



The Baronage in the Reign of Richard II, 1377-1399

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THE BARONAGE IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II, 1377–1399

by

Keith E. Fildes

**Dissertation submitted in part-fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of
History, University of Sheffield**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a prosopographical study of the English baronage during the reign of Richard II. It considers the role of barons within the political community and attempts to characterise them, both in terms of their engagement with institutions and by exploring private power relations. In the tradition of the political culture framework within which the study is situated, it seeks ultimately to determine the group's motives.

The first section explores structures, defining the baronage and tracing the historical development of the class. The stresses and concepts that moulded and distinguished the political culture are also set out. Three broad themes – politics, land and lordship - are then discussed in the second section. These endeavour to quantify and qualify the power and authority that were exercised by the 66 baronial families from the reign. In the political arena barons' engagement with the apparatus of royal government, administration and justice are investigated, along with political favour and its rewards. The size and distribution of their landholding is then assessed and the strategies they employed for putting their estates together determined. The service they performed and received is afterwards discussed and the reasons for and benefits of it analysed. These broader themes are then enriched by a demonstration of the differences on the ground. In this third section two case studies, of the Gloucestershire and Sussex barons, revisit the same themes, but look in more detail at just the handful of resident barons in those counties. Finally, the different situations in the two sample localities are reconciled by deciphering the barons' motives.

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INTRODUCTION

The usurpation of Richard II by his cousin Henry Bolingbroke in 1399 was one of the most significant events in later medieval history. It brought to an end almost two hundred and fifty years of Plantagenet rule and would prove to be the genesis of the War of the Roses, which subsequently tore the country apart for much of the proceeding century. The events of the ‘Lancastrian Revolution’ have been well documented and traditional interpretation shows Richard II’s government being so unpopular that Bolingbroke was able to sweep to power on a wave of popular fervour.¹ Although attempts have more recently been made to debunk some of the Lancastrian propaganda upon which many of these narratives are based, the transfer of loyalty by the political community was indisputably decisive.² One aspect of the campaign which helps explain what tipped the political and military balance in favour of the pretender is the participation of members of the baronage. In the chronicles it is reported that when Bolingbroke landed in England in July 1399 he arrived with approximately 60-100 men.³ By the time he reached Bristol three weeks later his army is said to have swelled to about 6000 soldiers, as ‘wherever he went the number of people joining him kept on increasing’.⁴ This was not though a populist movement. Bolingbroke’s army, like Richard II’s, was made up of his personal retinue, and those of the nobles and upper gentry aligned to him. Although the Lancastrian affinity was itself the greatest of any lord in the kingdom at the time, the only other members of the titled nobility to ally with Bolingbroke at this point were the young earl of Arundel, who had joined him in exile, and the heads of the two great northern families, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who joined him at Doncaster. Many of Richard II’s long-standing opponents among the titled nobility had been destroyed during his

¹ C. Barron, ‘The Tyranny of Richard II’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), pp.1-18; M. Bennett, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud, 1999), pp.109-69; B. Wilkinson, ‘The Deposition of Richard II and the Accession of Henry IV’, *English Historical Review*, liv (1939), pp.215-39; C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993).

² C. Barron, ‘The Deposition of Richard II’, in J. Taylor and W. Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, (Gloucester, 1990), pp.132-49.

³ Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), p.153; J. Taylor (ed.), *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles* (Leeds, 1952), p.77.

⁴ Taylor (ed.), *The Kirkstall Abbey*, p.78; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p.308.

‘tyranny’ from 1397 and replaced by his own supporters, who remained loyal until close to the end. A significant part of Bolingbroke’s army was made up of other, particularly northern, nobles who brought their forces to support his cause.⁵ Those barons known to have joined Bolingbroke’s campaign were Lords Willoughby, Greystoke, Ros and Furnival who joined him at Doncaster, Lords Berkeley, Seymour and de la Pole who changed allegiance with the duke of York at Berkeley, Lords Bardolf and Scales who enlisted at Shrewsbury and Lord Lovel who submitted to him at Chester.⁶ Lords Burnel, Berkeley, Ros, Willoughby and Beauchamp of Abergavenny later actively assisted Bolingbroke with the proceedings of the deposition.⁷ Henry IV’s early regime is also seen to include his ‘Lancastrian allies’ from the northern baronage, with the likes of Neville of Raby (earl of Westmorland), Willoughby, Greystoke, Ros, Furnival and Heron becoming prominent in royal government and at court.⁸

This endgame of the reign is just one example of members of the baronage being conspicuous in some of the key political episodes of the time. Another indicator of their importance which can readily be picked out from the political narrative is the makeup of the three continual councils during the minority. In these the barons were given a quota of representatives for their rank, demonstrating that they were considered a vital part of the political power structures. It also reveals barons as prominent in the council at one of the few times when its composition was visible.⁹ The first council of July to October 1377 was made up of two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets and four knights. Lords

⁵ D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (Leiden, 2006), p.6; M. Arvanigian, ‘The “Lancastrianization” of the North in the Reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413’, in D. Biggs, S. D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2004), pp.22-4.

⁶ B. Williams (ed.), ‘Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre’, *Publications of the English Historical Society* (London, 1964), pp.292-3; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, pp.154-5; A. Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), p.53; Taylor (ed.), *The Kirkstall Abbey*, p.77; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.308; N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. i (London, 1834), pp.213-14, 295; Arvanigian, ‘The “Lancastrianization”’, p.23. The alignment of barons during the political upheaval of 1399 will be explored further in Chapter 5.i.

⁷ Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.309.

⁸ Arvanigian, ‘The “Lancastrianization”’, pp.9-38; M. Arvanigian, ‘Henry IV, the Northern Nobility and the Consolidation of the Regime’, in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.117-38.

⁹ N. B. Lewis, ‘The Continual Council in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80’, *English Historical Review*, xli (1926), pp.246-51; A. Goodman, ‘Richard II’s Councils’, in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp.59-82.

Latimer and Cobham represented the barons, while Lords Beauchamp of Bletsoe and Stafford were named as the bannerets.¹⁰ Sir John Devereux, who was individually summoned to parliament from 1384, was nominated as one of the knights. The next council, which was active between October 1377 and October 1378, included Lords Stafford and Scrope of Masham as bannerets and Sir John Devereux as a knight, in a body of nine. Finally, the third council of eight, which served from November 1378 to January 1380, contained of Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe as one of the two bannerets. These continual councils, along with the commission of 1386 where Lords Scrope of Bolton, Cobham and Devereux were appointed councillors, demonstrate the influential role members of the baronage held in government at these snapshot times when the fluid executive body around the king was expressly defined. Further explicit evidence of baronial involvement in government was the appointment of individuals from this group to offices of state. Lord Scrope of Bolton was both chancellor and treasurer during the reign, while Lord de la Pole also served as chancellor.¹¹ Barons were also appointed to both of the senior offices of Richard II's household, with Lords Montagu, Beauchamp of Kidderminster, Scrope of Bolton and Devereux serving as steward and Lord Brian acting as chamberlain.¹²

A third occasion when the importance of the baronage can very apparently be ascertained from the political narrative is the way that Richard II cultivated the group during his period of 'gyration' as part of his attempt to gain support against the Appellants. Between February and November 1387 the king left London and travelled around the north and north-west Midlands in what Henry Knighton sees as aimless wanderings.¹³ However, particularly in view of the events that would occur upon his return to the capital in early winter, this was in fact a conscious attempt to consolidate his Cheshire powerbase and to recruit members of the baronage and upper gentry from those regions. Richard II was

¹⁰ The concept of bannerets will be explored in Chapter 2.ii.

¹¹ Cokayne, G. E, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. ii (London, 1912), Appendix D. Baronial service in royal administration will be discussed in Chapter 3.iii.

¹² C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), pp.71-5, 282-3. Baronial service in royal household will be discussed in Chapter 5.i.

¹³ H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp.402-4; N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp.171-2.

deliberately seeking to retain individuals from these groups in an attempt to harness the loyalty and influence of a broader section of the political community. His loyalists had previously been a narrow court circle and so, in preparation for the impending struggle with the Appellants, Richard II was seeking to broaden the support base for his kingship and build a loyal core of followers in the localities.¹⁴ About the only recorded contact with such a baron was his stay with Lord Beaumont in Leicestershire on 15 February. However there does seem to be a correlation between those later removed from court by the Appellants in 1388 and lords from this part of the country.¹⁵ Lords Beaumont (Leicestershire), Burnel (Shropshire), Zouche (Northamptonshire), Beauchamp of Kidderminster (Worcestershire) and Thomas, son of Lord Clifford (Westmorland and Yorkshire) all held local interests in the areas that the king visited at this time. Of these, only Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster and Sir Thomas Clifford have recorded associations with the king's household and affinity before 1387. There is also a record of the king's company when he stayed at Lichfield on 29 June and this included Lords Basset, Beaumont and Zouche.¹⁶ Although Ralph, Lord Basset would side with the Appellants when conflict erupted, epitomised by his remark that he did not care to get his head broken for the duke of Ireland, it is feasible that he was another powerful baron from this north and north-west Midlands region who Richard II was targeting for recruitment.¹⁷ This policy was ultimately unsuccessful in creating a support base to challenge the combined strength of the Appellants.¹⁸ However the endeavour by Richard II to try and tap the resources of the baronage is in itself an indication of their importance within the political community.

This has introduced some examples of where barons played notable parts in some of the crucial political events of the reign. At times of major political fracture therefore

¹⁴ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.217.

¹⁵ Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.429; T. Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. i, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), p.849; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.261; L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.231; J. L. Leland, 'The Abjuration of 1388', *Medieval Prosopography*, xv (1994), pp.115-38.

¹⁶ Saul, *Richard II*, p.334.

¹⁷ Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.407.

¹⁸ The alignment of barons during the political upheaval of 1386-8 will be explored further in Chapter 5.i.

members of the baronage were found among the key supporters of the chief protagonists. Equally they were playing a significant role in royal government at the instances when its workings were most clearly visible.

It is necessary to classify who the term baronage is actually referring to in this study. The word ‘baron’ was a contemporary one used to describe a group of roughly 40 to 50 families who were situated between the titled nobles, who held the title of duke or earl, and the gentry. What made barons distinct from the gentry below them was their receipt of individual summonses to parliament, which entitled them to sit in the upper chamber. This is a very simplistic definition of the baronage, and is not entirely uncontested. However, by the end of the fourteenth century a distinct parliamentary peerage was to all intents and purposes in place.¹⁹ Using this definition, during Richard II’s reign there were a total of 66 baronial families. These are listed in Appendix 2, along with short biographies of each of the 109 individual lords.²⁰ Throughout this study the following other definitions of terms will apply. Nobles, aristocrats, magnates, peers and lords will be used interchangeably to describe the men who sat in the upper chamber of parliament, essentially the dukes, earls and barons. The Lords (with a capital ‘l’) generally equates to the same group, but has particular parliamentary application. The phrase titled nobles will be used to differentiate those of the rank of duke or earl from the baronage. The Commons (with a capital ‘c’) will refer to the knights of the shire and burgesses who sat in the lower chamber of parliament. Upper gentry will denote knights and esquires, while the petty landholders who would later be become gentlemen will be referred to as the lower gentry.

A number of political and constitutional histories of the period, as well as works on the nobility as a whole, have touched upon the subject of the baronage in the fourteenth century. These have mainly traced the development of the class over a period of a century or more, highlighting general trends occurring over a fairly long timescale. Stubbs, Tout

¹⁹ The subject of defining barons will be explored in detail in Chapter 2.ii-iii.

²⁰ The 109 figure includes those who became heads of baronial families during Richard II’s reign, but who did not come of age (or receive parliamentary summonses) until after it. In parts of Chapters 4 and 5 the sample group is 99, rather than the full 109, due to the parameter of death having occurred by 1425 being used in the methodology.

and McKisack largely concentrate on such theoretical aspects of the baronage.²¹ McFarlane and later Brown endeavour to categorise the development of the baronage, and the criteria for defining them, into distinct phases, a topic picked up in Chapter 2.²² Powell and Wallis provide a useful chronological narrative of the innovations and developments in procedure and the composition of the nobility.²³ Given-Wilson's survey of the English nobility is a work of synthesis that particularly looks at social structures and the relationship between status and political influence.²⁴ Harriss similarly synthesises research on the nobility as a whole, expanding on the topics of inheritance, domestic life, religion and war.²⁵ The baronage has only received passing reference in the major biographies of Richard II, which mention individual barons as political actors, but typically conclude that barons had a low profile and tended to follow the lead of the titled nobles.²⁶ Tuck overtly emphasises the role of the nobility, although almost solely that of the titled nobles, in his political narrative of the reign.²⁷ Other studies of individual titled nobles or gentry-centred county communities also introduce barons as actors, but tend not to discuss the class as an entity.²⁸ Notable studies therefore exist which address the issue of how barons evolved and were defined and differentiated from other groups, and other important themes. These though tend to concentrate on the technical and doctrinal aspects of rank and protocol, rather than being works of prosopography, or use the entire nobility as the sample for the themes that are developed.

²¹ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii (Oxford, Fourth Edition, 1896), pp.184-214; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vol. iii (Manchester, 1928), pp.136-40; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vol. iv (Manchester, 1928), pp.64-6; M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), pp.182-90.

²² K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), esp. pp.122-5, 268-78; A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp.178-82. For further discussions see Chapter 2.i.

²³ J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp.380-426.

²⁴ C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), esp. pp.55-68.

²⁵ G. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford, 2005), pp.93-135.

²⁶ A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1962); V. H. Galbraith, 'A New Life of Richard II', *History*, xxvi (1942), pp.223-39; Saul, *Richard II*; C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-1399* (Oxford, 2008).

²⁷ A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973).

²⁸ The lordship versus county community debate will be a theme throughout this study and is particularly expounded in Chapter 1.iii.

Several monographs investigating specific aspects of late medieval politics and society make important contributions to discussions on the baronage. Holmes' study of noble landholding is the essential starting point for the examination of aristocratic inheritances and the economic organisation of those estates.²⁹ Dunn's book on magnate tenurial power looks at the financial and political impact of noble land forfeitures and the subsequent redistribution of these properties to other lords.³⁰ Bothwell's investigation of the peerage under Edward III is an extensive study of the mechanisms of patronage and that monarch's distribution of it to his nobility.³¹ Studies of individual baronial families within the sample of this thesis also make an important contribution to the debates on the baronage by compiling a wealth of material on a variety of themes. The most comprehensive is that of Ross on the Yorkshire baronage, which investigates nine noble families.³² Studies by Jack on the Greys of Ruthin, Pollard on the Talbots, Rees on the Cliffords, Vale on the Scropes (of Masham and of Bolton), Simon on the Lovells, Lawrence on the Despensers and Kinsey on the Thorpes are important resources and also afford the opportunity to trace the careers and fortunes of barons over a greater number of generations.³³ Young's book on the Nevilles, as well as a number of articles which are collated in the bibliography, are further, similarly useful, baronial family studies.³⁴

No existing work though attempts a detailed prosopographical study of the English baronage in the late medieval period, and it is that gap which this thesis will endeavour to fill.

²⁹ G. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957).

³⁰ A. Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power in England and Wales, 1389-1413* (Oxford, 2003).

³¹ J. S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage* (Woodbridge, 2004).

³² C. D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford (1950). The nine noble families covered are the Nevilles, Percies, the Ros family, Scropes of Masham, Scropes of Bolton, Fitzhughs, Cliffords, Darcies and Mauleys.

³³ R. I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490: A Study of the Lesser Baronage', Unpublished PhD thesis, London, Royal Holloway College (1961); A. J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', Unpublished PhD thesis, Bristol (1968); V. J. C. Rees, 'The Clifford Family in the Later Middle Ages, 1259-1461', Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Lancaster (1973); B. Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham, c.1300-1450: A Study of a Northern Noble Family', Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, York (1987); M. E. Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-148?', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1999); M. J. Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation: The Despensers, c.1281-1400', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2005); R. C. Kinsey, 'The Thorpes of Northamptonshire, c.1200-1391: A Study of a Medieval Lawyer Family', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2009) (Forthcoming).

³⁴ C. R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166-1400* (Woodbridge, 1996).

CHAPTER 1: POLITICAL CULTURE¹

i) Historiographical Traditions²

The historiography of late medieval England is now embarking upon its third paradigm, that of political culture. The first tradition which dominated the study of this period was the Stubbsian constitutional Whig version. This was grounded in the institutions of government and charted the ‘progression’ of the state towards modern parliamentary democracy and a limited monarchy. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were seen as a regressive deviation in which the interests of ‘overmighty subjects’ became dominant, bringing about the subsequent descent into the Wars of the Roses.³ The post-war McFarlanite paradigm which succeeded this was instead based on the functioning of society. In particular it focused on the relations of the nobility, the flow of patronage and the ties of paid service. These were seen to underpin an essentially stable and cohesive system which was the logical successor to, or a refinement of, earlier feudalism, rather than a regression.⁴ Revisions, particularly by those still working within McFarlane’s framework, followed and will also be explored.⁵ The most recent trend has followed in the work of Quentin Skinner and early modernists and has advocated the case for a new constitutional history which revisits and re-emphasises the central institutions and administration.⁶ This attempts to

¹ This thesis just looks at structural organisations, particularly politics, government, economics and social order, as expressions of political culture. It does not attempt to explore material culture. It also makes no attempt to comment on discourse theory, as barons are generally ‘unspoken’ so there are no sources to study their language.

² This section looks at the more general historiography of late medieval England. The section on Political Structures below discusses the historiography of some of the constructs developed to explain the nature and dynamics of the political community. Chapter 2 explores the more specific historiography of the baronage.

³ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii (Oxford, Fourth Edition, 1896), pp.652-6; J. Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), p.15.

⁴ K. B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981), pp.23-43; G. L. Harriss, ‘Introduction’, in K. B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981), p. ix.

⁵ C. Carpenter, ‘The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work’, *English Historical Review*, xciv (1980), pp.514-32; P. R. Coss, ‘Bastard Feudalism Revised’, *Past and Present*, cxxv (1989), pp.27-64; M. A. Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (Harlow, 1995); C. Given-Wilson, ‘Richard II and the Higher Nobility’, in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp.127-8.

⁶ Q. R. D. Skinner, ‘The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole’, in N. McKendrick (ed.), *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb* (London, 1974), pp.93-128; E. Powell, ‘After “After McFarlane”: The Poverty of Patronage and the Case for Constitutional History’, in D. J. Clayton, R. G. Davies and P. McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance* (Stroud, 1994), pp.1-16; C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), ch.1; J. L. Watts, *Henry VI and*

synthesise the study of the state and the study of society under the banner of political culture. It also highlights the unnecessary separation of the two in many cases. Some of the more specific sources of change and political structures that shaped and defined the political culture will be explored as well, but first the context of this study will be set out by detailing this broader historiography of late medieval England.⁷

Interpretations of late medieval history have been shaped significantly by the work of one of the first professional historians, William Stubbs. Constitutional history, or at least the Whiggish understanding of it, was very much in vogue during the second half of the nineteenth century. Stubbs, building on the works of amateur historians such as Henry Hallam, Francis Palgrave and Thomas Macaulay, produced his authoritative work during the 1870s and it is considered the great synthesis of the Whig interpretation of medieval history. It constructed history as a story of progress toward the present, or more specifically toward the British constitutional settlement of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy.⁸ This meant that his study, and those that followed in the tradition he established, tended to focus on specific areas that were particularly pertinent to what this doctrine was attempting to demonstrate. As a result the history of institutions, particularly parliament and the rise of the 'middle class' Commons, became the focal point of most historical studies, while political and all other types of history were disregarded. There were inherent problems with such an approach. This history was very subjective and explicitly influenced by the values and overtones of the liberal Victorians who were writing it, rather than particular periods being studied in their own right. It also led to pontificating, moralising and disdainful treatment of anything that was seen to be divergent or regressive. As a result late medieval England was judged harshly.

the Politics of Kingship (Cambridge, 1996), ch.1; H. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster* (Oxford, 2000), ch.1.

⁷ For further discussions on this historiography, see: C. Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History: Before and After McFarlane', in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), pp.175-206; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, ch.1; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp.1-6; C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.6-26; J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron* (Manchester, 1989), introduction.

⁸ The category of Whig history was coined by Herbert Butterfield, who also outlined its characteristics: H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931).

Stubbs sums up the fourteenth century as ‘on the whole unattractive’, with political heroes who ‘seem neither to demand nor to deserve admiration’, ‘public and private morality...fall[ing] lower and lower’ and there being ‘no unity of public interest, no singleness of political aim, no heroism of self-sacrifice’.⁹ Richard II’s reign in particular is characterised as ‘the baronage...divided against itself, one part maintaining the popular liberties but retarding their progress by bitter personal antipathies, the other maintaining royal autocracy, and although less guilty as aggressors, still more guilty by way of revenge’.¹⁰ The only saving grace in the period up to the ‘Lancastrian Revolution’ of 1399 was seen to be the banding of the nobles and Commons in resistance to the aggressive policy and autocratic tendencies of the crown. The fifteenth century then contained ‘little else than the details of foreign wars and domestic struggles, in which parliamentary institutions play no prominent part’.¹¹ This century of deviation is then put right by the Tudors because ‘from the accession of Henry IV to the accession of Henry VII, the baronage, the people and the royal house, were divided each with itself, and that internal division was working a sort of political suicide which the Tudor reigns arrested’.¹²

Stubbs’ ideas of precarious kingship, noble feuding and the conflicting ambitions and power struggle between the monarchy and aristocracy were further developed by Plummer. He coined the term ‘bastard feudalism’ to reflect the degeneration of the feudal system, particularly with reference to the replacement of tenurial bonds and the feudal levy with contracts and payment for military service. This was seen to increase greed and ambition amongst the nobility who, also assisted by new land freedoms such as the practice of enfeoffment, became ‘overmighty subjects’. They could then use their new private armies of liveried retainers for violent peacetime purposes and for subverting royal justice and administration, which harmed the authority of the crown and the general welfare of the people.¹³ This Stubbsian framework was largely unchallenged for the next half-century. Even though Tout’s important study served to shift the focus from parliament to the administration and

⁹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii, pp.654-5.

¹⁰ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii, p.655. Stubbs uses the wider meaning of the word baronage here which incorporated titled nobles too, unlike the more specific definition being used in this thesis.

