingham and John Portingdon).
2. For Eyton, see Biographical Appendix: Eyton.

Notwithstanding his attitude over Maine, after the fall of Rouen in 1449 Eyton was commissioned with others to deliver to the French a number of towns and garrisons specified by the treaty of capitulation.[1]

The first indication of any political attitude after his return to England was the inclusion of Fulk Eyton in a recognizance of 29 November 1450, in which he joined with a number of York's most prominent supporters to guarantee the appearance of Robert Poynings, former sword-bearer to Jack Cade, in the Parliament chamber on 7 December following.[2] Indicted with Eyton for his part in the rising at Ludlow in February 1452 was John Bowley, also of Shrawardine (Shropshire), and described as 'soudyor'. In 1446 Bowley's name appears on the muster roll for Caudebec, and by Eyton's will he received the sum of 40s.; another 20s. went to Fulk's page Herman, 'for thei beth come with me out of Normandye'.[3]

The reference to Fulk and his brother Roger was afterwards amended in the indictment for 1452 to include the plea, 'charter of pardon allowed'. On 4 November the same year Sir Edmund Mulso stood surety for Fulk Eyton's good behaviour toward the king and his subjects,[4] and the duke of York probably lost a valuable supporter when Eyton died in the winter of 1454, before the real clashes between the two contending parties took place.

---

1. V. Hunger, Le Siège de Caen, p. 14 n.4.
2. C.C.R., 1447-54, p. 238. The others were Sir Walter Devereux, Sir Edmund Mulso, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir William Pecche and Thomas Uvedale, esquire.
3. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 103/1/19 (where he was indicted with Fulk and Roger Eyton for his part in a robbery); B.M., Egerton Ch.200; P.C.C., 2 Stokton.
4. C.C.R., 1447-54, p. 400.

The rising at Hereford, a town not under York's control, was organised by Sir Walter Devereux, who successfully exploited the differences between the Welsh and English factions contending for civic office. Devereux was accused of having distributed his livery amongst a number of citizens on 4 January, and to have planned a rising in favour of York which materialised on 3 March.[1] The majority of the Hereford men involved were trades people, although one man, Henry ap Griffith, an esquire of Ewyas, was probably the same man who figured in York's personal retinue formed in 1441 for service in France.[2]

Sir Edmund Mulso was also included in the indictments drawn up for Northamptonshire, where the disturbances were centred on Fotheringhay. The list of accused here comprised a formidable group of York's officers, friends and tenantry.[3] The whole was dominated by a small core of men who had helped to form the retinue of the duke of York in Normandy. These included Sir Edmund Mulso and his brother Thomas Mulso, Sir Theobald Gorges and his son Walter Gorges (who was married to Sir William Oldhall's daughter), Roger Ree, John Cotes and William Kirkby.[4] Cotes also held office on York's estates, as did a number of others named in the indictment: Thomas Aleyn, Nicholas Fenay, Thomas Knyvet, esquire, John Nightingale

---

1. See Storey, End of the House of Lancaster, Appendix V: 'The civic disputes in Hereford', pp. 228-30.
2. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 34/166. Griffith was holding a life grant of the office of master forester of York's lordship of Builth, and received a £10 annuity from the lordships of Clifford, Glasebury, Dinas and Ewyas. Ibid., Rentals and Surveys, General Series (Rolls), 818.
3. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 94/1/12.
4. In 1439 Roger Ree was described as a yeoman of the chamber to Richard, duke of York, whom he accompanied to Ireland in 1449 as 'late of Stratford of the Bowe, county Middlesex, yoman, alias of Essex'. On 1 January 1451 York granted Roger Ree, esquire, his usher of the chamber, the hundred of Barstaple in Essex in consideration of his services in France, England and Ireland. In June 1461, as of Woodham Ferrers in Essex, Ree received a life appointment as chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster lands in the south and Wales. The following years saw a succession of land grants and he was knighted in 1471. In 1475 he was said to have served Edward IV and his father for fifty years. C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 272; C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 240; Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 608; C.P.R., 1467-77, p. 531.
A William Kirkby was serving as collector of rents in the manor of Hitchen (Hertfordshire) for Joan, duchess of York in 1426-27. A man of the same name served as a member of York's personal retinue in France in 1441. B.M., Egerton Rolls, 8363; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33.

and Thomas Willoughby.[1] Two other members of the Mulso family were also involved: William Mulso, brother of Thomas and Sir Edmund, and Thomas's son John. The remainder were mostly yeomen, husbandmen, servants and tradesmen from Fotheringhay, Nassington, Geddington and the surrounding areas.

The indictment for Northamptonshire named John Wykes as a participant with Mulso and the others;[2] Wykes was further indicted for having worked in co-operation with Richard Beeston of Staple Mordon and John Alington of Horseheath to incite an insurrection at Cambridge on 21 February in support of Richard of York.[3] 23 February saw similar events at Chelmsford,

---

1. A John Cotes was in York's retinue in 1441 and was most likely the same man who received office as parker of Fotheringhay by York's letters patent dated at Rouen on 21 August 1443: P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6 m.2. In 1460 Thomas Aleyn was made auditor for all the property of Cecily, duchess of York in England: ibid., 764/10; 1113/16. Nicholas Fenay was receiver for Fotheringhay in 1452-53; ibid., 1115/6 m.2. Thomas Knyvet was a feodary in York's honor of Raleigh: W.A.Ms. 1267 m.12. John Nightingale was bailiff of Fotheringhay in 1451-52. A man of the same name was keeper of the park of Cliff in the fores of Rockingham during 1437-62. His pardon for having levied war against the king at Fotheringhay on 8 February 1452, and for having on 22 February at the same place gathered large numbers of armed men in support of the duke of York and the earl of Devon, was dated 9 December in the same year. (The remainder of the pardons for the rising at Fotheringhay are contained in the returns of the oyer and terminer commissioned for Northamptonshire: P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 94/2). P.R.O., Ministers and Receivers' Accounts 1115/6 m.2, 3d; C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 67, 1441-46, p.43; 1461-67, pp.51, 196, 299; 1452-61, p.31. A John Nightingale also appears in the garrison of Caudebec under Fulk Eyton in 1441: A.N., K67/1/13. Thomas Willoughby was auditor of the duke of York's lands in England in 1452-53: P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1113/11 m.3.
2. Taken at Peterborough on 27 October 1452 before Edmund, duke of Somerset, James, earl of Wiltshire, and others. The jurors were headed by Sir William Lucy and contained a number of Beaufort supporters, including Henry Green, Thomas Wake, William Vaux, Richard Veer and Thomas Seyton.
3. Beeston was bailiff of Oldhall's manor of Staundonin Hertfordshire in 1460-61: P.R.O., Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 870/4 m.1. John Alington was receiving a 10-mark annuity from the honor of Clare in 1455; his brother William seems at one time to have been a retainer of James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire. For the Alington family, see J.S.Roskell, 'William Alington of Horseheath, Speaker in the Parliament of 1429-30', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., vol. Lll (1958), p.43.

Grantham and Stamford, risings that were conducted chiefly by York's bailiffs and tenants. At Grantham Sir William Skipwith, Oldhall's stepson, was said to have assembled at the head of more than 100 armed men.[1]

A study of the indictments for these demonstrations clearly shows that the men responsible for their planning and organisation were veterans of the French wars. Most, like Sir Edmund Mulso, were under obligations to the duke of York formed prior to their military service. Fulk Eyton was a unique addition to their number after 1449, and like York's captains he shared a similar military background and suffered a similar loss of goods and land after Normandy was abandoned to the French. Moreover Eyton's office as constable of Oswestry castle may have increased York's sphere of influence in the marches.

It was not unusual to find soldiers from Normandy following their old leaders in England; as with York, it is likely that many had previous ties with their patrons before embarking for France, though new associations did emerge from the retinues of war. Robert Nyther of King's Episcopi (Somerset), who had served under John, earl of Somerset at Cherbourg in 1439 and become Sir Theobald Gorges's lieutenant at Coutances by 1446, took part with Gorges in an attack on the abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol, in 1452.[2] Likewise, Auray Barwick, lieutenant of William Neville, Lord Fauconberg at Rugles in the 1440s, was indicted for having forcibly disseised the co-holders of three Nottinghamshire manors in December 1457,

---

1. At Chelmsford those involved included John Plumbe, bailiff of Thaxted, and other tenants of York such as John Bartelot. Both men are named in W.A.Ms.12165; another man, Richard Sherwin, appears in Sir Edmund Mulso's account for Greys in Cavendish: P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, 430/6905. Those involved at Grantham and Stamford included John Vincent, the duke of York's receiver for Yorkshire; John Winaway, bailiff of Grantham; William Turton, bailiff of Wakefield fee, and others like John Somercotes, John Saltby and William Estingdon, who appear as tenants of the duke in the 1452 account for Grantham: P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 65a/20, 29, 35; B.M., Egerton Rolls, 8781; P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, 560/8899: Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 1115/6.
2. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 581.

in the company of John Neville of Roleston and Humphrey Bourchier, esquire.[1]

The risings in favour of York in 1450 and 1452 were put into operation by his tenants, officials and well-wishers under the direction of his council and captains from Normandy. The purpose of these risings or demonstfations is far from clear. Sir Edmund Mulso was accused of organising the disturbances at both Ludlow and Fotheringhay and John Wykes at Fotheringhay and Cambridge, besides others who included the core of York's captains and councillors. If the duke marched to London without his chief supporters it would further emphasise the importance placed on these military demonstrations, which were possibly intended to be the start of a full-scale civil rebellion.[2] Instead York was cornered at Dartford and his charges against Somerset were ignored. The demonstrations as such, organised by his supporters, failed to fire the public imagination; even the Kentishmen showed little interest in maintaining the duke's cause. Relying solely on his own retainers York achieved little, but other quarrels amongst the lords provided him with new allies in the persons of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury and his son Richard, earl of Warwick.

Somerset's captains and the military expedition of 1453.

The final opportunity for the captains ejected from Normandy to take part in a military venture overseas was presented by John, earl of Shrewsbury,

---

1. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 289 m.78.
2. If indeed he did, which would seem extremely unlikely; probably the risings were once again the assembling of his army, though the towns may have continued to demonstrate their support after York's retinues had departed.

who alone amongst the erstwhile field-commanders was attempting to save the situation in the duchy of Guienne. With an army of 5,000 men in October 1452 he captured Bordeaux, which had been held by the French since June 1451. The security of Guienne rested to a great extent on the support in terms of men and money which the Court could realise.

The first preparations for the raising of a relief force began in the winter of 1452, and by the end of January Talbot's heir, John, Viscount Lisle, together with Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns, Roger, Lord Camoys, Sir John Lisle and John, bastard of Somerset, had agreed to serve under Shrewsbury in Guienne for three months. Viscount Lisle was appointed captain and governor to lead the army of some 2,300 men, and after pressure had been brought to bear on those shipmasters reluctantly forced into service, the company embarked in March 1453 according to plan.[1]

Composed mainly of Household men, only two of these captains, Roger, Lord Camoys and John, bastard of Somerset, had had much previous military experience. Camoys in particular was a dubious choice, since in September 1447 the captains of Harecourt, Gournay and Gerberoy had received additions to their usual retinues for defence against Camoys, who was then in revolt against the king.[2] He had re-established himself sufficiently by February 1451 to be serving in England on a commission to examine complaints over wages from the soldiers of Normandy.[3] Following the expiration of his

---

1. M. Vale, English Gascony, pp. 145-46.
2. B.M., Egerton Ch. 207; Add.Ch. 12,349. Camoys first appears serving in France under John, Lord Talbot in 1427; he distinguished himself in the company of Edmund Beaufort at Calais in 1436. Thereafter he seems to have operated on a free-lance basis, fighting in Normandy wherever his services were required but holding neither office nor garrison. In 1438 he was captured by the French and in October 1443, in recognition of 'notable, and as the king thinks, very meritorious causes', Camoys's wife Isabel received a £40 life annuity. Queen Margaret seems to have taken a personal interest in redeeming Camoys from his prison in France by attempting to persuade Henry, earl of Northumberland to fulfill an obligation wherein he was bound with Mathew Gough to secure Lord Camoys's release. C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 404; K.Vickers, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, p. 250; Kingsford, Chronicles of London, p. 145; C.P.R., 1441-46, p.219; Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou,
3. C.P.R., 1446-52, p.444.

indentures after serving with Shrewsbury, Roger, Lord Camoys remained in Guienne and was rewarded on 4 July 1453 with the office of seneschal of the duchy, the first official post he held - an indication perhaps of the shortage of applicants. In the event it proved a stop-gap measure, for on 12 September Camoys was supplanted by Sir William Bonville.[1] Bonville never occupied the office in person, for he had not taken up his post by 19 October when Bordeaux fell finally to the French. Consequently, Camoys renounced his allegiance a second time and his property in England and Calais was forfeited to the English Crown.[2]

A second attempt to raise an army for Guienne was frustrated by resistance to the government's efforts to raise loans for the payment of a force to be led by William Fiennes, Lord Say.[3] The indentures for this army were drawn up on 25 July 1453, by which time the earl of Shrewsbury and his son lay dead on the field at Castillon. It was composed of seven captains, none of any great renown, but it included at least four men who had had experience in the French wars. These were Bidau de Ville, a Gascon esquire, John Baker, Elys Longworth and Sir Richard Frogenhall. Baker may have been the same man who had frequently served in conjunction with Mathew Gough in Normandy, where he was more commonly known as Jenkin Baker. On 6 September 1452 Edmund, duke of Somerset was granted the Isle and lordship of Wight, together with the castle and lordship of

---

1. Vale, English Gascony, p. 246.
2. Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (Soc. de l'Histoire de France, 1864), vol. 11, pp. 74-75; C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 303; 'French Rolls', p. 413. In July 1455 various pieces of armour and clothing which had belonged to Camoys were delivered to Richard, earl of Salisbury as a gift from the king: P.P.C., VI, 251. Like Sir Richard Merbury and John Edward, Lord Camoys had taken a French-woman for his second wife, Isabel de Beaunoy of the diocese of Rouen. In 1448 he received papal licence to marry her without banns since he had already been co-habiting with her. He seems to have been restored to his property in Edward IV's reign, perhaps through the influence of his nephew William, Lord Hastings, the son of his sister Alice. On 1 April 1465 Camoys empowered his attorneys to deliver seisin of his lands in Calais to Lord Hastings, setting his seal, a two-headed eagle displayed, to the instrument. G.E.C., vol. II, p. 511; H.M.C., Hastings Ms., vol. 1, p. 273.
3. Vale, English Gascony, p. 253.

Carisbrooke, where Baker had been established at the head of seven men-at-arms and ten archers since October 1450.[1] He was to remain in charge of the garrison there until at least February 1458, when he paid £20 to Eleanor, duchess of Somerset for the farm of the manor of Baviscombe.[2] In July 1453 Baker acted as mainpernor for Edmund, duke of Somerset's servant, Thomas Warren, his indentures for Guienne being drawn up in the same month.[3]

Of the two other captains associated with the duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Frogenhall was still technically a prisoner of the French. On 12 July 1453 Somerset proffered 500 marks towards the payment of his ransom, an action that was no doubt expedited by the prospect of Frogenhall's future service.[4] Elys Longworth, bailiff of Mortain for Edmund Beaufort in 1438, had captained one of the largest retinues in Sir Thomas Kyriell's army at Formigny in 1450. In August 1452 he was able to contribute 1,000 marks as part of a loan for the payment of the Calais soldiers under their captain, Somerset.[5]

The remaining captains for the projected expedition to Guienne, William, bastard of Exeter, Sir William Pecche and Robert Barton, esquire, seem to have had no previous military experience. Their departure was forestalled by difficulties of transport and by the French blockade of Bordeaux.

---

1. C.P.R., 1446-52, pp. 18-19; P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 67/156. In this muster, dated 18 May 1451, he is referred to as Jenkin Baker.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 71/2/48.
3. C.P.R., 1452-61, p.10.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 69/180.
5. Ibid., 69/213. Longworth was joined in this loan by Thomas Laughton, Richard Wood and Robert Colwich; the first two also acted as his executors. Longworth died shortly before the first battle of St. Albans in 1455, when his place of residence was given as Newenton in Surrey, perhaps purchased with the profits of war, since both Elys and Maykin Longworth were originally from Lancashire. Guildhall Library, Consistory Court of London, Reg. 5, fol. 304.

Eventually this undistinguished expedition was cancelled as the English Council became increasingly distracted by affairs at home, especially by the resumption in July of the Percy-Neville feud and the mental collapse of the king in the following month. By 1453 the Council had demonstrated its inability to mobilise a force of any size, and the Commons their unwillingness to shoulder any of the burden necessary for the preservation of the dwindling possessions of the English Crown overseas. Very few of the captains who had served in Normandy showed any desire or enthusiasm to raise an army for Guienne, and those who indented to serve were chiefly Household men or followers of the duke of Somerset.

That a number of Edmund Beaufort's captains had found employment at Court can be demonstrated by the procedure of a case before the court of Chivalry in 1453, presided over by the duke of Somerset as constable of England. The issue, which was an accusation of treason by John Lyalton against Robert Norris, was to be decided at a trial by battle at Smithfield. The counsels assigned to the two men to advise them on procedure, armour and weapons, were naturally made up of men of military experience, including five war-captains from Normandy, whilst a sixth, Sir John Hanford, stood by to note down the proceedings.[1] Edward Bromfield and Laurence Rainford were counsel for the appellant, whilst Sir Hugh Johns, Elys Longworth and Thomas Kayle formed that of the defendant. Bromfield had been captain of Touques at the town's surrender in 1450 and had seen action in France under Thomas, earl of Salisbury twenty-five years before.[2] Laurence

---

1. P.P.C., VI, 129.
2. B.M., Add.Ch. 94. Thereafter Bromfield was stationed at Domfront, in company with Elys Longworth in January 1430, and was at Vire under Sir Andrew Ogard in 1435. He was perhaps related to Henry Brounflete, later Lord Vescy and the last husband of Philippa, duchess of York, for in his will dated 18 May 1460, Edward Bromfield described Lord Vescy as specialem amicum meum and appointed him as overseer: B.N. Ms.Fr. 25769/565; N.A. 8602/22; B.M., Add.Ch. 11,891; P.C.C., 19 Stokton. Probate was granted six days later on 24 May.

Rainford, Elys Longworth and Thomas Kayle had all been members of Sir Thomas Kyriell's army in 1450. Sir Hugh Johns was a knight of the Holy Sepulchre who had fought against the Turks and Saracens in the service of the emperor of Constantinople. Thereafter he was said to have served as knight marshal of France under John, duke of Somerset, who granted him the manor of Landimore in Gower.[1] It is likely that the attendance of these men at court was arranged by Somerset, who similarly provided his adherents with other posts under his patronage, chiefly at Calais.

Calais under Edmund, duke of Somerset.

At the end of March 1450 Humphrey, duke of Buckingham resigned the captaincy of Calais, and two days later, on 2 April, a council of six was appointed to act as guardians of Calais for the next five years.[2] This arrangement lasted only so long as it took to invest Edmund, duke of Somerset with the captaincy, which took place on 21 September 1451. Shortly before the duke took up office, rumours of a threatened siege caused a body of reinforcements to be sent to Calais under the orders of Ralph, Lord Sudeley, Sir Thomas Findern and others. Continuing fears for the safety of the town kept the garrison above its normal complement of soldiers, until in June 1452 the duke of Somerset revised his indentures to encompass much of this additional strength.[3]

---

1. Johns died after 1485 and the commemorative brass from which these details are taken may have named John Beaufort instead of Edmund. For him, see W.R.B.Robinson, 'Sir Hugh Johnys: A Fifteenth Century Welsh Knight', Transactions of the Glamorgan History Society, vol. XIV (1970).
2. 'French Rolls', p. 382. The six were James, earl of Wiltshire, Henry, Viscount Bourchier, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Stourton, Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Rempston.
3. G.L.Harriss, 'The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry between Lancaster and York', English Historical Review, vol. LXXV (1960), p. 31.

Somerset's tenure of office brought a gradual change of personnel in the direction of the duke's own adherents. In December 1451 Richard Wydeville, Lord Rivers took over from John, Lord Stourton as lieutenant of Calais, and early in 1452 Leo, Lord Welles succeeded Ralph, Lord Sudeley as captain of Calais castle.[1] Welles had had no previous military experience and his inclusion may be justified by his marriage to Margaret, the widow of John Beaufort, and Somerset's need to secure personal loyalties. Other men personally attached to the Beaufort circle also found employment at Calais. On 27 October 1451 Sir John Cheyne received office as victualler of the garrison.[2] A Kentish landowner whose main estate was centred at Eastchurch in the Isle of Sheppey, Cheyne at the time of his appointment was already in receipt of a five mark annuity from Lord Welles and his wife as steward of their Kentish estates.[3] In addition, in 1455 he was acting as steward for Queen Margaret's lordships of Middleton and Morden in the same county.[4] The office of treasurer of Calais had been filled by Gervase Clifton before Somerset's appointment, and this he held in conjunction with the post of lieutenant of Dover castle under the authority of the warden of the Cinque Ports, Humphrey, duke of Buckingham.[5] Clifton was another Kentish landowner, and it was probably no coincidence that these two appointments went to men with interests in Kent, which of all counties was the one that would inevitably be asked to shoulder responsibility for supplying Calais with victuals, men and money. The earl of Warwick's unorthodox methods of supplying the garrison would later find favour in the shire.

---

1. Ibid.. Wydeville had led retinues in the armies of both Richard, duke of York and John, duke of Somerset in 1441 and 1443.
2. 'French Rolls', p. 389.
3. W.A.Ms. 5101, 5103.
4. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 276 m.15.
5. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 400.

Osbert Mundford, lately treasurer of Normandy for Edmund, duke of Somerset, was granted a safe-conduct to cross to Calais in August 1451 and by 1452 he was acting as marshal of the town.[1] The outlying garrisons at Guisnes and Hammes were held by Sir Thomas Findern and Sir John Marney, respectively. Findern served in France for a number of years, first as an esquire in the garrison of Falaise in 1431-32 and later at Pontoise, where in 1437 he was acting as controller for the captain, Henry Standish.[2] In December 1451 he indented for three years as lieutenant of Guisnes, replacing the former lieutenant, William Pirton, who had held office there for the past decade.[3]

At the time of the duke of Buckingham's resignation from Calais in 1451, Sir John Marney was holding the captaincy of Hammes castle.[4] Marney's brother Sir Thomas had served in the retinue of Thomas, duke of Clarence, and John himself was captured in Anjou sometime before March 1428.[5] His career lay chiefly with the duke of Buckingham, who as earl of Stafford in 1444 acted with his retainer, Richard Witherton, and Marney's brother-in-law, Thomas Tyrrell, as feoffee for Sir John's manor of Layer Marney in Essex.[6] By July 1446 Marney was serving as lieutenant of Calais castle for the duke of Buckingham.[7] In 1450 he was in charge of

---

1. 'French Rolls', p. 388; Paston Letters, I, 243.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/655, 757: 25774/1289. Findern was of Carlton in Cambridgeshire.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues 68/80. Findern took up office early in February 1452 with a retinue of forty-nine men-at-arms and fifty archers.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, T.R., Council and Privy Seal, 80/30, 31.
5. 'Norman Rolls', p. 808; C.C.R., 1422-29, pp. 399-400.
6. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 226.
7. 'French Rolls', p. 366.

the garrison at Hammes, where he was joined in the summer of 1451 by Thomas Saintbarbe, sometime treasurer to Edmund, duke of Somerset, to act as his second-in-command.[1] Until 1459 the indentures of both Sir Thomas Findern and Sir John Marney were regularly renewed.

Somerset's influence at Court secured more or less consistent payment of wages for the Calais garrison, although York attempted to blacken his character before the events at Dartford in 1452 by accusing Beaufort of planning to surrender Calais to the French as he had surrendered Normandy.[2] Yet Duke Richard's efforts to supplant his rival at Calais in 1454 were hindered less by Somerset's personnel than by the promise of financial security offered by the Beaufort regime. After Somerset's death at St. Albans in 1455 and the admittance of Richard, earl of Warwick to Calais, Sir Thomas Findern, Sir John Marney and Gervase Clifton continued in office, though Osbert Mundford and Thomas Saintbarbe were relieved of their commands. Sir John Cheynewas not succeeded as victualler by Robert Manfield until December 1458.[3]

York's negotiations to secure Calais for himself in 1454 were conducted by some of his closest advisers. Sir Edmund Mulso was despatched to Flanders to seek a settlement with the Burgundians over the impounding of goods belonging to the Calais staple, but he was hindered by the actions

---

1. P.P.C., VI, 112; Chronique de Mathieu Escouchy, II, 560. Saintbarbe was of Southbrent, alias of Astington, alias of New Windford in Somerset, and also of Chirchton in Devon: P.R.O., Chancery, Supplementary Patent Rolls, 39 m.12; C.P.R., 1436-41, p.109. In 1444 Saintbarbe received, as the king's esquire, the promise of a life-grant as constable and porter of Gloucester castle after the death of the duke of Gloucester. Together with Richard Saintbarbe he was serving in the retinue of Edmund, duke of Somerset in 1446. Either he or Richard was in command at Mantes in 1450, and on 2 March 1451 Thomas acted as one of the negotiators for the ransom of John Ormond, brother of James, earl of Wiltshire. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 297; Stevenson, II, 621; C.C.R., 1447-54, p. 266.
2. Stow, Annales, p. 398.
3. 'French Rolls', p. 432.

of lords Rivers and Welles, who seized wool and victuals belonging to the staple in lieu of unpaid wages. Henry, Viscount Bouchier was then sent as arbiter to the Calais garrison, taking 6,[illegible] marks 'in hande of redy money'. His efforts were reported to have met with success, and on 16 July 1454 York sealed his indentures to serve as captain Calais for seven years. Whether prompted by partisan supporters Beaufort, or spurred by the need to secure adequate guarantees payment of wages, the soldiers refused to allow York' [illegible] into the town, and matters continued in deadlock until the king's recovery in December effectively removed the need for further negotiation.[2] On February York was relieved of the office of protector and early in March surrendered the captaincy of Calais into the king's hands.

The death of Edmund, duke of [illegible] set at St. Albans on [illegible] 1455 released a number of Crown appointments. York assumed the constable of England and obtained a grant [illegible] the royal castles [illegible] and Aberystwyth to augment his power in the west, whilst the question Calais again arose. [illegible] decision was not long delayed; three days [illegible] the battle of St. Albans it was generally rumoured that 'my lord Warwicke is made Capteyn of Calyes'.

Calais, under Richard, earl of Warwick and Andrew Trollope.

Like [illegible] York, Warwick sought to establish a personal following [illegible] the garrison at Calais [illegible] to [illegible] extent he succeeded.

---

1. [illegible], Exchequer, [illegible], warrants for issues, 7 [illegible]; 7 [illegible] 37.
2. Harriss, 'The Struggle for Calais', p. 36.
3. Paston Letters, I, 334.

to ... the ... at Calais ... person, the town ... ing, ... agent ... Edward, ... of Warwick indented ... for seven years after William Nevill, Lord Fauconberg ... and negotiations ... the ... soldiers. ... council ... any ... too. ... Somerset's ... les.

... over ... recalcitrant ... or a ... commission which ... , ... Haudford ... day, in ... Warwick ...

... winter concernin ... ufort's lieutenants ... his more prominent supporters. ... ulles, ... Haudford and Thomas ... casualties. ... Thomas ... John ... their

---

... 39.

... , 76-79. ... council ... them the Calais ... on, made by Robert Ormesthorp in yours ... for you'. ... short ... stationed ... 1438, 14 ... 14 1, ... with oth ... from that ... the duke ... Ormesthorp ... s's fort ... in 145 he surrendered th ... 's garrison ... Ormesthorp, ... ted safe-conduct to ... Calais. ... 257 ... 777 ... 112; ... Stevenson, II, ... 6. 503.

posts, and Warwick took control of the Calais garrison in person. From York the earl requested the services of his retainer Walter Blount, esquire, since the discharge of Mundford had left the town 'destitut and unpourveyed of a marshall'. The duke gave Warwick 'leve and licence' for Blount to attend at Calais for one year.[1]

In the summer of 1457 Warwick was joined by William, Lord Fauconberg, Simon Reyham, treasurer of the duke of York, and Sir Roger Chamberlain.[2] Fauconberg remained at Calais, where he took part in a number of piratical attacks on the Channel trade, a policy which marked Warwick's tenure of office and which provided a means of subsistence and a rallying-ground for his followers. Though occasionally embarrassing to the English government, the law was unable to do justice to the victims, as the complaint of a Spaniard in May 1458 testified. His ship was attacked on its way to England under the safe-conduct of the king by pirates in the company of Lord Fauconberg. The commission to hear the complaint was headed by Humphrey, duke of Buckingham as warden of the Cinque Ports, and Richard, earl of Warwick as captain of Calais.[3]

These activities were by no means a departure from common practice, though Warwick may have consciously turned them to personal account. A number of Calais soldiers were reported in August 1454 to be despoiling the king's lieges on the high seas, under the command of Andrew Trollope, master-porter of Calais. Similar complaints were filed against Trollope

---

1. B.M., Cotton, Vespasian, 7111.9 f. 89.
2. 'French Rolls', pp. 421-22. On 11 August Fauconberg's agent received licence to trade to Aquitaine or Spain for his lord's ransom.
3. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 438.

in 1455, 1456 and 1457.[1] He was one of the few veterans of the English occupation of Normandy to turn to Calais after 1450. He may have followed at the heels of his brother-in-law, Osbert Mundford, although he is first mentioned by name there in 1454.[2]

No other captain of Trollope's experience transferred his service to Calais, though the records attest the presence there of several other veterans of the wars at different times. Nicholas Morley, who received a safe-conduct to cross to Guisnes in July 1453, had captained thirty men-at-arms and 400 archers under Sir Thomas Kyriell in 1450.[3] John Lydiard, who received a similar protection in the spring of 1454, had served with William, earl of Suffolk in 1437.[4] From a study of safe-conducts issued in these years, it would appear that garrison replacements for Calais and her outlying fortresses came principally from London and the home counties, particularly Kent. Recruits also came from the Flemish towns and from amongst ex-patriot Gascons.[5]

The lack of interest shown in Calais by the ex-servicemen was probably commensurate with the lack of profit to be made from service there. Trollope is somewhat unusual amongst the war captains in that there is no record of his holding any estate in England; his sole source of income seems to have been concentrated around Calais.[6] For all Trollope's experience in the wars, his only office at Calais seems to have been that

---

1. Ibid., pp. 179, 281, 344, 348.
2. Ibid., p. 179.
3. 'French Rolls', p. 396. Of Aspeden in Hertfordshire he was sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1442-43 and M.P. for Hertfordshire a number of times. On 3 February 1461 he was commissioned to array the counties of Hertford, Cambridge and Huntingdon against the army of Queen Margaret. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 66/22.
4. 'French Rolls', 319, 400. In 1444-45 Lydiard was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. P.R.O., 'List of Sheriffs', p. 108.
5. Arnold Brauge, who was serving under Warwick with Jean de Foix, earl of Kendale in July 1460, had previously served with Edmund Beaufort in the summer of 1449. 'French Rolls',pp. 381, 443.
6. In March 1460 Trollope was granted the office of bailiff of Guisnes in part compensation for the loss of his goods confiscated at Calais by the Yorkists. His resources had included an annual payment of £20 from the revenues of Sangatte in Picardy. 'French Rolls', p. 426.

of master-porter, though doubtless his income was supplemented by his attacks on the Channel traffic. When Warwick joined York at Ludlow in 1459 he was supported by a large body of soldiers from the Calais garrison, 'wher of two were menne of approued pollecye in the warres of Normandy and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trowlop, and the other John Blount'.[1] Under Trollope's leadership the main part of the Calais troops defected to the royal camp at Ludford on 12 October, whereupon the Yorkist force broke up in confusion since 'the sayd lordes hadde to the sayd Andrewe shewyd ye hoole of theyr ententys'.[2]

Warwick and his father Richard, earl of Salisbury fled to Calais with York's heir, Edward, earl of March, whilst York himself made his way to Ireland. Trollope had demonstrated that Warwick had not been able to eradicate the old loyalties to Beaufort and the Crown, and although Warwick and the other lords returned to Calais after Ludford without hindrance (the keeping of the town had been left in the hands of William, Lord Fauconberg), Edmund Beaufort's heir, Henry, duke of Somerset, had indented as captain of Calais on 9 October and established himself at Guisnes where Sir Thomas Findern recognised his authority.[3] In January 1460 Richard, Lord Rivers and his son were seized at Sandwich along with reinforcements for Somerset. The duke himself was defeated by Warwick and the Calais soldiers at Newnham Bridge in April and agreed to evacuate Guisnes. The duke of Exeter as admiral of England was sent to keep the seas but proved totally ineffective. In June Osbert Mundford was sent to Sandwich to fortify the town against the Calais earls but was captured

---

1. Hall's Chronicle, p. 241; Chronicles of London, p. 169.
2. Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 634.
3. Harriss, 'The Struggle for Calais', p. 48. His retinue included Lords Rivers and Roos, Sir Gervase Clifton, Andrew Trollope and other fugitives from Warwick's command at Calais.

by a contingent sent over by Warwick under Sir John Binham and was brought to Calais where he was beheaded, perhaps in part retribution [illegible] brother-in-law's treachery.[1]

[illegible] Scrollope's defection [illegible] royalist camp been [illegible] to [illegible] t' [illegible] report [illegible] battle [illegible], [illegible] Richard, [illegible] York [illegible] A. [illegible] battle [illegible] despite [illegible] [illegible] Calais [illegible] Dunst [illegible] 1451 [illegible] ent.

. Stow, annales, p. 7; Gen. [illegible] 15th Century [illegible] ed. J.Gairdner Soc., 1856, p. 75.
2. J. Waurin, Cronicques, vol. [illegible], p. 425-27, [illegible].

CONCLUSION

The ending of the Hundred Years' War by the loss of Normandy in 1450 and of Guienne in 1453 was closely followed by the first identifiable 'battle' of the 'Wars of the Roses' at St. Albans in 1455. In many ways the English occupation of France provides a backcloth to the civil disputes in England during the 1450s. The English government, already unpopular with many people who saw its members as greedy, corrupt and incompetent, was further weakened by the loss of France. This discontent expressed itself in the murders of 1450 - of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, and William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk - and in outbreaks of rebellion, the most serious being led by Jack Cade and threatening London itself.

The part played by soldiers and sailors in the murder of Moleyns and Suffolk reveals their discontent at their lack of pay, the poverty of the government and the policy it was pursuing. Cade's rebels were, if anything, in awe of the professional bodies of soldiers, veterans from Normandy, who were ranged against them, though certain tenuous clues link the duke of York and his council with this and other risings.

The Hundred Years' War, while not necessarily unleashing large bodies of mutinous and unpaid soldiery to butcher each other for the cause of York or Lancaster, did provide many captains and partisans for the opposing sides. Not least these included the two chief protagonists, the dukes of York and Somerset. Both men had begun their public careers as military leaders in Normandy, and at least one contemporary chronicler saw the outbreak of civil war as a result of the personal quarrels of the two over appointment to office in the duchy.[1]

---

1. Registrum Johannis Whethamstede, ed. H.T.Riley (Rolls series, 1872-1873), vol. I, pp. 160-61.

The formation of retinues for service abroad was dependent on each man's standing and connections, his household and his relatives; the break-up of a retinue and its dispersal, as in the case of the earl of Warwick's, was dependent upon the same factors. Appointed the king's lieutenant in France at the start of his career, Richard of York inherited a body of councillors and advisers (who included soldiers of some standing) from his predecessor, the duke of Bedford. Together with Somerset, York's selection of followers and supporters was influenced to some extent by his military command in Normandy.

Not all who served in France were discontented adventurers. The military leaders, even in the last two decades of the war, included many who preserved a comfortable, if not affluent, standard of living at home. Amongst the nobility, the three richest landowners in England, Richard, duke of York, Richard, earl of Warwick and Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, all saw service in Normandy, whilst other wealthy commanders like John, Lord Talbot, Robert, Lord Willoughby and Thomas, Lord Scales, pursued long and active careers abroad. Involvement with the wars brought advancement and fortune to both William, duke of Suffolk and Edmund, duke of Somerset, though a few like John, Lord Clinton were not so lucky.

Of the non-noble captains, many had comfortable livelihoods to fall back on. A number of barons and knights of baronial standing had invested their accumulated fortunes wisely: men like Ralph, Lord Sudeley, Walter, Lord Hungerford, John, Lord Fanhope, Sir John Stourton, Sir John Fastolf and Sir Andrew Ogard. Three of the earl of Warwick's captains, Sir William Mountford, Sir William Peyto and John Nanfan, had substantial incomes, and though both Peyto and Nanfan suffered capture and ransom, they both continued to serve abroad.[1] Other captains, such as Sir John

---

1. Both Sir William Mountford and Sir William Peyto were holding land in Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1436 valued at £100 a year, whilst John Nanfan held land in Worcestershire and Cornwall, and mined his own tin in considerable quantities in the latter county. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 192/59; C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 315.

Montgomery admitted to land valued at £310 per annum in 1436, Sir John Cressy £93, John Marney £80, Sir William Chamberlain £64, Sir Thomas Rempston £60 and Sir William Bishopston £50.[1] Even a minor captain like Thomas Stones possessed land valued at £20 in 1436, and a man-at-arms, Richard Colbrand, declared property valued at £8 a year.[2] Surprisingly, some of the wealthiest included those who served for only a short time in various retinues, often at quite a late date when the gains of war had dwindled significantly.[3]

Family connections played an important part in the careers of these non-noble captains. Many were related to the aristocracy. Fulk Eyton, who served under John, Lord Talbot in Normandy, was a relative by marriage as well as a neighbour of that lord.[4] Sir John Montgomery was married to Elizabeth, sister of Ralph, Lord Sudeley and she had sons, Sir Henry Norbury and John Norbury, by a previous marriage. For over twenty years Lord Sudeley, Sir John Montgomery and John Norbury served as successive captains of Arques.[5] Edmund, duke of Somerset's supporters included Thomas Wake, whose ancestress Margaret Wake was the great-great-grandmother of the Beaufort brothers. Sir Richard Frogenhall and Sir Thomas Kyriell were both related through marriage to Margaret, wife of John, duke of Somerset. Not that such relationships invariably denoted a military attachment. Sir William Oldhall was married to the sister of Robert, Lord Willoughby, but though both men held contemporary commands in Normandy, neither seems to have sought the service of the other.

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 240/267; ibid., Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 1, m.32; ibid., Accounts Various, 173/92; 240/266, 192/59.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 240/267; ibid., Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 1, m.40.
3. For example, William Warbleton held land in six counties, valued at £110 per annum. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 pt. 1, m.32.
4. His elder brother Nicholas was married to Katherine, daughter of John, Lord Talbot. H.T.Weyman, Shropshire Members of Parliament (offprints of articles taken from Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, 4th ser., vols. 10-12 (1926-28)), p. 84-85.
5. See Appendix 11, part A: Arques.

Another of Richard of York's captains, Sir John Cressy (married to a daughter of Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin), may have been a distant relative of the duke, since his coat of arms bore quarterly that of Mortimer.[1]

York's council and retinue stress the importance of kinship, and their most obvious characteristic is their compactness as a group. Their employment under York in Normandy, Ireland and England brought them in close association over a long period and it was within this group that the duke's supporters tended to seek marriages for themselves, their sons and their daughters. Their names occur together in a number of private instrumentsas feoffees, mainpernors, witnesses and executors, and such roles further bound them to the fortunes of York.

Retinues and garrisons were often recruited on the basis of kinship or county associations, and often two or three generations of the same family served as captains in France.[2] The Lancashire family of Standish, for example, provided captains for the English occupation of Normandy from the time of Henry V, and their companies usually contained several Standishs and a number of county neighbours. Such whole-hearted involvement testifies to the lucrativeness of warfare and though profits may have been harder to come by at the end of the 1440s, the loss of Normandy meant the loss of a whole way of life for the Standishs and many like them.

Although loss of profit with the loss of England's French possessions may have caused discontent amongst these veterans of the war,

---

1. G.Baker, The History and Antiquities of the County of Northamptonshire (2 vols., London, 1822-41), vol. 1, p. 360.
2. As did the Cliftons, the Rempstons, the Robessarts and the Whitinghams, to name but a few. The occupation of France also provided an outlet for the illegitimate sons of the nobility. The bastards of Arundel, Clarence, Exeter, Salisbury, Scales, Somerset and Talbot all served in the armies and garrisons of France.

there is no evidence that this was the reason behind their involvement in the civil wars that followed. Many stood back from involvement altogether, whilst others who had lost livelihoods in France stood with Lancaster rather than with York,. Allegiance to one party or another was rather the result of continued patronage by the magnates of their captains. Many of these associations had been formed prior to service in France, as the retinues of Warwick, York and Somerset reveal, though there were as always exceptions, most notably in Sir William Oldhall's attachment to York.

The size of a lord's estate to a large extent dictated the size of his retinue. Support was obtained through the distribution of land, office and pensions. York was encouraged in this by the lack of any large grant of land in France until a fairly late date, in contrast to Edmund Beaufort. As a younger brother, Edmund held little land in England, but he relied on his titles and property in France to gain him a following. This meant that he was less able than York to draw on support from a large group of landed estates with traditional ties. This became particularly obvious in the later stages of the English occupation of France, when Beaufort's efforts to raise a force of any distinction from amongst his supporters ended in failure. That York felt strong enough to challenge Somerset in 1452 and again in 1455 with little support from his own class is evidence of the trust he felt in his council and followers, and on the whole he was not disappointed in their ability to act in his interest either as a group or as individuals.

However, patronage and service were no sure guarantees of loyalty, as the careers of two captains, Gervais Clifton and Sir Thomas Kyriell, show. Until the last years of the 1450s these two men led similar careers. Both had served in Normandy in the early years of the English

occupation; both held office under various lords, and both were landowners in Kent, the one by marriage, the other by birth.[1] Clifton was married for the first time to Isabel, the widow of William Scott of Smeeth and Brabourne in Kent.[2] With Brabourne as his main residence, he soon assumed an active role in the county. He was pricked for sheriff three times and by 1445 was lieutenant of Dover castle for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, warden of the Cinque Ports.[3] Two years later, as Gloucester's treasurer he attended the duke's funeral at St. Albans, along with other members of Gloucester's household.[4]

Clifton retained his office at Dover during the successive wardenships of James Fiennes, Lord Say and Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham. On 24 May 1451 he received a further appointment to office as treasurer of Calais, prior to the installation of Edmund, duke of Somerset as captain of the town, a post which he held in conjunction with the lieutenancy of Dover castle.[5] Thus employed, Clifton indented for the keeping of the seas from 17 July to 16 October 1452 in command of 1,000 men. At the end of June, before the company had time to embark, John, earl of Shrewsbury was created captain-general of the sea-keeping forces and Gervais Clifton, together with Sir Edward Hull, was instructed to join Talbot's army destined for Guienne.[6] He seems to have remained on service there until the destruction of Talbot's forces at Castillon on 17 July 1453. By 9 June 1454 Clifton had received a knighthood, probably as a result of his soldiering under Shrewsbury the previous year.[7]

---

1. Clifton had been stationed at Arques under Sir Ralph Butler in 1423 and was lieutenant there, still under Butler, in 1431. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/39; 25770/633. For Kyriell, see Appendix IV: Kyriell.
2. E.Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of Kent (Canterbury, 1778), vol. 1, p. lxxxviii.
3. P.R.O., List of Sheriffs, p. 68; A. Finn, The Records of Lydd, p.110.
4. J.S.Davies (ed.), An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI (Camden Soc., 1856), p. 118.
5. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 400.
6. P.R. O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 68/143.
7. Clifton afterwards petitioned the Crown for £1,075, which he claimed was owed to him for this campaign. Ibid., 68/149, 70/1/74.

During the time that Clifton was abroad, the lieutenancy of Dover passed into the keeping of the duke of Buckingham's retainer, Richard Witherton, and in 1457 the office passed to Sir Thomas Kyriell.[1] It was as lieutenant of Dover that Kyriell repulsed the French under de Brézé in August 1457, after the port of Sandwich had been sacked and the surrounding countryside threatened.[2]

Clifton's previous service under the duke of Gloucester and Kyriell's service under the Beaufort brothers in Normandy might have been expected to have determined their allegiance in the disturbances of the 1450s. Instead both men seem to have stood apart in the service of the duke of Buckingham until as late as 1460. On 8 May 1460 Sir Thomas Kyriell, John Fogge, Robert Horne and others were commissioned to take the muster at Sandwich of Henry, duke of Exeter's company, which was ordered to embark for the safekeeping of the sea.[3] Fifteen days later Kyriell, with John Scott and Robert Horne, was commissioned

---

1. H.M.C. Fifth Report (1876), p. 491; A.Finn, Records of Lydd, p. 182. Witherton had been stationed at Verneuil under Humphrey, earl of Stafford in 1431, and in the 1440s he acted as Stafford's marshal of Calais. In 1447-48 he was in receipt of a £10 payment from that lord. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/624; 26295/875; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Accounts Various, 54/8; Longleat Mun. 6410.
2. J.S.Davies (ed.), An English Chronicle, p. 74. Other ex-captains from Normandy were holding office in the Cinque Ports in the 1450s. Robert Whitingham was appointed joint-bailiff of Sandwich in June 1451. John Coppledike, who served in Normandy in the 1430s and 1440s (at least once in Kyriell's company), sat as M.P. for Winchelsea in 1450-51; on 16 May 1452 he received a life grant of the office of bailiff of Winchelsea, and in 1463 Coppledike was mayor of Sandwich under the new warden of the Cinque Ports, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. Thomas Stones, lieutenant at Evreux in 1436, may have been the same man who acted on occasion with Buckingham's retainers, Thomas Hexstall and Richard Witherton, on business connected with the Cinque Ports. One of Whitingham's deputies in Normandy, John Convers, served as M.P. for Winchelsea in 1453-54. In October 1460, the month that York's claim to the throne was presented to Parliament, Convers was granted the office of sergeant-at-arms, taking 12d. a day for his past services in France and Normandy. Shortly afterwards he married Elizabeth Bold, the widow of Geoffrey Southworth, who was slain at Wakefield fighting for York. C.P.R., 1446-52, p. 473; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25772/1003; F.Hull (ed.), A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports, p. 31; C.P.R., 1446-52, p.550; 1461-67, p. 281; P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Warrants for Issues, 66/104; ibid., Early Chancery Proceedings, 27/202; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 204.
3. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 607.

to take a second muster of men who were being sent under the leadership of Osbert Mundford and John Baker to reinforce Henry, duke of Somerset at Guisnes.[1] On 26 June a Yorkist force from Calais, led by Edmund, earl of March, Richard, earl of Salisbury and Richard, earl of Warwick, was admitted to Canterbury, aided by the goodwill of the Kentishmen and in particular by the three Kentish Captains, John Fogge, Robert Horne and John Scott. Two of these Yorkist partisans were associated with Clifton and Kyriell. John Scott was Clifton's step-son by his first marriage, and John Fogge was married to Alice, the daughter of Sir Thomas Kyriell by his first (unnamed) wife.[2]

Sir Thomas probably went over to the Yorkists in the company of Fogge, Horne and Scott in June 1460. The alliance was a short one. He was elected a knight of the Garter by his new associates on 8 February 1461 but did not live long enough to be installed.[3] Together with William, Lord Bonville he remained to guard King Henry after Warwick's army was defeated by Queen Margaret's forces at the second battle of St. Albans. Both men were beheaded after the battle, at the command, it was said, of the Queen and her son.[4] Kyriell's crime was aggravated perhaps by the fact that his coat of arms bore a difference by augmentation for good service to the house of Lancaster.[5]

---

1. Ibid., p. 602. Both Mundford and Baker were ex-captains of Normandy who had served under Edmund, duke of Somerset.
2. Fogge and Scott were both knighted by Edward IV. Scott became privy councillor to the king, acted as marshal of Calais and served on occasion as ambassador. He died in 1485 and the inscription on his tomb read 'magnificus et insignis miles'. J.C.Browne, 'Knights of the Shire for Kent, 1275-1831', Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. XXI (1895), p. 225. Sir John Fogge was also a councillor of King Edward and held office as comptroller of the royal Household from 1460 to 1469, and as warden of the Cinque Ports. Ibid., vol. XVI (1886), p. 250.
3. A. Anstis, The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London, 1724), vol. 11, p. 168.
4. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 212; Stow, Annales, p. 424.
5. Boutell's Heraldry, revised by J.P. Brooke-Little (London, 1970), p. 106. His arms were Or, two chevrons gules, bearing a canton gules charged with a lion passant guardant or.

At the entry of the Yorkist earls into London in the summer of 1460, Sir Gervais Clifton fled with Thomas, Lord Scales and other loyalists to the Tower. He was present at Townton with the Lancastrians on 29 March 1461, but received a pardon from the Yorkists a few months later for all offences committed before 20 July that year.[1] He disappears from the records until November 1465, when Richard, earl of Warwick headed a commission of oyer and terminer to investigate treasons committed in the city of London and in Middlesex by Sir Gervais Clifton.[2] He may have escaped to join Queen Margaret at this time, for he was executed along with Edmund, duke of Somerset after the battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May 1471.[3]

Of the 135 captains mentioned elsewhere who were serving in Normandy during the last decade of the English occupation,[4] forty-six cannot be traced after their return to England in 1450. A further forty (29%) were involved in the disputes between York and Lancaster. Nineteen were dead - with few exceptions before 1455, which saw the first battle of St. Albans. Of the remainder, twent -two can be traced

---

1. C. Brown, Lives of Nottinghamshire Worthies (London, 1882), p. 85; C.P.R., 1461-67, pp. 25, 86.
2. C.P.R., 1461-67, p. 490.
3. Stow, Annales, p. 424.
4. Cf. p.156.

but took no obvious part in the feuding, and eight remained in France after 1450.[1] No less than twenty-six (65%) of these forty captains directly involved in the civil wars died as a result of the fighting, either in battle, by execution or, in one case at least, by murder.

Most of the twenty-six captains died fighting in the battles that stretched from St. Albans in 1455 to Tewkesbury in 1471, or else were captured and executed by the victorious party.[2] James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire was said to have fought bravely at St. Albans in 1455 'for he was a feryd of lesynge of beute, for he was named the fayryd knyght of thys londe'.[3] Six years later he was captured and executed at Newcastle after the battle of Towton. Sir William Lucy seems to have been the victim of an act of personal vengeance. One chronicler related how he was killed by one of the Staffords who was in love with Sir Williams wife.[4] Two others, Sir Baldwin Fulford and John Haysant, were executed at Bristol in September 1461 for conspiracy against King Edward and his father.[5] Thomas, Lord Scales was murdered on 20 July 1460 by a group of London boatmen as he was on his way to sanctuary at Westminster after the earls of March and Warwick had granted him his freedom.[6]

Although a captain of relatively minor stature, Andrew Trollope

---

1. Apart from John Edwards and the Merburys, those who remained in France were French or other nationals under the sovereignity of the French king, and who had long served with the English as captains in France.
2. Those who died in battle were William Corawen, Oliver Atherton, Sir Bertin Entwhistle, Sir Robert Vere, Sir Richard Harington, Edmund, duke of Somerset (St. Albans, 22 May 1455); Sir William Lucy, Humphrey, duke of Buckingham (Northampton, 10 July 1460); David Howell, Sir Henry Redford, Richard, duke of York (Wakefield, 30 December 1460); John Ormond, Andrew Trollope, Thomas Everingham, Sir Gervais Clifton, Sir Robert Whitingham, John, Lord Wenlock (Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471). Those executed were Osbert Mundford, John Haysant, Sir Baldwin Fulford (1460); Owen Tudor, Sir Thomas Kyriell, James Ormond, earl of Wiltshire (1461); Sir Thomas Findern (1464); Richard Wydeville, Lord Rivers (1469). The murdered included Thomas, Lord Scales (1460).
3. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 198.
4. Ibid., p. 208.
5. P.R.O., King's Bench, Ancient Indictments, 297 m.126, 127, 131, 134.
6. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 211.

was made a 'grand captaine' of Queen Margaret's army after his defection to the Lancastrian side.[1] Other soldiers who had served in Normandy, even though in no official position, were also promoted to captains of the royal army. Both Everard Digby and Simon Hammes, who had served under John, duke of Somerset in 1443, received knighthoods before their death at Towton on 29 March 1461.[2]

By 1461 both the original protagonists, the dukes of York and Somerset, were dead. York's council, composed and directed by veterans from Normandy, had broken up. However active they had been in the pursuit of York's affairs, by the end of the 1450s they were growing old. On 1 May 1458 Sir Edmund Mulso described himself as 'weake, syke and feeble in body' and his death followed eight months later.[3] Thomas Mulso, his brother, died on 25 July 1460, perhaps as a result of the battle of Northampton fought two weeks earlier. Sir Walter Devereux died in April 1459 and Sir William Oldhall made his last will on 15 November 1460 and was dead shortly afterwards. Two other veterans of Normandy, Sir Henry Redford and David Howell, died with York at Wakefield on 30 December 1460.[4] After York's death the onus of campaigning fell on younger men under the leadership of the duke's son Edward, earl of March and Richard, earl of Warwick. Only a very few of Richard of York's original council and supporters lived to be rewarded for their services by King Edward. Ironically, Oldhall, Mulso and Devereux, threatened by York's opponents as far back as 1450, all seem to have died in their beds.

---

1. Stow, Annales, p. 413.
2. The need for experienced captains was seen at Dunstable before the second battle of St. Albans, when the king's 'meinie' were overthrown by the Northern men because they 'lackyd good gydyng, for sum were but newe men of warre, for the chevyste captayne was a boucher of the same towne'. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 212.
3. P.C.C. 24, 25 Stokton.
4. Sir Henry Redford of Carlton Paynell and Castlethorpe in Lincolnshire had acted as York's lieutenant at Rouen in the 1440s. David Howell, sometimes described as 'knight', seems to have come from Pembroke in south Wales; he was in France in 1427 and 1428 when he was outlawed for debt at home. C.C.R., 1422-29, p. 437.

The loss of Normandy in 1450 did not see large numbers of discontented captains who depended for their wealth on success in the French wars look to York as their natural leader.[1] Whatever their losses, the majority of English captains were landowners. The armies raised by York and, with less evidence, by Somerset in the 1450s were based on confederations of kinsmen, household servants, retainers and neighbours which had been in existence at the outset of their lord's career. Both York and Somerset introduced newcomers to these groups as their fortunes advanced and prospered in Normandy, and these men were treated to the same privileges and offices as were enjoyed by the rest of the company. The loss of Normandy narrowed the political horizons of York and Somerset and transferred their quarrels across the Channel to England. With no recourse to the king and his political ambitions blocked by Somerset, York raised an army against his opponents in England, in much the same way as he recruited his forces for France. The same loyalties that bound his supporters then, bound them now.