¹¹ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii (Oxford, Fifth Edition, 1903), p.2.

¹² Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. iii, p.520.

¹³ Fortescue, *The Governance*, pp.15-29.

household, almost all research until the Second World War remained within the parameters of this paradigm, particularly retaining the idea of a struggle for ascendancy between the monarchy and aristocracy.¹⁴

The Marxist approach was another partial doctrinal interpretation, where a pre-conceived rationale of the progression of history through a series of goal-directed stages was imposed over the top of empirical evidence. This has been more peripheral in its impact on the historiography of late medieval England than the Whiggish interpretation, but is still noteworthy. It saw feudalism as a purely economic system and the late medieval 'bastard' period as part of, although not a particularly distinct phase in, the crisis of feudalism. This crisis was the breaking down of the old order and would eventually bring about the next mode of production, capitalism. Some contributory eroding factors from this period, such as the commutation of labour services into money, were identified as being of special significance to the transition between feudalism and capitalism.¹⁵ However, generally this approach underplays the significance of any transition because, even though feudal lordship had been replaced by the new clientage of good lordship, 'at the top of the illegitimate heap there was still a more or less legitimate landed aristocracy'.¹⁶

In 1938 Bruce McFarlane delivered a paper which deliberately attempted to initiate the collapse of the Stubbsian framework.¹⁷ His work over the next three decades actuated the complete reassessment of bastard feudalism and the study of late medieval history. McFarlane's interpretation was very much influenced by, and complementary to, the work of Lewis Namier on the eighteenth century. Namier's research was particularly characterised by its use of prosopography, collective biographies of a specific historical group, to promote the concept of issues and local interests determining individuals' political positions as opposed to anachronistic

¹⁴ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (6 Volumes, Manchester, 1920-1933).

¹⁵ R. Hilton, 'Introduction', in P. Sweezy, M. Dobb, K. Takahashi and R. Hilton, *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1976), p.15.

¹⁶ J. H. Hexter, 'A New Framework for Social History', *Journal of Economic History*, xv (1955), pp.415-26 (quotation at p.419). For general discussions and debates on this see: Sweezy et al, *The Transition, passim*. For exposition of this approach see: R. Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (London, 1985); S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (London, 1995).

¹⁷ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp.279-97.

‘parties’ pursuing abstract principles. He instead emphasised a real political community made up of individuals with interconnecting webs of interest and patronage networks.¹⁸

McFarlane applied many of these techniques to the late medieval period, particularly encouraging prosopographical studies on the lives and webs of interest of the nobility, and in doing so created a new paradigmatic approach for the study of the period. First of all he gave a new meaning to the term bastard feudalism, redefining it as ‘having the appearance of, somewhat resembling’, rather than being a debasement. He then re-established it as a ‘label to describe the society which was emerging from feudalism in the early part of the fourteenth century, when most if not all of its ancient features survived, even though in many cases as weak shadows of themselves, but when the tenurial bond between lord and vassal had been superseded as the primary social tie by the personal contract between master and man’.¹⁹ The outlines of his new framework therefore revolved around the central principle of a legitimate system of payment for service and the workings of the resultant flow of patronage. However, whereas Stubbs had believed that these developments involved the hiring of ‘thugs’ and promoted greed and civil strife, McFarlane instead saw these new bonds as resulting from ‘a calculation of mutual advantage’ between nobility and gentry. He also agreed with N. B. Lewis that the indenture system was a ‘steady influence in a society where old institutional loyalties were breaking down’.²⁰ Although he still saw abuses of the system and accepted that it could clearly be put to destructive uses, government and society were no more inherently disordered than the preceding feudal society had been. Instead he put the blame for the Wars of the Roses on the personal inadequacies of the kings themselves, ‘in the early dotage of Edward III, in the instability of Richard II’s character’ and in Henry VI being a ‘baby who grew up an imbecile’.²¹ Strong kings could prevent the abuses in livery and maintenance getting beyond control, whereas only undermighty kings had anything to fear from overmighty subjects.²²

¹⁸ L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (2 Volumes, London, 1929)

¹⁹ McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p.23.

²⁰ McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp.39, 36; N. B. Lewis, ‘The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England’, *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, xxvii (1945), p.39.

²¹ McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp.41-2.

²² McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p.238.

Thus McFarlanism can be summarised as the rejection of the Stubbsian framework which was too narrowly focused on government institutions; the promotion of in-depth studies of the lives, landed interests and finances of the individuals who made up political society, especially the nobility; and the reconstruction of the ties of lordship and the interdependent webs of patronage which bound the body politic and through which it functioned. McFarlane's followers implemented this model and a range of detailed studies based on patronage and local surveys followed which explored the influence of noble and gentry families and were all located broadly within this framework.²³

The major criticism of the application of McFarlane's, or the broader Namierist, approach is that they tended to look just at connections and the patterns of relationships, rather than the deeper ideas which determined action and characterised the group. There was an underlying assumption that the networks that can be traced are what motivated individuals, but this was an illegitimate step because connection is not the same thing as motivation.

Several revisions were made to the McFarlanist approach on different grounds, although all were broadly within the tradition he established. Carpenter and Hicks both explored how bastard feudalism actually worked in the context of local societies by looking at the nature of ties and the specific effects of the system at that level. They advocated a shift in focus away from indentured retinues to the broader affinity and members of the household and the tenantry. Both studies concluded that the system was used by all parties and that ties were mutually beneficial. These more structural approaches looked at specific relations in the locality, rather than just the role of the nobility and the king. However they were essentially methodological revisions to the McFarlanist tradition, rather than real challenges to the underlying assumptions.²⁴ One study that did attempt to push the pendulum back slightly on one of McFarlane's conclusions was Given-Wilson's assessment that policy disagreements, such as about

²³ Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', p.1. For examples of work in the McFarlane tradition see: C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979); C. Richmond, 'After McFarlane', *History*, lviii (1983), pp.46-60. More detailed reference is made to some of the specific local studies in the Political Structures section below.

²⁴ Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity', pp.514-32; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp.68, 220.

the unsuccessful war in Richard II's reign, were an underestimated source of conflict. These were less containable or controllable simply by strong kingship and, as such, breakdowns in the supposedly inherently stable system were not always simply the fault of weak kings.²⁵ The most radical revision of McFarlane's construction before the popularisation of the political culture approach was Coss' challenge from a quasi-Marxist position. He saw bastard feudalism as a magnate reaction to the resurrection of public authority within feudal society, brought about by Angevin legal reforms, which had forged more direct links between the crown and local societies and challenged magnates' traditional means of control in the localities. Instead of a generally stable and cohesive system, he highlighted the conflicts between competing magnates and their dependants, the unsettling intrusion of private power into the system of public courts and the instability that arose as magnates sought to maintain control over the dispensation of patronage to preserve their power.²⁶ All these interpretations however remained intrinsically McFarlanist in that they all continued to deal essentially with connections and actions, rather than motives and ideas.

Since the mid-1990s several late medieval historians have been pressing the case for a new constitutional history of the period.²⁷ This approaches the word constitution differently from its nineteenth century application, which was effectively just the study of institutions. Instead it re-establishes the truer sense of constitution, which also looks at the rules and principles that governed a system. It calls for closer attention to be paid to 'the values, ideals and conventions governing political life and the exercise of authority', and to 'the machinery of law and government through which that authority is exercised'.²⁸ This approach looks to the ideas of Quentin Skinner and his criticism of Namier, particularly Namier's assertions that political principles were not influential in the realities of politics and that the desire to acquire and exercise power was the sole

²⁵ Given-Wilson, 'Richard II', pp.127-8.

²⁶ Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp.27-64. For other earlier limited criticisms of McFarlane see: R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966); J. G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973).

²⁷ Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', pp.1-16; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, ch.1; Watts, *Henry VI*, ch.1; Castor, *The King, the Crown*, ch.1. For further discussions on the concept and application of political culture, see: C. Carpenter, 'Introduction: Political Culture, Politics and Cultural History', in L. Clark and C. Carpenter (eds.), *The Fifteenth Century IV: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.1-19.

²⁸ Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', p.10.

determinant of political behaviour.²⁹ Skinner instead argues that political and constitutional principles were important because political figures had to legitimise their actions and gain support for them from the political community. Thus the actions of any politician were restrained by the recognised set of values in which the system operated. Even if the principles expounded were entirely insincere cloaks for self-interest, what was important was that political figures ‘operated within a specific political culture and had to reconcile their actions to its values’.³⁰ This is the essence of the political culture paradigm, the codes of conduct and presumptions about the nature and boundaries of the political system which governed actions.

Applying this to late medieval historiography, the political culture framework naturally brings criticism to the McFarlanist ‘patronage is all’ approach. It has been argued that while McFarlane caused the collapse of the Stubbsian framework, what followed was not the establishment of a new model for understanding political and governmental arrangements, but instead a state of ‘anarchy’. The outcome of the series of studies of private networks and connections was ‘a rather aimless and unenlightening politics, free of development, devoid of public pressures, and often detached from the formal institutions and publicly acknowledged principles which surrounded it’.³¹ To Carpenter, this is not what McFarlane advocated at all. In fact he was very interested in political ideas and also implicitly intended the fusion of political history with a larger conceptual grasp of the structures of governance and politics. That this new synthesis did not come to pass was due to a misunderstanding of his legacy and the neglect of his own call to include ‘activities, opinions and passions’ in studies of the governing class. Carpenter has termed the actual tradition which followed him ‘bastard McFarlanism’.³²

The new constitutional history that this political culture approach is advocating is intended to ‘restore an explanatory framework to a political history which is increasingly detailed, but also...increasingly difficult to understand’. It is also to enable the identification of the defining characteristics of politics of the period and to permit

²⁹ Skinner, ‘The Principles and Practice’, pp.93-128.

³⁰ Powell, ‘After “After McFarlane”’, p.11.

³¹ Watts, *Henry VI*, p.4.

³² Carpenter, ‘Political and Constitutional History’, pp.190-1. The idea that McFarlane is to some extent blameless for his legacy has been disputed: Powell, ‘After “After McFarlane”’, p.2.

exploration of the connections between central and local government more effectively. If the commonly held principles and ideas can be better understood, the characters involved can be re-evaluated and the relationship between private and public interests more accurately analysed.³³ This would include how public authority related to private power structures to facilitate governance, essentially the interaction between bureaucracy and patronage. It would also include how the attitudes of McFarlane's governing class manifested in and towards the public sphere and public functions, the underlying constitution which governed relations between the crown and the political community.

ii) Sources of Change

With the broader historiography of late medieval England outlined, we can now look at some of the more specific stresses that moulded and distinguished late medieval political culture. The two major 'external' influences on fourteenth century political and social life were the Black Death of 1348-9 and the commencement of over a hundred years of war with France in 1337. A third factor, intrinsically linked to both these, was the growth of the state, which included the devolution of areas of justice and administration to the localities and the increased noble involvement with, and influence over, it. All three helped create, and were essential components of, the system commonly referred to as bastard feudalism.

The Black Death affected socio-economic relations in the political classes. Demand for labour placed labourers in a more favourable position at the expense of large landholders. As a result many magnates found it more profitable to lease out their demesnes, rather than manage them directly, which made land available for the lower social orders, especially the gentry.³⁴ Subsequently, the status and resources of the top end of this group grew and the development of a knightly class, which gained

³³ Watts, *Henry VI*, p.6.

³⁴ S. J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xlv (1992), pp.51-73. B. Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1985), pp.188-91. Guenée comments on the Europe wide crisis amongst the nobility as a result of the economic conditions of rising prices, agrarian crises and rural depopulation which resulted in depressed revenues, but also how they managed to sustain or increase their predominance during this period.

momentum under Edward I, continued as they strengthened their place in a broader political community and began to become integrated into public service, particularly under Edward III.³⁵ The result of this demographic change was the accelerated emergence of a new political and social hierarchy with distinct stratification, relations and means of identification. As will be explored more in Chapter 2, what McFarlane described as a dozen earls and an undifferentiated mass of three thousand landowners in the reign of Edward I, developed into a tiered, exclusive and formally defined hierarchy.³⁶

Running parallel to this broader socio-economic trend was the influence of the prolonged period of military campaigns following the outbreak of open hostilities with France in 1337. This placed an extra burden on the state due to the requirements for manpower and other resources. A devolved paid contractual system for raising volunteer armies had been in practice since at least the reign of Edward I and had replaced compulsory feudal obligation to serve as the primary method of providing armed forces by the 1340s. Here the crown contracted commanders to provide a specified number of troops and these commanders would then recruit them through a series of sub-contracts.³⁷ This augmented a freer market in service as lords took on more retainers and ambitious knights searched for patrons who could provide them with patronage and advancement. In terms of taxation, the burden of financing campaigns put pressure on state finances and resulted in a higher level and wider spread of direct taxation. As well as politicising the lower orders, most obviously demonstrated in 1381, these demands also forced the state to make concessions to the landed classes. Using the, over prescriptive but useful, theoretical ‘war state’ model of Kaeuper, in a situation where a significant amount of the resources of the centre were applied to and used up in military campaigns, the state was forced to compromise on its usually authoritarian ‘law state’ tendencies and devolve some of its judicial and administrative

³⁵ For further discussions on the origins and formation of the gentry see: P. R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003); D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), pp.120-63.

³⁶ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.268-9. See Chapter 2.i.

³⁷ M. R. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1962); W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III* (London, 1990), pp.151-5. Guenée, *States and Rulers*, p.162. Guenée has pointed out that ‘at the same time many continental and especially French rulers had recourse to similar contracts’.

responsibilities to the magnates and other local elite.³⁸ The reality was never so stark, nor any change so conscious, but it is not a coincidence that at this time local elites' involvement in local government was noticeably extending.

A third related source of change was the general growth of royal government, partly to cope with the demands of being at war, partly due to the heightened expectations for justice. This compelled the fostering of co-operative relations between the crown and non-noble county elites in the localities. Coss believed that this was an attempt to bypass private power and establish a more direct relationship with, and public authority in, the shires. However he admits that this 'latent threat' to the magnates was never likely to divide the nobility and gentry as they both relied on the same sources of wealth and power and their interests were too closely associated for there to be a political division along these lines. The reactive response of the nobles was to increase their private retaining and thereby bind more of the gentry in their localities to them. In return they provided patronage and succour. There was also a magnate infiltration of the new locally based instruments of authority, such as involvement in the appointment of sheriffs and serving on commissions of oyer and terminer and as justices of the peace, which helped reaffirm their place as leaders of the local society.³⁹ That these were the tangible outcomes is generally accepted. There has though been debate about whether this employment of the gentry in local affairs was ever actually threat to the private power of the magnates.⁴⁰ It should also be remembered that in 1352 it was the Commons who actively encouraged the king to involve 'the great men of the land, earls and barons, each in his region', in the peace commissions, which shows that this development was not entirely the result of greedy acquisitive impulses.⁴¹ The more purist McFarlanist view is that it was a system of mutually rewarding financial bonds, which large and small landholders alike could benefit from, that underpinned this social order, rather than the growth of private

³⁸ R. W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988).

³⁹ Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp.47-54; Guenée, *States and Rulers*, p.188. Guenée reminds us that the alliance between crown and bourgeoisie to weaken the feudal aristocracy, as well as the church, is a traditional theme of French historiography.

⁴⁰ D. A. Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past and Present*, cxxxii (1991), pp.177-89.

⁴¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. ii (London, 1783), p.283; W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III: Parliament of 1352 (January), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 13; A. Musson and W. M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice* (Basingstoke, 1990), p.71.

retaining being a form of reactionary pay-off to check the rise of the gentry and repress public authority.⁴² The result however was, for constructive or destructive ends, the increased role of the nobility and the localities in justice and administration.

The culmination of these three sources of change was that the break-up of strict tenurial lordship and its replacement by a more fluid service-based system, the origin of which can be traced back to Angevin legal and administrative reforms and beyond, accelerated during the second half of the fourteenth century. This had a significant impact on the mechanisms of the state, as well as society itself. There was a broader, more strictly defined and structured, institutionalised hierarchy in the political community;⁴³ an increase in the size and importance of peacetime noble affinities; and an increased devolution of justice and administration as local elites became agents of the state.

Aside from these broader stresses, there were also a number of events and particular circumstances in Richard II's reign that impacted on the political and social life of the political community. A minority following a dotage saw the increased involvement in the workings of government by the political community in the early years of the reign as tense consensus rule was practised through parliament, great councils and the appointment of emergency continual councils. Richard II's emergence into effectual governance around 1384 saw him assert his influence on the direction of patronage and control over the household. However there was criticism that he was surrounded by a close circle of courtiers who were monopolising patronage and exploiting his person. The impeachment of Michael, Lord de la Pole in 1386 and the further 'merciless' treason trials of Richard II's intimates by the Appellants in 1387-8 saw a severe magnate backlash to the favouritism he had been exercising. A period of appeasement followed from 1389 as the Appellant commission ended and Richard II regained the initiative. Eight years of conciliatory stability were suddenly brought to an end in 1397 with the arrest and destruction of the three senior Appellants. Richard II had by this time built a new court clique from amongst the younger nobility, who

⁴² McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp.36-8; Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', p.189.

⁴³ This topic is dealt with more fully in Chapter 2.i.

supported him in this coup and were subsequently rewarded in the redistribution of the confiscated lands. Richard II had also begun placing novel emphasis on the powers of the royal prerogative, demonstrated by his extortion of oaths of obedience, extraction of forced loans and collection of sealed confession charters giving him ‘carte blanche’ over the lives and possessions of certain subjects.⁴⁴ To critics this was a ‘tyranny’ and particularly the fears he stirred in the propertied elite through his disregard of law and custom lost him the support of the wider political community.⁴⁵ His exiling of the two junior Appellants in 1398, followed by his refusal to allow Bolingbroke to inherit the Duchy of Lancaster the following year, brought about an invasion and eventually Richard II’s deposition.⁴⁶

These sources of change and shorter-term circumstances were some of the key influences on the political culture of the period. Some of the more specific constructs that have been developed to explain the nature and dynamics of the political community, and the debates around them, now need to be outlined. Deriving from the three main historiographical frameworks set out above, late medieval power relations can be viewed either constitutionally, through the web of interconnecting social and economic ties, or as a series of codes of conduct.

iii) Political Structures

In the late medieval state, sovereign authority was held by the king. There were restraints on this and there was a customary understanding that the king should not override the law and that statutory law should be made in parliament with the assent of the Lords and Commons. A king had two primary obligations to his subjects – to preserve the peace and to protect the realm. The first of these commitments empowered the king to regulate, adjudicate and act as guarantor in matters of law, particularly with regard to property disputes. The second reinforced his traditional role as ‘warlord’ in defending the borders against foreign enemies. To undertake particularly the former

⁴⁴ C. M. Barron, ‘The Tyranny of Richard II’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), pp.1-18.

⁴⁵ J. A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), p.225.

⁴⁶ For general studies on Richard II’s reign see: N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997); A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941); G. L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford, 2005), pp.444-91.

activity, a complex system of procedures, mechanisms and bureaucracy developed – the late medieval state. Of particular importance were the royal courts and the Chancery, which provided and recorded justice respectively. The two royal courts, the Court of Common Pleas, which dealt with private civil pleas, and the King's Bench, which encompassed criminal cases of private litigation and crown prosecution, were the central law courts. Both grew out of the king's personal authority and were staffed by professional judges who were royal servants. In terms of defence of the realm, following the demise of feudal obligation, the responsibility of raising funds to pay for armies became a substantial burden on the king and this therefore encouraged the development of financial institutions such as the Exchequer, as well as political ones like parliament. This structure was underpinned by the concept that the king was the embodiment of the system and in his hands rested considerable influence over the stability and prosperity of the realm.⁴⁷

One of the other customs which had become ingrained in the system was the idea of counsel. It was the king's prerogative to receive advice from whomever he wished. However, giving counsel was also a right and privilege of the great lords who were seen as the king's natural counsellors. These concepts were based on widely accepted assumptions that the king ruled for the common good, that the quality of government improved the more counsel was given and the more representative a consensus was, and that noble counsel was inherently good counsel and associated with the protection of ancient laws and customs. Within these parameters, a range of different bodies and balances of power did, or could, exist. Emergency councils could be imposed for limited periods such as dotages and minorities (1376-80) or in political crises (1386-8), with fixed powers and members. The king's council was closely associated with the household and court and incorporated officially appointed and retained councillors, as well as any magnate who happened to be at court and wanted to contribute to the 'perpetual stream' of counsel.⁴⁸ Great councils were specially summoned for specific purposes and were essentially the king's council with the

⁴⁷ Fortescue, *The Governance*, p.127; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp.27-33; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp.16-39; W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp.61-83.

⁴⁸ J. L. Watts, 'The Counsels of King Henry VI, c.1435-1445', *English Historical Review*, cvi (1991), p.283n.

addition of extra nobles. This system theoretically struck a balance between the more mundane realities of government administration and the desire to involve the greater subjects and harness their talents and support. Working at its best it was general acquiescence in exchange for ‘deference and attention’.⁴⁹ However, on occasions when the nobles felt they were being denied this, especially if unpopular intimates were seen to be unacceptably monopolising or corrupting the king, they would act to re-impose their counsel. If the king opposed this, then a political crisis would ensue.⁵⁰

Parliament had by the late fourteenth century become an institution, rather than an event.⁵¹ However, its importance should not be over estimated. It met for about a month approximately once a year and had no executive authority. It was though a forum for, and a representation of, the political community. The Lords were summoned by individual writs and their status, wealth and power established them act as advisers and counsellors on policy matters, most importantly regarding matters of foreign policy and diplomacy. Parliament could also become an arena, because the nobles were assembled en masse and in front of the wider political community, for action when the normal channels of informal counsel were seen to have become obstructed. It therefore witnessed many of the major set-piece confrontations of the age. Generally though the nobles in parliament were regarded as bastions who upheld and enforced good governance and justice. The Commons were elected from the counties and boroughs and their function in parliament primarily regarded taxation and petitioning. From the late thirteenth century the king was obliged to obtain consent for universal direct taxation from representatives of the counties and urban boroughs. Tax was usually justified as being necessary for the common good, to defend the realm against foreign powers, and so the necessity of it had to be consented to. By the end of the fourteenth

⁴⁹ A. L. Brown, ‘Parliament c.1377-1422’, in R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), p.117.