---

1. Two exceptions seem to have been Fulk Eyton and the unlucky John, Lord Clinton.

APPENDIX I.

The Lands and Income of the Beaufort Brothers.

1. John Beaufort.

On 24 September 1425 John, earl of Somerset received seisin his father's lands, together with the dower lands of Elizabeth, wife illiam Montague, earl of Salisbury, in the counties of Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire and the Marches of Wales, and in Somerset and Dorset.[1] As heir to his uncle Thomas, duke of Exeter, in June 1427 John was granted seisin of lands in Bedfordshire, Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales, in Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Norfolk and Yorkshire.[2] A third inheritance descended to him on the death of his mother, Margaret, duchess of Clarence in December 1439.[3]

The Beaufort family lands had been built up over three decades by variety of means. In the 1390s John of Gaunt had provided for his bastard son, John Beaufort, by the purchase of manors (or their reversion, Somerset and Dorset. Through marriage, grants and forfeitures the Beaufort property increased. John's mother Margaret was a sister and one the four co-heirs of Edmund Holland, earl of Kent, so that she and her husband acquired a number of valuable manors and fee-farms which descended to their son. In the general assessment of income for the purpose of taxation in

---

1. C.C.R., 1422-29, p. 238. John of Gaunt had purchased the reversion of certain manors in Somerset from William Montague; the dower lands mentioned here presumably part of that estate.
2. C.C.R., 1422-29, pp. 476-77. No information survives to show how John inherited from the death of the duke of Exeter. The latter's Kentish lands were probably sold to pay his debts in accordance with his will, whereby Greenwich was acquired by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Hasted's History of Kent, ed. H.Drake (London, 1886), part p. 45; J.Nichols, Royal Wills, pp. 254-62.
3. C.F.R., 1436-41, pp. 382, 515. In 1436 the income of Margaret, duchess of Clarence was assessed at £1,333, of which £616 was paid to her from the Exchequer. Her property was probably derived largely from her second dower, which included certain estates in the palatinate of Chester; since Clarence died childless, her dower portion reverted to the Crown after her death. T.B.Pugh and G.D.Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income tax of 1436' B.I.H.R. XXVI (1953), 615.

1436, the earl of Somerset's receiver valued his lord's property in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Lancashire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Herefordshire, Somerset and Dorset, together with income from the petty custom in the port of London, at £1,000.[1] This was also the sum mentioned in 1450 by the accusers of the duke of Suffolk, who was said to have enriched himself at the king's expense by marrying his heir to John Beaufort's daughter Margaret, thereby securing the Beaufort inheritance.[2]

Bedfordshire.

Manor of Wrestlingworth.[3]

Cambridgeshire.

(Lordship of Orwell, held by John's father, John, earl of Somerset).[4]

Devonshire.

Manor of Sampford Peverell.

Manor of Aller Peverell.

Hundred of Halberton.

These were all granted to John, earl of Somerset and his heirs on 3 March 1401, when in the king's possession by the death of Sir William Asthorp, a bastard who died without heirs, to the value of £80. The two manors were held of the king in chief, the hundred of Halberton of Lord Despenser, and were valued in 1410 at £2. On 12 June 1407 John, earl of Somerset and his wife Margaret were jointly enfeoffed for their lives, with successive remainders to their sons John, Thomas and Edmund, and their heirs.[5]

---

1. P.R.O., Miscellanea of the Exchequer, 7/31 part 1, m.6.
2. H.M.C., Third Report (1872), Appendix I, p. 280.
3. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 651/10534.
4. C.P.R., 1408-13, p. 195.
5. C.P.R., 1399-1401, p. 454; ibid., 1401-5, p. 17; ibid., 1405-8, p. 342; C.C.R., 1409-13, pp. 128-29; P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 94/13 m.1.

Dorset.

Corfe castle and lordship, which were held by virtue of letters patent of Henry IV, dated 8 January 1410.[1] At the inquisition on Henry Beaufort, eldest son of John, earl of Somerset, in 1425, Corfe castle and lordship were valued at 20 marks yearly.[2] Corfe descended to John, duke of Somerset, then to his brother Edmund, and to Edmund's son Henry. At the death of Edmund Beaufort in 1455, the castle and lordship were valued at £20, and at the death of his son in 1464 at £7.[3]

Essex.

Manor of Wakes Colne.

Manor of Lamarsh.

These were held by the Beauforts by 1411, when the advowson of Wakes Colne was valued at £7 and that of Lamarsh at £8.[4] In 1445 Margaret, duchess of Somerset was pardoned for having acquired, along with her husband, these and other manors in tail male with remainder to the right heirs of John.[5]

Gloucestershire.

Fee-farm of Cirencester which was granted to Margaret, the mother of John and Edmund, in July 1411 as her pourparty as heir of the earl of Kent. It was then valued at £30. At the death of John, duke of Somerset in 1444 the fee-farm of Cirencester was still valued at £30.[6]

---

1. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 60/38.
2. Ibid., 15/18 m.14.
3. Ibid., 160/38; Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Edward IV, 322.
4. C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 157.
5. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 349.
6. C.F.R., 1405-13, p. 212; P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem ser. 1, 177/13 m.10.

Hampshire.

Manor of Bedhampton.[1]

Manor of Orwell.[2]

Fee-farm of Andover.

Fee-farm of Basingstoke.

Fee-farm of Romsey.

Fee-farm of Southampton.

Four knight's fees in Todworth and Mildstone.[3]

The fee-farm of Basingstoke descended to Margaret, countess of Somerset in 1411 as one of the co-heirs of Edmund, earl of Kent; it was then valued at £12 3s. 0½d.[4] In the year 1454-55 Basingstoke was valued at £12 3s., Romsey at 2s. 2d., Southampton at £1 15s. and Andover at £5 12s. 6d.[5]

Hertfordshire.

Manor of Theobalds Street.[6]

Huntingdonshire.

One knight's fee in Buckden, which descended to Margaret, countess of Somerset in 1411 as co-heir of the earl of Kent and was valued at £2.[7]

Kent.

Manor of Dartford.

Lands in Stone, Stonham, Chislehurst and Cobham.

The manor of Dartford and lands in Chislehurst and elsewhere were settled

---

1. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 349; P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 651/10533.
2. Ibid.
3. C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 248.
4. C.F.R., 1405-13, p. 212.
5. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 651/10533, at which date they were held by Margaret Beaufort and her husband Edmund, earl of Richmond. The four knight's fees were valued at £8 yearly, together with the moiety of one knight's fee in Goldington, Westburgh and Thorp at £1.
6. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 651/10534.
7. C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 156.

for life on Alice, wife of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent. On her death in 1416 they descended to her daughter Joan, duchess of York, who died in 1434, when the manor devolved on Joan's sister, Margaret, duchess of Clarence, the mother of John and Edmund Beaufort. She was succeeded by John, and on his death in 1444 the property passed into the keeping of his wife Margaret, duchess of Somerset.[1]

Leicestershire.

Manor of Enderby, which was held by John, earl of Somerset at his death in 1410, as of the honor of Leicester, and was valued at 20 marks.[2]

Lincolnshire.

Manor of Deeping.

Manor of Bourne.

Manor of Billingborough.

Lands in Spalding, Burgham, Stow, Spridlington and Faldingworth.

All this Lincolnshire property descended to Margaret, countess of Somerset between 1408 and 1411 as co-heir of the earl of Kent. Billingborough was valued at £8 in 1444.[3]

London and Middlesex.

£500 from the petty custom in the port of London.

£500 at the receipt of the Exchequer.

---

1. E.A.Webb, G. Miller, J.Beckwith, The History of Chislehurst, its Churches, Manors and Parishes (London, 1899), p.103; P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 177/13 m.6; W.A.Ms. 5101 (an account of the farmer of Margaret, duchess of Somerset's manor of Dartford, 1446-52).
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 94/13 m.4; ibid., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 15/18 m.2; ibid., Special Collections, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, 908/11 (for the year 1436-37).
3. C.F.R., 1405-13, p. 136; C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 248; P.R.O. Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 94/13 m.2; 177/13 m.7.

On 12 November 1427 in the parliament at Coventry, John, earl of Somerset was granted £1,000 to him and his male children.[1]

Norfolk.

Fee-farm of Ormesby.

The fee-farm, valued in 1444 at £11 16s. 0d., was assigned as Margaret's pourparty as co-heir of the earl of Kent.[2]

Northamptonshire.

Manor of Overstone.

Manor of Maxey.

Manor of Torpell.

Manor of Eydon.

Third of the manor of Little Brampton.

On 6 December 1391 John of Gaunt received licence to alienate Overstone to his son, Sir John Beaufort, in fee tail with remainder to his other children by Katherine Swynford.[3] At the death of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset in 1410 the manor was valued at£5. At the same time, the manor of Maxey was valued in two portions: the one called 'delamaresee' was held of the abbot of Burgh St. Peter and valued at £24, the remainder called 'Ardern' was held of his wife, the countess of Somerset, heir of the ear of Kent, as of the manor of Torpell and was valued at£16.

---

1. Ibid., m.1. On 25 October 1409, Henry IV granted John, earl of Somerset and his male heirs £500 yearly from the petty custom in the port of London in recompense of a grant made on 12 November 1404 of £1,000 per annum for the maintenance of his estate as an earl. C.P.R., 1408-13, pp. 142, 147; R.P., III, 483, 550. This grant of £1,000 was reaffirmed on 12 November 1427 to John Beaufort's namesake son, John, earl of Somerset. In 1436 he was holding £500 from the petty custom and £333 6s.8d. at the Receipt of the Exchequer; the remaining third remained as dower in the hands of his mother, the duchess of Clarence. At her death in 1439 these 500 marks were granted to her other son Edmund and after John's death in 1444 he acquired £500 from the petty custom, less the dower portion of his brother's widow.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 177/13 m.8.
3. C.P.R., 1391-96, p. 15.

The earl of Somerset also held of his wife the manor of Torpell from her inheritance, valued at £20. The manor of Eydon was held of the honor of Leicester and in 1410 valued at £10. The third part of Little Brampton, also held of the honor of Leicester, was valued at 10 marks.[1]

Rutland.

Sixth part of one knight's fee in Ryhall.

Moiety of one knight's fee in Little Casterton.

They were valued respectively at 6s. 8d. and £1 and both were of Margaret's inheritance as sister of the earl of Kent.[2]

Somerset.

Manor of Martock.

Manor of Curry Rivel.

Manors of Langport, Eastover and Langport Westover.

Hundred of Abdick.

Hundred of Bulston.

Manor of Horethorne.

Manor of Queen Camel.

Manor of Tidhurst.

Manor of Kingsbury Regis.

Fee-farm of Milbourneport.

John of Gaunt paid William Montague, earl of Salisbury, 5,000 marks for the reversion of the manors of Martock, Curry Rivel and their appurtenances. On 20 September 1394 the earl received licence to enfeoff three men with

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 94/13 m.3. An account for Overstone survives for the year 1437-38 in P.R.O., Special Collections, Ministers' Accounts, 948/23.
2. C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 156.

Sussex.

Annual rent from the manor of Iden.

At the death of John, duke of Somerset in 1444, he was holding in fee tail an annual rent of £3 3s. 4d. from the farm of £8 for the manor of Iden, which he inherited from his mother as co-heir of the earl of Kent.[1]

Westmorland.

The lordship of Kendal.[2]

Wiltshire.

Fee-farm of Bath.

Fourth part of one knight's fee in Newnham.

Both were granted to Margaret, countess of Somerset in 1411 as part of her inheritance from the earldom of Kent. The fee-farm of Bath was valued at £20 in 1411 and 1454-55.[3]

Worcestershire.

Fee-farm of Droitwich. It again came from the inheritance of Margaret, countess of Somerset. At the death of her son, John, duke of Somerset, in 1444, the fee-farm was worth £22 7s. 3d. and in 1454-55 £21 18s. 5d.[4]

Yorkshire.

(Lordship of Cottingham)[5].

Fee-farm of Kirkstall.

Kirkstall was part of the inheritance of Margaret, countess of Somerset, and yielded £5 5s. 3d. in 1443 from the fee-farm of £90 annually of the abbey of Kirkstall.[6]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 177/13 m.12.
2. Somerset was created earl of Kendal on 28 August 1443. C.Ch.R., VI, 37.
3. C.F.R., 1405-13, p. 212; C.C.R., 1409-13, p. 248; P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, 651/10533.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 177/13 m.13; Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, 651/10533.
5. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 268.
6. C.F.R., 1437-45, p. 265. John, duke of Somerset also had custody of two parts of the manor of Thornton in Lonsdale, granted to him on 31 October 1442, for forty years, and of two parts of the manors of Kneton and Middleton to hold for twelve years from 20 November 1440. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 177/13 m.4.

Wales.

Cynllaith Owain and Glyn Dyfrdwy in Merionethshire.

Iscoed and Gwynionydd in Cardiganshire.

They were forfeited by Owain Glyndŵr and granted to John, earl of Somerset and his heirs on 8 November 1400, and reaffirmed in 1401 when they were valued at 200 marks yearly; but in 1410 the effects of war had rendered them temporarily valueless.[1] In 1465-66 the lordship of Cynllaith Owain was yielding £49 18s. 3¼d.[2]

In addition, John received £20 a year from the issues of Somerset to sustain his title of earl of Somerset, and probably a further £40 a year from the same source after he received the title of duke in August 1443. In the same month he was created earl of Kendal, a title previously held by John, duke of Bedford. Bedford's widow, the Duchess Jacquetta, was still alive and retained in dower one-third of Kendal and Wyresdale.[3] On the death of John, duke of Somerset, nine months after receiving this earldom, his widow Margaret received one-third of the remaining two-thirds of the estate, the rest reverting to the Crown as held in tail male, Somerset's only heir being his daughter Margaret. The grant of £1,000 payable from the Exchequer and the petty custom in the port of London descended to Edmund Beaufort as the next male heir of John, earl of Somerset, and he also received the two Kentish manors of Woking and Sutton in a grant from his brother.[4] The remainder passed to John's daughter Margaret and her husband Edmund, earl of Richmond.

---

1. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 223; J.E.Lloyd, Owen Glendower (Oxford, 1931), p. 35 n.1.
2. R.S.Thomas, 'The political career, estates and "connection" of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford (d.1495)' (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis, 1971), p. 113.
3. C.P.R., 1441-46, pp. 223-24.
4. In fact, Edmund seems only to have received 500 marks from the Exchequer. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, 160/34.

2. Edmund Beaufort.

The youngest of the earl of Somerset's four sons, Edmund Beaufort inherited nothing on the death of his father. Instead his livelihood was dependant upon a number of grants and, after about 1436, the dower lands of his wife Eleanor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and widow of Thomas, Lord Roos.

(a). Grants and Offices.

1425, 20 January: appointed constable of Nottingham castle and keeper of Sherwood Forest by grant of Queen Joan, to hold for her life at £20 yearly at her Receipt.[1]

1427, 22 April: granted the county of Mortain in France.[2]

1433, 8 August: granted the constableship of Carmarthen castle during pleasure.[3]

1435, 9 December: grant of the offices of captain and constable of Aberystwyth castle during pleasure.[4]

fl. 1438: granted the comté of Harecourt in France.[5]

1438, 21 July: grant for life of the office of constable of Windsor castle; life grants of the constableships of Carmarthen and Aberystwyth.[6]

1440, 29 January: granted 500 marks annually from the death of his mother, Margaret, duchess of Clarence, which she received at the Exchequer in lieu of dower.[7]

---

1. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 19. On 12 June 1434 Edmund Beaufort granted these offices to Ralph, Lord Cromwell. Ibid..
2. Cacheux, II, 349.
3. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 286.
4. Ibid., p. 498.
5. Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy', pp. 246-47. The annual value of the Harecourt lands reckoned for the year 1433-34 was 7,153 livres tournois, although by April 1445 the effects of war prevented the collection of rents.
6. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 188. In August 1439 he was granted by authority of Parliament £500 per annum for repairs and upkeep of Windsor castle. ibid., p. 443.
7. Ibid., p. 375.

1441, 14 February: grant of an inn called 'Oldecaleys' in the parish of St. Nicholas, Calais, to hold in tail male by service of one watch; it was previously held by the duke of Bedford.[1]

1442, 13 March: grant to Edmund and his male heirs, £222 6s. 8d. from 10 April 1441 until such time as the king provided him with lands and other property to the same yearly amount out of the first escheats or forfeits which came into the king's hands.[2]

1442, 28 August: created earl of Dorset and granted £20 per annum for life from the issues or farms of Dorset.[3]

1443, 24 June: created marquess of Dorset and granted £35 per annum for life from the issues or farms of Dorset.[4]

1443, 1 December: grant, in consideration of his being a younger brother and inheriting nothing at the death of his ancestors, of £224 6s. 8d. per annum, to hold to him and his male heirs, from the issues of the great sessions and other courts in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, until the king should provide for him in lands of the same value from the first escheats or forfeitures.[5]

1444, 4 October: grant to Edmund and his male heirs of the manors of Stoke sub Hamdon, Milton Fauconberg, Stratton on the Fosse, Faringdon Gournay, Welton, Inglescombe, Widecombe, Laverton, a moiety of Shepton Malet, Curry Malet, a moiety of West Harptree and Midsomer Norton in Somerset; the manor of Ryme in Dorset and two-thirds of the manor of Bassingbourne and the bailiwick of Babraham, held of the honor of Richmond

---

1. Ibid., p. 499.
2. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 54.
3. C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 83.
4. C.Ch.R., VI, 37; C.C.R., 1441-47, p. 170.
5. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 277.

in Cambridgeshire, together with knight's fees and advowsons not exceeding £417 14s. 0d. per annum, which had reverted to the Crown by the death of John, Lord Tiptoft; in recompense of a grant of £222 6s. 8d.[1]

1444, 24 October: granted seisin of £500 per annum of the petty custom of London from the date of his brother's death, saving the dower of his widow Margaret, duchess of Somerset.[2]

1446, 24 December: appointed lieutenant and governor-general of France and Normandy.[3]

1448, 31 March: created duke of Somerset and granted £40 per annum for life from the issues or farms of Somerset and Dorset.[4]

1450, 11 September: appointed constable of England.[5]

1451, April: appointed captain of Calais.[6]

1452, 6 September: granted in tail male the Isle and lordship of Wight and the castle and lordship of Carisbrooke, together with the thirteen manors in Somerset and Dorset granted to him in October 1444 and resumed in the Parliament of 6 November 1450. All these were granted in recompense of 500 marks in dower held by his mother, the duchess of Somerset, from an annuity of £1,000 granted by Henry IV to John, earl of Somerset on 12 November 1404. If the property exceeded 500 marks in value, the excess was to be deducted from the duke's annuity of £500 from the petty custom in the port of London, and if the property was recovered the duke was to have compensation. He was granted in 1452 the manor of Ramenham in Berkshire.[7]

1453, 2 July: appointed justice in eyre, steward and chief warden for life of all the king's forests south of the Trent and, 'for good service on both sides the sea', master of the game.[8]

---

1. Ibid., p. 324.
2. C.C.R., 1441-47, pp. 243-44.
3. Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy', p. 143.
4. C.Ch.R., VI, 99.
5. Rymer, XI, 276.
6. P.P.C., VI, xxxvii.
7. C.P.R., 1452-61, pp. 28029; W.A.MSS. 4532, 4542, 4555.
8. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 88.

(b). Income and Lands.

The writs of diem clausit extremum issued in June and July 1455, though incomplete, show Edmund, duke of Somerset to have held land in the counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Norfolk, Surrey, Cornwall, London and Middlesex.[1]

Berkshire: manor of Ramenham.

Dorset:

Manor of Ryme.

Corfe castle and lordship.

Manor of Canford and appurtenances in Cokeden and the town of Poole. The manor of Ryme was granted to Edmund and his male heirs on 4 October 1444, resumed by the Parliament of 6 November 1450 and regranted to him on 6 September 1452. At his death in 1455 the manor was valued at £5.[2] Corfe castle and lordship had been held in tail male by John, earl of Somerset, the father of John and Edmund. After the death of John, duke of Somerset, the property descended to Edmund as the next male heir.[3] The manor of Canford and its appurtenances came from the property of Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, who died in 1447. On 5 February 1448 Edmund and Eleanor were enfeoffed jointly with it for their lives. The manor was held of the king in chief as of the duchy of Lancaster and valued in 1455 at £20.[4] In addition, Edmund Beaufort was in receipt at his death of £20 from the issues of the county in fee tail for the title of earl of Dorset, and £35 a year for the title of marquess of Dorset from the same source.[5]

Essex.

(Manor of Walkamstowe Thorp)

It was held by Edmund's wife Eleanor at her death in 1467.[6]

---

1. C.F.R., 1452-61, pp. 100, 135.
2. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 160/38.
3. See under John above.
4. C.C.R., 1454-61, p. 20; P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem Henry VI, 160/38.
5. Ibid..
6. P.R.O., Exchequer, Escheators Inquisitions post mortem, serl 1, 219/13 m.1

Hampshire.

Isle and lordship of Wight.

Castle and lordship of Carisbrooke.

He was granted both in tail male on 6 September 1452. On 1 August 1455 they were valued at 100 marks yearly.[1]

Hertfordshire.

Moiety of the manor of Buckland which was held in 1436 as part of Eleanor's dower from the Roos property, and was valued at £6 13s. 4d. Her heir in 1467 was her grandson Edmund Roos.[2]

Kent.

Manor of Wilmington.

Lands and appurtenances in Birchington and Monkton on the Isle of Thanet.

Wilmington formed part of Eleanor's dower and in 1436 was valued at £18, together with lands and tenements belonging to the same manor called 'Hukking and Dolly', valued in 1469 at £10. The lands in Birchington and Monkton were held of the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, and valued at £4.[3]

Lincolnshire.

Two parts of the manors of Boston and Freston.

One-third of the fee-farm of Lincoln city.

The manors formed part of Eleanor's dower and were valued in 1436 at £40 13s. 4d. The sum of £33 6s. 8d., dower of £100, was assigned to Eleanor on 16 September 1430 and ordered to be paid to her and her husband, the earl of Dorset, in April 1448.[4]

---

1. C.P.R., 1452-61, pp. 28-29; P.R.O., Chancery Inquisitions, Henry VI, 160/38.
2. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 part 2, m.1; ibid., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, 219/13 m.2.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31 part 2, m.1; Chancery Inquisitions post mortem, Edward IV, 30/54.
4. P.R.O., Exchequer, Miscellanea, 7/31, part 2, m.1; C.C.R., 1447-54, p.14.

London and Middlesex.

£500 from the petty custom in the port of London.

500 marks from the Receipt of the Exchequer.

Property in Whitechapel, London.

In 1440 he was granted 500 marks annually from the death of his mother, which she received in lieu of dower; he was granted £500 from the petty custom in the port of London after the death of his brother John in 1444. The Whitechapel property came from Eleanor's dower and was valued in 1436 at £2 13s. 4d.[1]

Northamptonshire.

Three parts of the manor of Braunston, which came from Eleanor's dower, valued in 1436 at £4 6s. 8d.[2]

Nottinghamshire.

Rent from the manor of Bakring, from Eleanor's dower, valued in 1436 at £1 16s. 8d.[3]

Norfolk.

Moiety of the manors of Holt and Cley.

Manor of Hackford.

Manor of Whitwell.

Manor of Watton.

Four parts of the manor of Woodhouse.

All formed part of Eleanor's dower. In 1436 Holt and Cley were valued at £30, Hackford at £11, Whitwell at £24 2s. 1½d., Watton at £15 5s. 3¾d., and Woodhouse at £4 0s. 5½d.[4]

---

1. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 375; C. C.R., 1441-47, pp.243-44; P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 160/38; Exchequer Miscellanea, 7/31, part 2, m.1.
2. Ibid..
3. Ibid..
4. Ibid..

Somerset.

Manor of Stoke/sub Hamdon.

Manor of Milton Fauconberg.

Manor of Stratton on the Fosse.

Manor of Faringdon Gournay.

Manor of Welton.

Manor of Inglescome.

Manor of Widecombe.

Manor of Laverton.

Moiety of the manor of Shepton Malet.

Manor of Curry Malet.

Moiety of the manor of West Harptree.

Manor of Midsomer Norton.

Manor of Bedminster and the Hundred of Bedminster.

Manor of Portishead.

Manor of Edingworth.

Manor of Bridgwater.

Manor of Milverton.

Isle ofSteep Holme.

(Three parts of the manor of Charlton).

The first twelve manors were granted to Edmund, duke of Somerset on 6 September 1452, after an original grant had been resumed by the Parliament of 1450. At Somerset's death in 1455 Stoke sub Hamdom was valued at £28 7s. 4d., Milton Fauconberg at £11 17s., Stratton on the Fosse at £7 10s., Faringdon Gournay at £7 1s. 8d., Welton at £8, Inglescombe at £18, Widecombe at £2 6s. 8d., Laverton at £8 5s., Shepton Malet at £21 11s. 8d., Curry Malet at £14 4s. 10d., West Harptree at £6 2s., and Midsomer Norton at £10 13s.4d.[1]

---

1. C.P.R., 1441-46, p. 324; C.P.R., 1452-61, pp. 28-29; P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 160/38.

The remaining property was held by Eleanor at the time of her death in 1467. Bedminster was then valued at £13 6s. 8d., Portishead at £5, Edingworth at £2 6s. 8d., Bridgwater at £1 6s. 8d., Milverton at £2 and three parts of the manor of Charlton at £1 13s. 4d.[1] Edmund, duke of Somerset was also in receipt at his death of £20 yearly for his title of earl of Somerset and £40 yearly for his title of duke from the issues of Somerset and Dorset.

Surrey.

Manor of Woking.

Manor of Sutton.

Both were granted to Edmund and Eleanor by John, duke of Somerset and valued in 1455 at £10 and 5 marks respectively.[2]

Eleanor brought her husband not only her dower portion from the Roos lands, but after the death of her father, Richard, earl of Warwick, in 1439 she and her two sisters shared the Lisle inheritance of their mother Elizabeth Berkeley, which has been estimated at between £550 - £600 a year and the Berkeley inheritance at a minimum of £100 per annum.[3] In July 1449, after the death of Henry, duke of Warwick and his daughter Anne, Eleanor and her two sisters by Elizabeth Berkeley and Anne their half-sister by Isabel Despenser were granted licence with their husbands to enter into the possessions of the Beauchamp inheritance.[4]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, Inquisitions post mortem, ser. 1, 219/13 m.3. The manor of Charlton was from the Berkeley inheritance.
2. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VI, 1[illegible]0/38.
3. K.B.Mcfarlane, The Nobility of Later Mediaeval England, pp. 198-99. Unfortunately, few details concernin the division of these inheritances survive.
4. C.P.R., 1446-52, pp. 202, 451.

Both Beaufort brothers relied heavily for the major part of their income on royal grants of cash, however irregularly paid. In 1436 John Beaufort's income was assessed as £1,000; of this £333 was payable at the Exchequer, £500 from the petty custom in the port of London and £20 from the issues of the county of Somerset. Probably the value of his lands after the death of his mother in 1439 did not exceed £700. His younger brother Edmund Beaufort was the recipient of a series of grants of office, land and money which continued throughout the whole of his career. The assessment for tax in 1436 estimated Edmund Beaufort's income to stand at £205, which seems to have come solely from the dower lands of his wife. By his death in 1455 his income from land and his grants from the Exchequer and the petty custom stood at more than £1,370 - which does not take into account his profits from land and office in France or his wife's inheritance from the Lisle, Berkeley and Beauchamp properties.

APPENDIX II.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Add. Ch.	British Museum, Additional Charters.
Add. Ms.	British Museum, Additional Manuscripts.
A.N.	Archives Nationales, Paris.
Arch. de l'Orne.	Archives de l'Orne.
B.M.	British Museum, London.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Eg. Ch.	British Museum, Egerton Charters.
G.E.C.	G.E.Cockayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. V.Gibbs and others (12 vols. in 13, 1910-59).
Ms.Fr.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Français.
N.A.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions.
P.O.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces Originales.
P.P.C.	Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. Sir N.H.Nicolas (Record Comm. vols. i-iv, 1834-37).
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London.
C.67	P.R.O., Chancery, Pardon Rolls.
E101	P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts.
E404	P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues.
Blondel.	R.Blondel, De Reductione Normanniae, ed. J.Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1863).
Bonnin.	Cartularie de Louviers, documents historiques originaux du Xe au XVIIIe siècle, ed. Thomas Bonnin (Evreux, 1877).
Bouquet.	Documents concernant l'Histoire de Neufchâtel-en-Bray et des environs, ed. F.Bouquet (Rouen, 1884-85).
Bouteiller.	R.Bouteiller et M.Durand, 'La Garrison Anglaise de Rouen, au temps de Jeanne d'Arc' Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Historiques (Paris, 1931).

Butot. A. Butot, 'Les Capitaines Anglais de Saint Lô pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1418-1450), Notices, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Naturelle du département de la Manche, vol.62, n.s. (St Lo, 1954).

Clair. G.Demay, Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection Clairambault à la Bibliotheque Nationale (2 vols., Paris, 1885).

Deville. A. Deville, Histoire du Chateau et des Sires de Tancarville (Rouen, 1834).

Du Morey. H. du Morey, 'La ville, le chateau et le pays d'Exmes pendant l'Occupation anglaise, de 1417 a 1449', Bulletin de Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne, vol. VIII (Alencon, 1889).

Escouchy. Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (3 vols., Paris, 1864).

French Rolls. 'Calendars of the French Rolls' in 44th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1883), pp. 543-639; 48th Annual Report.... (1887), pp. 217-451.

Frondeville. H. de Frondeville, 'La vicomté d'Orbec pendant l' occupation anglaise (1417-1449)', Etudes Lexoviennes, IV (1936).

Gorges. R.Gorges, 'Sir Thibault Gorges, Knight Banneret, 1401-1470', Proceedings of the Somerset Arch. and Natural History Society, vol. 79 (1933).

Hall. Edward Hall, The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, ed. H.Ellis (London, 1809).

Hardy. Rotuli Normanniae in Turre Londinensi asservati Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae regibus, ed. T.D.Hardy (Record Comm., 1835).

Hellot. A. Hellot, Essai sur les Baillis de Caux de 1204 à 1789 (Paris, 1895).

Hunger. V. Hunger, Le Siège et la Prise de Caen par Charles VII en 1450 (Paris, 1912).

Le Cacheux. Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI, concernant la domination Anglaise (1422-35), ed. P.Le Cacheux (2 vols., 1907, 1908).

M. & R. R.A.Newhall, Muster and Review (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

M.S.M. 'Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel', ed. S.Luce, Société des Anciens Textes Français (2 vols., 1826).

Monstrelet. — The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, trans. T.Johnes, (London, 1810).

Norman Rolls. — 'Calendar of the Norman Rolls, Henry V,' 41st. Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1880), pp. 671-810; 42nd Annual Report.... (1881), pp. 313-472.

Nortier. — Les Sources de l'Histoire de Normandie au departement des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, ed. M.Nortier (Nogent-sur-Marne, 1959).

P.L. — The Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner (6 vols., London, 1904).

Pollard. — A.J.Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and earls of Shrewsbury in the fifteenth Century' (unpublished University of Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968).

Pont d'Ouve. — A. Butot. 'Les Capitaines Anglais de la bastille du Pont d'Ouve pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans,' Notices, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'Arch. et d'Histoire naturelle du département de la Manche, vol. 65, n.s. (1957).

R.A.N. — Quelques Actes Normands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, ed. V. Hunger (Paris, 1910).

Ramsay. — Sir J.H.Ramsay, Lancaster and York (2 vols., London, 1892).

Stevenson. — Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI, ed. J.Stevenson (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1864).

Veyrat. — M.Veyrat, Les Baillis de Rouen (1171-1790) (Rouen, 1953).

Vire. — V.Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire aux XIVe - XVe siècles (Paris, 1925).

A. signifies date of appointment to office.

The following catalogue of garrisons and their commanders does not claim to be exhaustive. The archive collections of England and France contain other documents whose study would make the list more complete, but for the purposes in hand the present list is reasonably comprehensive. Part B lists the royal garrisons and their quota of troops for the third quarter of the year 1436. These garrisons, together with a few additions, are catalogued with their captains in Part A. In general, these captains indented (and were paid) on a quarterly basis, the year usually being divided thus: 29 December - 29 March, 30 March - 28 June, 29 June - 28 September, 29 September - 28 December.

The role of the garrisons - to safeguard the fortress, maintain English authority, secure the submission of the inhabitants and the surrounding area, and supply detachments for the armies in the field - was exercised not only in royal forts but in many smaller defencible places. In the course of research, more than forty of the latter have been discovered and there were doubtless many more. Most were held, like St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte (granted to Sir John Robessart in 1419 and held by the Robessarts for the next thirty years), with a defensive obligation, which the grantee was required to discharge and finance himself. Thus, Sir John Robessart was ordered to maintain seven men-at-arms and forty archers at St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte until the end of the war.[1] However, even when this source of manpower is included, the figures revealed by the second table show that a surprisingly low number of actual combatants was involved in the occupation of Normandy at a time when the position of the English was far from secure.

---

1. L. Delisle, Histoire de Château et des Sires de St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte (Valognes, 1867), p. 252.

APPENDIX II: PART A.

ALENÇON.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
A. Thomas, earl of Salisbury, *vice* Sir Roland Lenthale	13 November 1420	Norman Rolls, 381.
Sir Roland Lenthale	30 December 1420	Add.Ch. 7930.
Thomas, earl of Salisbury [1]	6 March 1422	Norman Rolls, 438.
Sir John Fastolf	14 March 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/216.
" " " Lieutenant: John Banaster	1 April 1427-3 June 1427	Ms.Fr. 25768/239.
Sir John Fastolf	12 October 1429-12 November 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/424.
Sir William Oldhall	8 February 1430	Clair, 6847.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Thomas Gower	fl. 1431	Ms.Fr. 27776/656.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Sir John Fastolf	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, 544.
" John Broucet [2]	18 August 1435	Archives d'Orne A411.
Sir John Fastolf	16 February 1436	Add.Ch. 11,895.
Edmund, earl of Dorset Lieutenant: Thomas Everingham	31 March 1437 [3]	Add.Ch. 11,690.
Edmund, earl of Dorset Lieutenant: Hugh Stanlaw	29 February 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1503.
Edmund, earl of Dorset Lieutenant: Hugh Stanlaw, esquire	29 December 1440-29 March 1441	Ms.Fr. 25775/1440.
Henry, Lord Bourchier	14 July 1441	A.N., K67/1/27.
Sir Richard Wydeville	25 July 1442	A.N., K67/12/80.
" " "	19 August 1442	Add.Ch. 8011.
" " "	9 April 1443	Add.Ch. 12,172.
" " " banneret	10 March 1444	Add.Ch. 12,210.

1. Lieutenant of Normandy.
2. Sir William Oldhall held the post of bailiff of Alençon, and Thomas Everingham that of marshal.
3. M.Veyrat in Les Baillis de Rouen (1171-1790) (Rouen, 1953), p.14, states that Sir Henry Redford also took the title of 'châtelain d'Alençon', which was equivalent to that of captain of the castle, about 1439.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Richard Harington	October 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1258.
Surrendered to the French	4 October 1449	Ramsay, 97.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Ralph Butler [1]	fl. 1422	Hellot, 110.
" "	7 October 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/39.
" "	fl. 1424 [2]	Hellot, 110.
" "	fl. 1425	ibid..
Lieutenant: Gervais Clifton, esquire	5 June 1428	Nortier, 541.
Sir Ralph Butler	fl. 1429	Hellot, 110.
" "	1 October 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/633.
Sir John Montgomery, banneret [3]	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, 545.
" " Lieutenant: Thomas Bakden	15 November 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/1022.
Sir John Montgomery	29 November 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1273.
" "	9 January 1441	Add.Ch. 12,087.
" " formerly captain	20 November 1441	ibid., 12,116.
John Norbury, esquire	20 September 1441	A.N., K67/1/44.
" " " Lieutenant: Nicholas Parker	29 June - 29 September 1443	Ms.Fr. 25777/1649.
John Norbury, esquire	26 May 1444	Nortier, 604.
Sir Walter Devereux [4]	22 June 1445	A.N., K68/12/14.
" "	29 December 1445 - 29 March 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1724.
Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley	10 August 1446	Add.Ch. 491.
Lieutenant: William Redbrok	14 December 1447	Ms.Fr. 25778/1804.

Surrendered after the treaty of capitulation, made at Rouen on 29 October 1449.

---

1. Bailiff of Caux, 28 October 1422-May 1423.
2. Hellot, p. 111, also names Thomas Masterson as captain of Arques in 1424 and again in 1429.
3. Bailiff of Caux during 8 September 1430 - 9 July 1443; bailiff of Alençon in 1423-24 and in 1426. A. Hellot, Essai Sur les Baillis de Caux de 1204 à 1789 (Paris, 1895), p. 114.
4. Named bailiff of Caux in this document.

AVRANCHES.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Thomas Burgh	fl. 1417	Du Motey, 123.
William, earl of Suffolk	6 December 1420	Norman Rolls, 383.
" " "[2]	27 March 1422	Vire, 75.
A. Thomas Burgh	24/26 September 1423	M.S.M., I, 129.
" "	12 September 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/95.
" "	29 June 1425	Add.Ch. 3587.
" "	23 March 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/146.
" "	fl. 1427	M. & R., 106 n.236.
" "	8 May, 29 June - 29 September 1428	Ms.Fr. 25769/281; 287, 288.
Lieutenant: Sir Robert Conyers	10 February 1429	Eg.Ch. 465.
William, earl of Suffolk	23 March 1429	ibid., 157.
" " " Lieutenant: John Lampet	26 September 1430	Ad.Ch. 7965.
Sir Eustace Gaudin	June-September 1431	Add.Ch. 385.
William, earl of Suffolk	30 March-30 June 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/699.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, II, 501.
Lieutenant: Thomas Chiseval, esquire	fl. 1434	M.S.M., II, 44.
Sir Bertin Entwhistle[3]		
Lieutenant: John Lampet	fl. 1436	M. & R., 135.
" " "	12 October 1437	Add.Ch. 11,962.
John, earl of Somerset	1 June 1439	Ms.Fr. 25775/1406.
Lieutenant: John Lampet	5 January 1441	Clair, 5028.
" " "	15 September 1442	M.S.M., II, 144.

---

1. Surrendered to the English on 14 July 1418: 'Norman Rolls', p. 746.
2. The earl indented with the regent of France as 'gardien du pays de Coutances et d'Avranches, ainsi que des chastel et ville du Saint-Lô et de la ville de Coutances', from 10 October 1422 until 29 September 1423. A. Butot, Les Capitaines Anglais de Saint-Lô pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans, 1418-1450 (La Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Naturelle du département de la Manche, tome LXII, n.s., St. Lô, 1954), p. 23.
3. Replaced at the beginning of 1435 by John Lampet, man-at-arms: Stevenson, op.cit., II, 434.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John, duke of Somerset	fl. 1443-44	B.M., Birch Ms. 4101f. 46re
Lieutenant: John Lampet	25 September 1444	Add.Ch. 12,226.
Richard, duke of York	29 December 1445-	Ms.Fr. 25777/1788.
Lieutenant: John Lampet	29 March 1446	
" " "	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 629.
Surrendered to the French in May 1450		Ramsay, 108.

BAYEUX.[1]

Sir John Grey de Ruthin	pre-3 April 1419	Norman Rolls, 763.
Sir Richard Strother	3 April 1419	ibid..
A. Sir John Popham	18 January 1421	ibid., 397.
Sir William Breton	20 May 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/17.
" " "	20 January 1423	ibid., 118.
Lieutenant: William Lindley	26 September 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/527.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	25 October 1430	Add.Ch. 377.
Lieutenant: Thomas de Willoughby	15 March 1432	" "
Sir William Breton	16 October 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/730.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, II, 541.
John, duke of Bedford	25 May 1435	Add.Ch. 550.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	16 December 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1280.
Sir William Oldhall	3 October 1438	ibid., 25775/1372.
Mathew Gough	29 July 1440	Add.Ch. 12,603.
Lieutenant: James Dryland	" "	" "
Mathew Gough	9 April 1442	Add.Ch. 588.
Lieutenant: James Dryland	" "	" "
Mathew Gough	17 March 1443-1450	Ms.Fr. 25777/1673.
Surrendered to the French	16 May 1450	Ramsay, 108.

1. Surrendered on 23 September 1418: 'Norman Rolls', p. 746.

BEAUMONT SUR OISE.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir William Bucton	10 April 1421	Norman Rolls, 410.
" " " [1]	13 July 1421	ibid., 427.

BEAUMONT LE ROGER.

Captured by the French	in 1441	Ramsay, 40.
John Wyteflyd	1 December 1446	A.N., K68/18/27.
John Wysfyld	11 May 1447	Ms.Fr. 25777/1790
John Wysfyld, esquire	24 April 1448	Clair, 9699.
John Whitrey [2]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 623.

BEAUMONT LE VICONTE.

Osbert Mundford	fl. 1447	Stevenson, II, 704.

BELLENCOMBRE.

Sir Thomas Rempston	12 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 730.
Richard Melton	5 September 1421	ibid., 433.
Sir Thomas Rempston [3] Lieutenant: John Wakefield	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 622.

BELLENME.

Mathew Gough [4] Lieutenant: Christopher Hanson	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 627.
Surrendered to the French	10 November 1449	Ramsay, 100.

BERNAY.

William Houton	? 1417	Frondeville, 63.
Richard Worcester, esquire	3 April 1421	ibid., 63.
" " "	16 June 1421	Norman Rolls, 428.

---

1. Mentioned in the Pardon Rolls of 1446-47 as captain of Beaumont-sur-Oise: C67/39 m.31.
2. Holding the garrison for Richard, duke of York.
3. I.e., Sir Thomas Rempston the younger.
4. Holding the garrison for Humphrey, duke of Buckingham.

BERNAY (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE.
Thomas, Lord Scales	fl. 1422	Vire, 93.
Robert, Lord Willoughby Lieutenant: Oliver Aderton	2 January 1434 " "	Le Cacheux, 269. " "
Francois Surienne	26 March 1441	Frondeville, 64.
" "	14 October 1441	Add.Ch. 12111.
" "	fl. 1442	Escouchy, II, 564.
John de Leave, esquire	21 August 1443	Frondeville, 65.
John Flegue or Fleque	17 December 1444	Add.Ch. 12,235.
" "	1 January - 31 March 1445	A.N., 1268/1/1.
" "	May 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1712.
Jenkin Baker, esquire	1 March 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1780.
" " "	29 December 1446 - 29 March 1447	ibid., 1789.
Thomas Mulso [1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 621.

CAEN.[2]

Sir Gilbert Umfraville	30 September 1417	Hardy, 159.
" " Lieutenant: William Talbot	15 May 1418 26 June 1418	Norman Rolls, 686. ibid., 714.
Sir Gilbert Umfraville	4 May 1419	ibid., 776.
Sir William Breton	22 August 1421	ibid., 416.
" "	20 January 1422	ibid., 436.
Richard Wydeville	22 March 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/67.
" " [3] Lieutenant: John Brinkley	January 1424 5 May 1425	M.S.M., I, 131. Ms.Fr. 25767/122.

1. Holding the garrison for Richard, duke of York.
2. Agreement for the surrender of Caen castle was made on 9 September 1417: Hardy, p. 287.
3. Grand Seneschal.

CAEN (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Richard Wydeville Lieutenant: John Brinkley	3 December 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/188.
Cardinal Beaufort Lieutenant: John Brinkley	26 September 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/526.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Sir John Fastolf	26 March 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/686.
" James Dryland	29 December 1432-29 March 1433	Ms.Fr. 25770/765.
" " "	20 May 1433	Clair, 3247.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Sir John Fastolf	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, II, 541.
Sir Richard Wydeville	12 December 1434	Ms.Fr. 25777/920.
Sir John Fastolf	23 March 1436	M.S.M., II, 76.
Richard, duke of York	December 1436	M.& R., 73.n.147.
" " "	31 October 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1259.
Richard, duke of York, lately captain	14 February 1438	Add.Ch. 11,983.
Sir Andrew Ogard [1] Lieutenant: William Elton	7 January 1438	Ms.Fr. 25774/1292.
" Sir Thomas Fleming	November 1444	M.S.M., II, 176.
Sir Andrew Ogard	22 June 1448	Ms.Fr. 25778/1812.
" " "	25 September 1448 [2]	ibid., 1822.
Lieutenant: Sir Thomas Fleming	" "	" "
" Robert Whittingham	4 February 1450	Hunger, p. 15.
Surrendered to the French	1 July 1450	Ramsay, 110.

CARENTAN. [3]

Sir John Ashton	15 May 1421	Norman Rolls, 427.
Sir Nicholas Burdet [4]	Michaelmas 1424-1425	Add.Ch. 320.
" "	10 April 1426	Ibid., 101.
" "	14 June 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/510.

1. V. Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire, p. 82, states that Ogard was captain there from 1436 to 1446 or 1448.
2. The siege by the French was undertaken on 13 August 1449; the treaty of capitulation was signed three days later.
3. Surrendered to the English on 16 March 1418; Hardy, p. 300.
4. Also bailiff of the Cotentin.

CARENTAN (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Nicholas Burdet	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, II, 542.
" " "	8 November 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/1018.
Griffith Don	Before 12 May 1438	Clair 4305.
Sir Lewis Despoy	22 March 1438	Add. Ch. 193.
" " "	28 June - 29 September 1438	A.N. K64/23/3.
Sir James Fiennes	29 September - 28 December 1445	A.N. K68/18/5.
Hugh Spencer	fl. 1446	Butot, 31.
Mathew Gough and William Herbert[1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 625.

CAUDEBEC.[2]

Sir Lewis Robessart	23 January 1419	Norman Rolls, 708.
" " "	20 February 1421	Ibid., 406.
Lieutenant: James Fiennes	"	Ibid.
Sir Lewis Robessart	18 August 1421	Ibid., 433.
Lieutenant: James Fiennes	"	
Hugh Spencer	7 April 1422	Norman Rolls, 448.
Robert Morton	28 June 1422	Ibid., 450.
Sir John Robessart	fl. 1423	Butot, 36.
" " "	fl. 1424	Ibid.
" " "[3]	24 January 1427	Add.Ch. 3616.
Lieutenant: John Wilcher, esquire	"	
Sir John Robessart	3 December 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/438.
" " "	fl. 1430-31	Butot, 36.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, 542.
" " "	21 December 1435	Ms.Fr. 25773/1058.
John, Lord Talbot	14 January 1435	Ibid., 25772/1050.
Lieutenant: Fulk Eyton	14 January 1436-after March 1439	'Pollard', App. IV, 423.

1. Holding the garrison for James Fiennes, Lord Say. The chronicle of Mathieu d'Escouchy gives Sir Ralph Neville the captaincy in this year: Escouchy, I, 202.
2. The town surrendered on 7 September 1418: Norman Rolls, p.746.
3. Brother of Sir Lewis Robessart, on 28 March 1419 he was granted the castle of St. Sauveur le Vicomte and the seigneuries of Nehou and Auvers, which were still held by his son in 1449: L.Delisle, op.cit., pp.251-52.

CAUDEBEC (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Fulk Eyton, esquire	1437	Q.A.N., II, 66 n.3.
Fulk Eyton, esquire	29 September - 28 December 1439	Nortier, 124.
Fulk Eyton	26 January 1440	Nortier, 581.
" "	23 [illegible]ch 1441	A.N., K67/1/13.
" "	27 August 1442	Add.Ch. 8012.
" "	17 January 1446	[illegible].Ch. 200.
" "	8 March 1446	M.S.M., II, 195
" "	fl. 1448	Stevenson, I, 199.

Surrendered to the French by the treaty of capitulation, made atRouen on 29 October 1449.

CHATEAU GAILLARD.

A. Sir John de Roos	December 1419	Norman Rolls, 808.
A. Sir Alan Buxhull	3 April 1421	Ibid., 410.
A. Sir John de Clifford	31 July 1421	Ibid., 430.
Lieutenant: Thomas Gargrave	23 April 1422	Ibid., 447.
Sir Walter Hungerford	21 August 1422	Ibid., 452.
Sir William Bishopston	14 August 1427	Ms.Fr. 75968/252.
Lieutenant: William Fairford	"	
Sir William Bishopston	12 April 1429	Add.Ch. 11,624.
" "	11 December 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/443.
Sir Thomas Beaumond	16 March 1431	Add.Ch. 115.
" "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
" "	26 October 1434	Ms.Fr. 25772/908.
Lieutenant: John Nettal	"	
Sir Thomas Beaumond	fl. 1435	Stevenson, 434.
John, Lord Talbot	December 1435-	'Pollard', App. IV, 421.
Lieutenant: Thomas Curson	December 1436	
Sir Robert Roos	5 December 1436	M.& R., 134 n.296.

1. On 12 December 1431 Sir William Bishopston was pardoned, and his release from prison at Rouen ordered, for having lost this fort to the French through negligence; Le Cacheux, II, 157.

CHATEAU GAILLARD (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
A. Richard Curson ~~Lieutenant~~	1 February - 29 September 1437	Add.Ch. 132.
John, Lord Talbot	fl. 1438	Add.Ch. 11, 985.
Lately Lieutenant: Richard Curson	"	
Richard Curson, esquire	12 October 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1373.
Lieutenant: David Farinton	"	
John, Lord Talbot	27 December 1441	Ms.Fr. 25776/1550.
Lieutenant: Richard Goode	"	
Sir John Salvain	17 February 1444	Ms.Fr. 25777/1695.
Lieutenant: Edmund Cantok	"	
Sir John Salvain	fl. 1445	Q.A.N., II, 62 n.2.
" "	28 June 1448	B.N., N.A. 8602/35.
Lieutenant: Edmund Cantok	"	
Surrendered to the French on 23 November 1449		Ramsay, 100.

CHERBOURG.[1]

A. Sir Walter Hungerford	11 August 1418	Norman Rolls, 69
" "	21 May 1419	Ibid., 784.
" "	12 October 1419	Ibid., 328.
Lieutenant: Walter Charleton	"	
Sir Walter Hungerford	12 February 1420	French Rolls, 622.
Lieutenant: Walter Charleton	"	
John Stokes	"	
Griffith Dover	fl. 1424	Nortier, 533.
A. Sir Walter Hungerford	10 October 1430 - 1432	Add. Ch. 11,682.
John, duke of Bedford	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 541.
Lieutenant: Sir John Harpelay[2]	"	
Sir Robert Conyers	"	
Sir Robert Conyers	10 November 1435	Add.Ch. 11,881.
Sir Robert Conyers	19 December 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/1036.

---

1. Surrendered to the English on 22 August 1418: Norman Rolls, p. 746.
2. On 8 September 1434, the goods in Normandy of the late Sir John Harpelay, valued at 2,000 livres tournois, were granted to John, earl of Arundel: Le Cacheux, II, 386.

CHERBOURG (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Thomas, Lord Scales	28 July 1436	Add.Ch. 11,918.
Lieutenant: John Burgh	"	
Cardinal Beaufort	29 March 1437 - 28 June 1438 [1]	Add.Ch. 5832.
Lieutenant: Sir Henry Norbury	"	
Thomas Gower	2 September 1439	Ms.Fr. 25775/1430.
John, earl of Somerset	8 November 1439	French Rolls, 330.
Lieutenant: Thomas Gower	20 August 1445	M.S.M., II, 184.
Thomas Gower, esquire	12 August 1450 [2]	Stevenson, II, 634.

CONCHES.

A. Thomas, duke of Exeter	26 March 1420	Norman Rolls, 362.
" " "	9 August 1421	Ibid., 431.
Lieutenant: Geoffrey Aghton	3 September 1421	Ibid., 432.
" "	19 June 1422	Ibid., 450.
John Arthur, esquire	20 November 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/49.
" " "	20 June 1424	Add.Ch. 3577.
Richard Waller, esquire	fl. 1425-26	M.& R., 43.
" " "	Michaelmas 1428-29	Add.Ch. 107.
Michael Trenewith	pre-14 April 1431	Bonnin, 83-84.
Oliver Aderton [3]	14 April 1431	Ibid..
Mathew Gough	1 May 1451	Ms.Fr. 25769/590.
" "	10 July 1431	Add.Ch. 534.
Henry Standish	23 November 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/650.
" " esquire	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 545.
" " "	14 December 1434	Ms.Fr. 25772/922.
" " [4]	6 July 1435	Add.Ch. 11,859.

1. Another document names Richard, duke of York as captain on 30 June 1437, together with Sir Henry Norbury as his lieutenant: B.M., Add.Ch. 3810.
2. The surrender of Cherbourg on this date effectively marks the end of the English occupation of Normandy.
3. On 14 April 1431 Oliver Aderton was named vicomte and captain of Conches to replace Michael Trenewith, who was taken prisoner by the French at Louviers.
4. Said to be heading a company of supernumaries.

CONCHES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Richard Gethin	pre-c. September 1435	Add.Ch. 553.
Richard Burghill	c. September 1435	Ibid..
Edward Hull, esquire[1]	8 October 1436	Ms.Fr. 25774/1249
Sir Richard Gethin[2]	13 February 1437	Ibid. /1303.
" " "	7 November 1438	Ibid., 25775/1379.
Richard Burghill, esquire	21 November 1438	Ibid. /1380.
" " "	9 March 1439	Ibid. /1396.
Lieutenant: Christopher Chernok	12 October 1440[3]	Nortier, 583.
Thomas Picot	fl. 1442	Add.Ch. 469.
Sir Mondot de Lansac[4]	11 November 1444	A.N., K68/1/15.
Lieutenant: Robert Princethorp	17 May 1446	Add.Ch. 597.
John Flegge	1 July - 29 September 1447	Ms.Fr. 25777/1793.
Robert Princethorp[5]	1449-50	Stevenson, II, 619.

COUTANCES.[6]

Sir John Ashton[7]	15 May 1421	Norman Rolls, 427.
William, earl of Suffolk	pre-June 1423	
Lieutenant: Laurence Waren, esquire	"	M.S.M., I, 30.
Laurence Waren, esquire	June 1423	
Sir Laurence Waren	21 September 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/100.
Sir Ralph Neville	29 December 1425-29 March 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/139.
Sir Laurence Waren	24 September 1427	Ibid., 25769/259.

1. 'du corps du Roy'.
2. Bailiff of Evreux, he took over from Edward Hall.
3. Captured by the French in Autumn 1440; recovered by the English in 1442.
4. Lord of Lancsac. For him and for Guillaume, see Escouchy, II, 296.
5. Usually spelt 'Prynstrop'.
6. Surrendered to the English on 16 March 1418: Hardy, p. 296.
7. Bailiff of Cotentin.