⁵⁰ Fortescue, *The Governance*, p.144; Watts, ‘The Counsels of King Henry VI’, pp.279-98; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp.82-90; A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), ch.2; Brown, ‘Parliament c.1377-1422’, pp.95-118; J. F. Baldwin, *The King’s Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913); A. Goodman, ‘Richard II’s Councils’, in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp.59-82; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp.74-80.

⁵¹ Brown, ‘Parliament, c.1377-1422’, pp.109-13; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.286-7. Although not for as long sessions, parliament met more regularly at this time than during the Yorkist or Tudor periods. As will be explored more in Chapter 3.i, 25 parliaments were summoned during Richard II’s 22 year reign, lasting an average of five to six weeks. Interestingly the opposite remark, that parliament was becoming an event rather than an institution, is sometimes made about the early Stuart period.

century the Commons had taken primary responsibility for representing the community of the realm on taxation matters, with the Lords simply assenting.⁵² Parliament also offered the opportunity for the Commons to submit petitions to the king regarding criticism of royal government, such as highlighting malpractice by ministers and local officials, presented as a collective list of grievances. The two functions were also intertwined because the granting of taxation could be used as a bargaining tool to achieve satisfaction and concessions regarding their grievances. Parliament therefore was not an empowered executive body, but it did play an important part in political processes.⁵³

Enforcement of the will of central government relied on the system of administration and justice that existed in the localities. Organised along the long-established shire and hundred divisions, a series of royal officials headed by a sheriff oversaw most administrative and legal duties, receiving and overseeing the execution of writs from the Chancery and collecting revenue for the crown. Commissions of assize and commissions of gaol delivery saw royal judges sent to try legal cases throughout the country, dealing with private pleas (including property disputes) and the trying of criminals respectively. Special commissions of oyer and terminer (meaning to hear and determine) were established in the event of serious outbreaks of disorder to decide on criminal matters. Following the demise of the general eyre in the reign of Edward I, a new system of justices of the peace emerged. In these groups of magnates, gentry and local lawyers were appointed by the king and given responsibility to keep the peace and to enforce criminal law in their shire. These commissions met quarterly and dealt with felony and trespass prosecutions. From their introduction in the mid-fourteenth century, they soon became a mainstay of local government and law enforcement. Whether this decentralisation represented conceded devolution and the weakening of the state by yielding autonomy to local communities, or was an ambitious system based on the common interest and co-operation of the crown and landed classes for stability, depends on the overriding interpretation of the conflict or partnership between the centre and localities.⁵⁴

⁵² Brown, 'Parliament, c.1377-1422', p.125.

⁵³ Ormrod, *Political Life*, pp.30-7; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp.66-74.

⁵⁴ Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, ch.3; Ormrod, *Political Life*, pp.109-29; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp.33-4.

While this has outlined some of the constitutional structures where the role of barons will later be explored,⁵⁵ the post-McFarlanist studies of power relations are framed in a different basic structure, that of vertical and horizontal social ties. While McFarlane laid the foundations for prosopographical studies, it was left to his followers to construct the new framework based on local studies of the power and patronage of the nobility and gentry. These have looked at the lives, property and bonds of lordship which characterised and cemented political society. Harriss has described the overall picture of these relations as a ‘volatile balance of cooperation and rivalry’.⁵⁶ Two distinct approaches have developed out of these studies - those that emphasise the vertical ties (lordship and magnate affinities) and those that favour a horizontal approach (county communities). Both undoubtedly existed in tandem and were not exclusive, forming part of a complex web of associations with a ‘genuine plurality of experience’ from area to area and at different times.⁵⁷ However the importance of each in giving form to the pattern of relations and ties, as well as the general issue of the function of the county community as a social and political unit, has been much debated.⁵⁸

The vertical ties refer to noble retinues and affinities and the use of these to dominate regions.⁵⁹ Here the magnate is seen as the key figure in binding the society together and is able to create a ‘regional hegemony’ in their own ‘country’.⁶⁰ Bean’s study on lordship helped define the different forms and levels of relationship that existed which are often referred to under the broader term of retaining. The three forms are: an indenture of retinue - a written agreement with formal terms of service and reward, often a specific and limited contract; the payment of an annuity where the terms of obligation were open-ended; and the granting of livery where the recipient could

⁵⁵ See Chapter 3.i-iv.

⁵⁶ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p.187.

⁵⁷ Ormrod, *Political Life*, pp.47-51 (quotation at p.47).

⁵⁸ Broader surveys of this debate can be found in: C. Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community in Medieval England’, *The Journal of British Studies*, xxxiii (1994), pp.340-80; C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp.73-83; R. Virgoe, ‘Aspects of the County Community in the Fifteenth Century’, in M. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp.1-13; G. Harriss, ‘The Dimensions of Politics’, in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), pp.1-20.

⁵⁹ The topics of noble lordship, retaining and service are discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁰ For the idea of the nobility and ‘countries’, see: Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.160-79.

wear a distinct uniform of the lords but which did not require formal written contracts. These affinities grew out of the military contracts that had been used to recruit royal armies since the late thirteenth century, which became more permanent associations characterised as patron-client relationships. The benefits to the nobles included being able to infiltrate local administration and justice with loyalists, as well as asserting their general primacy against local rivals, by force if need be. In return, the flow of patronage, protection, supporting influence in disputes and opportunities for advancement meant that the gentry were much more significant and astute than just submissive henchmen.⁶¹ This approach does though recognise the natural acceptance of hierarchy and the role of the nobility, or those acting as surrogate lords in the absence of a noble presence, as superiors and intermediaries to the king.

The two main studies of this nature are Cherry's analysis at the Courtenay earls of Devon and Carpenter's work on the Beauchamp affinity and Warwickshire landed society. Cherry concluded that the Courtenays 'dominated the political life of Devonshire to an extraordinary degree' and that their affinities embraced 'most of the senior members of Devonshire political society'. He demonstrated that while the focus of patronage could move from the single ascendant family, lineage society remained the dominant system with 'affinities forming around those men who could carve themselves the largest slice of royal patronage'.⁶² Carpenter also reached similar conclusions, noting that 'virtually all the prominent Warwickshire gentry can be shown to have been of the affinity of at least one lord' and saw that of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d.1439) as being 'a series of concentric circles with the earl at the centre'.⁶³ She further concluded that the conditions of late medieval England meant that 'the greatest landed powers had to be the leaders of society' and that noble leadership was strong in most parts of Warwickshire in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁴ Richard Beauchamp was seen as a strong leader and the only nobleman to win control over the whole of the fragmented county, and those around it, acting as a unifying force against the local gentry and building a dominating social and political unit around his affinity.

⁶¹ Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp.10-39; Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III*, pp.110-13, 151-5.

⁶² M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, i (1979), pp.71-97 (quotations at pp.71, 76, 97).

⁶³ Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity', pp.514-32 (quotation at p.515).

⁶⁴ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, esp. ch.9 (quotation at p.618).

However, this was not the natural state and what was more usual was for segments of counties, with their own local networks, to be ruled by the lord who was most powerful in the area. This structure acts outside of, even contrary to, the administrative division of the county. Carpenter believed that short-term ties of lordship were such the dominant dynamic that there is a strong case for banning the word ‘community’ altogether from local studies.⁶⁵

The horizontal approach is underlined by a belief in a provincial elite who formed their own independent networks based on ties of friendship, association and kinship, which created a ruling oligarchy in the shire. In general this happened in counties where there was no resident lords or where authority was divided between several of them. This sees a tradition of independence among the gentry and also a much more direct link between royal government and local county administrative structures, at the expense of the indirect private interests of lordship. Quarterly sessions of the peace commissions and the assizes brought together the major landholders, while the monthly county court also provided an opportunity for the local elites to gather and acted as a crucible for the development of a collective identity. This interpretation is backed by emphasising the limits of lordship. Magnates could only retain a fraction of the gentry in their regions, while many others ‘lived outside the embrace of bastard feudalism’.⁶⁶ There is also a belief that, at least in the counties not used to strong noble affinities, the natural constitution of the gentry was to resist magnate interference and defend local autonomy.

Three of the foremost advocates of the horizontal approach were Saul in his study of the Gloucestershire gentry, Wright’s work on the Derbyshire gentry and Payling’s survey of Nottinghamshire. Using the framework of county societies and provincial governing classes, previously employed in early modern studies, they emphasised the strength of independent local communities. Saul highlighted the significant number of the gentry unconnected with any baronial affinity and the emergence of the county court as an institutional expression of the community, even a

⁶⁵ Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, p.340.

⁶⁶ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), p.261.

political assembly. Although retaining was a threat to these local ties, there was a noticeable divergence of interests in some fields between the nobility and gentry, which contributed to the growing identity and self-consciousness of the latter.⁶⁷ The networks of gentry social relationships in Derbyshire were not though seen to operate at county level, showing that the concepts of county community and an independent gentry are not entirely the same thing. Magnate affinities there were seen to be ‘essentially transient and extraneous’ and, as a result of the general weakness of noble authority in the county, power rested with the dominant resident families in what was an essentially independent gentry.⁶⁸ Nottinghamshire did not have substantial magnate estates either and as a result of largely peripheral interests in the county, nobles looked to the leading gentry families to oversee the administration of their estates. Any hegemony of a great magnate in county affairs was only ‘a temporary phenomenon compared with the much more continuous corporate existence of a shire “establishment” composed of the leading shire gentry’ through whom noble influence had to be exercised if it was to be exercised at all.⁶⁹ Payling also used the 1436 tax returns to show the financial impossibility for a noble to dominate a county’s gentry. There were simply too many of them for a noble to be able to retain any significant proportion of the total.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.258-62. Saul’s emphasis on the role of the county courts builds on the work of Maddicott who argued for their development in this period into political gatherings and institutions for the shire polity: J. R. Maddicott, ‘The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth Century England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, xxviii (1978), pp.27-43. Other studies in other parts of the country have however shown the contrary, that neither the county courts nor peace sessions were regularly attended by significant proportions of the shire elite: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp.267-72, 340-2; N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p.58; S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp.174-80; E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1442-1485* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.126-7; S. Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413’, *English Historical Review*, cviii (1993), pp.281-311. For the idea of ‘occasional communities’ where the shire community could be mobilised for a specific purpose or in times of crisis see: M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), ch.2; Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp.83-92.

⁶⁸ S. M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983), esp. ch.5 (quotation at p.66). Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, ch.2. Bennett argued a similar thing with regards to the Stanleys in the North-West where the crown was the largest landholder. King also showed that in spite their efforts, neither the Percies nor John of Gaunt were able to establish effective hegemony over the Northumbrian gentry, nor were particularly successful in dominating local political society there: A. King, ‘War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-c.1408’, Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham (2001), pp.197-255.

⁶⁹ Payling, *Political Society*, esp. ch.4 (quotation at p.105).

⁷⁰ Payling, *Political Society*, pp.106-7. Overall there were about 3000 gentry with incomes of more than £20 per annum in the country, with only 50 nobles. This argument is criticised for misunderstanding how noble power operated in the shires, particularly that noble authority was not normally exercised directly over the gentry in: Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, p.58.

The study of the greatest affinity of the period, that of John of Gaunt, has been cited as ‘the exception that proves the rule’, for those that argue for the strength of independent gentry communities.⁷¹ In contrast to the apparently comprehensive regional dominance of the Courtenays and Beauchamps, the Lancastrian affinity was used to demonstrate that local ties could prevail over bonds of lordship and that lordship, even in its most dominant areas, was not all-embracing. Walker asserted that in matters such as marriage, witnessing charters and executing testaments, the choices of individuals were usually ‘determined by existing local contacts and loyalties’, rather than by membership of the affinity or not.⁷² As for the affinity’s all-embracing character, in Lancashire he qualified that ‘no more than a third of the county community could find a place within his affinity’.⁷³ In terms of the effectiveness of Gaunt’s lordship, his retainers did not entirely monopolise administrative positions; at times he was seen as unable to ‘restrain or redress the crimes of his followers’; while the practical limits to his authority meant that though the gentry were glad to seek his lordship for the advantages it offered, they were ‘equally prepared to forego and, if necessary, to flout it’.⁷⁴ However, Walker did highlight the exceptional nature of the Lancastrian affinity compared with any others of the time both in terms of its spread and the other wider purposes for which it was orientated.⁷⁵ On a more general level, particularly in response to Carpenter’s call to ban the word ‘community’, Walker also tried to demonstrate that the county community was important to contemporaries and that there was an expression of communal solidarity within the institutional framework of county government, as well as it being an important arena for confirming and increasing individuals’ local status.⁷⁶

Syntheses of the prosopographical approaches tend to reconcile the different findings as being indicative of different situations in distinct areas, times and with unique distributions of magnate influences. The two case study chapters in this thesis

⁷¹ Ormrod, *Political Life*, p.145.

⁷² S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity* (Oxford, 1990), p.260.

⁷³ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.179.

⁷⁴ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.233, 260. Also relevant is: S. Walker, ‘Lancaster v. Dallingridge: A Franchisal Dispute in Fourteenth Century Sussex’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, cxxi (1983), pp.87-94.

⁷⁵ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.248-9.

⁷⁶ S. Walker, *Political Culture in Later Medieval England* (Manchester, 2006), pp.68-80.

will further contribute to this lordship versus county community debate by looking specifically at the role of barons, who in most of the above studies are treated simply as lesser versions of the dukes and earls, rather than considered in their own right.

The structures deriving from the new political culture approach are still being developed. The approach generally calls for a look at codes of conduct and constitutional history in its true sense, in particular ‘political and governmental structures, and the beliefs of those who participate in them about how those structures should operate’.⁷⁷ These beliefs are seen to include: the universal acceptance, especially by the landed classes, of royal law and the king’s public authority to uphold justice, property rights and to defend the realm; the responsive and representative obligations of this authority which aimed at equity, to guarantee the position of subjects and provide the foundations for individual interests to be pursued; and the general underlying culture of a hierarchical society and the obligations of lordship.⁷⁸ The interrelation and interaction of private power and public authority demanded by this new, truly constitutional, approach will be addressed during the course of this study. As well as the impact of public authority on barons’ private power, any underlying aristocratic, or even uniquely baronial, principles or codes of conduct that can be seen to influence barons in public affairs will also be analysed.

iv) The Baronage and Late Medieval Politics

A study of the baronage, particularly explored through its political culture, will contribute to the understanding of the functioning of politics in the late fourteenth century. Barons were very important figures in the political community. Numerically they were perhaps four times the number of the titled aristocrats who made up the rest of the nobility. Their influence is conspicuous in the institutions of government and in the private power networks which underpinned local society, and their position, actions and motives in these areas will be explored through the course of this study. As well as being an influential group, they were also interestingly positioned in the social strata.

⁷⁷ Carpenter, ‘Political and Constitutional History’, p.176.

⁷⁸ H. Castor, *The King, the Crown*, pp.5-7; Harriss, ‘Introduction’, pp.xxiii-xxv; E. Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), pp.29-37; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp.17-31; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, chs.2 and 3.

They can be found as lords, retainers and, in many cases, both. In this middling position their local estates were more important to them than those of titled nobles, whose attention was directed more at national affairs and their broader landed interests. Yet at the same time barons had their own national, or at least cross-county, concerns, which differentiated them in turn from the county gentry. Barons were both ‘greater’ provincial elites and minor national political actors and through the study of them new insights will be offered on the workings of late medieval power relations. Whereas studies of titled noble-dominated counties have highlighted vertical ties, and those of gentry emphasised horizontal ones, polities with barons explicitly involved will better demonstrate the complexity and multidimensional nature of the connections that underpinned society. The plurality of experience which some of the models of local societies have shown to exist can therefore more accurately be put into perspective through the study of the baronage. Instead of just connections though, this will involve a more thorough look at the interaction of barons’ involvement in institutions, along with analysis of their interests and ideas.

There are many issues arising out of such a study that need addressing. The first is to look at the role that barons played in politics, particularly their involvement in government and their attitudes towards public authority. Institutions, both centrally and locally, had grown significantly during the fourteenth century. As a result of their heightened status in the new more strictly stratified hierarchy, barons had accrued new roles and responsibilities in facilitating the workings of government. Barons were essential to the crown to give broader backing and assent to government and to act as a check on its equity and its application for the common good. With the Commons’ role being primarily about taxation, and the titled nobility being so few in number, the barons were an important connecting link between the localities and the centre.⁷⁹ Their collective permeation of politics and society, which was far wider than the titled nobility, helped assuage suspicions in the broader community of overly oligarchic government. Their cooperation and involvement in, or at least influence over, local justice and administration similarly put them in a pivotal position requiring them to balance public responsibly with their own private interests, as well as the interests of those they were supposedly offering patronage and protection to. It is in these

⁷⁹ Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p.288; Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, p.364.

institutions that the political culture of the group is demonstrated, so analysis of their actions and underlying motives in both national and local arenas is required.

Despite concerns about the artificial boundaries and detachment from public apparatus of regional studies, they are still valuable tools for investigating the political culture of the baronage. Land was the basis of barons' power and to understand their interests and ideas, it is important to look at them in a spatial context. All the main political and social processes can be seen to have functioned within such microcosms: engaging with institutions; landed and economic considerations such as enfeoffment and sureties, and social interaction such as marriage, kinship and neighbourhood; and lordship, retaining and service - essentially all the horizontal and vertical ties that defined interests and bound society. In a representative case study these factors are manageable and it is then possible to trace, map, analyse and make judgments on the motives dictating them. Counties had been the essential administrative unit in England since Anglo-Saxon times so, despite divided opinion on their importance, they were far more than notional boundaries. More than biographies, county surveys also look at the interaction of several individuals and their competing spheres of influence, so do not impose so much of just one actor's perspective. The survival of sources also directs any prosopographical study of this period towards case studies of counties, rather than individual barons. Barons are mostly 'unspoken' in the records of national politics and there is a limited supply of local records. Private correspondence and account rolls have generally not survived. Therefore studies are inherently shaped by piecing together the sources at our disposal, mainly administrative records deriving from the centre. This is of course a weakness to such an approach but a generally unavoidable one. By diligent investigation though it is still possible to reproduce and reconstruct the workings of society and the interest networks of the baronage enough to make valuable comments on the political culture, thus helping to explain the functioning of politics in this period.

Some of the most important sources available for studying the members of the baronage are the four series of published Chancery rolls (Patent, Close, Fine and Charter Rolls). These record barons' involvement in administrative processes, including their appointment to peace and other forms of commissions, as well as directions and allusion to them in other orders from the Chancery. Analysis of these

can further understanding of the activities of barons and the roles and responsibilities that they held. Other Chancery and Exchequer records at the National Archives, together with those there assembled as Ancient Petitions, further facilitate investigations of these sorts.⁸⁰ During minorities lands would come under direct royal management and in these cases the Chancery rolls also record some of the other routine business that a baron would be undertaking, such as conferring ecclesiastical appointments within their lands, which further illuminates some of their key political functions. In terms of legal records, the archive collections of the King's Bench Rolls, Assize Rolls and Gaol Delivery Rolls can give insight into baronial involvement in matters of justice - directly, indirectly and as officials. In some counties and for certain years, rolls of the sessions of the peace also survive and these can reveal some of the dynamics of that particular body too. For landholding matters an essential source is the *inquisitions post mortem*. These can facilitate the construction of the tenurial geography of a region or the property distribution of an individual, enabling the demarcation of rough spheres of influence of the landed elite. These inquiries can be used to account for individuals' possessions and, to some extent, their approximate and comparative landed wealth. The 1436 tax returns provide a unique and invaluable assessment of individual families' wealth a generation or two after the period being studied. However, as peers dealt directly with the Exchequer regarding taxation, rather than local commissions, there is no evidence in the particulars of the poll tax records for what they paid, so these cannot be used in the way they are for studies of the gentry and other lower classes. Matters of lordship and retaining can generally only be traced through the chance survival of references in the above mentioned and other administrative and judicial records, as few livery rolls survive and protection letters were being enrolled far less frequently than during in earlier periods. However, these traces are prevalent enough that with some investigation and particularly the help of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, which helpfully collates such references, it is possible to map credible patterns of associations.⁸¹ In terms of more personal sources, there is very little survival of private papers from the barons of this time. A handful of collections of

⁸⁰ Unless otherwise stated, all archive references in this study are from the National Archives, Kew. The other collections referenced are the Berkeley Castle Muniments, which are prefixed BC, and the East Sussex Record Office, which are prefixed SAS.

⁸¹ J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (4 Volumes, Stroud, 1992).

estate documents do exist, such as those from the Berkeley muniments, but there is nothing comparable with the Paston, Stonor or Plumpton correspondences for more intimate investigations. Details of births, deaths, marriages, children, wardships, enfeoffees and the occasional household inventory can be found, but beyond that much of the social history of these individuals has to remain sketchy and generalised. There are though many questions that the sources available enable us to answer.

The main issue to be addressed by this study is simply who were late fourteenth century barons? Were they part of a common group of powerful ruling nobles and just not those at the very pinnacle, or were they closer to the gentry and more likely to be dependants of the titled nobles? This will be undertaken by investigating the nature and dynamics of the baronage as a group. The first part of this will involve building on the area where other studies have tended to focus and will trace the development of the baronage as a class before, during and after the period in an attempt to devise a fuller definition of who they were. Barons' common characteristics will then be investigated, focusing on three particular themes - politics, landholding and lordship.

The political life of the late fourteenth century baronage involved engaging with royal government through institutions such as parliament and council, as well as providing administrative and judicial service, both centrally and in the localities. Analysing barons' involvement in these areas will help highlight their attitude towards royal government and the power relations that existed at local level, enabling assessment of the effectiveness of baronial lordship in provincial society. Questions about their ability and inclination to manipulate the political apparatus for private ends, both for their own benefit and also that of their retainers, will be addressed.

The source of a baron's power and subsistence was his landed wealth and crucial to this was the challenge of building and consolidating their interests through a combination of fortunate or wise acquisitions and good management. The comparative wealth and influence of barons to each other and other local landholders will be assessed. The strategies they used to put together and manage their estates will also be analysed. Conclusions can then be made about barons' ability to assert levels of local hegemony.

Under lordship the complex interrelationship of barons' vertical and horizontal associations with the king, the titled nobility, other barons and members of the upper gentry will be explored, along with an investigation of the ethos of service. Questions about the purpose, extent and limitations of private power networks will be considered.