COUTANCES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John, Lord Talbot	1 January 1428-September 1429	'Pollard', App.IV, 421.
Lieutenant: John Green	"	
John, Lord Talbot	6 March 1430	Ms.Fr., 25769/576.
Lieutenant: John Green	"	
John, Lord Talbot	Michaelmas 1433-1437	'Pollard', App.II, 422.
John, Lord Darcy	10 October 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1251.
Lieutenant: Thomas Chiseval[1]	"	
John, Lord Darcy	24 March 1438	A.N., K64/23/12.
Lieutenant: Richard Heyton	"	
John, Lord Darcy	23 June 1439	Ms.Fr. 25775/1415.
Lieutenant: Richard Heyton	"	
John, Lord Talbot	24 March 1440	Add.Ch. 12,089.
John, Lord Darcy	17 May 1441	Add.Ch. 16,258.
Sir William Oldhall	29 September - 28 December 1441	Add.Ch. 582.
" "	29 December 1441 - 29 March 1442	Ms.Fr. 25776/1553.
" "	1442	M.S.M., II, 171.
Lieutenant: Richard Curson, esquire	"	
Sir Theobald Gorges	31 December 1443	M.S.M., II, 171.
Lieutenant: Richard Curson	fl. 1444	Add.Ch. 478.
Sir Theobald Gorges	1 January - 31 March 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1705.
" "	20 May 1445	Ibid. /1709.
" "	12 November 1446	A.N., K68/18/28.
Lieutenant: Robert Nyther, esquire	"	
Sir Theobald Gorges	17 February 1448	M.S.M., II, 214.
Stephen Montfort[2]	1449-50	Blondel, 279.

1. At Paris on 24 April 1429, confirmation of the sale of lands of Sir Jean Briet, including the fief of Savigny and worth 300 livres tournois a year, was made to Thomas Chiseval, esquire, by four other Englishmen: Le Cacheux, II, 367.
2. Possibly Osbert Mundford.

CREIL.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir William Chamberlain	1 October 1436	Add.Ch. 129.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: Thomas Stones	pre-September 1438- December 1439	'Pollard', App.IV, 421.
Sir William Peyto	1 January 1440	Clair, 7138.
" "	fl. 1441	Ramsay, 36.
Peyto surrendered to the French on 25 May 1441		ibid..

CROTOY.[1]

Sir Ralph Butler	4 March 1424	Le Cacheux, II, 159.
" "	October 1424	Veyrat, 135.
" "	fl. 1430	Bouteiller, 10.
" " Lieutenant: Walter Cressoner,[2]	fl. 1435 "	Stevenson, II, 434.
Walter Cressoner, esquire	11 December 1435	C.P.R., 1429-36, 525.
" " "	12 December 1436- 18 August 1440	E404/56/161d.
" " "	23 November 1440	C.P.R., 1436-41,479.
Sir Thomas Kyriell	fl. 1440	E404/56/161d.
John Cherwyn[3]	20 April 1441	French Rolls, 346.
Henry, Lord Bourchier	November 1442	C.P.R., 1441-46, 129.
" " "	27 September 1449	E404/66/24.

1. The English laid siege to Crotoy by 24 June 1423. The fortress capitulated on 4 March 1424, when Sir Ralph Butler (who was also captain of Arques and bailiff of Rouen) became captain: Le Cacheux, II, 159 n.1.
2. The son (or brother) of William Cressoner, esquire, by 5 November 1427 he had married Margaret, widow of Richard le Scrope, lord of Bolton, and daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmorland (C.P.R., 1422-29, p.444; C.C.R., 1454-61, pp. 9-10). Walter probably died before the end of 1440, since there is no further mention of him in the records after 23 November in that year.
3. 'Vice Walter Cressoner deceased'.

DIEPPE.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir William Bourchier	12 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 730.
" "	1 May 1419	Ibid., 318.
Thomas Arblaster	28 January 1421	Ibid., 406.
" "	30 July 1421	Ibid., 427.
" "	3 September 1421	Ibid., 433.
" "	20 January 1422	French Rolls, 633.
" "	18 May 1422	Norman Rolls, 448.
Sir John Salvain	1 June 1424	Ms.Fr. 26767/77.
" "	f. 1424-29	Veyrat, 128.
" " , lately captain	19 October 1430	Add.Ch. 11,685.
" "	27 March 1431	Add.Ch. 7968.
Lieutenant: John Grayton	27 March 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/761
Sir William Peyto,[2] captain of la bastille before Dieppe	August 1443	C.P.R., 1441-46, 203.

DOMFRONT.[3]

Sir Humphrey Stafford	29 April 1419	Norman Rolls, 772.
A. Sir John Montgomery	20 October 1420	Le Cacheux, I, 216.
A. Hugh Stafford, Lord Bourchier	1 June 1423-1428	Ibid..
Thomas, Lord Scales	fl. 1429	Vire, 95.
" " "	6 June 1431	Add.Ch. 11,723
Lieutenant: John Breslaw	"	

1. The castle of Hotot and the town of Dieppe surrendered to the English under Thomas, duke of Exeter on 8 February 1419. Norman Rolls, p. 746.
2. Dieppe was retaken by the French in 1441, and in the spring of 1442 a nine-month siege of the port began, under the command of John, Lord Talbot, before the town was returned to the English.
3. Surrendered to the English on 10 July 1418. On 4 October 1418, Edmund, earl of March was appointed lieutenant and receiver-general of the bailiwick of Cotentin and of the lordship of Domfront. The appointment was short-lived, however, for the earl was dead two weeks later. Norman Rolls, pp. 700, 746.

DOMFRONT (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Thomas, Lord Scales	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
" " " [1]	fl. 1435	Ibid., 434.
" " " Lieutenant: Sir Theobald Gorges	fl. 1440	Gorges, 66.
Thomas, Lord Scales	6 October 1443	Add.Ch. 12,198.
" " "	25 September 1445	Ibid., 12,269.
" " " Lieutenant: Oliver Kathersby	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 633.

DREUX. [2]

Sir Gilbert Halsall [3]	3 September 1421	Norman Rolls, 432.
" " "	15 July 1422	French Rolls, 638.
" " "	20 June 1424	Add.Ch. 3577.
Thomas Picot, esquire	1 December 1429-28 February 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/469.
Sir William de Broullart	20 August 1431	Add.Ch. 11,728.
Sir Eustace Gaudin	18 March 1432	Ibid., 11,761.
Sir William de Broullart	Michaelmas 1433-1434	Stevenson, II, 542.
Sir Eustace Gaudin	1 January - 30 March 1435	Ms.Fr. 25773/1061.
Sir William de Broullart	20 January 1436	Add. Ch. 11,890.
" " "	10 November 1436	Add.Ch. 11,928.
" " " [4]	29 April 1438	Ibid., 11,992.

1. Thomas, Lord Scales was captain of Domfront for life by this date. In 1437 his wife, Ismania, daughter of John Walesborough, was living in Domfront castle. Hunger, Vire, p.100.
2. Usually held in conjunction with the captaincy of the tower of Dannemarche.
3. After Halsall's death, some of his lands in Normandy were granted to Hugh de Lannoy, seigneur de Santes, and were sold by him, along with the baronies of Coulonces and Tillières, to Mathew Gough on 6 September 1430. Le Cacheux, II, 374.
4. In September 1438, Dreux was recovered by the French. Frondeville, p. 34.

ESSAY.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Tiptoft	10 February 1418	Hardy, 245.
Sir William Oldhall	9 March 1425	Add.Ms. 41,567/262.
" " "	15 November 1425	Ibid., 41,567/260.
" " "	23 September 1427	Ms.Fr. 25769/258.
" " "	22 June 1428	Clair, 6846.
Sir Robert Harling	December 1429	M.& R., 104.
" " "	3 June 1431	Add.Ch. 182.
" " "[1]	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
Sir William Oldhall	18 September 1434	Ms.Fr. 25771/890.
" " "	April 1435	A.N., K64/1/2.
" " "	12 October 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1253.
"	8 December 1437	Ibid. /1281.
Sir Henry Redford	1 March 1438	Add.Ch. 11,984.
" " "	6 August 1438	Ibid., 12,004.
" "	30 December 1439	Ibid., 11,035.
" " "	7 December 1440	Ibid., 8005.
Lieutenant: Sir Roger Ingerland	23 March 1441	A.N. K67/1/9.
Sir William Oldhall	17 December 1444	Arch. de l'Orne, A416.
Sir Henry Redford	12 December 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1760.
" " "	24 September 1448	Ms.Fr. 25778/1821.
Sir Richard Frogenhall	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 624.

EU.[2]

Sir Gilbert Umfraville	12 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 730.

---

1. The captain was usually bailiff of Alencon as well - as were Sir Robert Harling, Sir William Oldhall, Sir Harry Redford and Richard Frogenhall.
2. Sir William Bourchier was granted the comté of Eu on 10 June 1419 (Norman Rolls, p. 789). The ~~xxxxxx~~ garrison had surrendered to Thomas, duke of Exeter on 9 February 1419.

EU (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Robert Pigot	15 January 1421	Ibid., 397.
John Stanlow, esquire	March 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/473.
" " "	1 October 1429	Ibid. /422.
" " "	1 June 1430	Add.Ch. 3663.
Sir John Montgomery	31 January 1436	M.& R., 73 n.147.
Sir John Cressy	1 February - 29 March 1436	Ms.Fr. 25772/938.

EVREUX.[1]

A. Sir Gilbert Halsall	18 September 1419	Norman Rolls, 325.
" " "	23 May 1421	Ibid., 427.
" " "	3 September 1421	Ibid., 432.
Lieutenant: Thomas Keen	19 June 1422	Ibid., 450.
" " "	28 August 1422	Ibid., 452.
Sir Gilbert Halsall	15 July 1422	French Rolls, 638.
John Harpelay, esquire	Michaelmas 1423-24	Add.Ch. 90.
Richard Waller, esquire	12 September 1427	Ms.Fr. 2576/256.
" " "	29 June - 28 September 1428	M.& R., 105 n.234.
Sir John Radcliff	1 January - 1 March 1429	Ms.Fr. 25769/462.
Thomas Gower	2 March - 12 June 1429	Ibid. /509.
Sir James Fiennes	30 January 1430	Ibid. /567.
Sir John Radcliff the younger	Michaelmas 1430	Add.Ch. 179.
Sir Thomas Beaumond	15 May 1431	Ms.Fr. 25769/593.

1. Surrendered to the English on 20 May 1418: Norman Rolls, p. 746. Again, the captain of the town usually filled the office of bailiff of Evreux - as did Sir John Radcliff, Sir Gilbert Halsall, Richard Waller, Thomas Gower, Sir Roland Standish, George Rigmaiden and Sir Nicholas Burdet.

EVREUX (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Richard Harington	7 November 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/639.
" " "	4 November 1432	Ibid. /732.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 542.
Sir Roland Standish	6 November 1434	Add.Ch. 188.
" " "	15 August 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/976.
George Rigmaiden Lieutenant: Thomas Stones	24 October 1435 22 September 1436	Add.Ch. 11,876. A.N., K64/10/14.
Sir Nicholas Burdet	December 1436	M.& R., 110.
" " "	4 January 1437	Add.Ch. 11,929.
William Neville, Lord Fauconberg	10 March 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1397.
" " " "	20 September 1438	Ibid. /1361.
" " " "	9 December 1438	Ibid. /1384.
Taken by the French in September 1441.		Ramsay, 40.

EXMES.[1]

Sir Richard Gethin	29 July 1425	Add.Ms. 41,567 f.258.
Henry Standish	15 March 1430	Hunger, 18.
" "[2]	fl. 1430	Du Motey, 123.
Thomas Burgh, esquire[3]	fl. 1432	Ibid..
John Gray, esquire	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
Sir John Gray	13 July 1436	Add.Ch. 11,915.
" " "	29 September 1436- 29 June 1437	Ibid., 130.
" " "	12 March 1439	Ibid., 12,018.
Sir Henry Redford Lieutenant: Robert Tresse	27 February 1440 "	Ibid., 11,038.

---

1. Surrendered to the English on 18 October 1417: Motey, op.cit., p. 121.
2. Under the orders of William, earl of Suffolk.
3. He was dead before 12 February 1433, probably at Exmes. Motey, op.cit., p. 121.

EXMES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John Baker, esquire James Abandon, esquire	29 September - 31 December 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1488.
Jenkin Cloud	31 July 1445	Add. Ch. 12,262.
Jenkin Baker, esquire) James Abandon, esquire)	29 March - 28 June 1448	Arch. de l'Orne, A412.
Jenkin Baker	fl. 1449[1]	Stevenson, II,624.

FALAISE.[2]

Henry, Lord Fitzhugh	21 April 1418	Le Cacheux, II, 90.
" " "	28 November 1420	Add.Ch. 80.
" " "	6 March 1422	Norman Rolls, 438.
Thomas, earl of Salisbury Lieutenant: Thomas Offord[3]	December 1422-1424 12 March 1423	Le Cacheux, II, 90. Ms.Fr. 25767/33.
Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick	15 December 1426	Ms.Fr. 25768/262.
" " " "	1 January 1427	Ibid. /270.
Thomas, earl of Salisbury Lieutenant: Sir Robert Conyers	fl. 1428	Le Cacheux, II, 90.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: Thomas Gower	8 November 1428 - September 1429	B.N., P.O. 2787/4.
Sir Thomas Kingston	15 December 1429	Ms.Fr. 25769/445.
John, duke of Bedford	Michaelmas 1430	Le Cacheux, II, 90.
" " " Lieutenant: Sir Thomas Kingston	14 April 1431	Add.Ch. 11,710.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Sir Thomas Kingston	12 June 1432	Add.Ch. 11,768.
John, duke of Bedford Lieutenant: Sir Thomas Kingston	12 June 1433	M.S.M., II, 18.
" " "	25 May 1435	Add.Ch. 550.
" " "	11 September 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1226.

1. The French laid siege to the town on 30 September 1449, and Exmes surrendered two weeks later on 14 October 1449.
2. Surrendered to the English on 1 February 1418: Hardy, p. 308.
3. Or 'of the Ford'.

FALAISE (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John, Lord Talbot	1 January 1438	Ms.Fr. 26064/3406.
Lieutenant: Richard Gower	post- September 1439	'Pollard', App. IV, 421.
John, earl of Somerset	29 December 1439-28 March 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1506.
" " "	26 September 1441	Hunger, 14 n.1.
Lieutenant: Sir Richard Harington		
John, earl of Somerset	29 September 1443-29 June 1444	A.N., K68/1/6.
Richard, duke of York	29 December 1445-29 March 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1728.
Lieutenant: Richard Good	11 October 1446	Add.Ch. 4020.
" " "	29 November 1447	Ms.Fr. 25778/1800.
John, earl of Shrewsbury	f. 1448	Stevenson, II, 633.
Lieutenant: Thomas Eton	"	
Thomas Elys	"	
John, earl of Shrewsbury	fl. 1449	Hall, 216.
Lieutenant: Thomas Eton	"	
" Andrew Trollop	"	
Surrendered to the French on 11 July 1450.		Ramsay, 11D.

FRESNAY-le-VICONTE.

A. Sir Robert Brent	11 January 1421	Norman Rolls, 387.
Sir Alan Buxhull	15 June 1422	Ibid., 442.
William Glasdale[1]	1 January-31 March 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/208.
" "	February 1429	M.& R., 109.
Sir William Oldhall	December 1429-31 March 1430	Ibid., 104.
Sir John Fastolf	November 1431	Ibid., 69.
Thomas Burgh	10 December 1431	Add.Ch. 11,748.
Sir John Fastolf	November 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/734.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
" " "	22 July 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/964.

1. Bailiff of Alencon killed at Orleans in 1428.

7.

A.N.,

Mundford 35%.

62%.

GAVRAY (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Hugh Spencer	fl. 1146	Butot, 31.
Lieutenant: Thomas Chisevall	30 November 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1758.
Andrew Trollope	May-June 1447	French Rolls, 373.
" " [1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 626.

GERBEROY.

William Corawen	fl. 1440	Escouchy, II, 495.
Sir James Ormond	8 October 1441	Add.Ch. 3920.
Sir William Chamberlain	4 February 1442	Ms.Fr. 25776/1613.
(John) Harper	fl. 1448	Monstrelet, VIII, 442.
(William) Harper	fl. 1448-49	Hall, 212.
(-) Harper [2]	1450	Stevenson, II, 619.

GISORS. [3]

Richard, Lord Abergavenny	10 October 1419	Norman Rolls, 802.
Richard Wydeville	18 April 1421	Ibid., 425.
Lieutenant: John Jaquemin	4 May 1421	Ibid.
" " "	22 September 1421	Norman Rolls, 433.
John Burgh	8 May 1422	Ibid., 448.
Richard Merbury, esquire	1423-25	Escouchy, II, 535.
" " "	2 August 1423	Nortier, 527.
" " "	1 September 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/25.

---

1. For Thomas, Lord Scales,
2. Probably William; see Gournay.
3. The captaincy was sometimes held in conjunction with the office of bailiff of Gisors: See John Burgh, Sir John Salvain, Sir Richard Merbury.

GISORS (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Salvain	fl. 1427	Stevenson, II, 71.
John, earl of Huntingdon	15 January 1430	Add.Ch. 3681.
Edmund, count of Mortain	20 June 1430	Ibid., 3666
" " "	30 August 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/517.
John, earl of Huntingdon	15 January 1431	Stevenson, II, 425.
Sir Thomas Kyriell	Michaelmas 1433-34	Ibid., 544.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: Sir Thomas Hoo " Henry Standish	16 May 1434 - September 1438 12 February 1437	'Pollard', App. IV, 421. Ms.Fr. 25774/1307.
Thomas Gerard	23 May 1439	Add.Ch. 12,019.
" "	5 October 1439	Ibid., 447.
Richard Burghill	2 July 1441	Ibid., 12,095.
William Corawen	fl. 1443	Escouchy, II, 495.
" "	13 February 1444	Ms.Fr. 25777/1694.
John Washbourne Lieutenant: William Routh	29 September 1444	Ms.Fr. 26295/878.
Sir Richard Merbury	fl. 1448	Escouchy, II, 535.
" " "	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 622.

GOURNAY.[1]

	John, Earl Marshall	12 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 750.
	John, earl of Huntingdon	13 February 1419	Ibid.
A.	Sir John Grey de Ruthin	23 December 1420	Ibid., 384.
	Sir Reginald Grey de Ruthin Lieutenant: John Merbury, esquire	3 October 1423 20 September 1425	Ms.Fr. 25767/36. Le Cacheux, II, 335.

1. Surrendered to the English under Thomas, duke of Clarence on 9 February 1419. Norman Rolls, p. 746.

GOURNAY. (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John, earl of Huntingdon	15 January 1430	Add.Ch. 3681.
" " "	20 June 1430	Ibid..
Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain [1]	fl. 1430	Ibid., 6841.
John, earl of Huntingdon	15 January 1431	Stevenson, 425-26.
Sir Thomas Kyriell	14 December 1432	Le Cacheux, II, 224.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
" " " Lieutenant: Walter Bennett [2]	24 August 1435	Add. Ch. 11,873.
Sir Thomas Kyriell	3 November 1439	Eg.Ch. 184.
William Corawen	26 October 1440	Add.Ch. 12,073.
Sir James Ormond	8 October 1441	Add.Ch. 3920.
Sir William Chamberlain	22 December 1444-1445	Ibid., 12,234.
William Corawen	28 August 1446	Ibid., 149.
" "	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 622.
Surrendered to the French	September 1449	Ramsay, 97.

HARCOURT. [3]

Henry Verney	18 April 1421	Norman Roll, 425.
Sir Thomas Blount	13 May 1430	Add.Ch. 7962 ~~Ms.Fr. 25769/515~~
" " "	11 July 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/515
Edmund, earl of Mortain Lieutenant: Simkin Waller	17 October 1440	Stevenson, II, 309.
Richard Frogenhall, esquire [4] Lieutenant: Adam Hilton	16 February 1442 6 September 1447	Add.Ch. 12,123. Eg. Ch. 207.

---

1. Holding the title of 'governor' of Gisors, Gournay and Neufchâtel. B.M., Add.Ch. 3666.
2. lieutenant particulier.
3. Surrendered to Thomas, duke of Clarence on 9 March 1419. Norman Rolls, p. 680.
4. Bailiff of Alençon in 1442, 1444, 1448-49.

HARCOURT (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Richard Progenhall, esquire	18 December 1448	Ms.Fr. 25778/1827.
Sir " "	fl. 1449	Blondel, 273.
? Lieutenant: John Worcester	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 622.
Surrendered to the French in September 1449		Ramsay, 97.

HARFLEUR.[1]

Thomas, earl of Dorset	18 October 1416	French Rolls, 585.
Lieutenant: Sir Hugh Lutterell	9 February 1418	Ibid., 699.
" " " "	15 August 1418	Norman Rolls, 716.
" " " "	21 March 1419	Ibid., 758.
Sir John Grey	20 January 1420	Ibid., 339.
A. Sir Ralph Cromwell	3 April 1421	Ibid., 410.
Lieutenant: Henry Mulso	2 May 1421	Ibid., 426.
Sir Ralph Cromwell	9 June 1421	E101/50/9.
A. Sir William Philip	28 July 1421	Norman Rolls, 415.
Lieutenant: John Limbury	8 October 1421	Ibid., 433.
Simon Flete	8 November 1421	Ibid., 433.
Sir William Philip	5 December 1421	French Rolls, 631.
William Minors, esquire	15 May 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/16.
" " "	6 January 1429	Add.Ch. 366.
" " "	10 April 1430	P.P.C., IV, 45.
" " "	22 June 1431	Bonnin, 96.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34[2]	Stevenson, II, 545.
John, Lord Talbot	November 1440 -	'Pollard', App. IV,
Lieutenant: Thomas Everingham	1 January 1450	422.
Sir William Zouche;	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 629.
Thomas Everingham 3		

1. 'The principal key to France', captured by Henry V on 23 September 1415; under siege from May until 15 August 1417, when John, duke of Bedford relieved the town.
2. In 1438 Harfleur was captured by the French. At the end of April 1440, John, earl of Somerset and John, Lord Talbot were put in charge of siege operations against the town, which held out for seven months before surrendering to the English. Q.A.N., p. 66 n.4.
3. On 8 December 1449, Charles VII himself laid siege to Harfleur, which capitulated on 1 January 1450. Ibid.

HONFLEUR.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
William Driby	15 January 1421	French Rolls, 633.
A. Walter Inkburgh	3 April 1421	Norman Rolls, 410.
" "	19 May 1421	Ibid., 427.
Robert Hilliard	18 June 1422	Ibid., 450.
William Pitzharry	25 September 1425	Ms.Fr. 25767/30.
" "	6 November 1425	Add.Ch. 11,507.
Sir John Fastolf	March-June 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/154.
" "	24 August 1426	Ms.Fr. 25768/255.
" " "	16 June 1428	Ibid. /284.
Cardinal Beaufort	30 March 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/569.
William Minors	27 April 1431	Add. Ch. 11,713.
Cardinal Beaufort Lieutenant: John Cherwyn	7 November 1431	Ibid., 11,749.
Cardinal Beaufort Lieutenant: John Cherwyn	Michaelmas 1433-34 3 January 1437	Stevenson, II, 541. Ms.Fr. 25774/1291.
Cardinal Beaufort	24 March 1437	Ibid. /1312.
Richard, earl of Warwick Lieutenant: Sir William Mountford	3 April 1438 17 April 1438 fl. 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1403. Ibid., 25774/1318; Add.Ch. 11,980.
Richard Curson	August 1443	C.P.R., 1441-46, 203.
A. Richard Curson	June 1444-45	Add.Ch. 12,219.
" "	18 February 1450[2]	Ramsay, I, 104.

LE MANS.

Sir John Fastolf Lieutenant: Mathew Gough	10 October - 31 December 1434	P.R., XXI, 37.

1. Surrendered to the English on 25 February 1419. Norman Rolls, p. 746.
2. The town surrendered to the French on this date.

Le MANS (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Fastolf Lieutenant: Thomas Gower	1 January- 30 September 1435	P.L., I, 37.
Edmund, marquess of Dorset Lieutenant: Osbert Mundford [1]	23 September 1447	Ramsay, I, 96.

LISIEUX.

A. John Kirkby	13 August 1422	Norman Rolls, 445.
Nicholas Burdet	27 January 1430	Frondeville, 42.
Thomas Redhugh	6 September 1430- 2 October 1435	Ibid., 42-47.
Sir William Bucton	19 May 1436- 29 October 1438	Ibid., 47-49.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	26 September 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1242.
John Stanlow, esquire	1 November 1438- 18 December 1439	Frondeville, 49-51.
Lieutenant: Hugh Stanlow	24 August 1439	Ibid., 50.
John, Lord Talbot	25 September 1440- 28 June 1441	Ibid., 51.
Griffith Don, esquire	6 November 1441	Ibid., 52.
" " "	13 September 1442	
Griffith Don, esquire, lately captain	18 January 1443	Ibid., 53.
Sir John Cressy Lieutenant: Thomas Redhugh	29 June 1444	Q.A.N., II, 71.
Sir John Salvain	fl. 1445	Q.A.N., II, 62 n.2.
Sir William Oldhall	25 September 1445	Frondeville, 55.
John Wingfield, esquire	27 May 1446	Ibid., 56.
John Clay, esquire [2]	16 November 1446	Ibid., 57-58.
" " "	26 February 1447	
" " "	26 February 1448 [3]	

1. Finally handed over to the French on 16 March 1448, Ramsay, 84.
2. Bailiff of Evreux.
3. Surrendered to the French in August 1449.

LISIEUX (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Bishop and John le Muet [1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 619.

LOUVIERS.

A. Degary Gamel	15 January 1421	Norman Rolls, 388.
A. Sir John Kighley [2]	8 April 1421	Ibid., 410.
" " "	28 December 1421	Ibid., 436.
Sir William de Lansac	fl. 1423	Nortier, 528.
Sir Godfrey Hilton, banneret	9 March 1423 [3]	Ms.Fr. 25767/64.

MANTES.

John Grey, count of Tancarville	1 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 723.
A. Edmund, earl of March	17 August 1419	Ibid., 792.
A. Sir John de Roos	15 January 1421	Ibid., 386.
A. Sir Richard Lowick	15 April 1421	Ibid., 426.
" " "	26 February 1422	Ibid., 438.
Sir Philip Branch	May 1423	M.& R., 55 n.116.
Edward Macwilliam [4]	1 October 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/35.
Sir William Bucton	3 January 1424	Ibid. /116.

---

1. I.e. the Bishop of Lisieux and Jean le Muet, vicomte d'Orbec.
2. Bailiff of Rouen.
3. In December 1429, the French under their captain, La Hire, took Louviers from the English by escalade. At the end of May 1431 the English organised a siege distinguished by being under the command of several capitaines expérimentes who included ThomasBeaufort, county of Perche, and his brother Edmund, count of Mortain, Thomas, Lord Scales, Robert, Lord Willoughby and Mathew Gough. The French garrison surrendered on 25 October 1431, and the town and its inhabitants were severely treated by the victorious English. Le Cacheux, II, 157. It was recaptured by the French in 1440.
4. The post of bailiff of Mantes was usually held by the captain; see Sir William Bucton, Sir John Hanford, Sir Richard Gethin, Sir Thomas Hoo.

MANTES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Hanford	11 December 1430	Add.Ch. 379.
" " "	fl. 1432	M.& R., 164 n.234.
Sir Richard Gethin	21 September 1432	Eg.Ch. 165.
" " "	30 March 1436	Add.Ch. 11,901.
" " "	26 February 1437	Ibid., 11,013.
" " "	7 November 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1262.
Sir Thomas Hoo	9 December 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1382.
" " "	9 April 1439	Ibid. /1417.
Sir Ralph Grey	pre-22 December 1442	Add.Ch. 12,163.
Sir Thomas Hoo	22 December 1442	Ibid.,
Thomas, Lord Hoo Lieutenant: Saintbarbe [1]	September 1449	Stevenson, II, 621. Blondel, 266.

MEAUX en BRIE.

Richard, earl of Warwick	pre-1430	G.E.C., XII, ii, 378.
" " "	fl. 1435	Stevenson, II, 434.
Sir William Chamberlain	1 October 1436	Add.Ch. 129.
John Nanfan	January 1438 [1]	Clair, II, 347.
" "	fl. 1440-41	E404/57/157.

MEULAN.

A. Sir Thomas Rempston Lieutenant: George Nesafield	22 November 1419 19 May 1421	Norman Rolls, 807. Ibid., 427.

1. Probably Richard.
2. Meaux was taken by French assault in August 1439 and not recovered until 1440. P.P.C., V, 384. The English held out in the market-place of the town until 13 September.

MEULAN (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Thomas Rempston	11 August 1421	Ibid., 431.
Lieutenant: William Driby	30 August 1422	Ibid., 452.
John Stuart	8 April 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/13.
Thomas, earl of Salisbury	22 September 1427	M.& R., 129; Add.Ch. 7945.
Sir Thomas Kingston	27 February 1429	Add.Ch. 11,615.
Sir Henry Norbury	14 February 1430	Vire, 106.
Sir Richard Merbury	24 March 1430	M.& R., 115.
" " "	14 April 1431	Add.Ch. 11,711.
John, duke of Bedford	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
" " "	25 May 1435	Add.Ch. 550.
Sir Richard Merbury	8 July 1435 [1]	Eg.Ch. 172.
Sir Thomas Rempston the younger	fl. 1447	C67/39 m.9.

MONTIVILLIERS. [2]

A. Clement Overton	12 April 1420	Norman Rolls, 367.
" "	2 July 1421	Ibid., 427.
" "	24 September 1433	Add.Ch. 7937.
" "	Michaelmas 1426-27	Ibid., 175.
" "	12 September 1430-33	Ibid., 11,675.
" "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, 545.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: John Payne	November 1440- 19 October 1449	'Pollard', App.IV, 422.
Thomas Everingham [3]	26 February 1448	Hellot, 119.

Surrendered by the treaty of capitulation, made at Rouen on 29 October 1449.

---

1. By March 1444 the town was in the hands of the French under Pierre Jaillet, who received 4,400 saluts d'or for the ransom of the English captain, Sir John Hanford. B.M., Add.Ch. 12,211.
2. Surrendered to the English on 23 January 1419. Norman Rolls, p. 746.
3. bailli de Caux, maire de Harefleur et capitaine de Moustiervillier.

NEUFCHATEL en BRAY.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Gilbert Umfraville	2 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 731.
John Marshall[2]	12 February 1419	Ibid., 730.
A. Sir Richard Walksted	20 January 1421	Ibid., 397.
" " "	5 September 1421	Ibid., 433.
Sir Nicholas Burdet	8 May 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/71.
Edmund, count of Mortain Lieutenant: Merwus Medecros	8 October 1429	Ms.Fr. 25769/428.
Edmund, count of Mortain	20 June 1430	Add.Ch. 3666.
Sir Thomas Kyriell	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: Sir William Peyto	16 May 1434 - before March 1436	B.N., P.O. 2787/9. 'Pollard', App.IV, 422.
John, Lord Talbot	14 April 1437	A.N., K64/12/1.
" " "	3 January 1438	Add.Ch. 11,976.
" " " Lieutenant: John Wake	Before March 1437- after March 1439	'Pollard', App.IV, 422.
Griffith Don, esquire Lieutenant: Thomas Howell	30 March 1438- 28 June 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1395.
Griffith Don, esquire	29 September- 29 December 1440	Ibid. /1487.
" " " Lieutenant: Adam Hilton	18 January 1441 January-12 April 1448	A.N., K67/1/7. Add.Ms. 11,509/61.
Adam Hilton, esquire	fl. 1449[3]	Stevenson, II, 622.
Surrendered to the French on 27 October 1449		Ramsay, 97.

ORBEC.[4]

John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: James Standish, esquire	23 March 1441	A.N., K67/1/14.

---

1. Not to be confused with Neufchâtel de Lincourt, which belonged to Richard, duke of York and was held from 29 June 1444 to 29 June 1445 by Edmund Mulso. A.N., K68/1/9.
2. John Mowbray.
3. Monder de Lansac is also mentioned as captain of Neufchâtel at an unknown date. Escouchy, II, 525.
4. The vicomtés of Orbec and elsewhere were granted to Richard, duke of York before 28 January 1445. Frondeville, op.cit., p. 5.

ORBEC (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
James Standish, esquire	15 October 1441	A.N., K67/1/54.
" " "	25 February 1443	A.N., K67/12/5.
Sir John Cressy Lieutenant: William Hetson	29 June 1444-45	Q.A.N., 71, 73.
Sir William Oldhall	25 September 1445	B.N., P.O. 2138, Oldhal no.18.
William Routh, esquire	19 December 1445	A.N., K68/12/22.
William Routh, lately captain	31 August 1446	Ms.Fr. 26075/5539.
John Clay, esquire	16 November 1446	Ibid. /5597.
" " "	29 September - 29 December 1447	Ms.Fr. 25778/1805.

PONT de l'ARCHE.

Lieutenant: Sir Maurice Bruin	23 February 1421	Norman Rolls, 408.
A. Sir Maurice Bruin	3 April 1421	Ibid., 410.
A. Sir John Kighley	10 April 1421	Ibid.
William Crafford	8 October 1421	Ibid., 432.
Thomas Masterson	fl. 1421	Bouquet, 67 n.2.
Sir John Beauchamp	21 January 1422	Ms.Fr. 25767/8.
Thomas Masterson	14 February 1422	Norman Rolls, 438.
" "	7 April 1422	Ibid., 448.
Sir John Beauchamp	12 June 1424	Ms.Fr. 25771/862.
" " "	December 1425	Add.Ch. 11,552.
" " "	12 October 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/425.
A. Robert, Lord Willoughby Lieutenant: Thomas Willoughby	31 October 1429 17 March 1430	Add.Ch. 178. Ms.Fr. 25769/475.

PONT de l'ARCHE.(Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Robert, Lord Willoughby Lieutenant: Sir William Chamberlain	28 May 1430 18 June 1431	Add.Ch. 11,660 Add.Ch. 11,725.
Robert, Lord Willoughby Lieutenant: William Lindley	22 January 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/753.
John, Lord Talbot; Robert, Lord Willoughby	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 541, 545
Robert, Lord Willoughby	29 March-29 June 1434	Ms.Fr. 25772/955.
John, earl of Arundel Lieutenant: Philip Chetwynd, esquire	29 April 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/942, 949.
Sir John Beauchamp	fl. 1435	Stevenson, II, 434.
Sir Bernard de Montferrant	14 June 1435	A.N., K64/1/8.
A. " " "	19 June 1435	Add.Ch. 554.
" " " Lieutenant: Richard Burghill	22 October 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/1010.
Sir Bernard de Montferrant	fl. 1436	Add.Ch. 11,894.
Robert, Lord Willoughby Lieutenant: John Andicaux	18 May 1436	Ibid., 11,912.
Louis, of Luxembourg, chancellor of France Lieutenant: Richard Thornes	17 February 1437	Add.Ch. 7989.
Sir John Beauchamp	20 March 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1311.
lately lieutenant: Richard Thornes Lieutenant: Adam Hilton	26 February 1439 12 May 1439	Add.Ch. 12,016. Add.Ch. 197.
Louis of Luxembourg Lieutenant: Adam Hilton	fl. 1440	Escouchy, II, 518.
John Chestawe	31 January 1444	Add.Ch. 12,208.
Adam Hilton	29 June 1444	Ibid., 141.
" "	fl. 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1711.
Richard, duke of York Lieutenant: John Wake	21 February 1445	Ibid. /1731.

PONT de l'ARCHE (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Edmund Mulso, esquire	24 November 1445	Ibid. /1722.
" " "	29 December 1445-29 March 1446	Ibid. /1727.
Lieutenant: Thomas Mulso	27 January 1446	B.N., P.O. 2080 m.15.
" " "	23 November 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1756.
Richard, duke of York Lieutenant: Thomas Mulso [1]	30 March-28 June 1448	B.N., P.O. 2080 m.22.
lately lieutenant: Thomas Mulso	23 August 1448	Ibid., m.24.

PONTAUDEMER. [2]

John Pennington, esquire	14 March 1441	A.N., K67/1/7.
Fulk Eyton	before 22 November 1443	Blondel, 69.
Edmund Mulso, esquire	29 September-28 December 1444	Ms.Fr. 25777/1689.
" " "	29 December 1444-29 March 1445	Ibid. /1704.
John Water	29 December 1444-29 March 1445	Ibid. /1690.
Sir John Salvain [3]	18 March 1445	Add.Ch. 4016.
Edmund Mulso, esquire	29 May-28 June 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1717.
Sir John Salvain	29 September-28 December 1445	A.N. K68/18/12.
Lieutenant: John Delcane	8 March 1446	A.N., K68/18/12.
Fulk Eyton	August 1449 [4]	Blondel, 69-75.

---

1. Both Richard of York and Thomas Mulso were absent, the latter presumably with the duke in England.
2. Granted to Thomas, duke of Clarence for life on 26 February 1418. A. Carel, Histoire de la ville de Pont-Audemer (Pont Audemer, 1885), p. 86.
3. Bailiff of Rouen. Sir John Salvain, of Thorp Salvain in Yorkshire, occupied this post from 1422 to 6 June 1430, and from 17 December 1431 until his death at the end of April 1449. Veyrat, op.cit., pp. 133-36.
4. Surrendered to the French in August 1449. Blondel, op.cit., p. 75.

PONT d'OUVE.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
William Fortescue, esquire, succeeded by John Fortescue, esquire	fl. 1415	Pont d'Ouve, 14.
David Howell, esquire	fl. 1417	Ibid., 15.
A. William Rothelane, esquire	21 May 1418-1423	Norman Rolls, 686; Pont d'Ouve, 15.
" " "	10 September 1423	Ibid., 17.
" " "	26 March 1426	Add.Ch. 172.
John Fitzsimon, esquire	6 December 1427	Pont d'Ouve, 19.
John Yerd	6 November 1431	Add.Ch. 11,746.
" "	26 March 1432	Ibid., 764.
" "	24 February 1432	Pont.d'Ouve, 20.
Sir John Van Zieberg	29 September 1433-36	Ibid., 21.
" " "	28 February 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1306.
Hugh Spencer, esquire	29 June - 28 September 1439	Pont d'Ouve, 22.
John Norbury, esquire	30 March 1440	Ibid., 22.
" " "	29 September 1441-42	Ibid., 23.
Thomas Appleton, esquire[1]	19 December 1440	Ibid., 24.
Dycan of Chatreton	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 625.

PONT l'EVEQUE.

Robert Saltmarsh	14 November 1423-29 September 1424	Add.Ch. 92.

---

1. In 1443 Thomas Appleton was farmer of the fief de Mary, held by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Pont d'Ouve, op.cit., p. 25.

PONT l'EVEQUE (Contd).

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John Flegge	3 March 1441	B.N., P.O., 26,490 m.2.
" "	20 March 1442	Ms.Fr. 25776/1619.
" "	29 March 1443	Add.Ch. 474.
Sir John Cressy Lieutenant: Thomas Kirkeby	29 June 1444	Q.A.N., 71, 73.
Sir William Oldhall	29 June 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1713.
William Routh	29 September- 29 December 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1721.
James, earl of Wiltshire Lieutenant: Otes Amour	20 January 1446	A.N., K.68/18/4.
James, earl of Wiltshire Lieutenant: Otes Amour	7 December 1446 15 November 1447	A.N., K68/18/30; 35. Add.Ch. 607.
Surrendered to the French	August 1449	Ramsay, 96.

POISSY.

A. Sir William Tirwhit	18 January 1421	Norman Rolls, 397.
" " " [1]	11 August 1421	Ibid., 431.
Sir Robert Harling	2 November 1428	Ms.Fr. 25768/309.
Sir Louis d'Espoire	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
John, Lord Talbot Lieutenant: Richard Bolt	pre-May 1435- January 1436	'Pollard', App. IV, 423.

PONTOISE.

Sir Gilbert Umfraville	2 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 730.
A. John, earl of Huntingdon	1 August 1419	Ibid., 791.
A. Thomas, duke of Clarence	17 August 1419	Ibid., 792.

---

1. Bailiff of Mantes.

PONTOISE (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
John, Earl Marshal	26 January 1421	Ibid., 396.
" " "	2 June 1422	Ibid., 448.
William Appleby [1]	8 April 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/13.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	1 March 1429	Add.Ch. 10,973.
" " "	14 November 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/434.
Lieutenant: John Rippley, esquire	21 March 1430	Add.Ch. 96,234.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	13 June 1430	Add. Ch. 11,663.
" " "	10 March 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/684.
Sir Richard Merbury	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
Lieutenant: James Bolron	29 December 1434-29 March 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/937.
Sir Richard Merbury	fl. 1435	Stevenson, II, 436.
Thomas Gerard, lately captain	September 1435	Add.Ch. 553
John, Lord Talbot	"	"
Robert, Lord Willoughby	29 December 1435-29 March 1436	M.& R., 106 n.236.
Henry Standish	2 January 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1289.
" "	6 January 1438	Hunger, 18.
Robert, Lord Willoughby	30 March-28 June 1438	Ms.Fr. 25774/1333
John, Lord Talbot	Before June 1439-2 October 1439	'Pollard', App.IV., 422.
Sir John Stanlow	27 September 1439 [2]	Add.Ch. 12,038.
Lieutenant: Gervase Clifton	fl. 1440	Hall, 191.

1. A rent of £450 was in the hands of Simon Othinger, esquire, in 1438. He had been granted it following some undescribed misdeed committed by William Appleby. Le Cacheux, II, 373.
2. Pontoise was captured by the French early in 1440, retaken by the English the same year, but it finally fell to the French again on 19 September 1441. Hall, op.cit., pp. 191-92. This was the last stronghold of the English in the Ile de France. Of the defenders, Sir Nicholas Burdet was killed and John, Lord Clinton captured.

PONTORSON.

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Grey of Ruthin [1]	pre-9 April 1419	Norman Rolls, 764.
John, earl of Arundel	9 April 1419	Ibid.
A. William, earl of Suffolk	12 June 1419	Ibid., 788.
" " "	26 January 1421	Ibid., 398.
" " "	27 March 1422	Vire, 75.
Thomas Burgh, esquire	22 October 1423	Le Cacheux, I, 400.
John, Lord Talbot	May-September 1427 [2]	'Pollard', App.IV, 422.
Thomas, Lord Scales	24 March 1428	Ms.Fr. 25768/365.
" " "	4 June 1428	Add.Ch. 520.
" " "	18 September 1428	M.& R., 136 n.289.

REGNÉVILLE.

A. John Cheyne	21 June 1419	Norman Rolls, 788.
Sir Walter Hungerford	1 January-28 September 1423	Add. Ch. 573.
Walter, Lord Hungerford	1 October 1430 - 31 September 1432	Add.Ch. 11,682.
John Burgh	18 March 1433	Ibid., 11,796.
" "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
Hugh Stanlow [3]	8 June 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/952.
William, earl of Suffolk	28 February 1438	M.S.M., II, 110.
Lieutenant: Thomas Picot, esquire		
" " " "	29 June-28 September 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1365.
Lieutenant: Ralph Walsh	19 September 1438	Ibid. /1363.

1. Son of Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin.
2. Retaken by the French, Richard, earl of Warwick conducted a successful siege which lasted from 27 February to 8 May 1427. Le Cacheux, II, 33.
3. Bailliff of Cotentin.

REGNÉVILLE (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
William, earl of Suffolk Lieutenant: Thomas Picot	22 December 1438	Ibid. /1385.
John, earl of Somerset	26 April 1439	Add.Ch. 3878.
Laurence Rainford, esquire	19 April 1443	B.N., N.A. 8602/29.
Sir William Oldhall	24 December 1443	Ms.Fr. 25777/1666
William Minors, esquire	5 February 1444	Ibid. /1693.
Owen Tudor, esquire	29 September-28 December 1444; 23 May 1446	A.N., K68/12/11; Butot, 38.
Henry Standish, esquire	8 March 1449	Clair, 8720.
Griffin 'the Ameredy' [1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 625.

LA ROCHE GUYON.

Robert Stuart, esquire	13 November 1438	A.N., K64/23/10.
Sir Simon Mortier [2] Lieutenant: William Hill, esquire	17 May 1443 "	A.N., K67/21/4.
John Edwards	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 621.

RUGLES. [3]

A. William Porter	31 October 1417	Hardy, 192.
William, Lord Fauconberg Lieutenant: Auray Barwick	14 March 1447	Add.Ch. 12,323.

---

1. Elsewhere the captain is said to be 'Avaim' (? Owen Tudor): Escouchy, I, 201. The town capitulated on 19 September 1449: Blondel, op.cit., p.110.
2. Simon Morhier, garde de la prévoté de Paris in 1425 and 1432. By 1441 his work at the chambre des comptes had brought him the office of treasurer-general of finances in Normandy. On 7 December 1447 he was described in a quittance as a councillor to the king. Butot, op.cit., pp. 37-38.
3. Surrendered to the English on 18 October 1417: Hardy, op.cit., p.307.

RUGLES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
William, Lord Fauconberg Lieutenant: Auray Barwick	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 623.

ST. GERMAIN en LAIE.[1]

A. Sir William Tirwhit	18 January 1421	Norman Rolls, 397.
Sir John Hanford[2]	1 October 1423	Ms.Fr. 25767/35.
" " "	15 June 1424	Le Cacheux, I, 154.
Sir Louis d'Espoire	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
" " "	November 1434	Clair, 3397.
John, Lord Talbot	14 December 1434	Ms.Fr. 25772/921.
" " " Lieutenant: Richard Bolt	10 August 1435 January 1436	Add.Ch. 11,871. Ms.Fr. 25772/946.
Sir François Surienne	fl. 1438-40	Escouchy, II, 564.
" " "	29 December 1439- 29 March 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1438.

ST. LÔ.[3]

Sir Reginald West	22 March 1418	Norman Rolls, 682.
" " "	25 March 1420	Butot, 7.
" " "	18 April 1421	French Rolls, 628.
William, earl of Suffolk	10 October 1422	Butot, 22.

1. Held together with Mountjoy Tower; retaken by the French in autumn 1440.
2. Of Hanford in Cheshire, on 15 June 1424 Hanford received a grant of the possessions of Robert de Carrouges, situated in the bailliages of Rouen and the Cotentin and valued at 400 livres tournois per annum. Added to these on the 26 September 1424 were confiscated lands to the value of 1,000 livres tournois. He was described as serviteur et sergent de la paneterie to the regent, John, duke of Bedford when his original grant was confirmed on 30 November 1425 (Le Cacheux, I, 154, 327, 338).
3. Surrendered to the English under Humphrey, duke of Gloucester on 12 March 1418. Normand Rolls, p.680.

ST. LÔ (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Thomas Blount	June 1423	M.S.M., I, 130.
A. " " "	23 September 1423	Ibid., 24.
" " "	March-June 1425	M.& R., 106 n.236.
William, earl of Suffolk	29 September 1426	Ms.Fr. 25767/171.
Richard, earl of Warwick	7 February 1427	Butot, 9.
" " "	19 September 1427	Le Cacheux, II, 356.
" " "	20 September 1427	Ms.Fr. 25769/295.
A. William, earl of Suffolk [1] Lieutenant: Thomas Picot, esquire	18 September 1428 9 April 1429.	Butot, 10. Ibid.
Sir Ralph Tesson	17 August 1429	Ibid., 27.
Sir Edmund Wever	17 November 1429	Ibid., 11.
Sir John Harplay	12 February 1430	Ms.Fr. 25769/570.
" " "	29 November 1430-31	M.& R., 101 n.226.
Sir Thomas Tunstall	6 November 1431	M.& R., 50.
Hugh Spencer, esquire	15 August-29 September 1432	M.S.M., II, 8.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
John, earl of Arundel Lieutenant: John Montague, bastard of Salisbury	Michaelmas 1434 - 36	Add.Ch. 411.
A. Thomas, Lord Scales	29 October 1435	Butot, 16.
John, earl of Arundel	April - 29 September 1436	Butot, 16.
John Hastings, esquire	9 December 1436	Ibid.
" " "	22 November 1437-1 April 1438	M.& R., 141.
Sir Thomas Kingston	1 April - 28 May 1438	Ms.Fr. 25774/1325.

1. Suffolk was taken prisoner at Jarzeau on 12 June 1429, and in order to pay his ransom he was forced to sell his barony of Briquebec, granted to him on 6 May 1419, to one of his lieutenants, Sir Bertram Entwhistle. (Butot, op.cit., pp. 24-25). Sir Ralph Tesson, seigneur du Grippon, was appointed chief et gouverneur de la dicte capitainerie du dict lieu. At the end of 1432 Tesson renounced his allegiance to the English, as a result of persuasion by the duc d'Alencon (Ibid., p. 29).

ST. LÔ (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir John Robessart the younger	28 May - 28 June 1438	Ibid. /1326.
Sir John Robessart Lieutenant: William Robessart	24 September 1439	Ms.Fr. 25775/1434.
Sir Henry Norbury	December 1439	Butot, 18.
Sir Bernard de Montferrant Lieutenant: John Haysant	26 March 1442	A.N., K65/12/11.
" " "	27 March 1443	Ms.Fr. 25777/1674.
Sir Robert Vere	28 June 1444	Add.Ch. 146; 3979.
Sir Simon Mortier Lieutenant: John Haysant	29 September 1444- 28 December 1445	A.N., K68/12/10.
Sir Simon Mortier	23 May 1446	Butot, 38.
Sir Bertram Entwhistle	24 June 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1741.
" " " Lieutenant: William Poitou	15 September 1449 "	Butot, 38. Blondel, 279.

TANCARVILLE.[1]

John Garner	fl. 1419	Deville, 192.
Griffith Don, esquire	17 April 1438	Ms.Fr. 25774/1320.
" " "	29 June - 28 September 1438	Ibid. /1338.
William Minors, esquire	29 December 1438- 28 March 1439	A.N., K64/23/14.
Mathew John	15 January 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1493.
Henry Grey, count of Tancarville[2]	12 April 1440	Ms.Fr. 25776/1516.
" " " "	14 July 1441	A.N., K67/1/23.
Thomas Mulso, esquire	1 October - 31 December 1444	Ms.Fr. 25777/1691.

Surrendered by the treaty of capitulation, made at Rouen on 29 October 1449.

1. John Grey, lord of Powis, was granted the castle of Tancarville and all the possessions of Jacques de Harcourt, becoming count of Tancarville on 31 January 1419 (Deville, op.cit., pp. 189-90). Tancarville was captured by the French in 1435 and held for two years until John, Lord Talbot laid siege to the castle on 15 August 1437. Tancarville surrendered to the English on 15 November 1437. Deville, op.cit., p. 201.
2. Sir Henry Grey, count of Tancarville, lord of Powis and Tilly. P.R.O., Chancery Pardon Roll, 39 m.1

TOMBELAINE.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Laurence Holden	1 October 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/107.
Thomas Burgh	26 October 1427	Ibid. /178.
" "	27 May 1428	Add.Ch. 11,593.
A. William, earl of Suffolk	1 April-28 September 1429	Add.Ch. 568.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 541.
Lieutenant: Maykin Longworth, esquire	14 December 1433	M.S.M., II, 28.
William, earl of Suffolk	20 October 1434-36	M.S.M., II, 44.
Lieutenant: Sir Bertram Entwhistle		
" Maykin Longworth	25 September 1435-24 March 1436	Ms.Fr. 25773/1060.
William, earl of Suffolk	20 June - 29 September 1437	Stevenson, II, 291.
Richard Curson [2]	11 May 1439	Clair, 3090.
John, earl of Somerset	20 August 1440	Clair, 5343.
Lieutenant: Maykin Longworth	19 November 1442	
John, duke of Somerset	29 December 1443-29 March 1444	Birch MS. 4101 f.46[m]
Lieutenant: Maykin Longworth		M.S.M.,II, 167.
" " "	30 May 1445, 9 September 1448	Add.Ch. 12,257; Ms.Fr. 25778/1820.
Maykin Longworth	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 629.
Surrendered to the French	May 1450	Ramsay, 108.

TOUQUES.[3]

A. John Saint	3 April 1421	Norman Rolls, 410.
" "	19 May 1421	Ibid., 427.
" "	8 November 1421	Ibid., 435.

1. Usually a joint command, held together with Avranches.
2. d'escurie de Roi Angleterre, procureur du comte de Suffolk.
3. Surrendered to the English on 3 August 1417: Hardy, op.cit., p. 284.

TOUQUES (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Sir Andrew Ogard	1422 - 30	Vire, 79-80.
John Feriby	16 February 1430	Ibid., 80.
Lieutenant: Henry Welton	25 December 1430	Ibid., 85.
John Feriby, esquire	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 544.
Sir Andrew Ogard	8 November 1435	Vire, 80.
" " "		
Lieutenant: Taillefer de la Ramonnière	1 July 1437	A.N., K64/12/6.
Sir Andrew Ogard	22 February 1438	Vire, 80.
John Nanfan, esquire	22 February 1438	Vire, 80.
Lieutenant: Thomas Mulso	30 March 1438	M.& R., 150 n.352.
John Nanfan	21, 27 August 1439	Add.Ch. 12,033; Ms.Fr. 25775/1428.
Lieutenant: Thomas Mulso	10 September 1439	Ibid. /1369.
John Nanfan		
Lieutenant: Thomas Mulso	23 March 1442	B.N., P.O. 2080/7329.
John Nanfan, esquire	30 March - 28 September 1446	A.N., K68/18/26.
" " "	10 July 1447	A.N., K68/27/11.
Edward Bromfield	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 623.

VERNEUIL.

John Neville	31 October 1417	Hardy, 193.
Lieutenant: Thomas Burgh	3 September 1421	Norman Rolls, 432.
" " "	19 June 1422	Ibid., 450.
Thomas, Lord Scales	fl. 1424	Vire, 93.
Sir John Fastolf	May 1427	Ms.Fr. 25768/282.
" " "	6 December 1429	Ibid. /440.
Sir John Fastolf, lately captain	7 March 1430	Add. Ch. 380.