The examination of these three themes will establish a picture of the baronage as an entire group. However, what will be crucial in all these areas is to use the findings to draw out conclusions about motives. Why did barons use the political apparatus in the ways they did? Why did they direct their finances and landed resources as they did? Why did they retain and serve who they did and for what purpose? Was interest and a hunger for power their primary motivation, or was principle ever really a factor?

With this portrait in place, the accuracy of the generalisations will be enriched and evaluated by conducting detailed case studies. Two counties, Gloucestershire and Sussex, have been selected and the resident barons in each of them will be investigated on a more in-depth level. Such specific analysis of particular barons and regions will lead to more general questions about the level of influence of barons in the provinces. Were barons were able to dominate county societies? Did they need to define themselves through a relationship to titled noble and the service they provided them? How did the balance of power work where two or three barons had their primary residence in one county and what were the relations between these individuals like?

These case studies will incorporate two different types of scenario. In Gloucestershire there was no member of the titled nobility with active interest in the county and so therefore the leadership of the county fell to the barons. Gloucestershire can arguably be seen as an example of a county dominated by one baronial family, the Berkeleys. However, the Despensers and Talbots also had significant interests in the county, so this will provide a good opportunity to look at the apparent encompassing lordship of the Berkeleys, as well as the competing or cooperative relations with these other barons. By contrast in Sussex there was a dominant lord, the earl of Arundel, around whom the power structures centred and so members of the baronage there were resultantly more defined by their relationship to that figure. In this situation the

baronial families, the Poynings, Camoys, de la Warrs and Says, were substantial in their own right but also had to foster relations with Arundel.

It is expected that these studies will demonstrate the disparity of wealth and status of the individuals classified as barons, with the new formalised institutional stratification of the landed classes not being clearly marked in the localities, at either end of the spectrum. This will then show that engaging with institutions, rather than sociological factors, was at this point principally defining the social group. A study of this middling group will also show the fluidity and, at this level, the lack of general significance attached to inter-magnate indentures. There was clearly an appreciation of the benefits of ties to members of the titled nobility, but this must be seen as more alliances or agreements of friendship, rather than service, even though many of the ties had originally been established through military service. There was certainly little consideration that a baron being in a duke or earl's affinity was in any way diminishing of status and was instead just good political practice. In contrast, the downward vertical ties to those retained in the household or gentry from in and around baronial estates, were more explicitly ties of service.

As to how a detailed study of the baronage will contribute to the lordship versus county community debate, because barons tended to have significant but scattered estates, their concerns were generally not contained within a county unit. They would certainly become involved with the apparatus of county politics where they had interests, particularly in the county where their *caput* was located. However, they were often neither powerful enough to be able to attempt to dominate a county through their own lordship, nor needed to use the shire politics to establish and maintain their dignity, except when a specific matter affected their interests. As a result, the situation is likely to be similar to Carpenter's Warwickshire in its natural state, where localised neighbourly association and ties of lordship relating to estates were generally more significant than the administrative county unit. This does not mean to overstate the significance of lordship, just that barons' concerns were related to the interests of their estates, which were not particularly encompassed by county politics.

This then leads on to a more abstract question about what motivated individuals, particularly the conflict between self-interest and social responsibility. The two models established on this are Carpenter's 'Mafiosi' where private force, or at least the latent use thereof, and co-operation between local landowners could take over public authority to maintain order and security; and Watts' advancement of the importance of common principles and structures to the nobility, particularly their support of free royal power for the public interest of the realm.⁸² This is also part of a more philosophical debate about individual psychology, essentially what is the dominant influence on behaviour, interest or ideas?

This study will attempt to show that there was a duality in conduct relating to barons' different perception of local and central affairs. The provincial estates were ultimately what defined and empowered them, so therefore the protection and advancement of their landed interests was always their prime concern in local affairs. Usually this related to consolidation and the establishment of arrangements and assurances over mutual conduct. However, the driving force was still inherently self-interest and the methods used to promote these concerns were either private or the attempted use of public authority for private purpose. Even this interest led conduct was though inherently conservative in its nature and aimed at stability, rather than conflict. In contrast, in national affairs there does appear to have existed a genuine sense of social responsibility. The political culture accepted public authority and a natural order of hierarchy, duty and responsibility. There were of course expectations from this such as equity, but there was also genuine altruism and a sense of obligation to the wider realm.

By using the new political culture framework, looking at both institutions and private power relations, what Powell called the two 'alternative structures of organisation regulating the distribution of power and authority', this study will contribute to reconstructing the constitution of late medieval England.⁸³ This in turn will lead to a new approach to the old question of the cause of the political crises of this period, the overmighty subjects versus undermighty kings debate. Richard II, along

⁸² Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp.286-7; Watts, *Henry VI*, p.363.

⁸³ Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', p.13.

with Edward II and Henry VI, is one of the commonly cited ‘weak’ kings. Therefore Richard II’s reign is a valuable period to take a detailed look at a unique and influential group in the political community to give a new angle to these debates. This will hopefully enhance understanding of the overall power relations in the functioning of both the state and society. In doing so this study will demonstrate that the barons, and the nobility in general, were essentially, especially on a national level, useful and responsible partners in government. It was the initial vacuum in royal authority, followed by Richard II’s departure from the conventions and constitution of the age, which provoked conflict and political crisis. Even then it was clear that such recourse seriously troubled the consciences and principles of the propagators. Richard II’s kingship will be shown to have ultimately failed in spite of the supposedly overmighty nobility, not because of them.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND TOWARDS A DEFINITION

The fourteenth century was a time when the structure of the landed classes was undergoing transition. McFarlane described this process as being one of ‘exclusion, definition, and stratification’.¹ Richard II’s reign is a particularly important time in the development of the baronage as in 1387 he introduced the practice of creating peers by patent, which for the first time officially made being a baron a heritable dignity. Those lords summoned by individual writs also varied only a little between parliaments across the reign, with either heirs or successors to the family title quickly replacing the deceased lords, which further stabilised and solidified this group. The peerage that came to exist in the fifteenth century was acquiring its final characteristics in this latter part of the fourteenth century, although it was still a period of transition which needs closer examination.

i) Historical Development of the Baronage

The original word ‘baro’, first recorded in eighth century France, was brought to England by the Conquest and began to enter royal writs within a few years, almost as a straight replacement for the Anglo-Saxon term ‘thegen’.² Its literal meaning was essentially ‘man’, but it was used to refer to tenants-in-chief. Like thegn it was far from a precise legal definition, generally referring to all landholders who were vassals of an overlord, most commonly, but not always, the king. Stenton attempted to suggest that any fief held for the service of five knights or more in the Norman period was a barony.³ However, such a precise and restricted use was unlikely to have been in place during the eleventh century and the term then must be seen to have encompassed all tenants-in-chief. The baronage of the immediate post-Conquest period therefore incorporated the entire spectrum of feudal tenants, from a small estate holder who had taken an oath of fealty to a great lord, to the wealthiest earl who was a tenant-in-chief of the king. Although the rank of a baron was

¹ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p.269.

² J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson (eds.), *Medieval Latin Word List* (Oxford, 1947), p.42. ‘Baro’ is first recorded in use in 735 and entered England in about 1066. ‘Baronia’, defined as land held by baronial tenure, was first recorded in 1185. Crouch believes it had origins as far back as the sixth century: D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), p.107.

³ F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1932), p.95.

comparable to that of a thegn, there existed slight differences. These mainly related to the formalisation of administration caused by the establishment of the ‘feudal’ system of land tenure from the late eleventh century. This system was underpinned by the fief, an estate bestowed by a lord to a vassal and held on the condition of service to the overlord, usually in the form of military service and measured in knight’s fees. Anyone who held land in such a way in the eleventh century was a baron.⁴

The twelfth century saw the use of this term restricted and from encompassing all vassals of lords, it came to refer to only military tenants-in-chief of the king. This transition was largely completed by the reign of Henry II.⁵ Stenton also noted a growing tendency in the twelfth century of the use of the word to refer to only the most powerful of those who held of the king in chief by knight service, particularly those whose wealth brought them into close association with the crown. This was his ‘honourial baronage’.⁶ In the reign of King Stephen exceptions were given to powerful lay tenants-in-chief in grants of *comitatus*, which is arguably evidence of a proto-baronial station.⁷ By 1215 a distinction had definitely arisen between a group of ‘greater barons’ (*majores barones*) and other tenants-in-chief. Clause 2 of Magna Carta specifies that the relief due from an heir of an earl or baron for his inheritance was £100, whilst for other tenants-in-chief it was £5 for each knight’s fee held. Galbraith used the Huntington manuscript draft of the Charter to show that the insurgents had originally intended a distinction between the relief of an earl and of a baron, with barons having to pay only 100 marks.⁸ Although this point was later

⁴ S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), pp.11-15; H. Doubleday, ‘Earldoms and Baronies in History and in Law, and the Doctrine of Abeyance (Appendix H)’, in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv (London, 1916), pp.651-4; J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp.41, 42, 223.

⁵ I. J. Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England* (Oxford, 1956), p.26; Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, pp.107-14; D. Crouch, ‘From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, v (1995), pp.179-200.

⁶ Stenton, *The First Century*, ch.3; Doubleday, ‘Earldoms and Baronies’, p.653; D. A. Carpenter, ‘The Second Century of English Feudalism’, *Past and Present*, clxviii (2000), pp.32-6. These were ‘honourial’ because Stenton saw the honour (or fee) as a self-contained largely autonomous institution which was central to baronial power. He has though been criticised for placing too much stress on the autonomy and integrity of the honour .e.g.: Crouch, ‘From Stenton to McFarlane’, p.186.

⁷ H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (eds.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, vol.iii (Oxford, 1968), nos. 178, 437.

⁸ V. H. Galbraith, ‘A Draft of Magna Carta (1215)’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, liii (1967), p.348.

conceded to the king at Runnymede, it shows some sense of distinct identity beginning to form. Baronial relief was finally lowered to 100 marks in 1297, indicating perhaps a common recognition of the group's distinct nature.⁹ Further, Clause 14 of Magna Carta distinguished between the right of earls and 'greater barons' to be summoned by individual writs to assemblies and other tenants-in-chief who were to be sent general summonses via sheriffs.¹⁰ Maddicott argues that this divide between greater and lesser tenants-in-chief was established before 1215, with two-tier summonses to special meetings of the great council being practised back into the twelfth century.¹¹

This idea of freeholding distinguishing barons was superseded by the establishment of a distinct form of tenure known as '*per baroniam*' (by barony). Prevalent throughout the thirteenth century, this qualification was not based on the amount of land held, nor a measure of a particular rank or status, but appeared to be purely a question of record. Sanders argued that in the thirteenth century, if any original criterion for tenure being classified by barony had existed, it had long been forgotten by both tenants and royal administrators.¹² The rather haphazard method of deciding if a tenant was a baron or not bore no relation to the size of knight service owed, but was based purely on the inspection of old manuscripts to see if a tenant's ancestors had ever been recorded as holding *per baroniam* or *per servitium militare*, or had paid the higher rate of baronial relief. Sanders' examination of thirteenth century disputes between the crown and tenants showed that tenants would claim to belong to the group which provided them with the best financial terms. With normal relief being £5 for each knight's fee held and baronial relief being a set fee of £100, it was in the interests of those who held less than 20 knights' fees to prove that they were not barons, whereas those with more than 20 would find it more profitable to

⁹ Bracton mistakenly recorded it as being at this level in the interim period: H. Bracton, *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, vol. ii, ed. S. E. Thorne (Massachusetts, 1968), p.244.

¹⁰ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 1965), pp.316-37; J. H. Round, 'Barons and Knights in the Great Charter', in H. E. Malden (ed.), *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* (Aberdeen, 1917), pp.46-77; Carpenter, 'The Second Century', pp.36-7.

¹¹ J. R. Maddicott, "'An Infinite Multitude of Nobles": Quality, Quantity and Politics in the Pre-Reform Parliaments of Henry III', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *Thirteenth Century England XII* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp.17-46.

¹² Sanders, *Feudal Military Service*, p.13.

prove themselves to be barons.¹³ Despite these occasional disputes, the system settled down and by the reign of Henry III baronies were well established and anyone who held one of, or even a fraction of, these estates was a tenant *per baroniam* and was therefore a baron. In 1257 Henry III is recorded as being able to count 250 baronies in England.¹⁴ Sanders estimates there were nearer 200, but that was still a reasonably accurate assessment of the situation at the time.¹⁵

1295, like 1387, is a date frequently cited for its legal significance in the development of the baronage.¹⁶ Its application though really marks little more than the beginning of the regular recording of those individually summoned to parliament on the Close Rolls. It is however used as a convenient date for the constitutional origin of baronies by writ and the use of summonses, rather than tenure, as the qualification for membership of the baronial estate. There was no such definitive or legal landmark and instead a gradual process of the 'greater barons' receiving more regular summonses occurred in the reigns of Henry III and especially Edward I. The development of parliament into an institution in the second half of the thirteenth century was the major factor in this new foundation of baronial rank. Although the right of 'greater barons' to be individually summoned to national assemblies can be traced back to Magna Carta, the growing importance of parliament made the recipients of these summonses far more relevant. Stenton had described those 53 barons summoned in 1295 as being 'far from representative of the English baronage either in number, wealth or position'.¹⁷ Indeed, it has been noted that two-thirds of all lay lords summoned to that parliament held lands near the Welsh or Scottish borders. In fact for the whole of Edward I's reign it seemed that as long as 50-100 substantial people were regularly summoned to represent the estate, that sufficed for parliamentary purposes.¹⁸ However, as parliament became a more important

¹³ Sanders, *Feudal Military Service*, p.27.

¹⁴ M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. v, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1880), p.617.

¹⁵ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.225; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960), *passim*.

¹⁶ W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii (Oxford, Fourth Edition, 1896), p.192; Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.219-29; Doubleday, 'Earldoms and Baronies', p.691-2.

¹⁷ F. M. Stenton, 'The Changing Feudalism of the Middle Ages', *History*, xix (1934-5), pp.296-7.

¹⁸ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.228-31.

institution, and summonses more of an honour than a duty, the standardisation of the summons lists became inevitable. With the lists of individual summonses increasingly being restricted to only the greater tenants, inclusion or exclusion began to mark out a landholder's status.

The timing of the stabilisation of the summons lists and the practical adoption of baronies by writ (though official recognition did not occur until the latter half of the fifteenth century) is a matter of debate. According to McFarlane in the reign of Edward I there were approximately a dozen earls and an 'undifferentiated mass of some three thousand landowners'. Through the gradual process of exclusion, definition and stratification a peerage was largely established by 1485, though not completely so until the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ This suggestion of an un-stratified starting position and late solidification date has been subsequently revised. Given-Wilson has convincingly shown that the 3000 nobles were not so undifferentiated as McFarlane believed and other indicators have shown the existence of an upper stratum of 'barons' in the thirteenth century numbering approximately 200.²⁰ Although the summonses to parliament in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II were at times haphazard, the pool that they were being summoned from was a relatively stratified and exclusive group. Natural extinction and stricter definition created by the new parliamentary criterion saw this group of noble families shrink over the course of the fourteenth century from 200 at the start, to approximately 60 at the end.²¹ With the growth of the concept of heritable titles and defined constitutional rights and privileges, the barriers came down on those in possession in the late fourteenth century. Powell and Wallis argued that standardisation and exclusion had actually begun early in the fourteenth century. Long periods where the lists remained consistent with only the succession of heirs were interrupted with intermittent periods of

¹⁹ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.268-9.

²⁰ C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp.56-7; R. J. Wells, 'Recruitment and Extinction among the English Nobility from 1216 to 1300', Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, St Andrews (1984), appendix ii.

²¹ Wells, 'Recruitment and Extinction', appendix ii. Wells' figure of 73 noble families in 1400 seems a little high in light of the summons lists provided in Appendix 1 of this study which suggests a total of roughly 60 families, including the dukes and earls, is more accurate.

change, usually concurring with political upheavals.²² Given-Wilson described the standardisation of the summons lists as the culmination of a process by which over the course of the fourteenth century a number of different lists had achieved a ‘temporary permanence’, slowly increasing the likelihood of a lasting stability.²³ Therefore, although the list of those summoned, and hence the nearest thing to a defined baronage, were still considerably more fluid than those for the peerage of the fifteenth century, continuity must also be emphasised.

Tangible measurements of the development of both the institution of parliament and the concept of parliamentary peers in the first half of the fourteenth century can be seen in the records. From about 1317, the term ‘peers of the land’ began to be applied, whilst by the 1330s the Lords and Commons were meeting as separate parts of parliament.²⁴ An idea of which families constituted this upper stratum of the nobility may have been apparent, but the selection from it for the summonses under Edward II and Edward III continued to vary in number and constitution, fluctuating as high as 90 (1321) and as low as 30 (1348).²⁵ The reign of Edward III saw the establishment of a more permanent stability to the summonses, with those summoned continuing to receive them, as well as their heirs, whilst occasional summonses practically disappeared. The large intakes of ‘new men’ in 1332 and 1349 were deliberate attempts to reinforce this body following falls in numbers. Those brought in were mainly substantial landholders and either ancestors or current holders of lands of men who had been summoned in the past.²⁶ Others though were consciously promoted and were then subsequently brought up to the economic status befitting a peer.²⁷ Although still without legal basis, the custom of writs creating a hereditary right to be summoned had become established in the minds of those lords who sought to assert their status, as well as those who administered it.

²² Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, *passim*.

²³ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.58.

²⁴ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.284-5, 328-9. Prestwich notes the term ‘peers’ was used in a parliamentary context as early as 1312: M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377* (Oxford, 1980), p.140.

²⁵ M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p.186.

²⁶ A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), p.180.

²⁷ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.349-51; J. S. Bothwell, ‘Edward III and the “New Nobility”: Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth-Century England’, *English Historical Review*, cxii (1997), p.1113.

Despite the practice of writs creating heritable dignities, this was never technically the case in the fourteenth century and ultimate discretion remained with the king. In the reign of Richard II, Powell and Wallis have calculated that, apart from Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster, four ‘new men’ were summoned.²⁸ These were Lords Windsor and Thorpe in 1381, Devereux in 1385, and Philip, Lord Despenser in 1388. These summonses show that the practice of heritable summonses was not completely settled, though after 1388 no ‘new men’ were summoned for nearly 40 years.²⁹ This marks the point when the barriers really came down and membership of the baronage, if not legally defined, had become instituted. Around this time, certainly by 1399, the separateness of nobles was also being emphasised materially by their wearing of distinctive scarlet robes in parliament. On these dukes and earls wore three bands of fur, while barons wore two.³⁰

However, even before the convention of writs creating heritable dignities had been established, a particular innovation by Richard II in 1387 created the system that would ultimately supersede it. On 10 October 1387 John Beauchamp of Holt was created by letters patent one of the peers and barons of the realm, with him and his heirs becoming Lords Beauchamp and barons of Kidderminster.³¹ By conferring the estate of baron on him this was the first example of a baron being created with no reference to either land or ancestral claim, but as a heritable dignity, similar to an earldom.³² Although both Lord Beauchamp himself and the method of creation faced hostility from Richard II’s opponents - Beauchamp was soon executed and his status forfeited - it marked a shift in attitude towards seeing baronies as heritable titles. By the end of the fourteenth century there was in place a group of approximately 40 to 50 baronial families who were, institutionally at least, a distinct and aware class who saw their right to receive summonses to parliament as being effectively a hereditary privilege.

²⁸ In their definition those not in possession of lands of men who had previously been summoned since 1295.

²⁹ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.436.

³⁰ S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp.197-8. P. R. Coss, ‘An Age of Deference’, in. R. Horrox and W. M. Ormrod (eds.), *A Social History of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006), p.41.

³¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1385-1389 (CPR)* (London, 1900), p.363.

³² Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.402-4.

The fifteenth century saw practices that had been evolving through application for much of the previous century substantiated in law. In 1432 John Cornwall was created baron of Fanhope in parliament by the advice and assent of both houses.³³ This was only the second recorded creation by a direct act of the crown. Unlike with John Beauchamp, this time the king acted in parliament, although this was probably also because of Henry VI's minority.³⁴ This practice was repeated in 1441 when Ralph Boteler was created baron of Sudeley by letters patent, this time without the parliamentary contribution. Boteler was also given an annuity to maintain the dignity, in the same fashion that dukes and earls received.³⁵ With status now explicitly receiving endowment, this creation marks the final severance of baronial dignity from the tenure of estates. From this point on there was seen to be two types of lords in parliament: those created by royal writ and those with heritable claims.³⁶ After 1441 other creations by patent followed and this method became the normal form of conferring the title of baron. All new barons from the middle of the fifteenth century were endowed with hereditary dignities, culminating in a body of parliamentary peers. Those who had been referred to as holding baronies by writ had by this time gone a long way to establishing a hereditary right to be summoned, even if the original writ to their ancestors had had no intention of creating such a right. However, the practice throughout the fourteenth century of allowing summonses to be carried by descent created a prescriptive right for continued receipt of these. At some undefined point after the mid-fifteenth century, baronies by writ became inheritable by heirs male and thus the distinction disappeared. As McFarlane states though, by the time barons by writ became a recognised group they were not numerous.³⁷

Therefore by the end of the fifteenth century there was essentially an upper chamber for a peerage with heritable dignities, which was eventually termed the House of Lords in

³³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iv (London, 1783), pp.400-1; A. Curry, 'Henry VI: Parliament of 1432 (May), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 28.

³⁴ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.460-2.

³⁵ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.469-71.

³⁶ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.470-1.

³⁷ Doubleday, 'Earldoms and Baronies', pp.699-703; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p.275.

the reign of Henry VIII. The historical development of the baronage was a complex and ambiguous path incorporating three key phases – barony by tenure, barony by writ and heritable dignity created by patent. However, these phases were far from clearly defined, frequently overlapped and were led by practical application rather than precise and deliberate reform. The key impetus to this evolution was the development of the institution of parliament, which saw the principal criterion for political influence shift slowly from the Norman tenural system to one grounded in a hereditary right to receive summonses to this newly empowered instrument of privilege.

ii) Towards a Definition of the Baronage

The development of the baronage has therefore been traced over nearly five centuries. However, more precise definitions of what constituted the baronage at various stages must now be established, with particular focus on the situation in the reign of Richard II. Several core criteria for what constituted a baron or a barony are frequently listed by historians. These refer to special rights and privileges recorded in administrative and judicial records, which were first defined in the thirteenth century writings of Bracton on the laws and customs of England.³⁸ The first of these was the size of the relief paid to the king when heirs succeeded to their inheritance. As outlined above, a distinction was drawn in Magna Carta between those who held by barony, who were required to pay a flat rate of £100, and those who held by simple knight service, who paid £5 for each fee held. In 1297 the amount for barons was reduced to 100 marks, but this distinction remained consistent and it was unquestionably based on a different type of land tenure, rather than the amount of land held. The second and third core criteria that differentiated barons from other tenants-in-chief relate to the legal nature of the *baronia*. A barony was distinctly treated by inheritance laws in that it possessed a *caput*, a castle or manor that was the centre of a barony. The *caput* could not be divided between coheirs or given away as part of a dower. As well as this a barony was regarded as an indivisible whole which always retained its identity, even when it was divided between coheirs or fell into the possession of

³⁸ Bracton, *Bracton on the Laws*, pp.32, 222, 244, 269, 330.

someone who held another barony. The reason for this was that militarily, fiscally and for administrative purposes it was convenient to have a stable number of units in spite of changing personnel, while having a *caput* meant that someone was always undeniably answerable for the exactions that went with tenure *per baronia*. A fourth distinction that differentiated barons was that their amercements were set by the king and Exchequer, rather than local sheriffs or justices, so subsequently they were always at a higher rate than other men's. Like relief, this fiscal deviation provided written records that were occasionally referred to to try and prove or disprove tenure by barony.

As well as the largely burdensome financial implications of holding tenure by barony, privileges and special rights were also apparent and brandished. The primary one was the right to deal directly with central government. Dues were paid directly to the Exchequer, whilst barons could treat with the king personally and had some claim to an entitlement to offer counsel and attend the royal court. This was never though a right to be individually summoned to parliaments, as became custom. Barons also led their own military forces under their own banners and were treated distinctly from other men by royal administrators and justices, such as being exempt from service on juries.³⁹ However, this list of ways that those who held land *per baroniam* were differentiated from other tenants is just a description of how this difference was manifested, rather than an explanation of how it was determined. In addition to 'Bracton's criteria', historians have offered a variety of explanations to attempt to explain why some held *per baroniam*, and hence became barons, and why others did not.

The first real historical, as opposed to legal, attempt to address what the difference between tenure by barony and tenure by knight service was was made by Reid. She concluded that it was actually a distinct form of land tenure and that baronies were in fact also offices to which justiciary rights were attached.⁴⁰ This then explained the different

³⁹ For all the above criteria see: Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.224-5; Sanders, *Feudal Military Service*, pp.1-2; R. R. Reid, 'Barony and Thanage', *English Historical Review*, xxxv (1920), pp.162-3; Coss, 'An Age of Deference', pp.35-6.

⁴⁰ As opposed to: F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *A History of English Law*, vol. i (Cambridge, 1911), pp.279-82; W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, vol. ii (London, 1923), p.201. These see there being no distinct features distinguishing barons from tenants by knight service.

treatment barons received compared with other tenants. Because a baron possessed the rights of haute-justice, including a court holding pleas of the crown, that was why the unit and *caput* of the *baronia* had to remain intact and also why the king took the barony into his hands until a relief was paid. He then set at a higher rate due to the profitability of the court which was being inherited. Further, being involved in the administration of justice helps resolve why those who held by barony also possessed the legal privileges and responsibilities outlined above. Therefore Reid concluded that all the differences between baronies and other tenants were apparent because baronies were offices with rights of public justice attached.⁴¹

Sanders however rejected this theory, stating that while barons often possessed the right of exercising haute-justice, this does not imply that it was a criterion for proving possession of tenure *per baroniam*, let alone the distinguishing feature itself. He notes that it was never alluded to in records of disputes over status, nor can barons ever be seen claiming to possess such rights. Instead Sanders proposed that tenure by barony was no longer, if it had ever been, based on a consistent ingrained custom. Instead of living fact it was simply a question of written record. In disputes both royal officials and tenants appear to have no real conception of any principles of law upon which the different tenures were based. Therefore the usual solution was to resort to records to look for examples of his ancestors or a past tenant having previously paid a higher relief, having been amerced as a baron, or even just had the words '*per baroniam*' or '*per sevitium militis* (or *militare*)' written in their records. With no clear conception of the origin of tenure by barony, or the reason why a tenant was a *baro*, disputes were resolved by chance statements in records. Therefore, according to Sanders, barons were distinguished in law from the rest of society, but the principle upon which this was based was not supplied by law or even custom, but by them holding land that had at some point, for an unknown or even accidental reason, been classified a *baronia*.⁴²

⁴¹ Reid, 'Barony and Thanage', pp.196-7.

⁴² Sanders, *Feudal Military Service*, pp.1-28.

Sanders' 'accidental' argument did not though dissuade others from attempting to find the underlying factor that differentiated the baronage from the rest of society, particularly those writing about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, rather than the thirteenth. McFarlane saw the right to summonses as the fundamental device for distinguishing noble from non-noble.⁴³ To him, ancestry of the family or the land were of little importance. Selection for summonses was based almost entirely on landed wealth, while any remnants of links to tenural baronies were coincidental. Not every tenant who held by barony could come to parliament; it was the king's summons that determined that.⁴⁴ These new type of barons, defined by their personal summonses, possessed little relation to Stenton's old 'honourial baronage' beyond a shared name. Repeated summonses meant that it soon became assumed that only those who were summoned were lords. Further, by the late fourteenth century, summonses were being used as deliberate instruments of political promotion as the nobility became increasingly stabilised, hereditary and restricted. Therefore by about 1400 reception of an individual summons was effectively a guarantee of hereditary baronial status. However, it must be cautioned that there was not legally a hereditary right to attend parliament until 1625 and barons could only attend because of a specific summons from the king.⁴⁵ In practice though by the late fourteenth century a writ of summons effectively made and subsequently defined a baronial family.

Another attempt to define barons has been to highlight the growth of the trend at the time of dividing the groups in society into estates, based on how they were represented in parliament.⁴⁶ Therefore from the 1330s the knights of the gentry joined the merchants in the estate of the Commons, whilst the barons had categorically joined dukes and earls in the estate of the Lords. Although this strengthens the argument for a defined and stratified social hierarchy, the case of Thomas Camoys who was summoned as a representative of both estates in 1383, along with others who teetered on the boundary, shows that this method of social distinction was not completely definitive.

⁴³ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p.269.

⁴⁴ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p.124.

⁴⁵ M. L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy* (Manchester, 1984), p.19.

⁴⁶ Rigby, *English Society*, pp.190-5.

To help understand the distinction between barons and the gentry, an insight can be gained by looking at the complex group that bridged the two estates, the bannerets. The term banneret has its origin in the late thirteenth century as a military term for an experienced knight who was entitled to carry a square banner, rather than a triangle pennon, and to higher wages (4s. per day, rather than 2s.).⁴⁷ However, by the mid-fourteenth century the term began to define a distinct, non-hereditary, intermediary rank of senior knights. These were superior to ordinary knights bachelor in that they brought their own contingents, under their own banner, to the battlefield. Edward III also tended to reward some of those bannerets whom he wished to honour with personal summonses to parliament. A distinction between barons and bannerets in parliament did though remain until Richard II's reign at least.⁴⁸ In legislation from 1363 regarding the quality of clothing which each estate was entitled to wear and in the 1379 poll tax documentation, bannerets appeared to be becoming a social, rather than just military, group in their own right.⁴⁹ Similarly bannerets were given representation as a separate rank in the continual councils during the minority of Richard II. However, bannerets were a bridging group, rather than a new lowest stratum of the parliamentary peerage as Sir Robert Hales, a banneret representative in the 1378-80 continual council, was never summoned to parliament, nor were large numbers of other men who possessed the title.⁵⁰ The bannerets as a distinct group began to die out in Richard II's reign as the established barons endeavoured to protect their dignity and increase their exclusivity. Edward III's successors were unable to influence the makeup of the nobility in the way he had. The gates therefore closed and the peerage solidified. From 1388 no new bannerets were summoned, whilst those who had already entered parliament found their summonses being repeated and handed on to their

⁴⁷ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.61; Brown, *The Governance*, p.181; Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.288; Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, pp.114-16.

⁴⁸ Brown suggest that banneret was mainly used for 'new' men, whilst those who had inherited summons were called barons: Brown, *The Governance*, p.181. However this was not a steadfast rule. For example, John, Lord Lovel was sometimes referred to as a banneret, even though his family had been receiving summonses since 1299: M. E. Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-148?', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1999), p.154.

⁴⁹ P. R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.241-2; Coss, 'An Age of Deference', pp.41-2; Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, pp.116-19.

⁵⁰ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.61-2; Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, p.118.

heirs.⁵¹ By the early fifteenth century any distinction had disappeared and all lay lords in parliament became simply peers, whilst individual precedence relating to the antiquity of a family's first summonses became more important.⁵² The main point that the concept of bannerets demonstrated in relation to defining the baronage is the way innovation, especially in the form of royal patronage, was generally opposed by the existing hereditary group. Though bannerets were later integrated, the idea of a distinct, defined and relatively closed hereditary group was already well established by 1377, even if a few late runners slipped through the gate.

A more general glance at the recruitment of 'new men' to the baronage also helps define the parameters of this group.⁵³ Until 1387 there were two ways that someone could enter the baronage, either by obtaining lands, by virtue of marriage or inheritance, of a man who had been individually summoned to parliament in the past, or alternatively by receiving a summons as a deliberate act of promotion by the king.⁵⁴ The former was the more common and certainly more popular with the existing barons, as it reiterated the concept of dignities being tied to tenure which implied that their status was above the whim of a king, whilst it also retained a relatively consistent number. As Pugh has detailed, barons found it most profitable to marry into their own social group, so sons of barons often married other barons' daughters.⁵⁵ In these cases failure in the male line could see the son-in-laws inherit the title. If he was himself an eldest son the two titles would merge, as happened with John, Lord Lovel who, after marrying the heiress of Robert Holand in 1373, became the first baron to style himself with the double title of Lord Lovel and Holand.⁵⁶ Alternatively a younger son could take over the barony from his father-in-law, such as Richard Stafford, the head of a cadet branch of the earls of Stafford, who took over the Clifton lands and summons in 1371 and became Lord Stafford of Clifton. Such marriages

⁵¹ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.62-3; Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy*, p.119. According to Crouch those who did not follow their fathers in receiving summonses disappeared amongst the knights.

⁵² Brown, *The Governance*, p.181.

⁵³ Recruitment to and extinction from the baronage are explored fully in Chapter 4.ii.

⁵⁴ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.62-3.

⁵⁵ T. B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509*, (Manchester, 1972), pp.87-8. Pugh also notes that barons and their sons were though more than happy to marry wealthy gentry heiresses.

⁵⁶ Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', p.54; Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.437.

helped retain the exclusivity and inaccessibility of the existing baronial families, although some members of the gentry, such as John Falvesle and William Heron, did enter the baronage via this route. The second method of recruitment was reserved for close servants and political supporters and its use under Edward III is well documented.⁵⁷ However this practice largely ceased during the reign of Richard II where, as mentioned above, only five ‘new men’ (including Beauchamp of Kidderminster) were summoned in his reign and no other after 1388 for nearly 40 years.⁵⁸ While Bothwell sees Edward III’s reign as the high point of a general attempt by the king to influence the composition of the nobility (Edward III promoted 59 ‘new men’ to the baronage), in Richard II’s reign there was in effect a closed hereditary group whose makeup was out of his personal control.⁵⁹ If Edward III caused a slowing, or even reversal, in the parliamentary developments, under Richard II normal course was resumed. The baronage under Richard II were actively promoting their exclusivity and were successful in preserving their consistency and instituted position against the theoretical right of the king’s complete discretion.

Two theories have been used to explain the changes that the baronage underwent in the late medieval period. Firstly McFarlane highlighted the high extinction rate that the nobility underwent. He calculated that in every quarter of a century in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a quarter of male lines died out.⁶⁰ With fewer new families rising to take the places of extinct ones, the group naturally became smaller, wealthier and subsequently more separated from those below. On top of this the general demise of the ‘feudal’ system also influenced the development of the baronage. As feudalism stopped being an all-encompassing social system based on military service and instead became a mere fiscal device, nobles seized new rights of land ownership. The use of the entail restricted succession to the male heir when lands were granted in ‘tail male’, whilst

⁵⁷ J. S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.15-27; Bothwell, ‘Edward III and the “New Nobility”’, pp.1111-40.

⁵⁸ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.436. The five ‘new men’ were Lords Windsor, Thorpe, Devereux, Beauchamp of Kidderminster and Philip Despenser.

⁵⁹ Bothwell, ‘Edward III and the “New Nobility”’, pp.1111, 1133; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp.16, 145. Bothwell’s criteria differs slightly to that used by Powell and Wallis: Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp.165-6.

⁶⁰ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p.270.

enfeoffment was used to help landowners dispose of their property in accordance with their wishes, rather than being subjected to feudal inheritance laws. Ultimately land tenure became a right of descent, rather than an obligation of service, in complete contrast to feudal principles.⁶¹ With new forms of stratification, such as parliamentary summonses and eventually letters patent, tenure was superseded as the mark of nobility and in particular of the baronage. A combination of these two things, a smaller and richer demographic group, and with privileges linked to their name, rather than their landholding, saw the baronage become a separate and exclusive group, who would soon become the peerage.

The baronage in Richard II's reign was ultimately defined by their engagement with institutions, especially parliament. In other areas, particularly in the localities, a distinction between the greater barons and titled nobles, and the lesser barons and the gentry, certainly existed, but was not as definitive. There is also not much contemporary evidence of barons having any real sense of collective identity at this time. One thing in particular that suggests this was the way they were styled in documents. In the summons lists the nobles are marked off as *seigneurs* (the lords), but the individual prefixes of the barons vary between *monseigneur* and *le sire*. There is some rough pattern to the application on some occasions, with the former being used for the more established barons and the latter for bannerets, but there is no real consistency in this. Barons themselves and Chancery documents would most often use '... *chivaler, dominus de ...*' after their names, if their lordship was mentioned at all. In many of these cases even that was simply added to distinguish them from a namesake. There certainly seems to have been no active attempt to promote their rank and demark themselves through styles of address.⁶²

⁶¹ Bush, *The English Aristocracy*, pp.88-92.

⁶² Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.231, 374, 390-1. Throughout this thesis the modern *Complete Peerage* stylings of Lord X; X, Lord X; and Lord X of X will be used.

iii) A Definition

With the development of the baronage having been traced through the Middle Ages and the different criteria that distinguished the group having been set out, it is now time to try and produce an explicit definition for the baronage in the reign of Richard II for use in the remainder of the study. The baronage of this period was a group of between 40 and 50 individuals. They all, bar a small number of new recruits, held lands where previous tenants, generally their own ancestors, had at some point from 1295 been individually summoned to parliament. It was the current recipients' own summonses that distinguished them as barons, though their entitlement to receive them was only based on the custom and repeated practice of heredity, with the king's prerogative still theoretically being authoritative. However, although the summons defined the baronage constitutionally at this time, other distinct features existed which differentiated the barons from the titled nobility and the knights. Despite blurred boundaries at both ends of the spectrum, the baronage were not just an institutionally defined estate. There were other characteristics in their politics, landholding and lordship that distinguished them and influenced their actions during Richard II's reign, and these will be explored in Chapters 3-5.

CHAPTER 3: POLITICS, FAVOUR AND PATRONAGE

The importance of the baronage in late fourteenth century politics is apparent the moment that investigation is begun into the makeup and functioning of any one of the four component instruments of political power. The ‘executive’ council, the ‘legislative’ parliament, the administration and the judiciary all operated with the involvement of barons in significant numbers and at the highest levels. By examining the position and role of the baronage in each of these four areas it will be possible to build a picture of the political life of barons during Richard II’s reign. Some of the rewards of royal service and favour will also be explored.

i) Parliament

The most obvious starting point in an examination of barons’ political functioning is the institution which, as has been explored in Chapter 2, effectively defined them at this time - parliament. Parliament was by this period not only a regular occasion, it was an established institution and the arena for the great political debates of the day. Including the one called in his name in September 1399, 25 parliaments were summoned during Richard II’s reign. The upper chamber was populated in approximately equal numbers by lay lords – the dukes, earls and barons, and by spiritual lords – the archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, all of whom were summoned by individual writs. The average number of lay lords summoned to the 25 parliaments, calculated using Appendix 1, was 55, ranging from 37 to 62.¹ This range is condensed to between 49 and 62 if the November 1380 and 1395 figures, which are significantly diminished by military campaigns, are discounted. The figures for the barons alone give an average of 43, ranging from 29 to 49, or 34 to 49 excluding the two previously mentioned campaign-affected parliaments. With the spiritual lords summoned numbering a constant 46, the barons can be seen to have numerically made up approximately 42% of the upper chamber. However, although these figures are

¹ All the following figures are calculated from the parliamentary summonses table in Appendix 1. That table is largely derived from: *Reports of the Lords Committees Touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm*, vol. iv (London, 1826).

based on about the only empirical evidence available for the makeup of parliament, the summons lists, these are not accurate records of actual attendance at the sessions.

Roskell argued that it was likely that less than half of those summoned usually managed to appear, with the barons and lesser prelates being the most frequent absentees.² He justified this assessment by highlighting the repeatedly insistent wording of the summonses themselves, the frequent need for adjournments due to lack of prompt attendance and, most importantly, surviving records of those actually present on certain occasions. For Richard II's reign such records survive for the 1395, September 1397 and 1399 parliaments. The 1395 record is a letter to the king in Ireland which was subscribed by eight of the 29 barons who had been summoned. In 1397, 26 of the 37 barons who had been summoned swore oaths to maintain the acts of the session.³ Lastly, in 1399, 24 of the 34 barons who had been summoned were recorded as having taken part in the proceedings.⁴ The 1395 figure is unlikely to be a fair gauge because the convenience and necessity of getting every attendee to witness the letter is not compelling. The eight who subscribed the letter were Lords Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Berkeley, Burnel, Cobham, Cromwell, Montagu, Ros and Scrope of Bolton. These were some of the more senior of those barons not in Ireland. Lords Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Cobham, Montagu and Scrope of Bolton were notable courtiers, while Lords Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Berkeley, Burnel and Ros were amongst the richest members of the baronage. The distinction of the witnesses suggests that they may have been a delegation of the barons assembled in

² J. S. Roskell, 'The Problem of Attendance of the Lords in Medieval Parliaments', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxix (1956), pp.153-204.

³ These figures include Lords Despenser and Neville of Raby who were summoned as barons but who were made earls during the session.

⁴ 1395 - E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-1395* (Oxford, 1927), p.140; N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. i (London, 1834), p.59. 1397 - *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii (London, 1783), p.356; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1397 (September), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 39. 1399 - *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, pp.426-7; C. Given Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of 1399 (October), Text and Translation', in Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 74. For comment see: Roskell, 'The Problem of the Attendance', pp.176-8. I have used my calculations which make the following modifications to Roskell's figures – for September 1397, 37 barons were summoned not 36 and for 1399, 24 barons were recorded as being present, not 23. Also on the 1399 parliament roll it is likely that Lord Bourchier is meant in the list of the lords assenting to Richard II's imprisonment, rather than Lord Beaumont who had not reach his majority and did not begin to be summoned until 1404: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p.427; Given-Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of 1399 (October)', item 74.

parliament, rather than the full complement. The recorded attendance at both the September 1397 and 1399 parliaments is 70% of those summoned. Although Roskell comments that the importance of the two parliaments would have increased turnout, this should be counterbalanced by noting that the attendance at the similarly significant February 1388 ‘Merciless’ Parliament was seen as less than desirable.⁵ Therefore even though they were ‘crisis parliaments’, Roskell is possibly over bold in his assumption that the anticipation of notable events would cause such a dramatic increase in attendance. There is also other evidence to suggest that the 1397 and 1399 turnouts may have been so untypical for the period.

The first indication of this can be seen in the patterns of the summonses themselves. During periods where foreign campaigns or border conflicts were ongoing, particularly the earl of Buckingham’s expedition to Brittany between June 1380 and April 1381, Richard II’s expedition to Ireland between October 1394 and May 1395, and the Scottish border disturbance in July 1388, those known to be out of the country or occupied were not summoned to parliament. Along with the writs of exemption issued for infirm lords, such as James, Lord Audley and John, Lord de la Warr, this demonstrates a sense of reality in the summonses. It at least suggests that those summoned were expected and that non attendance was not as widespread as to reduce summonses to being nominal.⁶ Further, the adjournments for want of attendance were due to lords arriving late, rather than not at all. As Roskell himself notes, clerks occasionally cited perilous roads or involvement in commissions as reasons for these delays.⁷ Finally, looking at the absent lords in 1397 and 1399, other than those excused or under arrest, a significant proportion were from northern England and were quite feasibly engaged in alternative government business on the border. This was perhaps even a regular precaution.⁸ That therefore leaves only a handful of

⁵ Roskell, ‘The Problem of the Attendance’, p.171.

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350-1354 (CPR)* (London, 1907), p.425; *CPR 1381-1385* (London, 1897), p.185.

⁷ Roskell, ‘The Problem of the Attendance’, p.169.

⁸ There is a suggestion of this in the October 1386 Parliament when the Commons petitioned for all the lords in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, with the exception of Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton (who was appointed to the council), to remain in their counties and oppose and resist the appearance of enemies: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p.223; C. Given Wilson, ‘Richard II: Parliament of

unexplained absences for both parliaments. The 11 absentees in 1397 were Lords Clinton, Cobham, Dacre, Fitzhugh, Greystoke, Heron, Scrope of Bolton, Scrope of Masham, Strange, de la Warr and Welles. The 10 in 1399 were Lords Clinton, Dacre (who had died in July between the summons and the parliament), Darcy, Despenser (Lincs.), Grey of Condor, Harington, Scrope of Masham, St Amand, de la Warr and Welles. In 1397 Cobham was under arrest pending trial, whilst de la Warr had been exempted from attending since 1382 due to weakness of his eyes. Of the remaining nine, five were from the northern counties.⁹ A similar pattern exists for 1399, although with more leaning to midland lords.¹⁰ When taking into account allowances for old age and illness, only a few individuals were left whose absences could possibly be apportioned to lack of interest or obligation. This is not to suggest that attendance was in any way impeccable, but there is an argument that Roskell overstated the problem of attendance. It might be therefore that the figure was actually likely to be nearer two-thirds of those summoned than Roskell's half. The numerical strength of the barons in parliament can as a result be estimated to have been around 30, in an upper chamber of approximately 70. Barons were undoubtedly a significant presence in the institution.