VERNEUIL (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Humphrey, earl of Stafford	29 August 1431	Add.Ch. 11,746.
John Stanlow, esquire Lieutenant: Hugh Stanlow	29 October 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/638.
John, earl of Arundel	18 January 1432	Ibid. /758.
" " "	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 542.
" " "	8 July - 8 October 1434	Ms.Fr. 25771/878.
Lieutenant: Richard Burghill		
John, earl of Arundel	fl. 1435	Stevenson, II, 434.
William, Lord Fauconberg	22 November 1436	Add.Ch. 151.
" " "	29 December 1438-29 March 1439	Ms.Fr. 25775/1387.
Sir Thomas Roo	26 January 1442	Add.Ch. 463.
" " " Lieutenant: Mathew Gough	5 July 1442 19 October 1442	Ibid., 12,141. Add.Ch. 12,156.
François de Surienne	29 December 1444-29 March 1445	A.N., K68/1/5.
" " Lieutenant: Thomas Stones	29 June 1444-45 29 July 1445	A.N., K68/1/8. Add.Ch. 12,261.
François de Surienne	fl. 1446	Escouchy, II, 564.
John Merbury, lately captain of Verneuil	4 October 1448	Ag.Ch. 210.
François de Surienne Lieutenant: Sir Robert Vere	1 October - 28 December 1448	Ms.Fr. 25778/1850.
François de Surienne	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 619.
Captured by the French	21 July 1449	Ramsay, 55.

VERNON.[1]

Sir William Porter	1 February 1419	Norman Rolls, 725.

1. Surrendered to the English on 5 February 1418: Norman Rolls, p. 746.

VERNON (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
A. John Burgh, in lieu of Sir William Porter	12 April 1421	Ibid., 425.
Sir William Porter	20 July 1421	Norman Rolls, 427.
John Burgh	1 August 1424	Ms.Fr. 25767/88.
Sir Thomas Swynford	23 December 1429	Add.Ch. 365.
Richard Merbury	fl. 1430	Escouchy, II, 535.
Humphrey, earl of Stafford	29 August 1431	Add.Ch. 11,740.
John, earl of Arundel Lieutenant: Sir William Lucy	29 November 1431	Ms.Fr. 25770/653.
John, earl of Arundel Lieutenant: Sir William Lucy	29 December 1432-March 1433	Ms.Fr. 25770/764.
John, earl of Arundel	Michaelmas 1433-34	Stevenson, II, 543.
Sir Henry Redford	January 1435	Ms.Fr. 25773/1066.
Richard Merbury	September 1435	Add. Ch. 553.
John, Lord Talbot, lately captain	September 1435	Ibid.
Sir William Lucy	1 November 1435	Add.Ch. 11,878.
Sir Henry Redford	14 July 1436	Ms.Fr. 25773/1123.
Hugh Stanlow	fl. 1436-37	M.& R., 136 n.291.
John, Lord Talbot	28 February - 29 September 1438	'Pollard', App.IV, 423.
William, Lord Fauconberg, lately captain; Richard Merbury, lately Lieutenant	8 June 1438	Add.Ch. 438.
Sir Richard Merbury	29 October 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1376.
" " " [1]	December 1438	Add.Ch. 196.
" " "	fl. 1440-42	Escouchy, II, 535.

1. Bailiff of Gisors.

VERNON (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Henry, Lord Bourchier	6 October 1441	Add.Ch. 12,109.
William, Lord Fauconberg	26 September 1448	Ms.Fr. 25778/1823.
John Merbury, lately captain	4 October 1448	Ag.Ch. 210.
William, Lord Fauconberg	20 April 1449	Ms.Fr. 25778/1834.
John Ormond, esquire [1]	fl. 1449	Stevenson, II, 621.
Surrendered to the French in August 1449		Ramsay, 97.

VIRE. [2]

A. John, earl of Arundel	21 February 1418	Hardy, 289.
John Smythes	24 March 1418	Norman Rolls, 682.
Edmund, earl of March Lieutenant: John Fairfield.	4 August 1419- 21 April 1420	Vire, 64-66.
George Nessfield	21 April - 25 December 1420	Ibid., 67.
Robert Whitney	6 December 1420	Norman Rolls, 382.
Walter Fitzwalter [3] Lieutenant: John Fairfield Robert Camel	14 January - 28 September 1423	Vire, 70.
Sir John Clifton Lieutenant: Esmon Thorp	28 September 1421 29 September 1423	Vire, 74-76.
Sir Andrew Ogard	5 May 1423 - 28 June 1436	Vire, 77.
Sir Lewis Robessart Lieutenant: Thomas Charles	5 October - 31 December 1430	Ibid., 78.
" Henry Welton	20 October 1423	Ibid., 85.

1. Son of James Butler, earl of Ormond; brother of James, earl of Wiltshire.
2. Surrendered on 21 February 1418: Hardy, op.cit., p. 289.
3. On 14 February 1428, Walter Fitzwalter was a prisoner in Paris on account of numerous crimes which included murder, rape, extortion and disobedience to commands. He obtained letters of remission in consideration of sa jeunesse et que à faire les choses dessus dictes il a été induit par mauvais conseil. Hunger, Vire, pp. 70-71.

VIRE (Contd.)

CAPTAIN		DATE	REFERENCE
Lieutenant:	Thomas Elyngham	22 June 1427	Ibid., 88.
	Oliver Martin	23 January 1428	Ibid., 86.
	William Forest	2 September 1429	Ibid., 87.
	Thomas Elyngham	6 June 1430	Ibid., 88.
	" "	18 September 1436	Ibid., 89.
Thomas, Lord Scales [1]		29 September 1436	Ibid., 97.
Lieutenant:	Ellis Longworth	7 September 1437	Ibid., 101.
	Hugh Carington	12 December 1437	Add.Ch. 11,971.
	Ellis Longworth	28 June 1438	Vire, 101.
	Hugh Carington	fl. 1439-1440	Ibid.
	Ellis Longworth	24 June 1440	Ibid.
	Sir William Lucy	16 April 1443	Ibid., 103.
Sir Henry Norbury		21 October 1448-20 April 1449	Ibid., 107.
Lieutenant:	Christopher Hewitt	fl. 1448-49	Ibid., 110.
Surrendered to the French in April 1450			Ramsay, 108.

1. Exercised by Sir Henry Norbury as commis et adjoint to the office of seneschal of Normandy and captain of Vire.

ROUEN.[1]

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Lieutenant for the castle:		
Robert, Lord Willoughby	26 October 1419	Norman Rolls, 329.
Lieutenant: Richard Wydeville	26 February 1421	E101/49/31.
THOMAS, DUKE OF EXETER	9 August 1421	Norman Rolls, 431.
~~Lieutenant~~		
" " "	20 May 1422	Ibid., 449.
Lieutenant: John Harpeley		
Robert, Lord Willoughby	17 May 1427	Add.Ch. 11,574.
JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD	18 September 1428	Add.Ch. 7948.
Lieutenant: Hamo Belknap[2]		
Lieutenant for the castle: Sir John Beauchamp	28 February 1429	Ms.Fr. 25769/470.
RICHARD, EARL OF WARWICK	26 April 1429	Add.Ch. 110.
Lieutenant for the town and bridge: Richard Curson	"	"
Lieutenant for the bridge: Richard Curson	1 December 1429	Ms.Fr. 25768/437.
Lieutenant: Richard Curson	14 May 1430	Clair, 3088, 3089.
JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD	26 September 1430	Add.Ch. 11,678.
Captain of the town and bridge: Richard, earl of Warwick		
lately lieutenant of the castle: Sir John Popham	28 November 1430	Ibid., 11,693.
Captain of the town and bridge: John, earl of Arundel	30 April 1432	Ms.Fr. 25770/697.
Lieutenant: Sir John Cressy		
Captain of the town: John, earl of Arundel	24 August - 18 November 1432	Add.Ch. 11,785; MeS.M. II, 14.
Lieutenant of the bridge: Sir John Hanford	29 September 1432; Michaelmas 1433-34	Ms.Fr. 25770/751; Stevenson, II, 543.
Lieutenant for the town: Richard Curson	Michaelmas 1433-34	Ibid., II, 542.
Sir John Hanford	4 April 1434	Add.Ch. 11,818.

---

1. Agreement for the surrender of Rouen on 13 January 1419: Norman Rolls, p. 746.
2. Treasurer and governor-general of finance from 2 January 1422 to 4 January 1429: Le Cacheux, II, 10.

ROUEN (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Lieutenant for the castle: Sir Nicholas Burdet	11 August 1434	Add.Ch. 11,823.
Lieutenant: John, Lord Talbot	3 April 1435	A.N., K64/1/1.
Lieutenant for the bridge: John Clay	4 August 1435	Ms.Fr. 25772/971
Lieutenant: Sir John Hanford	4 August 1435	Add.Ch. 11,870.
Lieutenant for the castle: Sir Nicholas Burdet	fl. 1435	Add. Ch. 11,879.
Lieutenant for the doors and walls: Richard Curson	fl. 1435	Stevenson, II, 436.
RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK		
Lieutenant: John, Lord Talbot	7 January - 22 November 1436	'Pollard', App.IV, 422.
Lieutenant for the garrison: Sir John Hanford	14 January 1436	Add. Ch. 11,925; 11,926
Lieutenant for the walls: Richard Curson	fl. 1436	'Pollard', App.IV, 423; Chronicles of London, 140-41.
Lieutenant for the castle: Sir Nicholas Burdet	September 1436	'Pollard', App.IV, 423.
Lieutenant for the bridge: John John Clay	29 June - 29 September 1436	Add.Ch. 11,921.
Lieutenant for the castle: John Clay	fl. 1437	'Pollard', App.IV, 423.
Lieutenant for the bridge: William Gloucester	29 September-29 December 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1247.
RICHARD, EARL OF WARWICK		
Lieutenant: Richard Curson	29 December 1437	Ms.Fr. 25774/1286.
Lieutenant for the doors and walls: Richard Curson	29 March 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1405.
Lieutenant for the bridge: Sir Bernard de Montferrant	1 April 1438	Escouchy, II, 539.
	30 June - 28 September 1438	Ms.Fr. 25775/1367.
" "	5 September 1439	Ibid. /1431.
Lieutenant: James Dryland; Richard Curson	29 June - 29 September 1438	Ms.Fr. 25774/1337; 1339.
Lieutenant: James Dryland	29 September - 28 December 1438	A.N., K64/23/2.
Captain of Rouen: Edmund, earl of Dorset	4 April 1440	Add.Ch. 450.
RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK		
Lieutenant for the castle: Raoulin Say	8 November - 27 December 1440	Ms.Fr. 25775/1480.
Lieutenant for the castle: John Clay	30 March - 29 June 1441	A.N., K67/1/21.
Lieutenant: John, Lord Talbot	Michaelmas 1441-43	'Pollard', App.IV, 423

ROUEN (Contd.)

CAPTAIN	DATE	REFERENCE
Captain for the bridge: John, Lord Talbot	17 December 1441	A.N., K67/1/60.
Lieutenant: Sir Henry Norbury		Ms.Fr. 25776/1559.
" Sir William Peyto	14 August 1442	~~Pollard, op.cit., 423.~~
Lieutenant for the bridge: Sir John Salvain	17 March 1444	B.N., N.A. 8602/33.
Lieutenant for the doors and walls: Sir Henry Bedford	29 December 1444 29 March 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1703.
Lieutenant for the castle: Richard Saintbarbe, esquire	16 February 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1729.
Lieutenant for the bridge: Sir William Chamberlain	28 November 1446	Ms.Fr. 25777/1759.
A. EDMUND MARQUESS OF DORSET	24 December 1446 [1]	Burney, 143.

ST. KATHERINE de ROUEN.[2]

John Clay, esquire	18 December 1429	Ms.Fr. 25769/446.
William Alton	fl. 1437	M.& R., 131 n.291.
Thomas Monde	20 February 1445; 29 September - 29 December 1445	Ms.Fr. 25777/1730. Add.Ch. 488.

---

1. The date of Dorset's commission. In fact it was to be nearly two years before he crossed to Normandy.
2. The abbey and fortress of St. Katherine were surrendered to the English on 31 August 1418: Norman Rolls, p. 746.

PART B.

An account of the men-at-arms and archers provided for the guard and defence of the town, doors and walls of Rouen, the castle and Seine bridge there, and other towns, castles and fortesses in the duchy of Normandy and the 'pays de conqueste', made by the instructions of the king's Great Council for the period 29 June - 1 October 1436.[1]

GARRISON OR RETINUE	MOUNTED LANCES.	FOOT LANCES.	ARCHERS.
Mantes	60	40	300
Vernon	10	20	410
Pont de l'Arche	5	15	60
Evreux	20	30	150
Dreux [2]	27	-	58
The tower of Dennemarche	1	9	
Verneuil	40	20	180
Lisieux	10	15	85
Honfleur	10	15	85
Touques	2	6	24
Caen	3	27	90
Bailiff of Caen	2	-	24
Bayeux	2	8	30
Vire	20	20	140
Saint Lô	2	18	60
Coutances	2	18	60
Carentan	2	18	60
Avranches	32	18	130
Tombelaine	20	10	90
Cherbourg	5	35	120
Regnéville	2	8	30
Pont d'Ouve	1	-	20
Falaise	2	28	90
Domfront	20	20	120
Argentan	15	15	90

GARRISON & [illegible]	BOUND [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			30
Alongon			
Insulin	[illegible]		150
Spray			6[illegible]
Concrete			
			120
			3[illegible]
( )	( )		( )
			1[illegible]
			45
			24
Gaude			[illegible]
			240
			1[illegible]0
			270
			180
			45

APPENDIX III

Men-at-arms, 1442 and 1443	1442 Talbot's retinue	1442 In another group	1443 Beaufort's retinue	1443 own retinue	1443 In another group
Henry Ashton		group of 4			Sir Thomas Kyriel
John Banaster		group of 4			Richard Banaster
Richard Banaster		group of 2	*	4 men-at-arms	
Elys Bexwyk		group of 7			John Dawson
Thomas Dalton[1]	*		*	2 men-at-arms	
Hugh Dampport		group of 7			John Davenport
John Davy		group of 10			Thomas Vaughan
John Dawson	*		*	8 men-at-arms	
Ive Iveson		group of 9			John Dawson
Ralph Legh		group of 4			Sir Thomas Kyriel
Henry Longshaw		group of 9			Thomas Wake
William Lye		group of 6			Sir Thomas Cusac
Geoffrey Massy		group of 9	*		
Hugh Parker		group of 2	*	4 men-at-arms	
Thomas Parker		group of 3			John Dawson
John Pemberton		group of 9	*	8 men-at-arms	
John Radcliff		group of 10			Sir John Redford
John Rigmaiden		group of 8	*	5 men-at-arms	
Hugh Robson		group of 5			Sir John Redford
Durante le Vavassour		group of 1			John Wykes
William Walsall[2]		group of 3			John Dawson
Thomas Wetherby		group of 4	*		
William Worseley[3]		group of 4			Edmund Stavely

1. There are two Thomas Daltons named in the muster roll for 1442.
2. The names William Walsall, Thomas Parker and John Pemberton also occur in the muster roll for the duke of York's retinue in 1441. P.R.O., Exchequer, Accounts Various, 53/33.
3. William Worseley's name occurs twice in the 1442 roll.

APPENDIX IV.

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

1. Fulk Eyton.
2. Sir Thomas and John Kyriell.
3. Alys and Maykin Longworth.
4. James Standish and the Standish Family.
5. Andrew Trollope.

1. FULK EYTON.

Fulk Eyton seems to have been the second of four brothers, the sons of Thomas Eyton of Eyton in Shropshire.[1] Fulk himself was described as of Eyton or Shrawardine.[2] In March 1433 he appears in the company of Sir Thomas Kirkby in Normandy, ordered to serve under John Maltravers, earl of Arundel.[3] Nine months later Henry V's widow, Queen Katherine, wrote to her receiver-general in France, and sent the letter 'by our well beloved esquire, Fook Eyton.'[4]

At the beginning of 1435, Eyton's services were divided between two lords, John, earl of Arundel and John, Lord Talbot. In January he was acting as lieutenant of Caudebec, which was captained by Talbot;[5] the death of the earl of Arundel at Gerberoy in June involved him personally. In his will, dated 18 February 1451, Eyton mentions that William, earl of Arundel, the holder of the title, owed him 1,400 marks for the bones of his brother which Fulk had brought over from France 'oute of the ffrenche mennys handes'. Moreover, he appears to have held on to them, for he instructed his executors, once the matter had been settled, to have the bones buried in the college at Arundel in compliance with the late earl's wishes.[6] That Fulk had been retained

---

1. P.C.C. 2 Stokton. His elder brother Nicholas was M.P. for Shropshire in 1449. The other two brothers mentioned in his will were Roger and Richard, a priest and warden of the college of Tong. Fulk's will mentions a John Eyton, Fulk Eyton and a younger Roger Eyton. He mentions his mother's name as Katherine, as does one pedigree, which states that she was the daughter of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury; but grave doubts are thrown on the reliability of this statement and on the rest of this genealogy by Fulk's will. The Visitation of Shropshire, 1623 (Harleain Soc., vol. XXVIII, 1889), p. 181; H.T. Weyman, 'Shropshire Members of Parliament' (taken from Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc., 4th ser., vols., 10-12 (1926-28)).
2. C.C.R., 1447-54, p. 400; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 309.
3. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25771/818. A William Arundel was serving with him.
4. Stevenson, Letters and Papers, II, pt. 1, p. 263.
5. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25772/1050.
6. P.C.C. 2 Stokton.

by Arundel can be seen by his petition to retain the office of constable of Oswestry castle, granted to him by John, earl of Arundel on 28 February 1434. In November 1435 the grant was allowed to continue during the nonage of Humphrey, John's son and heir.[1]

From about 1437 Fulk Eyton remained in Normandy as captain of Caudebec until the garrison finally surrendered to the French in 1449.[2] On occasion he led retinues to the sieges conducted by the field-captains, including Lord Talbot.[3] In June 1444 a vidimus of Eyton's indenture as captain of Caudebec, shows him to have been appointed keeper and captain there, le terme de sa vie durant. Thereafter, his indentures seem to have been renewed yearly.[4]

His services were required by the English council of Normandy on more than one occasion. In March 1446 he was granted, in addition to his wages, the sum of 100 livres tournois for having acted as assistant to the commissioners appointed by the council to investigate the disorders caused by roaming bands of adventurers in Normandy during the previous February.[5] Together with Mathew Gough, Eyton was made joint commissioner to deliver the county of Maine to the French following the marriage contract between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, The promised day for the handing over of the county was settled as 1 November 1447, but the two commissioners were hampered by unwillingness on the part of the English captains, most of whom were concerned about compensation. That

---

1. C.P.R., 1429-36, p. 491; C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 139. Eyton received a fee of 10 marks per annum as constable.
2. V. Hunger, Quelques Actes Normands, II, 66 n.3.
3. B.M., Add. Ch, 12,135 (at Neufbourg in June 1442); ibid., 8012 (with Talbot in August 1442); ibid., 12,221 (serving in the bastide 'le polet' before Dieppe in July 1444).
4. B.N., Nouv. Acq. 7629 f. 56-71.
5. Luce, Mont-St-Michel, II, 195.

this was not entirely the reason for the discontent is underlined by the written protest made by Lyton and Gough, ostensibly in the king of England's name, that the cession of Maine to France was only to advance a secure peace and that Henry resigned no sovereignty.[1]

Before November 1443 Lyton had also become captain of Pont Audemer, and he was taken prisoner there when the place surrendered to the count of Dunois in August 1449.[2] He was afterwards freed and took part as one of the commissioners appointed to deliver up the places ceded to the French by the treaty of surrender of Rouen.[3]

Throughout the seventeen or more years of his service in France there is no obvious clue to any connection between Lyton and Richard of York or his followers; yet shortly after returning to England Lyton was associating with the duke's closest supporters. In November 1450 he stood as surety for Cade's swordbearer, Robert Poynings, in the sum of £200, together with Sir Edmund Mulso, Sir Walter Devereux and Thomas Uvedale.[4] In the spring of 1452 he took part with his younger brother Roger in a rising at York's town of Ludlow in the company of Sir Edmund Mulso.[5] The only obvious connection between Lyton and York's followers seems to have been service in France and no doubt the loss of Caudebec involved a loss of property accumulated over more than a generation. Discontent would appear to have been the common factor between Lyton and the 'Yorkists', and was directed against the court party and Beaufort, who presided over

---

1. Stevenson, Letters and Papers, II, pt. 2, pp. 693-97; B.M., Arundel Mss., XLVIII, 76 f.304; 77/ f.310.
2. V. Hunger, Quelques Actes Normands, II, 66 n.3.
3. Escouchy, Croniques, II, 504-5.
4. C. C. R., 1447-54, p. 238.
5. See above pp. 174-75.

the loss of Normandy.

Fulk's son Roger Eyton may have been at Ludford with the Yorkist lords, for he was one of eighteen men attainted with them in the Coventry Parliament. He probably escaped with the earls to Calais, returning with them to Northampton in July 1460. In 1464 his office of constable of Shrewsbury castle was exempted from resumption. He died probably before 1470.[1]

2. SIR THOMAS AND JOHN KYRIELL.

The Kyriell family claimed descent from a younger branch of the counts of Eu, one of whom accompanied William the Conqueror from Normandy to England in 1066.[2] For generations the Kyriells had held important office in local and royal service. As an important Kentish landowner, Sir Nicholas Kyriell in 1269 held office as warden of the Cinque Ports, and fifty-five years later his grandson and namesake was admiral of the fleet.[3]

---

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 310.
2. A Hughes-Clark (ed.), Miscellanea et Genealogica et Heraldica, vol. VI, 5th ser. (London, 1926-28), p. 254. The family name was derived from the town of Criel-Sur-Mer in the department of Seine-Inférieur. L.C. Loyd, The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families (Harleian Soc., vol. CIII, 1951), p. 36.
3. A. Hughes-Clark, op.cit., pp. 254-55. Under Richard I, Bertram de Criell, who had taken part at the siege of Acre, expanded the family fortune by his marriage with Emma, daughter of Hamo de Crèvecoeur and Matilda d' Avranches. Emma succeeded to the barony of Folkestone, Avranches and Buckland, and by the time of his death, Bertram was known as 'the great lord of Kent'. Sir Thomas Kyriell held the manors of Walmer and Westernhanger brought into the family by Sir Bertram's son Nicholas, who married the daughter of Sir William d'Auberville, Sarrecourt in Thanet and lands around Deal which were collectively called 'Kiryellescourt' and pertained to the lordship of Mongeham. He also held the manor of Swinkfield in the hundred of Folkestone, and Sutton by Walmer (T. Philipott, Villare Cantianum (Lynn, 1776), pp. 321, 322). John Kyriell in the fifteenth century seems to have held the manor of Stokesbury, which descended from their father Sir William, together with the manor of Eynesford. C.Cotton, The History and Antiquities of the Church and Parish of St. Laurence, Thanet in the county of Kent (Ramsga 1895), p.173; C.R.Elvin, Records of Walmer (London, 1890), pp. 56-57; C.F.R., 1413-22, pp. 328-29; P. R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, III, no.21.

By October 1420 Thomas Kyriell was a king's knight, then aged about twenty-four.[1] In December of the following year he was on service in France at the head of nineteen men-at-arms and sixty archers; in 1423 he was stationed at Clermont-en-Beauvaisis.[2] For the next few years he seems to have remained in England, where he was appointed to take several musters and served on commissions of the peace and of array.

He may have returned to France in 1430 and was captain of Clermont, a town held by the duke of Burgundy, in 1432.[3] At this time, according to the French chronicler Jean Waurin, he fought in engagements around Creil, Beauvais and Compiègne, and treated the inhabitants of these areas with great inhumanity. When Burgundy decided to take Clermont back into his own hands, it was reported that Kyriell refused to leave until the duke of Bedford ordered him to hand back his command.[4] He still held another fortress in the same area, Gournay, where he was captain by December 1432, and which he continued to hold for the next seven years.[5] By Michaelmas 1433 he had been invested with the additional captaincies of Gisors and Neufchatel, not far from Gournay.[6] In 1434 Sir Thomas served with notable captains like Mathew Gough at the siege of St. Denis, which was directed by the field commanders, Lords Talbot, Scales and Willoughby.[7]

---

1. C.P.R., 1416-22, p. 300.
2. B.N., P.O. 1610/2; V. Munger, La Siège de Caen, p. 10 n.4.
3. Hall's Chronicle, p. 155; W. Hardy and E. Hardy (eds), Recueil des Croniques et Anciennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, par Jehan de Waurin (London, 1884), vol. V, p. 17.
4. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
5. Cacheux, II, 224; B.N., Ms.Fr, 25772/1003; 25773/1171; 25774/1295; 25775/1368; B.M., Egerton Ch. 184.
6. Stevenson, Letters and Papers, II, pt. 2, p. 544.
7. Hall's Chronicle, p. 175.

John Kyriell, Sir Thomas's brother, had joined him in the garrison at Gournay by 1434 and he appears at intervals on the muster rolls there for the next few years.[1] He appears to have served with his brother on several occasions thereafter, and was captured with him at Formigny, remaining a prisoner in France (perhaps as surety for his brother) for the next twenty-two years.[2]

On 6 June 1437 Sir Thomas Kyriell was granted licence to marry Cecily, widow of John Hill of Spaxton in Somerset and a daughter of Sir John Stourton of Preston Plucknett, a cousin of Margaret Beauchamp, later duchess of Somerset.[3] She brought her husband a number of manors in the counties of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall.[4] In November 1437 Thomas was sent with a number of other captains to raise the siege of Crotoy, which was being undertaken by the duke of Burgundy. The siege was raised 'AndSir Thomas Keryell had won the Dukys cariage, and browzt it with him into Normandy'. The town was then delivered to the keeping of Richard Colbrond, who was described as Kyriell's servant.[5]

At the end of 1439 Sir Thomas was appointed lieutenant of Calais at a time when complaints about the sate of the garrison there were more than usually vociferous.[6] It was reported that the walls and fortresses would soon be in ruins if speedy action were not taken. The soldiers as usual were behind with their wages, many of them were said to be

---

1. B.N., Ms. Fr. 25772/1003; 25775/1368.
2. A. Hughes-Clark, op.cit., p. 256. John married twice. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John Chichele of London, a nephew of Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury.
3. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 59.
4. P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions post mortem, 12 Ed.IV, no.51; P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, 1119/17.
5. C. L. Kingsford, Chronicles of London, p. 144; P.R.O., Exchequer, E. R., Warrants for Issues, 53/129.
6. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 266.

incompetent and the garrison understrength. The treasurer, Robert Whittingham, had declared his office to be more a burden than a potential profit.[1] The terms of Kyriell's indenture as lieutenant of Calais were to last for seven years, during which time 100 marks a year were to be paid for spies and other expenses should be paid from an identical sum owed by Kyriell and his wife for the keeping of two parts of the property of John Hill, Cecily's late husband.[2] On 22 April 1441 Sir Thomas was petitioning the king for arrears of his wages, and in July 1442 an enquiry was ordered into certain unspecified complaints made against him by Peter Nicholai.[3] The following August he was discharged from office before the term of his indentures had expired. His successor at Calais was Humphrey, earl of Stafford.[4]

Kyriell held no further captaincies in France thereafter, though he led a retinue in the army of John, duke of Somerset in 1443.[5] He and his brother John may have entered the service of the Beauforts at about this time. In April 1448 John Kyriell was Edmund Beaufort's receiver of the income granted to Somerset in compensation for the loss of Anjou and Maine, and he seems to have remained in France during the duke's period of office.[6] Sir Thomas captained the last English army to be sent to Normandy; it resulted in defeat at the battle of Formigny, where both he and his brother were taken prisoner.[7]

Sir Thomas may have gone on pilgrimage after this disaster, for on

---

1. P.P.C., V. 400.
2. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 420.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 57/195; 'French Rolls', op.cit., p. 353.
4. P.P.C., V, 200, 205.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 54/5.
6. B.N., P.O., 1610/4; Ms.Fr. 25773/1834. John took the muster of Lord Fauconberg's company in April 1449.
7. His retinue was composed of 99 men-at-arms and 300 archers. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 66/92.