A second assumption to address regarding barons and parliament is one that they only played a minor part in parliamentary affairs which were dominated by the titled nobility and the officers of state. Tuck suggested that barons 'played only a small part in parliamentary business...[being]...overshadowed by the great earls', Brown that they were more county men who showed 'little interest in serving in central government', Given-Wilson that they maintained a low profile and that 'few of them were about the court and government with any frequency', and Dodd that hierarchy and the strict order of precedent 'extended to the respective influence individuals could bring to bear on discussion' to the

1386 (October), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 31.

⁹ North - Dacre (Cumb), Fitzhugh (Yorks), Greystoke (Cumb), Scrope of Bolton (Yorks) and Scrope of Masham (Yorks); Midlands - Clinton (Warw), Strange (Salop) and Welles (Linc); South - Heron (Sus/Kent).

¹⁰ North - Darcy (Yorks) and Scrope of Masham (Yorks); Midlands - Clinton (Warw), Despenser (Linc), Grey of Condor (Derb) and Welles (Linc); South - Harington (SW) and St Amand (Thames Valley).

extent that the influence of barons on decision making was negligible.¹¹ The influence of the upper chamber and the role of the Lords in general have also been ignored or underplayed in most studies on parliament, as topics such as taxation, legislation, common petitions and the makeup of the Commons have dominated research.¹² Carpenter further suggests that parliament was not important for the nobility as they could advise the king outside of parliament as well.¹³

It was however in the upper chamber where policy was discussed and determined, where legislation was formulated, where petitions were addressed and where legal matters and trials received final judgement. The real source of power and authority within the institution was undoubtedly the upper chamber. The Commons by contrast could only air grievances and make suggestions. In general the members of the Lords also tended to have closer association with the council and court. They also had a higher level of continuity in membership across parliaments than the Commons who had to seek re-election. The Lords were therefore likely to be the more knowledgeable, experienced and professional in matters of royal government.¹⁴

The obvious way of assessing the influence of barons in parliament is to look at their role in the proceedings, particularly as recorded in the parliament rolls. In a very simple numerical comparison, the word ‘barons’ appears 97 times in the English translation of the parliament rolls of the reign, whereas ‘earls’ has 148 matches and ‘knights’ 173.¹⁵ This immediately indicates a lesser role, certainly in terms of functions, of the group in the proceedings of parliament. By breaking down the figures further it can be seen that 54 of the references are to barons in lists of the assembled estates of the realm (usually in the

¹¹ A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), pp.27-8; A. L. Brown, ‘Parliament c.1377-1422’, in R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), p.117; C. Given-Wilson, ‘Richard II and the Higher Nobility’, in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), p.116; G. Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry: The English Parliament, 1369-1421’ Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1998), p.70.

¹² Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry’, p.68. For example: K. B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981), pp.1-21.

¹³ C. Carpenter, *The War of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.36-7.

¹⁴ Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry’, pp.69-70.

¹⁵ C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005). These figures do not include references made in the appendixes and introductions.

form of ‘with the assent and advice of prelates, dukes, earls, barons and other great men assembled’, or similar), 39 references relate to the barons of the Exchequer, a whole different body with no relevance to the noble barons, three references are to the barons of the Cinque Ports, and the remaining one is in the context of the promotion of barons to the degree of earl. This indicates that as small groups of individuals, or even as a whole collective body, barons demonstrated little uniformity of identity or action in parliament. This would therefore appear to support the premise that affairs were dominated by the hierarchically superior titled nobles amongst the aristocracy, or certainly that the Lords in general tended to be seen as a coherent group, rather than the constituent titled nobles and barons separately.

The idea of the separation of the Lords from the Commons was firmly entrenched. The perception of the barons as a distinct group from the titled nobility was also apparent. However that did not mean that there existed a sense of group identity within the barons and they certainly never acted as a collective body with their own particular political agenda. Although it cannot be seen routinely in parliamentary debates due to the nature of the records, at times of major political fracture, such as 1386-8 and 1399, barons are found on both sides with their loyalty determined by private interest, connections of lordship and possibly ideology. Class interest in relation to taxation or legislation was propagated by the upper chamber as a collective body, whilst matters of royal household expenditure and foreign policy saw no political accordance along lines of social standing. A modern analogy therefore is to compare the baronage to backbenchers in modern politics.¹⁶ Although they had many common characteristics, other motives were dominant in their outlook and they would never act as a political bloc. As barons’ situations were largely defined by their landholding and competition for power, their political outlook would be motivated by the preservation and advancement of these. For this reason the baronage has

¹⁶ Simon also makes the same analogy, which is actually a very useful way of characterising barons’ position in the upper chamber, particularly if the titled nobles are compared to the cabinet and shadow cabinet: M. E. Simon, ‘The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-148?’, Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1999), p.272.

been described as a volatile and fissiparous body which rarely united behind a political strategy.¹⁷

What is more enlightening than looking for references to barons as a group is to collate references to the individual barons in the parliamentary proceedings. Again by looking simply at the quantity of references to each baron, there is a discernible pattern.¹⁸ For the majority, 52 of the 66 baronial families, the individual holding the title is mentioned less than 10 times in the rolls, suggesting little involvement in parliamentary affairs beyond routine attendance. For seven of the remaining 15 families the incumbent lord is referenced between 10 and 19 times. These were Lords Brian, Devereux, Grey of Ruthin, Fitzwalter, Lovel, Willoughby and Zouche. These therefore appear to have been moderately active in proceedings, perhaps occasionally being appointed as triers or on commissions. The final eight, Lords Beauchamp of Kidderminster, Cobham, de la Pole, Despenser (S. Wales), Montagu, Neville of Raby, Scrope of Bolton and Seymour are all referred to on more than 20 occasions. Of these, Seymour should be discounted because 93 of the 94 references to him relate to a specific property dispute he was involved in with the prior and convent of Montacute in 1384. The other seven though were important political figures - significant administrators, councillors or trusted courtiers of the king who undertook central roles in parliamentary matters. Thomas, Lord Despenser, John, Lord Montagu (d.1400) and Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby were three of Richard II's new Appellants and were significantly involved in the affairs and trials of 1397. John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster and Michael, Lord de la Pole were old intimates of the king. They had both been raised by him in the 1380s and were two of the foremost victims of the 1388 'Merciless' Parliament. John, Lord Neville of Raby and Lords Scrope of Bolton, Cobham and de la Pole were all

¹⁷ Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p.93.

¹⁸ Number of references during Richard II's reign:- 94 – Seymour; 75 – de la Pole; 62 – Cobham; 42 – Scrope of Bolton; 38 – Montagu; 31 - Neville of Raby; 27 – Despenser (S. Wales); 22 – Beauchamp of Kidderminster; 19 – Brian; 18 – Fitzwalter; 16 – Lovel; 12 – Zouche; 11 – Willoughby; 10 - Devereux and Grey of Ruthin 9 – Beauchamp of Bletsoe and Windsor; 8 – Latimer; 6 – Bardolf, Scrope of Masham and Stafford; 4 – Camoys, Clifford, Darcy and Strange; 3 – Ros; 2 – Aldeburgh, Arundel, Botetourt, Ferrers of Groby, Grey of Condor, Morley and Scales; 1 – Audley, Basset, Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Beaumont, Berkeley, Bourchier, Burnel, Cherleton, Cromwell, Despenser (Lincs.), Greystoke, Harington, Lumley, Neville of Hallamshire and St Amand; 0 – Botreaux, Clifton, Clinton, Dacre, Deincourt, Fitzhugh, Falvesle, Ferrers of Wem, Furnival of Sheffield, Grey of Wilton, Heron, Lisle, Maulay, Poynings, Talbot, Thorpe, de la Warr and Welles.

frequently appointed triers of petitions and were sent on delegations to the Commons regularly throughout their careers. Scrope of Bolton and de la Pole both also performed significant parliamentary roles through their position as chancellor, which included conducting the opening address on behalf of the government where they detailed the reasons for the summons and the business at hand. Rather than simple favourites, these four should be characterised as career politicians. They would have been regularly re-appointed to these roles because of their ability and willingness to perform such functions. The position of these figures in parliamentary politics was virtually second to none and proof that as individuals barons could certainly be amongst the political heavyweights.

The most detailed record of barons' activity in parliament is the private petitions that they submitted, or that were submitted against them, which were enrolled in the proceedings.¹⁹ In 1379 Sir William Windsor (a baron from 1381) submitted a petition requesting the reversal of the judgments made against his wife Alice Perrers.²⁰ In 1380 Lords Darcy and Zouche submitted unrelated petitions regarding property disputes they were respectively involved in.²¹ In 1384 petitions were submitted against Lords de la Pole and Seymour, again unrelated. The one against de la Pole related to money he had not paid to a fishmonger, while the Seymour one was another property dispute.²² Finally, in 1397 Lord Despenser, then earl of Gloucester, submitted two petitions seeking the annulment of the forfeiture against his ancestors.²³ These cases show barons being involved in the private business function of parliament, which was just one specific and limited part of its

¹⁹ The sponsoring of private petitions and consideration of any implications regarding connections with MPs will be discussed in Chapter 5.ii.

²⁰ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, pp.40-1; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1378 (October), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), items 36-7; G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), p.161; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Trials of Alice Perrers', *Speculum*, lxxiii (2008), pp.366-96.

²¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, pp.78-9, 79-80; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1380 (January), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), items 22-3, 24-5; Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p.161.

²² *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, pp.168-70, 172-3; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1384 (April), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), items 11-15, 20-1.

²³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, pp.360-7; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1397 (September), Text and Translation', items 55-66.

operations. They do not though unfortunately offer any insight into their role in any of the policy or legislative aspects of the institutions.

The debates in the upper chamber of parliament are really only first recorded in the Lords' Journal of 1509. Other fragments of earlier journals have been found, in particular that of a debate from the parliament of 1449. In this unique and illuminating snapshot of a mid-fifteenth century parliamentary debate, it is notable that barons appear to have an equal say in discussions with the titled nobles and spiritual lords. Although the source is from half a century on from the period of this study, this evidence does go some way towards refuting the suggestion that barons had negligible influence on decision making.²⁴

The formal and formulaic nature of the parliament rolls mean that little of the processes of parliament are expounded in the records, limiting understanding of the inner dynamics of the political community in Richard II's reign in this arena. By assessing the volume of contributions recorded in the formal processes, some judgement of the relative levels of involvement and the respective stature of individuals can be gauged. The application of this method would seem to support existing assessments that business was dominated by a small number of individuals. However, rather than seeing the figures of high politics being above them, some barons could also be involved in this prominent group where inclination and ability allowed. Both Given-Wilson and Brown recognise that there were 'a few notable exceptions' to the idea that it was to the dukes and earls that political leadership fell during Richard II's reign.²⁵ It would appear though that with four barons seemingly at the government 'top table', several others whose favour saw them for a period established amongst the principal players, and half a dozen evidently politically active, these assessments are perhaps an understatement. There is little evidence that the baronage were a politically coherent group in a parliamentary sense, even though it was their position in the institution that was effectively defining them. As individuals many were also slightly

²⁴ A. R. Myers, 'A Parliamentary Debate of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxii (1938), pp.388-404; A. R. Myers, 'A Parliamentary Debate of 1449', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, li (1978), pp.78-83.

²⁵ Given-Wilson, 'Richard II', p.116; Brown, 'Parliament c.1377-1422', p.117.

removed from high politics. However, up to a quarter of them were significantly involved in parliamentary affairs to merit being considered actively political.

ii) Council

With parliament meeting approximately once every 11-12 months for an average of five to six weeks, most decision making and executive business was conducted by the far less well defined body, loosely termed the council.²⁶ Watts helped demystify the concept of the council and showed that in the mid-fifteenth century three distinct bodies were being referred to at different times: emergency councils, the king's council and great councils.²⁷ Other studies demonstrate that such a model is equally applicable to the late fourteenth century.²⁸ During Richard II's reign an emergency council, essentially a body of fixed membership and binding powers during crisis periods, existed during both the minority and between 1386 and 1388. Barons made up a significant proportion of all these councils where as a class they were prescribed a set number of representatives, balanced by an equal number of representatives from the other political ranks. The first continual council included two barons and two bannerets out of the 12, the second included two bannerets out of nine members, and the third had two bannerets out of the eight. The council appointed in 1386 also had three barons amongst the 12 commissioned.²⁹ To Lewis these emergency councils were miniature representations of the full council and temporarily brought into light the type of personnel that populated them.³⁰ However, Watts has subsequently shown that the concept of a 'full council' is not a viable model and these emergency bodies must be viewed in their own right.³¹ Emergency councils through their prescribed makeup

²⁶ Brown, 'Parliament c.1377-1422', p.112.

²⁷ J. L. Watts, 'The Counsels of King Henry VI, c.1435-1445', *English Historical Review*, cvi (1991), p.282.

²⁸ A. Goodman, 'Richard II's Councils', in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp.59-76; J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913); A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), ch.2; G. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford, 2005), pp.74-80.

²⁹ The makeup of these emergency councils is described fully in the Introduction. Bannerets as a group are dealt with in Chapter 2.ii.

³⁰ N. B. Lewis, 'The Continual Council in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80', *English Historical Review*, xli (1926), p.246.

³¹ Watts, 'The Counsels', p.280.

actively attempted to include representatives of each of the main political classes to gain widespread support. Barons therefore had significant representation on all of these, usually matched in number by titled nobles, bishops and knights. In terms of function, the continual councils acted as a regency body during the minority, conducting all the business of government. Little can be ascertained about the inner workings of these emergency councils during the reign and the particular positions and contributions of the individuals within them. What they do demonstrate though regarding the barons is that they were seen as important partners in government at times when the political community temporarily assumed some of the king's powers.

Whilst these emergency bodies institutionalised the council and turned it temporarily into the focus of executive power, the council's usual role was to offer counsel to the conventional authority, the king. In the late medieval model of kingship, the king's duty was to look after the common good and this was facilitated by the reception of good counsel.³² This counsel was provided on two different levels, depending on the nature of the business in hand. The routine bureaucratic business of government such as matters of justice and patronage was conducted by the king with the aid of royal officers, household intimates and magnates who happened to be at court.³³ This was known as the king's council and in addition to the officers of state and magnates, a body of 'official' councillors were appointed and retained by the king.³⁴ The king's right to receive counsel from such advisers was widely accepted, even if individuals were occasionally criticised. This system also suited his 'natural councillors', the nobles, most of whom had other priorities and did not want to become too involved in the routines of central bureaucracy.

The informal nature of the counsel which the king received and the more regular character of business mean that no real records of its proceedings exist prior to 1389 and only piecemeal memoranda survives after that date.³⁵ A few clues to the makeup of the

³² Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, p.75. This aspect of the political culture is also explored in Chapter 1.iii.

³³ Goodman, 'Richard II's Councils', pp.59-76.

³⁴ The king's council is sometimes referred to as the administrative council and later became the privy council.

³⁵ Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vol. i. Nicholas' collection collates the council manuscripts in the British Library, the earliest of which are from 1386.

king's council can however be found. The chance survival of the journal of John Prophet, the clerk of the council, for the period between January and May 1392 (with two additional entries for December 1392 and January 1393), provides a very helpful sample of the makeup of both the king's council and the great council.³⁶ A broad range of business was undertaken during this snapshot of the king's council including all sorts of judicial and financial affairs, and important and individual matters that could not be dealt with routinely by common law courts or the Exchequer. Brown has calculated from this source that of the 34 king's council meetings in the sample, 24 individuals were recorded as present with an average attendance at a meeting of 6.4. A core of seven attended frequently whilst others, including the three barons among the 24 (Lords Cobham, Devereux and Lovel), were in occasional attendance.³⁷

Another important indicator of those involved in the king's council is the names of those individuals who attested charters, collated in Given-Wilson's study of witness lists.³⁸ He established that the record of those at the witnessing ceremonies in the Chancery can be regarded as a useful guide to the personnel of the council.³⁹ Utilising these records then it would appear that there were significant numbers of barons regularly involved at court and on the king's council. During Richard II's reign 15 different barons attested more than five charters.⁴⁰ Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton (c.1377-95), John, Lord Montagu (c.1381-87), Michael, Lord de la Pole (c.1382-87), John, Lord Devereux (c.1386-93), Guy, Lord Brian (c.1377-82), William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny (c.1378-81), Richard, Lord Stafford of Clifton (c.1377-79), John, Lord Cobham (c.1386-95), Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham (c.1377-79), John, Lord Neville of Raby (c.1377-79), William, Lord Latimer (c.1377-80), Roger, Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe (c.1378-9), John, Lord Lovel (c.1385-98),

³⁶ Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp.489-504. For an English synopsis of the journal see: Brown, *The Governance*, pp.37-9. For further comment see: Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp.134-5.

³⁷ Brown, *The Governance*, p.39. Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, also seems to be named in May 1392, although Brown has discounted him as a baron as he is titled 'monsire', rather than 'le Sire de': Baldwin, *The King's Council*, p.501.

³⁸ C. Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, xii (1991), pp.35-93.

³⁹ Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', p.44.

⁴⁰ Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', p.45. There were an average of 13.5 charters per year and 297 during the entire reign. The average number of witnesses for each charter was between 12 and 13. The dates given are the periods they were attesting charters.

Walter, Lord Fitzwalter (c.1385-6), and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin (c.1396-8) were these individuals. This suggests that some barons, like Lords Scrope of Bolton, Cobham and Lovel were near permanent fixtures at court for a prolonged period, while others look to have had a stretch of three or four consecutive years where they were attesting charters. Many of these frequent attesters were older experienced barons who had been involved in politics during the previous reign as well.

Another way of identifying those on the king's council is to look for references in the records of individuals being identified as councillors. The primary example of this in Richard II's reign is the list of those expelled from court by the Appellants in 1388. These included a number of barons, with Lords Beaumont, Burnel, Camoys, Lovel and Zouche, as well as Sir Thomas Clifford (later Lord Clifford's upon his father's death), named in various sources.⁴¹ Walsingham, Knighton and the Westminster Chronicle all name the same six barons except Walsingham, who misses out Camoys, suggesting perhaps that he was the least well known or prominent councillor in the group. Finally, although court and council were not exactly the same thing, some idea of those involved with the king's council can be ascertained by looking at the household records, particularly the names of the chamber knights who were retained. The royal household and retainers will be examined further in Chapter 5, although it should be noted here that seven barons are known to have been chamber knights during the reign, all of whom held the offices of either steward or acting chamberlain.⁴² Of these, Lords Brian, Scrope of Bolton and Lord Montagu were already barons when they became attached to the king. Thomas Clifford was a son of a baron who would later inherit his father's title, whilst John Beauchamp of Kidderminster, William Beauchamp of Abergavenny and John Devereux would all receive their first summonses as a result of Richard II's favour. The expulsions by the Appellants

⁴¹ H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p.429; T. Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. i, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), p.849; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005); p.261; L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.231; J. L. Leland, 'The Abjuration of 1388', *Medieval Prosopography*, xv (1994), pp.115-38.

⁴² See Chapter 5.i; C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), pp.282-3.

in 1388 strongly indicate that this group of chamber knights were closely associated with the court clique. The expulsions also suggest that the baronial members were prominent amongst this court circle, as they made up six of the 15 who were singled out. However, the fact that only three established barons were in this group probably supports the assessment that permanent service at court was much more the preserve of the gentry.⁴³ Several barons chose to pursue careers at court and on the king's council and a number of others passed through on their way up. The majority of barons though, especially the established ones, had other priorities and responsibilities on their own estates and did not want the distraction of central bureaucracy on a day-to-day basis.

Outside of parliament, the primary way barons and other members of the nobility could routinely offer counsel was in the great council.⁴⁴ This was effectively an extended meeting of the king's council, but with the addition of more peers. A formal summons was also issued to all those required to attend and great councils usually related to a particular matter. The great council met roughly two or three times a year. Its makeup could vary from almost no barons, to a full parliamentary complement of them, depending on the issue at hand. They usually though tended to include approximately half a dozen peers in a body of roughly 30. Formal proceedings of these meetings, equivalent to the parliament rolls, no longer exist as they were destroyed in the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698. Passing comments of meetings and decisions made were recorded in chronicles, especially the *Westminster Chronicle*, and also the parliament rolls.⁴⁵ For example, a meeting of the

⁴³ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.169.

⁴⁴ Goodman, 'Richard II's Councils', pp.76-82; Watts, 'The Counsels', p.282; Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp.76-7.

⁴⁵ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, *passim* (e.g. pp.377-409 for several great councils held in 1389); Monk Of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp.121-2. Other references include in April 1379 where a great council had been called to aid the continual council make provisions for securing the realm: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p.55; G. Martin, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1379 (April), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 5. In May 1382 a reference was made to a great council that had been held at Windsor where Richard II had undertaken to go to France: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p.122; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1382 (May), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 3. Finally, in February 1383, following the French invasion of Flanders, Richard II had undertaken at a great council in Westminster to lead a host to Flanders and parliament was charged with debating this matter: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii, p.144; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1383 (February), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 3.

king's '*magnum consilium*' held on 20 January 1389 'was attended by most of the great from all over England, together with other worthies drawn from the Commons, and at which several matters were raised and discussed that were not disclosed'. Orders arising from it saw the earls of Nottingham and Northumberland, Lords Beaumont and Clifford and other local magnates (including Lords Ros and Neville) appointed wardens of the Scottish Marches in preparation for a planned royal expedition. They were also given indentures by the king to raise men.⁴⁶ A few miscellaneous surviving fragments of great council papers for this period are also collected in the first volume of Nicolas' *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, whilst Prophet's journal again provides the most useful source of information.⁴⁷ In this three gatherings between 12 and 16 February 1392 are taken to be a meeting of the great council, although Prophet does not explicitly differentiate them from the king's council meetings that they punctuate. These were attended by three dukes, seven earls and seven barons (Lords Burnel, Grey of Codnor, Harington and Ros and in addition to the three - Cobham, Devereux and Lovel - from Prophet's king's council records), plus a collection of bishops, knights and clerks, totalling approximately 30.⁴⁸ As well as the enlargement due to the addition of extra magnates, the business of this great council is noticeably different from the other meetings in the sample provided by Prophet. Foreign policy, a military expedition and some of the political aftermath of the judgements made by the 1388 'Merciless' Parliament replace the more bureaucratic business. This suggests that the great council could have been used as a place of quite open discussion and for thrashing out of policies to gain wider support before taking them to parliament. Brown has calculated that these particular meetings of the great council had in attendance over half the earls, but less than a fifth of the barons. This further demonstrates that at the highest level the titled nobility were unquestionably the pre-eminent councillors. Their counsel and presence at court was far more esteemed, even though their visits were infrequent and often reserved for important occasions. In contrast

⁴⁶ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, pp.377-9.

⁴⁷ Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vol. i; Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp.134-5, 493-6.

⁴⁸ Brown, *The Governance*, p.40. William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny, may also be in attendance. He is titled 'monsire', rather than 'le Sire de', but was not raised up to the baronage until July 1392 anyway: Baldwin, *The King's Council*, p.493. Another meeting of the great council at Eltham in July 1395 is recorded and was attended by Lords Cobham and Despenser (S. Wales): Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp.504-5. For comment see: Baldwin, *The King's Council*, pp.135-7.

the barons were of less significance as counsellors by virtue of their rank and only the handful who chose careers in royal administration or household service were really involved in the more executive side of government.

If the evidence of baronial involvement in all three types of councils is combined, it is clear that they could be highly regarded and desirable partners in this area of government. However, unlike the dukes and earls whose rank automatically gave them a seat at the government's highest table whenever they wished, baronial status did not. Only those few who proved themselves through active service to be worthy councillors were rewarded with more regular access to the king's person.

iii) Administration

Service in administration was for some barons an important source of advancement and a means to obtain influence. Whereas military service had traditionally been the way to earn promotion into the baronage, or from the baronage into the titled nobility, administration offered an alternative activity to which they could apply their talents and earn favour and reward.⁴⁹ Nobles and members of the gentry were increasingly becoming involved in government administration towards the end of the fourteenth century, taking on offices that had previously been the reserve of clerics. This was a particularly important channel for new and rising men, rather than those already established and settled in their rank. Administrative, alongside military, service offered an opportunity for the ambitious to rapidly improve their position. Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and indeed the Scrope family as a whole, is one obvious example from the reign of someone who made use of this new route of advancement. Lord Scrope of Bolton served successively as chancellor, treasurer and steward, while both branches of the Scrope family had risen through administrative service.⁵⁰ Administration was also the agent of Michael, Lord de la Pole's rapid advancement.

⁴⁹ For military service see Chapter 5.iii.

⁵⁰ B. Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham, c.1300-1450: A Study of a Northern Noble Family', Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, York (1987), pp.78-87.

In central government there were five principal officers of state, the chancellor, the treasurer of the Exchequer, the keeper of the privy seal, the steward of the household and the chamberlain of the household.⁵¹ During Richard II's reign, 13 men served as chancellor, four of whom were lay appointments and two of whom were barons. The four were the earl of Arundel, Lord Scrope of Bolton (October 1378-January 1380 and December 1381-July 1382), Lord de la Pole (March 1383–October 1386) and Sir Hugh Segrave. At this time the post of treasurer was almost always held by a cleric, although two knights, Sir Hugh Segrave and Sir William Scrope (shortly before being made earl of Wiltshire), served among the 11 treasurers of the reign. One baron, Lord Scrope of Bolton, also held the position of treasurer shortly before the reign between March 1371 and September 1375. The keepers of the privy seal, the secondary writing office, were almost always bishops during this period, as all seven in Richard II's reign were. The chancellor, treasurer and keeper of the privy seal were jobs which required the holder to be a professional administrator, equipped with the necessary talents. The two household office-holders by contrast were less specialist and the occupiers were more often just men close to the king. The steward and the chamberlain of the household were technically deputies for the honorary positions of steward and chamberlain of England, held in heredity by the dukes of Lancaster and earls of Oxford respectively (although from 1391 the latter was held by the earl of Huntingdon due to de Vere's forfeiture). By the end of the fourteenth century the two great offices of the household had established themselves alongside the chancellor, treasurer and keeper of the privy seal as the five principal officers of state and the holders were ex-officio councillors.⁵² Three of the six stewards of the household between 1377 and 1399 were barons – Lords Scrope of Bolton (1377-78), Montagu (1381-87) and Devereux (1388-93). John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster (1387-8) would also briefly become a baron while serving as steward. The other stewards were Sir Hugh Segrave and Sir Thomas Percy (who would later become earl of Worcester). The chamberlain of the household was a post held by just three people during the reign, all senior knights and close

⁵¹ Lists of officers from: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. ii (London, 1912), pp.603-22; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vol. vi (Manchester, 1933), pp.1-54.

⁵² Brown, *The Governance*, p.25.

friends of the king – Sir Simon Burley, Sir Thomas Percy and Sir William Scrope. Guy, Lord Brian and William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny were both acting chamberlains of England during the minority of the earl of Oxford. Therefore, of the 45 appointments (including some individuals appointed to the same post more than once) to the five senior offices of state, at the time of their appointment one was an earl, six were barons, nine were knights and 29 were clerics.⁵³

As with royal councillors, there were a couple of barons who clearly chose careers in central government. The majority of the senior posts though tended to be held by churchmen and members of the upper gentry. Many barons preferred not to become involved in central administration and instead either pursued martial careers or focussed on the localities and increasing their landed wealth. Knights were perhaps more likely to regard such full-time administrative service as a fitting career, certainly compared to established barons. They would also have had fewer landed interests in the localities to otherwise occupy them. A lack of training for such offices, especially compared to ecclesiastical lords, was another possible reason for the general lack of noble appointments to high administrative offices.⁵⁴ A number of barons did however undertake such duties and saw it as a suitable and profitable enterprise. The few individuals who chose to become professional politicians were able accrue great power and exercise significant influence over government.

Administration in the localities was largely run by the gentry with the key local officials – the sheriffs, escheators, tax collectors and arrayers - all being landowners and senior townsmen.⁵⁵ The nature of local polity meant that rather than being a mechanism of the centre, local communities were reasonably autonomous and administrative officials, though technically royal appointments, were generally representative of the entrenched interests of the local elite. This would particularly include the dominant lord or lords in the

⁵³ Chancellor – E1, B3, K1, C12; Treasurer – K2, C10; Keeper – C7; Steward – B3, K3; Chamberlain K3.

⁵⁴ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vol. iii (Manchester, 1928), p.281.

⁵⁵ For local administration see: Tout, *Chapters*, vol. iv, pp.42-4, 66; Brown, *The Governance*, pp.141-

55; R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003).

area. Although royal government tried to retain some control through the sergeants-at-arms, the nobles in a county would exert their influence and local administrators were often sympathetic retainers or associates, or at least representative of the political community as a whole, rather than imposed outsiders. Such dynamics can really only be investigated in detail at local level and will therefore be examined in the case study Chapters 6 and 7.⁵⁶

iv) Judiciary

Centrally, justice was dispensed by the four great courts, the three common law courts – the Common Pleas, the King’s Bench and the Exchequer, plus the Court of the Chancery.⁵⁷ These were all staffed by professional judges and clerks and the only baronial involvement with them was when they were involved in cases, particularly at the King’s Bench which listened mainly to major felonies and breaches of the peace.⁵⁸ The lack of baronial involvement in central justice highlights the professional nature of this part of government. There was also little appeal for those of baronial rank to enter this profession, a career not befitting the dignity of a noble. The richest and most important lawyers in the kingdom were usually found, along with merchants, as burgesses in the Commons. Several families did however manage to achieve advancement into the nobility after having built up the wealth through legal service to enter the landed elite, including the Scropes, Bourchiers and Thorpes.⁵⁹ In such a competitive and violent society, barons also were quite habitual law breakers. Because of the volume of material contained in the King’s Bench plea rolls, it is beyond the parameters of this study to survey the records of the entire baronial sample group in legal cases. Barons’ transgression of the law, along with their upholding of it, will

⁵⁶ See Chapters 6.ii and 7.ii.

⁵⁷ For central justice see: Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp.47-50; Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, pp.51-6.

⁵⁸ For some examples of cases see: G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of the King’s Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V* (Selden Society, lxxxviii, 1971), pp.1-98.

⁵⁹ Vale, ‘The Scropes of Bolton and Masham’, ch.3; R. C. Kinsey, ‘The Thorpes of Northamptonshire, c.1200-1391: A Study of a Medieval Lawyer Family’, Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2009) (Forthcoming), ch.3. As well as acquiring land, successful lawyers also had to shift away from legal service and embark on the more ennobling routes of administrative and military service.

however be explored for a handful of individuals, using the Ancient Petitions and details of special commissions of oyer and terminer appointed, in the case study Chapters 6 and 7.⁶⁰

The easiest way to track baronial influence over local government is to look at their role in maintaining law and order in the regions.⁶¹ Justices of the peace became the main instruments of justice in the localities following the breakdown of the eyre system earlier in the fourteenth century. These met quarterly to judge felonies and trespasses.⁶² Peace commissions were supplemented by commissions of oyer and terminer. General commissions of oyer and terminer were tagged on to peace commissions, giving the justices reinforced powers to 'hear and determine' cases for open and unspecific time, essentially until they were revoked. Special commissions of oyer and terminer were also appointed where a group of men were empowered to hear a special case, often as a result of a petition.⁶³

Though they were technically royal officers, the appointment of justices of the peace tended to be merely a formalisation of existing local power structures. This was counterbalanced from the central government's point of view by the triannual assize circuits, itinerant judges of the central courts who attempted to maintain some degree of royal jurisdiction in the localities.⁶⁴ The complementary, rather than competitive, nature of these two agencies should though be emphasised. The crown had to balance its desire for control with the requirement for efficiency to create a workable system which necessitated a partnership with provincial elites.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ See Chapters 6.ii and 7.ii.

⁶¹ For local justice see: M. T. Clancy, 'Law, Government and Society in Medieval England', *History*, lix (1974), pp.73-78; Brown, *The Governance*, pp.100-40; E. Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), pp.1-20.

⁶² For peace commissions see: B. H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III* (London, 1938); E. Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice in Late Medieval England: Peace Sessions and Assizes', in R. Eales and D. Sullivan, *The Political Context of Law* (London, 1987), pp.49-59; S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp.168-80.

⁶³ R. W. Kaeuper, 'Law and Order in Fourteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Special Commissions of Oyer and Terminer', *Speculum*, liv (1979), pp.734-84, esp. p.739.

⁶⁴ Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, pp.56-62.

⁶⁵ Powell, 'The Administration', pp.49-59.

In 1390 the prescribed makeup of a peace commission was that it should include the most sufficient knights, esquires and men of law of the county, with at least eight gentlemen besides lords.⁶⁶ The commissions consisted of titled nobles who held honourific positions, magnates with landed interests in the counties, justices of assize, local gentry and men of legal training also drawn from the local gentry.⁶⁷ Despite variation across the years and the 36 counties (none of the palatinates - Cheshire, Durham and Lancashire - had peace commissions),⁶⁸ a rough guide to the actual consistency during Richard II's reign would be a total of nine to 12 men including approximately two or three magnates, often a titled nobles and one or two barons. The personnel appointed to commissions gives a good indication of local power relations, as both the particular honorific and locally landed magnate appointments highlight the important figures in a region. For example in the late 1370s the earl of Cambridge and John, Lord Cobham were fixtures in the commissions in Kent, suggesting their strength in that county polity, whilst Guy, Lord Brian and William, Lord Botreaux, two major West Country landlords, were almost always appointed justices in Somerset.⁶⁹ If barons had substantial lands in a county, they would likely be appointed on commissions there on a regular basis, even if it was just a formal recognition of their status.

In practice the members of the nobility rarely sat, as the majority of the business was routine and mundane.⁷⁰ Generally the justices of the peace who bore the burden of the work were the local gentry. They were the same local elites who were also serving as sheriffs, escheators, MPs, other royal officers and on other commissions. Although nobles' attendance might have been infrequent, their influence would have been exercised by the deputation of retainers, sometimes their stewards, and other local associates. Barons could

⁶⁶ 13 Rich II c.II and 14 Rich II st.1 c.7, cited in: Brown, *The Governance*, p.126.

⁶⁷ Payling, *Political Society*, p.169.

⁶⁸ Lancashire had only become a palatine in 1351. It was different from the other two palatinates though in that the king retained his fiscal rights in the county. MPs were therefore returned for the Lancashire whereas they were not for Cheshire and Durham.

⁶⁹ For records of the peace commissions see: *CPR 1377-1399* (6 Volumes, London, 1895-1909), *passim*. Similarly in early fifteenth century Nottingham Payling notes the automatic appointments (when in majority) of the four magnate families with significant landed stakes in the county – Lords Cromwell, Grey of Codnor, Ros and Talbot, along with other highly placed courtiers with lesser interests such as the Fitzhughs and Scropes of Masham: Payling, *Political Society*, p.170.

⁷⁰ Brown, *The Governance*, p.148; Payling, *Political Society*, pp.169, 172.

therefore indirectly influence justice for their personal benefit and that of their clients. At times the makeup of the peace commissions can also illustrate the changing balance of power between magnates over time, for example between Lords Berkeley and Despenser in Gloucestershire in the late 1390s.⁷¹ Through their connections with the upper gentry nobles, including barons, could exercise their influence over justice in the localities where their interests lay.

v) Careers and Characteristics

The usual assumption of the role of barons in central government then is that there were a small number of prominent barons who joined the dukes and earls to form a group of political lords, whilst the rest kept a low profile and played only a small and largely ceremonial part in business.⁷² Investigation so far though has shown that instead of being the established upper barons who were involved alongside the titled nobles, it was in fact the upwardly mobile newer social climbers who were most active. Many of the wealthier barons with near comital size estates, such as the Cliffords, Burnels, Berkeleys and Audleys, were largely uninvolved in affairs of central politics.⁷³ Although distorted by overlooking more than a generation of fortune, of the 10 richest baronial families enduring from Richard II's reign in the 1436 tax returns, only three of the contemporary barons can be seen as having been politically active.⁷⁴ John, Lord Lovel and John, Lord Beaumont were life retainers of Richard II and were both removed from court by the Appellants, while William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny was a chamber knight and acting chamberlain between 1378 and 1380. The other seven wealthiest families who had survived from Richard II's reign and were in the 1436 returns were the Talbots, Cromwells, the Ros family, Greys of Ruthin, Willoughbys, Ferrers of Groby, and Greystokes. None of the lords of these families between 1377 and 1399 are recorded as being particularly active in

⁷¹ See Chapter 6.ii; N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp.131-2.

⁷² Tuck, *Richard II*, pp.27-8; Brown, 'Parliament c.1377-1422', p.117; Given-Wilson, 'Richard II', p.116.

⁷³ See Chapter 4.i for quantitative assessment of barons' landholding.

⁷⁴ H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xl ix (1934), pp.614-9. See Chapter 4.iii for more discussions on these tax returns.

central politics. Another common trait of these wealthy, ‘stay at home’ barons is the date of their first summons to parliament. These 10 wealthiest families have an average first summons to parliament of 1326 and only Lords Cromwell and Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny, who both inherited considerable estates in addition to their patrimony, had first summonses later than 1332. This would seem to suggest that many of the well established, richer barons tended to avoid court politics. Bothwell also concluded that during the reign of Edward III the vast bulk of the established peerage simply looked after their own estates and interests, raised troops in time of war and acted as officers of the administration and legal system in the localities.⁷⁵

The majority of barons involved at court, on the council and in the administration, were therefore newer men with less considerable estates. A more complex picture than this can however be deciphered. Of those shown to be active in central politics, two distinct groups can be outlined - established politicians and younger chamber knights. The first group were long term servants, many who had previous associations with the Black Prince or John of Gaunt. They had carved out successful military careers, had been promoted into the baronage under Edward III and then become professional politicians later in life. The primary examples of such figures were William, Lord Latimer, John, Lord Cobham (though these first two were from older baronial families), Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, John, Lord Devereux, Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and Michael, Lord de la Pole.⁷⁶ These six had an average approximate age in 1377 of 43.5, hailed largely from Yorkshire (an area of strong Lancastrian influence) and had an average first family summons to parliament of 1346. The second group were personal friends and more contemporaries of Richard II, knights who were often sons of magnates that he chose to retain in the household. There were also one or two genuine new men, such as Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster who was from a non-baronial family and received his first summons to parliament as a consequence of his service to Richard II. Most appear to have been involved at court for a few years, in some cases until they had livery of their father’s lands, or otherwise decided to return to their estates. William, Lord Zouche (d. 1396), Hugh, Lord Burnel, John, Lord

⁷⁵ J. S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.146.

⁷⁶ Devereux is a slight exception here as he was first raised into the baronage by Richard II in 1384.

Beaumont, John, Lord Lovel, Thomas, Lord Camoys, Thomas, Lord Clifford and John, Lord Montagu (d. 1400) were such individuals. The approximate average age of these seven in 1377 was 25.1. They also came from a much wider spread of locations, particularly from the south and midlands, and had an average first family summons to parliament of 1313. Most interesting is the last figure which highlights the effective closure of the door to the baronage that had occurred. The barons in Richard II's household were from established families, in contrast to the active promotion of war companions into the peerage that had been occurring a generation before.

Rather than a divide between senior political barons and non-political country gentlemen with baronial status, a better model then is to characterise barons into three groups. The first were the wealthier barons from long established families who largely stayed at home and managed their estates. The second were newer men who through service to Edward III, the Black Prince and Gaunt were promoted into the baronage in the previous reign but, lacking the estates of the first group, chose to further their position through a career in government. Finally, the third group were personal friends of Richard II's, sons of nobles, plus one or two genuine new men that he had raised into the nobility, who were his chosen household knights and councillors.

vi) Favour and Patronage

Royal favour was the agent of promotion into the baronage or up to the titled nobility. New men such as Lords Thorpe, Windsor, Devereux, Beauchamp of Kidderminster and Despenser (Lincs.) were ennobled by Richard II. Under him the de la Poles, Nevilles of Raby, Holands, Beauforts and Scropes of Masham all also rose to comital status for the first time, while the Despensers (S. Wales) also regained their earldom. Whilst landed wealth gave individuals influence, royal favour opened the gates to further advancement.

Patronage was the tool used to endow these new men and ensure they were able to sustain their rank, as well as a way of showing favour to those already established. The established nobility were not financially reliant on largesse to maintain their position, but they were keen to receive their share of it. It could come in a variety of forms, including grants of lands, wardships, marriages, annuities and offices.⁷⁷ Although direct, and certainly permanent, grants of land were rare, the other rewards of royal favour could also be substantial. They could directly improve the position of the recipient, while patronage would also flow downwards and help nobles attract members of the gentry into their own service, which would further enhance their local standing and influence.

Bothwell has comprehensively set out the nature, mechanisms and application of largesse.⁷⁸ He defined patronage as the king giving reward or advantage to men for past, present or future service, showing preference for an individual through the distribution of wealth, power or rights.⁷⁹ The most sought after form of patronage was grants of lands. A king would where possible avoid granting away the royal demesne lands, so there was no regular source of land to give out in reward. Instead he had to rely of feudal incidents – wardships, marriages, forfeitures, escheats and reliefs – falling into his hands by virtue of births, marriages, criminal transgressions and deaths of tenants-in-chief.⁸⁰ This land returning to him, as well as other royal rights, could then be used to endow his servants and be distributed particularly amongst the aristocracy.⁸¹

Barons in general received few grants of land from the king. Most of the individual baronial families whose grants have been studied in detail received only a few grants.⁸²

⁷⁷ Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p.29.

⁷⁸ Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, *passim*. Also important on patronage is: J. A. Tuck, 'Richard II's System of Patronage', in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. M. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp.1-20.

⁷⁹ Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p.11.

⁸⁰ Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp.47-77.

⁸¹ Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp.138-53.

⁸² R. I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490: A Study of the Lesser Baronage', Unpublished PhD thesis, London, Royal Holloway College (1961), p.179; Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', pp.126-7; Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', pp.88-90; Kinsey, 'The Thorpes of Northamptonshire', ch.4.

The main recipients of significant land grants, like under Edward III,⁸³ were those raised to earldoms. Michael, Lord de la Pole received the Ufford lands as part of his promotion to the earldom of Suffolk in 1385. These lands had escheated to the crown in 1382, as the earldom and its endowment were entailed in tail male and the last Ufford earl left only three sisters as heirs.⁸⁴ Most of the lands though remained in the hands of the queen and Ufford's widow for their lives. Until these reverted back to de la Pole, his income was to be secured on other sources.⁸⁵

The other main beneficiaries of Richard II's patronage were those he raised on the back of the destruction of the Appellants in 1397. This period has been described as one of violent upheavals in the tenurial geography of the kingdom.⁸⁶ Three of the great inheritances of the kingdom, those of the duke of Gloucester and earls of Arundel and Warwick were forfeited to the king and redistributed amongst his supports. Only two out of the 10 wealthiest nobles at the beginning of 1397 still had full livery of their estates by spring 1399 as Richard II also gained control over Gaunt, Bolingbroke, Mowbray and Mortimer's lands.⁸⁷ One of the most notable beneficiaries of the patronage that came from these major feudal incidents was Thomas, Lord Despenser.⁸⁸ He was granted a significant portion of the earl of Warwick's lands including Elmley Castle, a collection of manors in Worcestershire and the Welsh lordship of Elfael. He was also granted the manor of Medmenham and the keeping of Gloucester Castle for life, both of which had formerly belonged to the earl of Arundel, and the constableship of St Briavels Castle and wardenship of the Forest of Dean, which had been the duke of Gloucester's.⁸⁹

⁸³ J. S. Bothwell, 'Edward III, the English Peerage and the 1337 Earls: Estate Redistribution in Fourteenth-Century England', in J. S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.35-52.

⁸⁴ These were married to Lords Willoughby, Scales and Ferrers of Groby respectively.

⁸⁵ A. Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power in England and Wales, 1389-1413* (Oxford, 2003), pp.44-5.