27 December 1450 the Papal Registers record the granting of a safe-conduct to Sir Thomas Kyriell, of the diocese of Canterbury, and to his suite to the number of thirty.[1] He disappears from the records for several years after this. In 1457 he was acting as lieutenant of Dover castle for Humphrey, duke of Burkingham and warden of the Cinque Ports, and in this office he repelled the advance of French troops under Pierre de Brézé, who succeeded in sacking the town of Sandwich in August 1457.[2] By 1460 his sympathies lay with the Yorkist lords, through whom he was installed as a knight of the Garter on 8 February 1461 in place of John, earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460.[3] Kyriell was not to enjoy the honour for long. At the second battle of St. Albans, he was left guarding the king with Sir William Bonville. After the defeat of the Yorkist troops the two Knights were said to have remained with Henry VI on his assurance that they would not be harmed; but on the orders of Queen Margaret and her son, the young Prince Edward, they were both beheaded.[4]

3. ELYS AND MAYKIN LONGWORTH.

Both Elys and Maykin Longworth came from Lancashire, although the Visitations for that county give no indication that they were members of the main branch of the family, the Longworths of Longworth. Maykin had served in France since Henry V 'went first thidre'.[5] Elys, probably

---

1. Cal. Papal Registers, 1447-55, p. 209.
2. A. Finn, The Records of Lydd, p. 182; English Chronicle, p. 74.
3. A. Anstey (ed.), The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London, 1724), vol. II, p. 168.
4. Waurin, Chroniques, VI, 330.
5. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 68/135.

his brother, was in France by the mid-twenties, when he indented with the duke of Bedford in 1425 to serve from 15 May following with four men-at-arms and fifteen archers. Thirteen days later, on 28 March, Elys stood as mainpernor for two fellow captains from Lancashire who were jointly conducting another retinue to France.[1]

On 20 May 1425, the two Longworths, the Standish brothers (Roland, James, Alexander and Thomas), together with other captains from the north of England, were expected to muster at Calais.[2] Early in 1428 both Elys Longworth and James Standish were serving under John, Lord Talbot. Maykin renewed his indentures on 25 November 1429 for service overseas with six men-at-arms and 100 archers.[3] Less than a year later, on 14 October 1430, the Longworths were again holding a joint command at the siege of Louviers.[4] By this time Elys at least was in the garrison at Domfront under Thomas, Lord Scales, and had been ordered to command the garrison contingent sent to the siege in September.[5] Five of their retinue had previously served with Elys and with James Standish in Talbot's company of 1428.[6]

Thereafter, the Longworths settled in garrisons under different noble captains. By May 1432 Maykin was at Avranches, which was captained by William, earl of Suffolk, and four months later was acting as his lieutenant at the neighbouring fortress of Tombelaine.[7] Maykin continued to hold this office under John, earl of Somerset in 1442 and under Richard,

---

1. Ibid., 41/184; C. C.R., 1422-29, p. 197. The two captains were Richard Banaster and Thomas Scarisbrick.
2. Ibid., p. 302.
3. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,612, P.R.O., Exchequer, E. R., Warrants for Issues,46/150.
4. B.M., Add. Ch., 7,967.
5. B.N., Ms.FR. 25769/565; 25770/628.
6. The five were Hugh Carington, Gilbert Clayton, Thurston Entwistle, Richard Holland and Ralph Legh.
7. B.N., Ms.FR. 25770/699; 25773/1060.

duke of York in 1447, remaining in office until the final surrender of the garrison.[1] In 1448 there were three other members of the Longworth family serving under him at Tombelaine.[2]

Elys remained in the service of Thomas, Lord Scales, first at Domfront and afterwards at Vire, where he also rose to the position of lieutenant of the garrison. In October 1440 he was replaced there by William Lucy.[3] He further acquired the office of bailiff of Mortain under Edmund Beaufort, which was granted to him on 8 October 1438 whilst he was still in the service of Lord Scales.[4] His association with Scales was not confined purely to military service. In 1441 Sir Thomas Chetwode, lord ofWarkworth, Chetwode and Hoolive in Buckinghamshire, enfeoffed Lord Scales with his manor ofWarkworth and other lands, in order to make an estate, after his death, for his male heirs or, failing such, to Joan, his daughter, the wife of Elys Longworth, and her coheirs.[5]

Neither Elys nor Maykin contributed a retinue to the army of John, duke of Somerset in 1443, although Elys's father-in-law led two men-at-arms. Probably both the Longworths were preoccupied with their garrison offices. Elys was once more lieutenant at Vire by March 1441 and was occupying the same post in August 1445. In 1449 he was one of the captains who led a retinue to Formigny under Sir Thomas Kyriell and was reportedly captured in the battle there.[6]

---

1. B.N., Ms.FR. 26295/840; P.O. 1744/4.
2. B.N., Ms.FR. 25778/1820; Oliver, Laurence and Ralph Longworth. A Ralph Longworth had served as part of the garrison of Domfront which was sent to Louviers under Elys in 1430.
3. See V. Hunger, Les Capitaines de Vire, pp. 101-2.
4. B.M., Add. Ch. 441.
5. S. Tucker, Pedigree of the Family of Chetwode of Chetwode, County Buckinghamshire (privately printed for Sir George Chetwode, Bart., London, 1884), p. 7. Since Joan died without issue, Elys may have been married before, or remarried later for a daughter is mentioned in his will. Consistory Court of London, Wills preserved in the Guildhall Library, Reg. 5 f. 304. v.
6. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 66/21. He indented to lead the largest retinue, composed of 50 lances and 500 archers.

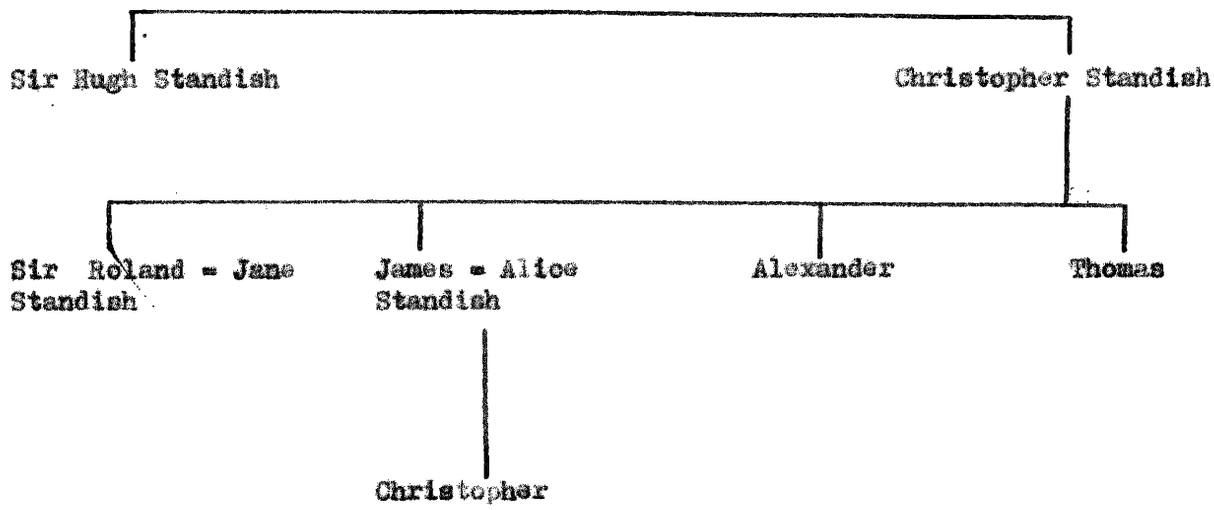
Both men seem to have fared differently as a result of the loss of Normandy. Maykin, in a petition to the king, complained that the loss of Normandy had meant the loss of his livelihood, besides the non-payment of his arrears of his wages.[1] Elys, although he had undergone capture by the French at least twice in his career abroad, was able to lend 1,000 marks and, later, a further £200 in August 1452 towards the payment of the wages of the Calais garrison, whose captain was his old patron, Edmund Beaufort.[2] He indented to serve overseas once more in 1453, along with members of Beaufort's affinity and the royal Household as part of an army proposed for the relief of Guienne; but it failed to embark.[3]

In 1455 Elys was described as 'of Newenton, county Surrey'. He was dead by April of the following year, although probate was not granted until 22 December 1460.[4] His daughter Joan married a London tailor and the couple were granted £426 13s. 4d., which represented the arrears of Elys's wages owed from the 1440s.[5]

---

1. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 68/135.
2. Ibid., 69/213. Although Elys was never able to recoup wages owed to him for his service in France; he had received in October 1450 a grant in recompense 'whereof he had no benefit but died indebted'. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 635.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues, 71/326.
4. C.C.R., 1454-61, p. 59; C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 136; Consistory Court of London, Wills preserved in the Guildhall Library, Reg.5 f. 304 v.
5. Ibid; C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 635.

4. JAMES STANDISH AND THE STANDISH FAMILY.



The Standish family of Dukesbury in Lancashire became involved in France at the very outset of Henry V's campaigns. Sir Hugh fought at Agincourt and was present at the siege of Rouen.[1] His brother Christopher, who succeeded to the Dukesbury estate, served abroad in 1421-22 at about the same time as his son, James Standish.[2] In 1425 all four of the Standish brothers - Roland, James, Alexander and Thomas - were retained to serve the king for six months, accompanied by six men-at-arms and twenty-seven archers, for which they received the sum of £122 7s. 6d.[3] At the same time, Roland stood bound for his brothers in the sum of 500 marks that they would serve in France according to the indentures made between the king and himself.[4] The following May they crossed the Channel in the company of a number of other captains drawn mainly from Lancashire and Yorkshire.[5]

---

1. B.M., Harley Ms. 2042 f. 45; T.C.Porteus, A History of the Parish of Standish (Wigan, 1927), p. 15. He also served at sea for fifty days, with twenty men-at-arms and forty archers.
2. Ibid., p. 16. James may have been in France several years earlier, see below p.287, n.6.?
3. F. Devon (ed.), Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III - Henry VI (London, 1837), pp. 391-92.
4. C.C.R., 1422-29, pp. 197-98. Roland was joined in this bond by Nicholas Gely of Chorley. A Nicholas Joly later served under James Standish in 1441. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33.
5. C.P.R., 1422-29, p. 302.

They remained in France, and in April 1430 Roland, now a knight, was ordered to the siege of Gaillard with a retinue of twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers, including his two brothers Alexander and Thomas.[1] On 25 May Sir Roland was sent with Robert, Lord Willoughby to the siege of Louviers, where his company was joined by his brother James.[2] By June 1430 he was captain of the small garrison at Charlesmesnil and in the autumn of 1434 Sir Roland was holding joint office as captain and bailiff of Evreux.[3] In the following year he was slain at Gerberoy. His retinue were kept together and sent in August 1435 to the siege of St. Denis, under the orders of Thomas, Lord Scales.[4]

Sir Roland's heir seems to have been his brother James, who was granted, during pleasure, the office of constable of Dinefwr castle, which had been held by his uncle, father and brother before him.[5] In 1436 James related that he had served under the duke of Bedford in France for fifteen years, during which time he was thrice captured, and was now in the service of Edmund Beaufort, under whom he had served at Gaillard in 1430.[6] A muster of January 1438 shows James as a member of the retinue of Beaufort's brother-in-law, John, Lord Talbot, and in March 1441 he was guarding Orbec for Talbot with a company of twelve archers.[7]

James Standish mustered with York's army in the same year though by May 1443 he was collecting his own retinue to cross to France in the army of John, duke of Somerset.[8] Laurence Longworth of Sharples in Lancashire

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/480. James Standish was also at the siege, but in the retinue of Edmund Beaufort, county of Mortain.
2. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/500, 598; 25770/652.
3. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25769/511; B.M., Add. Ch. 188, 11,839, 11971. His seal as captain of Evreux was rond, de 37 mill. : écu portant trois annelets contenant chacun un point ou un besant, penché, timbré d'un heaume à lambrequin cimé d'une grille, Demay, Inventaire des Sceaux, II, no. 8721.
4. B. N., Ms.Fr. 25772/976.
5. C.P.R., 1422-29, pp. 53, 320; ibid., 1436-41, p. 29. In 1436 the office was worth 20 marks a year.
6. C.P.R., 1436-41, p. 29.
7. B.M., Add.Ch. 11,612; A.N., K67/1/14. A Boniface Standish mustered in this garrison.
8. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts, 53/33; 54/5.

bound himself in the sum of £10 to serve in this company as a man-at-arms with three archers, and to remain with them in France for one year, 'according to the great indenture made between John, duke of Somerset and the said James Standish'.[1] James returned to Normandy in 1448, after the appointment of Edmund Beaufort as lieutenant-general.[2] Thereafter there is little mention of him in the p blished sources, though he seems to have served with James Standish of Irly as one of the collectors of the fifteenth and tenth in Lancashire in June 1453.[3] To the church at Chorley he presented a relic of St. Laurence's head which his brother Sir Roland had brought back with him from Normandy.[4]

Less is known about the background of Henry Standish, although he was almost certainly related to the Lancashire Standishes. In 1437 Laurence Standish of Standish and James Standish of Chorley were among his main-pernors when Henry undertook to keep the peace towards Henry Broud, a cordwainer of London.[5]

Henry mustered at Harfleur in 1429 and by March 1430 was holding the garrison at Exmes for William, earl of Suffolk.[6] The following March he was in the field with Robert, Lord Willoughby and in November 1431 was captain of Conches, a post which he occupied until at least December 1434.[7]

---

1. H.M.C. Twentieth Report (part 4, 1885), p. 227.
2. 'French Rolls', op.cit., p. 377.
3. C. F. R., 1452-61, p. 53.
4. B.M., Harley Ms. 2,042 f.45.
5. C.C.R., 1435-41, p. 128.
6. R.Triger, Une forteresse du Maine, 1417 à 1450 (Mamers, 1886), p. 65; B.N., Ms. Fr. 26053/1293.
7. B.M., Add.Ch. 116; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25770/650; 25772/922.

In January 1437 Henry was captain at Pontoise, where the garrison of thirty-three men-at-arms contained six men with the surname Standish. The six accompanied him to Gisors, where he was stationed the following month.[1] Together with John, Lord Clinton and Sir Nicholas Burdet, Henry defended the garrison of Pontoise in 1441, but there is little information about him after this until 1448, when he mustered with thirteen men-at-arms and forty-four mounted archers.[2] He retreated with other captains to Caen in 1449 and remained there until, in response to Somerset's orders, the town finally capitulated.[3] One further reference reveals that a Henry Standish of Lancashire was granted a safe-conduct in March 1452 to cross to Calais in the retinue of Gervase Clifton, treasurer of the town.[4]

The Standish family's long involvement in Normandy was typical of many others who turned to France for their livelihood, and the numbers of relatives who indented to serve under Sir Roland, James and Henry Standish indicates the profitability of the venture.

5. ANDREW TROLLOPE.

Nothing is known about Trollope's background in England. He spent his entire career in France during the English occupation of Normandy, and

---

1. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25774/1289, 1307. The six were Seth, Robin, Nicholas, Oliver, Hugh and Alexander. Nicholas and a William Standish had also served under Henry at Conches.
2. E. Cosneau, Le connétable de Richemont, p. 323; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25778/1810. It is possible that there were two Henry Standishes on service in France at this time. In 1437 a man of the same name entered a joint indenture with Hankin Standish to serve for six months in command of 40 men-at-arms and 160 archers. The musters were taken in June at Portsmouth, when Randolph Standish's name was substituted for that of Hankin. On 23 October 1437, a Henry Standish was described as a king's esquire. P.R.O., Exchequer, E.R., Warrants for Issues 53/309; C.P.R., 1436-41, pp. 88, 96.
3. In March 1449 he had been in charge of Regnéville in the Cotentin; the following August saw him at the castle of Vernonet before the town of Vernon. V. Hunger, Le Siège de Caen, p. 18.
4. 'French Rolls', op.cit., p. 389.

after that he continued to serve in the garrison at Calais. In May 1428 he was a man-at-arms in the garrison of twenty lances and 60 archers at Tombelaine, under the command of Thomas Burgh, esquire.[1] He had transferred with his captain to Fresnay by December 1431, where a John Trollope was also serving. Both men were still there in February 1435, together with Osbert Mundford, whose sister Elizabeth Andrew married at an unknown date.[2]

During the same year, 1435, he was present at the rescue of Caen in the company of several notable captains who included Sir John Fastolf, Mathew Gough and Elys Longworth.[3] In November 1440 Trollope was a member of a large retinue under the command of Mathew Gough and Jenkin Baker, probably one of the roving field-commands usually undertaken by Gough.[4] He may still have been a member of the Fresnay garrison, where he was acting as lieutenant for Sir Richard Wydeville by January 1441.[5] In the summer of 1447 he was captain of Gavray.[6] The final year of the English occupation of Normandy saw Trollope as captain of certain men-at-arms under John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury at Falaise. Together with Thomas Cotton, Trollope surrendered the town to the French on behalf of the earl.[7] Fresnay was also surrendered by Trollope and Mathew Gough's companion-in-arms, Jenkin Baker, in return, amongst other things, for the freeing of the captain of the place, Trollope's brother-in-law, Osbert Mundford.[8]

---

1. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,593. A grant of land to Trollope in 1447 recited that he had served in the wars for twenty-two years and had several times been captured. C.T. Allmand, 'The Collection of Dom Lenoir and the English Occupation of Normandy in the Fifteenth Century', Archives (1963-64), p.204-5.
2. B.M., Add. Ch. 11,748; B.N., Ms.Fr. 25767/195.
3. William Worcester, Itineraries, p. 353.
4. B.N., Ms.Fr. 25775/1450. The company was composed of 56 men-at-arms and 112 archers.
5. A.N., K 67/1/1.
6. 'French Rolls', op.cit., p. 373.
7. B.N., P.O. 2887/2; Waurin, Croniques, V, 150.
8. Ibid., p. 160.

The loss of Normandy meant the loss of Trollope's lands. These included a grant, made in May 1447 of the baronies of La Ferté, Macé and Basoches in the bailliage of Caen. Although in the past they had been valued at an annual income of 600 livres tournois, during the previous 12 years they had been worth only one-third of that sum. For this income Trollope had to pay 40 livres tournois annually into the revenues of the vicomté of Falaise.[1]

Trollope may have been unable to support himself in England, especially to the high standard enjoyed by most Englishmen who served in France. He took up office instead as master porter of Calais, where his brother-in-law Mundford served as marshal under Edmund, duke of Somerset, captain of the town. Mundford was replaced by York's protégé, Walter Blount, on the appointment of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick as captain of Calais in 1455. Under Warwick, Trollope continued a successful career of piracy in the Channel directed against Englishmen and foreigners alike.[2] On 4 March 1457 Warwick was commissioned to arrest Andrew Trollope for piracy and bring him before the king, but this probably had little effect.[3] A year later Trollope received a grant of £20 a year from the revenues of Sangatte.[4]

The turning point in Trollope's career was his desertion of Warwick at Ludford Bridge with the troops of the Calais garrison who had been brought to join the duke of York at his castle of Ludlow in September 1459.[5] In March 1460 he was appointed bailiff of Guisnes for life, in

---

1. C T. Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy,'' Econ H.R., 2nd ser., XXI (1968), 472.
2. C.P.R., 1452-61, pp. 179, 281, 344.
3. Ibid., p. 348.
4. 'French Rolls', op.cit., p. 426.
5. Hall's Chronicle, p. 241; Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 634; Stow, Annales, p. 405.

return for his good service in the wars in France, and for the loss of his property confiscated by the rebels in Calais.[1] Waurin makes Trollope a hero of the Lancastrian side who succeeded in engineering Henry, duke of Somerset's entry into Guisnes, though it seems that the captain, Sir Thomas Findern, was loyal to the Crown. The chronicler also represents Trollope as the guiding force behind Somerset - 'ung tres noubtil homme de guerre' - and the man to whom the victory at Wakefield and the death of York was due.[2]

At the end of January 1461 it was reported that Lord FitzWalter 'hethe takyn ijc. of Andrew Troloppys men' in the north of England.[3] On 17 February following he was a grand captaine in Queen Margaret's army which put to flight the host led by Edward, earl of March and Richard, earl of Warwick, at the second battle of St. Albans.[4] After the battle a number of Margaret's captains were knighted, and 'the fryste....was Andrewe Trolloppe, for he was hurte and myght not goo for a calletrappe in hys fote, and he sayde "mylorde, I have not deservyd hit for I slowe but xv men, for I stode stylle in oo place and they came unto me, but they bode stylle with me"'.[5]

Edward of York was proclaimed King Edward IV on 4 March 1461. Two days later a proclamation was issued pardoning any Lancastrian supporters who surrendered within ten days; the exceptions included Trollope, who was also one of seven for whom a reard of £100 was offered - to the person

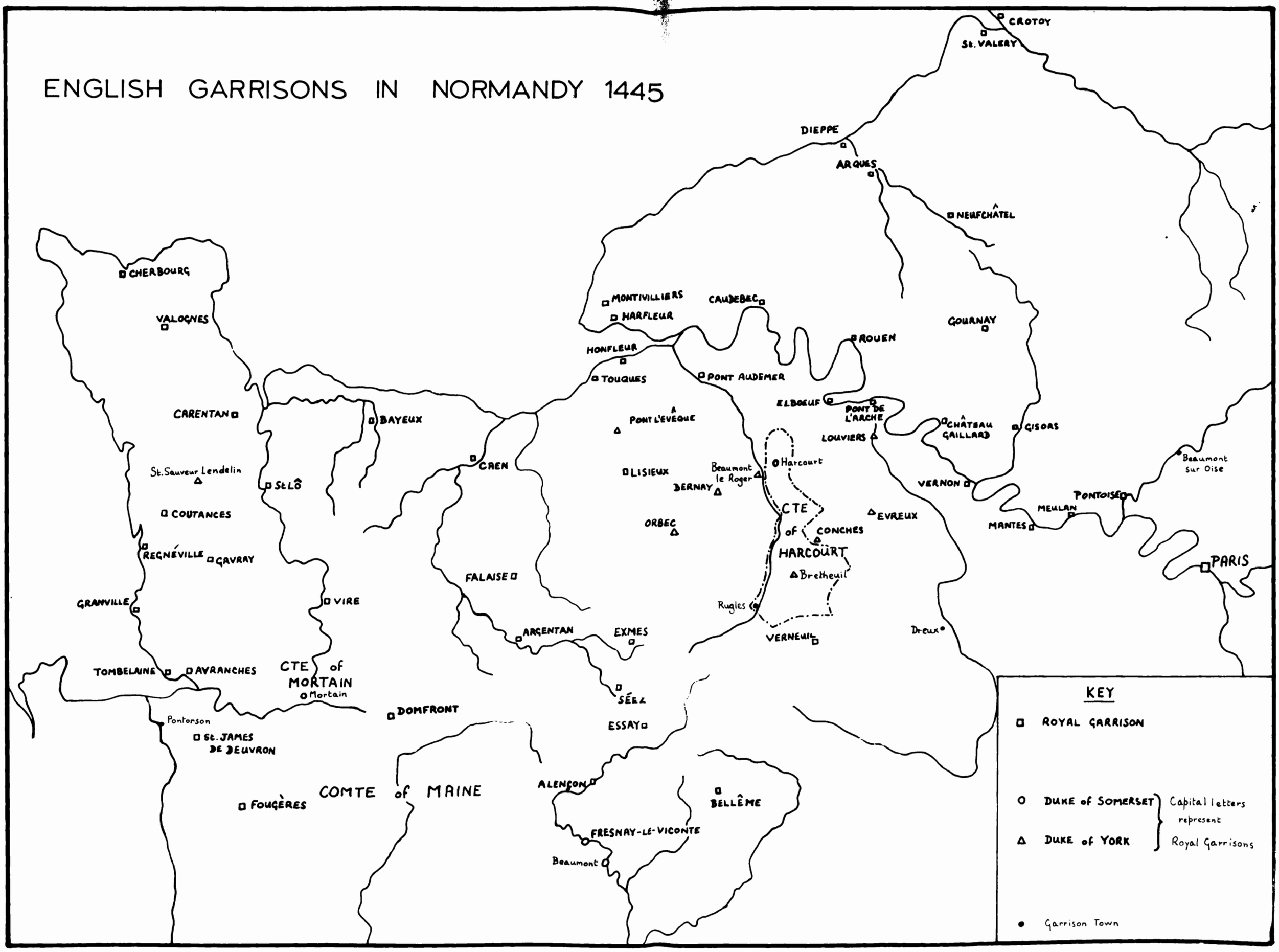
---

1. C.P.R., 1452-61, p. 555. In October 1459, Henry, duke of Somerset was appointed captain of Calais, but only succeeded in gaining admission to Guisnes, where he remained until the following spring. In October 1460, after the Yorkists had won a victory at the battle of Northampton and the duke of York had returned from Ireland, Somerset was at Dieppe under the king of France's safe conduct, together with Andrew Trollope and other members of the Guisnes garrison. Paston Letters, II, no. 357.
2. Waurin, Croniques, V, 279-80, 306, 325-26.
3. Paston Letters, II, no. 367.
4. Stow, Annales, 413; Waurin says that Trollope was in charge of the vanguard of Margaret's army. Waurin, Croniques, V, 327.
5. Gregory's Chronicle, p. 214.

or persons who 'shall effectually destroy and bring out of life' those named'.[1] On 29 March the Lancastrian and Yorkist forces met again, this time in the field at Towton near Tadcaster in Yorkshire. The battle was one of the most bloddy of the civil wars. Andrew Trollope was killed, together with several other veterans of the wars in France and just five weeks after receiving knighthood at the hands of Prince Edward of Lancaster.[2]

---

1. C.C.R., 1461-68, pp. 55-56.
2. Waurin, Croniques V, 341; Stow, Annales, p. 415.


ENGLISH GARRISONS IN NORMANDY 1445
CROTOY
St. VALERY
DIEPPE
ARQUES
NEUFCHÂTEL
CHERBOURG
VALOGNES
MONTIVILLIERS
HARFLEUR
CAUDEBEC
GOURNAY
ROUEN
HONFLEUR
TOUQUES
PONT AUDEMER
ELBOEUF
PONT DE L'ARCHE
CHÂTEAU GAILLARD
GISORS
CARENTAN
BAYEUX
PONT L'ÉVÊQUE
LOUVIERS
CREN
St. Sauveur Lendelin
St. LÔ
LISIEUX
Beaumont le Roger
Harcourt
Beaumont sur Oise
BERNAY
VERNON
PONTOISE
COUTANCES
CTE of HARCOURT
EVREUX
MEULAN
ORBEC
CONCHES
MANTES
REGNÉVILLE
GAVRAY
Bretheuil
PARIS
FALAISE
GRANVILLE
VIRE
Rugles
ARGENTAN
EXMES
VERNEUIL
Dreux
TOMBELAINE
AVRANCHES
CTE of MORTAIN
Mortain
SÉEZ
DOMFRONT
Pontorson
ESSAY
St. JAMES DE DEUVRON
ALENÇON
COMTE of MAINE
BELLÊME
FOUGÈRES
FRESNAY-LE-VICONTE
Beaumont
KEY
ROYAL GARRISON
DUKE of SOMERSET
DUKE of YORK
Capital letters represent Royal Garrisons
Garrison Town