⁸⁶ Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, p.1.

⁸⁷ Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, p.72.

⁸⁸ Lord Montagu, who had already become earl of Salisbury through natural process having succeeded his uncle, by contrast gained very little from the redistribution of lands in 1397 and 1398: Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, p.137.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 6.iii; *CPR 1396-1399* (London, 1909), pp.186, 219, 224; Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, pp.139-40.

De la Pole and Despenser however were the exception. In both cases the lands came from major feudal incidences. Other barons received a share of patronage throughout the reign including royal rights such as wardships and marriages; annuities and assignment;⁹⁰ and offices and keeperships. Many received no grants or only limited amounts, though that was not usual.⁹¹ Some degree of monopolisation of patronage by Richard II's favourites to the exclusion of others may have contributed to opposition to the king. However the majority of barons would not have expected more than an occasional grant as a gesture and so that in isolation would not have been the major motivation for those that opposed Richard II.

vii) Political Narrative

Particular circumstances, incidents and personalities during Richard II's reign impacted on the political lives of the baronage, both as a group and as individuals. The minority following Edward III's dotage caused the establishment of the continual councils. In the void of an unquestionable authority, political factions, which included barons, became apparent. Two of the perceived factions are those seen to be aligned to John of Gaunt and an opposition still partially united by association with the Black Prince.⁹² Governments were therefore formed either along, or in an attempt to balance, such party lines. In the first continual council Lords Latimer and Beaumont were seen as adherents of Gaunt, whilst Lords Cobham and Stafford plus Sir John Devereux (not yet ennobled) were former associates of the Black Prince.⁹³

⁹⁰ The king's knights, the top level royal retainers who tended to receive annuities, will be discussed fully in Chapter 5.i. 14 of the 149 knight's knights identified by Given-Wilson were or would become barons (see Appendix 5): Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.283-6.

⁹¹ Bothwell has calculated that 88% of the peerage under Edward III received little or no largesse: Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p.153.

⁹² For the minority and continual councils see: Tuck, *Richard II*, pp.33-57; N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp.24-45; Lewis, 'The Continual Council', pp.246-51; Goodman, 'Richard II's Councils', pp.59-82.

⁹³ Lewis, 'The Continual Council', pp.249-50.

Such political factions remained important until the early 1380s when the continual councils were discharged and Richard II's own favourites began to rise to prominence.⁹⁴ The concentration of favour on a small inner group, including barons in the form of Lords de la Pole and Beauchamp of Kidderminster, created hostility from other nobles being denied access, influence and patronage.⁹⁵ Though, as can be seen from those expelled from court by the Appellants, quite a number of barons were associated with this new courtier clique, a greater number must have, at least tacitly, supported the Appellants.⁹⁶ It is quite inconceivable that the five Appellant lords would have been able to carry their will in the 'Merciless' Parliament of 1388 without the support of a majority of the lords present. Lord Cobham was the baron most involved in the proceedings, but the assent and support of a good part of the baronage, whose complaints and motives would have been similar to their titled counterparts, was vital.

The sense of conciliation arising in 1389, which lasted until 1397, saw political relations return to relatively harmonious and conventional levels. Richard II began to utilise and favour established nobles and families and their expectations were thus appeased. The political climate though altered dramatically between 1397 and 1399 during what is often called Richard II's 'tyranny'.⁹⁷ A new courtier clique, including Lords Montagu and Despensers (the earls of Salisbury and Gloucester), was formed and the king used this new strength to destroy his enemies from 1386-8, including Lord Cobham.⁹⁸ As well as destroying individuals, Richard II endowed his new Appellants, the 'duketti', with the forfeited lands and by giving them a monopoly over the reversions, wardships,

⁹⁴ For the early 1380s see: Tuck, *Richard II*, pp.58-86; Saul, *Richard II*, pp.108-47; J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-1399* (London, 1972), pp.44-56.

⁹⁵ Tuck, 'Richard II's System', pp.17-18.

⁹⁶ For background on 1386-8 see: Saul, *Richard II*, pp.148-204; J. Sherborne, 'The Defence of the Realm and the Impeachment of Michael de la Pole in 1386', in J. Taylor and W. Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp.97-116; Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp.67-87, 122-41; J. S. Roskell, *The Impeachment of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk in 1386* (Manchester, 1984), pp.185-96; Tuck, *Richard II*, pp.121-32.

⁹⁷ Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.305-6. For the tyranny see: Tuck, *Richard II*, pp.187-209; Saul, *Richard II*, pp.366-404; M. J. Bennett, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud, 1999), pp.109-35; C. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), pp.1-18.

⁹⁸ Cobham was impeached and condemned to forfeiture and execution. This was later reduced to banishment and he was recalled soon after Henry IV's accession.

marriages and appointments that arose. Previously non-political barons such as Lord Berkeley in Gloucestershire found their influence in the localities overshadowed by this landholding upheaval.⁹⁹ The king also attempted to increase central control over local power structures by making sheriffs swear new oaths and appointing loyalists to local offices.¹⁰⁰ Undertakings such as these frightened even the previously impulsive barons and this often more remote majority helped turn the tide in Bolingbroke's favour.¹⁰¹

The political events of the reign, most notably Richard II's two attempts to monopolise favour on a small group of personal friends (including some barons), followed by two initiatives by a more widely supported section of the nobility to redress the balance, could not fail to impact on the political lives of the baronage. Richard II's exclusion from power, and from the trappings of power, of important groups of nobles did enhance animosity towards his kingship. However for barons it appears to have been fear deriving from the spate of forfeitures, rather the diversion of normal patronage channels, which ultimately caused an influential number to support titled nobles led rebellions against the king on two occasions.

viii) Useful Partners in Government?

The involvement of barons in rebellions against the king brings back an underlying debate, outlined in Chapter 1, regarding bastard feudalism and whether generally relations within the political community were characterised by conflict or co-operation, particularly between royal government and private noble interests. The apparatus of political power furnished barons with both the opportunity to serve and additional authority to rule. In general they were usually happy to participate in government and did prove to be useful

⁹⁹ See Chapter 6; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.80, 113; R. Hanna, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and his Patronage', *Speculum*, lxiv (1989), p.890.

¹⁰⁰ C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993), pp.176-7; Saul, *Richard II*, pp.383-4.

¹⁰¹ For the invasion and deposition of 1399 see: Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp.24-36; Bennett, *Richard II*, pp.136-91; C. Barron, 'The Deposition of Richard II', in J. Taylor and W. Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, (Gloucester, 1990), pp.132-49; B. Wilkinson, 'The Deposition of Richard II and the Accession of Henry IV', *English Historical Review*, liv (1939), pp.215-39.

partners. Royal service offered new and reinforced methods of exercising lordship in the localities. However, shared interests including preservation of peace, and in the case of 1381, stabilising the social order, frequently allied the designs of the king and the baronage. The lack of professional resources of the late medieval state meant that the crown depended on collaboration with nobles in the counties to implement its will, whilst in return the barons and other influential landholders utilised this machinery to preserve and enhance their predominance in their locality.¹⁰² This system however began to falter under Richard II when the nobility, including the baronage, grew fearful of his assertive engineering of feudal incidents. Richard II's insensitive approach to governing, based on a rather extreme interpretation of royal prerogative, was not acceptable to those established nobles whose position was effectively based on the security of their estates.¹⁰³ Their eventual insubordination was not motivated by the hostility to royal government, it was actually in defence of its principles, in particular the need for the king to be the ultimate guarantor of property. In general though the baronage were valuable partners in the political system and were prominent and active in almost all areas of government.

¹⁰² Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society*, pp.87-8.

¹⁰³ For discussions on Richard II's kingship see: S. Walker, 'Richard II's Views on Kingship', in R. E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London, 1995), pp.49-63; N. Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II', in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp.37-58; C. Barron, 'The Art of Kingship: Richard II, 1377-1399', *History Today*, xxxv (vi) (1985), pp.30-7; Saul, *Richard II*; C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-1399* (Oxford, 2008).

CHAPTER 4: LAND, INHERITANCE AND ECONOMICS

The essential source for studying late medieval landholding is the inquisitions post mortem. Upon the death of a tenant-in-chief, the county escheator would be ordered to inquire as to what lands they had held, of whom, in what manner and of what value, the identity and age of the heir and the date of the tenant's death. A jury of local men, who likely had specialist knowledge of the situation, would then endeavour to provide answers to the escheator's questions. It is possible that the family of the deceased also played a large role in the proceedings, providing relevant documentation such as family settlements, grants by charter, letters patent and fines. Rather than searching for the evidence themselves, the jurors' function was then probably to agree to the authenticity of such documents. The escheators' returns were then subject to the scrutiny of the Chancery and Exchequer officials, although it seems that consistency with previous returns for particular estates, rather than the accuracy of the details, was the main thing they checked for.¹

The inquisitions post mortem have limitations as a historical source. The valuation figures given are unreliable and often unrealistic, so they are of little use in estimating profits from land or overall wealth.² The extents they give are less accurate than manorial accounts (where they survive) and are not consistent in the range and detail of the information they provide. Some valuations are rounded summary figures, whereas others incorporate specific details taken directly from manorial accounts. The figures also do not compare well to the income tax assessments from 1436.³ The values in the inquisitions post mortem are generally too low when compared to estate records or other assessments. Other limitations include the jury possibly having vested interest in misrepresenting the true value. Some inquisitions are also missing or illegible in parts. However, even though the absolute figures cannot necessarily be trusted, the relative amounts can be used to establish certain economic characteristics within a

¹ C. Carpenter, 'General Introduction to the New Series', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1422-1427 (CIPM)* (London, 2003), pp.1-42.

² E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1956), pp.48, 57; C. D. Ross and T. B. Pugh, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, vi (1953), pp.185-94.

³ C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.52-3, 57-9.

region and are useful for comparisons. The extents can therefore be used in an economic sense in aggregate and with caution.⁴

In addition to the extents, the inquisitions post mortem provide a wealth of material which can be used to reconstruct the quantity and spread of estates. Although they also do not record land held in dower or enfeoffed to feoffees, there is certainly sufficient information to be valuable for comparative purposes and for attempting to identify strategies used by barons for putting their estates together. Even if the values given on extents should be mistrusted, reasonable confidence can be placed in the accuracy of the identification of properties and the details of whom they were held and of any property settlements that are recounted.⁵ It is purely in this distributive, rather than economic, sense that the inquisitions post mortem will be used in the following section and for that function they are undoubtedly a very valuable source.

i) Land

Barons were part of the economic elite whose ownership of vast property saw them dominate the landholding structure that underpinned late medieval England. Ownership of manors, castles, hundreds, boroughs and towns brought revenue from agricultural and mineral extraction, rents from tenants and income from other rights associated with lordship. The most important aspects in terms of understanding the nature, dynamics and motives of the baronage with regard to landholding are the quantity and location of their estates.

For the purpose of this chapter, particularly for quantifying landed interests, the basic unit of the manor will be used. This will be used in an administrative, rather than an economic, sense, purely to show the distribution of power within and across counties. The word manor will be used in a broad sense to mean one administrative unit. This encompasses a very wide range of sizes, values and entities. However, in

⁴ B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.37-40; Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian*, pp.46-67; B. M. S. Campbell, *England on the Eve of the Black Death: An Atlas of Lay Lordship, Land and Wealth, 1300-1349* (Manchester, 2006), esp. pp.13-34, 69-96. Campbell calculated that the average manor recorded by the inquisitions post mortem during the first half of the fourteenth century was worth £19.1: Campbell, *England on the Eve of the Black Death*, p.80.

⁵ Carpenter, 'General Introduction', p.30.

spite of these differentials, it seems the most consistent and comparable unit to use when looking to reconstruct the landholding presence of barons. The parameters that have been chosen – to include the manors, towns, boroughs, castles, hundred and wapentakes that are recorded, but not the lordships, messuages, reversions, moieties, parts of manors, knights' fees or other landed interests – have attempted to encompass single units of property, rather than broader honours, and only significant self-contained possessions where lordship was unquestionably being exercised. A fraction of a large manor will often have been of more value than the whole of a small one, but the nature of the lordship will have been different and hence why the latter is included and the former not. Economic matters will be dealt with later in the chapter through the analysis of tax returns.⁶ Honours, liberties and private hundreds will be dealt with specifically in more detail too.

Of the 66 baronial families from the reign of Richard II, the average number of manors possessed, calculated using Appendix 3, was 16.6.⁷ The largest number of manors held by any of the 99 individuals from these families who had died by 1425 were:⁸

71	Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby
63	John, Lord Arundel (d.1421)
61	Hugh, Lord Burnel
59	John, Lord Clifford
58	Thomas, Lord Clifford and Thomas, Lord Despenser
56	Roger, Lord Clifford
49	John, Lord Montagu
43	James, Lord Audley
42	John, Neville of Raby

Of these only the Cliffords, Burnels and Audleys were not raised to comital status during this period. In terms of family generational averages, which help to stabilise the

⁶ See Chapter 4.iii.

⁷ The following section is based on the data collated in Appendix 3. Details of the collation, parameters, and caveats of the data are outlined there. In line with the method of data collection, the word 'manor' will here be used in a broad sense to refer to manors, castles, towns, boroughs, hundreds and wapentakes – essentially one administrative unit. As a comparison greater knights are seen to have held up to 10 manors, whilst lesser knights usually held three or more: G. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford, 2005), p.138.

⁸ In parts of this chapter the sample group is 99, rather than the full 109 individual barons from Appendix 2, due to the parameter of death having occurred by 1425 being used in the methodology.

figures and better reflect established baronial patrimonies, rather than life grants and shorter term acquisitions and leases, the largest estate owners were:

58	Despensers (S. Wales)
57.67	Cliffords
57	Nevilles of Raby
39.5	Burnels
39	Berkeleys
35.5	Audleys
34.33	Arundels

Of these the Cliffords, Burnels, Berkeleys and Audleys did not become earls during this period.

Most of these large landowners were significant political figures from long-established families, who had been able to build up property over generations through marriage and patronage. Thomas, Lord Despenser had through inheritance and patronage managed to rebuild parts of his ancestors' 'Welsh empire' in Glamorgan and was raised to the earldom of Gloucester in 1397. The Nevilles and the Cliffords were two of the three great northern families. The Percies had already become earls of Northumberland in 1377 and these families would follow them in 1397 and 1525 respectively. In spite of their eventual title as earls of Westmorland, the Nevilles had inherited the earl of Richmond's lands and were the major landholders in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where about two thirds of their lands lay. Similarly the Cliffords, although they became earls of Cumberland, at this time had their powerbase in Westmorland, where they held 51 of the 53 baronial manors in the county. The Burnels were major landholders in Shropshire and the March adjacent. Thomas, Lord Berkeley had added the lands of the Lisle barony to his own substantial Gloucestershire properties following his marriage to the Lisle heiress. The Audleys were a prominent family in the Lancastrian affinity and their estates were largely concentrated in Devon and Cornwall. John, Lord Arundel (d.1421) was of the cadet Fitzalan line and became earl in 1415 upon the death of his cousin, whereupon he inherited the earldom's lands, as well as the title.

Below these seven families who averaged more than 30 estates were another 10 with between 20 and 30:

29.5	Montagus
29	Beauchamps of Abergavenny
28.5	Scropes of Masham
28	Lovel
25.67	Zouches
25	de la Warrs
24	de la Poles
21.33	the Ros family
20	Greystokes and Furnivals

Below these were another 31 with between 10 and 20, and then another 18 with less than 10. At the bottom of the scale, the smallest number of manors held by any of the individual barons were:

1	John, Lord Grey of Codnor, William, Lord Aldeburgh (d.1388), William, Lord Aldeburgh (d.1391) and John, Lord Devereux
3	Constance, Lord Clifton, John, Lord Bourchier and Philip, Lord Despenser
4	Guy, Lord Brian, Roger, Lord Scales and Robert, Lord Scales

Eight families averaged below five manors:

1	Aldeburghs and Devereuxs
3	Greys of Codnor, Bourchiers and Despensers (Lincs.)
4	Brians, Scales and Cliftons

These families were therefore less significant landowners than a number of the upper gentry.

These lesser barons can be characterised as being either relatively new creations in reward for service, or older families who had failed to keep growing at a rate required to maintain the dignity of their rank.⁹ Lord Aldeburgh was a new creation in 1371 and both father and son in this sample held one manor in Yorkshire. John, Lord Devereux

⁹ Ross' study of the Darcies and Mauley has shown them to be two families in the latter group. Both suffered a decline to the status of minor barons before their extinction: C. D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435' Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford (1950), pp.251-79.

was a retainer of the Black Prince and was a knight representative on the first two continual councils. He received his first summons to parliament in 1384. Philip, Lord Despenser, first summoned in 1387, and the Cliftons, summoned from 1376, were also new promotions. Bourchier was an active soldier who held a couple of Essex properties, while Brian was a West Country baron with a history of service in the royal household of Edward III. Both of these were elder statesmen who had been rewarded for their service in the mid-fourteenth century. In contrast, the Greys of Codnor and Scales had been receiving summonses from 1299 and were established, if not wealthy, baronial families.

The number of manors held is only one indication of the landed status of the members of the baronage. The other important factor is the distribution of them. The average number of counties in which barons held land was 5.11. This ranged from Thomas, Lord Despenser with land in 17 counties, almost every other county in England, and the Zouches with around 13, to the likes of the Aldeburges and Devereuxs with one. The spread of estates did not necessarily correspond directly with the quantity. While Thomas, Lord Despenser also had one of the largest quantities of manors, the Zouches were from the second tier in this respect. The difference between these two was primarily the concentration Despenser had in Gloucestershire and the March adjacent where he held 26 manors, whereas the Zouches did not hold more than five manors in any one county. In spite of this there is some evidence of regional grouping by the Zouches, with particular concentration in the East Midlands. They had other outlying estates in the Home Counties and the South-West, but none whatsoever in the North. The Despensers' properties were more evenly scattered, reflecting even more than the Zouches' the amalgamation of different inheritances that made up their lands.¹⁰ Other baronial families with a wide spread of lands include the Burnels, Montagus and Beauchamps of Abergavenny.

Some major landowners, such as the Cliffords, had a very small spread of estates. 51 of the 58 Clifford manors were in one county, Westmorland, with the remainder scattered in four other, primarily northern, counties. The Audleys similarly held substantial lands in Devon and Somerset, but their interests did not spread beyond

¹⁰ Despenser's inheritance and property will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.iii.

a couple of other counties. Several of the Yorkshire barons – the Mauleys, Fitzhughs and Scropes of Bolton barely held land outside that county, whilst the Scropes of Masham and Nevilles of Raby had more than half of their expansive lands there. However, overall 79% of the baronial families held land in more than 2 counties.

Different patterns also existed across the 39 counties. The average number of baronial estates in a county was 28.09. Counties like Cheshire, Durham, Lancashire, Middlesex and Surrey barely had any baronial presence.¹¹ Cheshire was almost exclusively royal lands, whilst the bishop of Durham and duke of Lancaster largely dominated those respective counties.¹² The proximity of London and its merchant class may explain the deficiency in Middlesex and Surrey. Yorkshire, as expected as the largest county, had the highest number of baronial estates - 143 in total. However there were almost three times more baronial estates than in any other county, in spite of the West Riding being largely Lancastrian dominated. The other two Ridings therefore did have a particularly high concentration of baronial landholding. Essex, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Shropshire and Westmorland all had more than 50 baronial properties, although Lincolnshire is skewed by its size and Gloucestershire and Shropshire by the inclusion of some Marcher lands in their figures. However, in spite of this, it is noticeable that all six leading counties had no resident member of the titled aristocracy at this time. The impact on titled nobles on baronial landholding will be a theme explored further in Chapters 6 and 7 where comparisons will be drawn between Gloucestershire, which had no resident duke or earl, and Sussex, where the earl of Arundel was based.¹³

To achieve a further understanding of these patterns and to avoid the pitfall of outlining the exceptional, rather than the typical, it is helpful to look at one particular region in more detail. The East Midlands incorporated six counties – Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland – each

¹¹ As well as Huntingdonshire and Rutland, as expected because of their size.

¹² The Cheshire, Durham, Lancashire figures are also distorted because they were palatines and so inquisitions post mortem were not usually carried out in these counties: Campbell, *England on the Eve of the Black Death*, p.29.

¹³ See Chapters 6.iii and 7.iii.

containing a patchwork of baronial interests. Appendix 4 maps the landed interests of the barons across this region.¹⁴

Derbyshire contained manors of 10 baronial families. Foremost of these were the Furnivals with four manors, followed by the Greys of Codnor, Greys of Wilton and Deincourts with two each and six other families with just one manor. The Greys of Codnor's *caput honoris* was Codnor in south-east Derbyshire, whilst the Furnivals' was just over the border in Sheffield. The Greys of Wilton were from Herefordshire, and Derbyshire was one of a number of scattered interests. The Deincourts were an East Midlands family and their only comparable landholding was in Lincolnshire where their *caput* Blankney lay. 10 of the 16 baronial manors were located on the eastern border alongside Nottinghamshire, with two in the very south and only the four Furnival estates in the middle/western part of the county. As Wright has noted in her study on the fifteenth century Derbyshire gentry, the south and east of the county were more populous and traditionally arable, which partly explains this distribution.¹⁵ More significant though were the Duchy of Lancaster's estates. This was the major landowner in Derbyshire with property including the High Peak and land which formed the Honour of Peveril and Tutbury Honour.¹⁶ Comparing Wright's map of Lancastrian manors to the baronial one in Appendix 4 shows a striking alignment.¹⁷ The Lancastrian lands are concentrated in the middle and west of the county, making the distributions almost the inversion of each other. Even the more outlying baronial manors are still located away from Lancastrian centres. The baronial estates themselves also show a tendency to cluster, with all four families with multiple manors having them within reasonable proximity to each other. These patterns are a useful demonstration of the existence of spheres of influence and the idea of lords endeavouring to create their own 'countries'.¹⁸

¹⁴ Maps of the baronial landed interests in Gloucestershire and Sussex are also found in Appendix 4 for use in Chapters 6.iii and 7.iii.

¹⁵ S. M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983), p.12.

¹⁶ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, pp.20, 83.

¹⁷ Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, p.15.

¹⁸ This chapter will endeavour to test Given-Wilson's theory of the motivation to create 'countries': C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, (London, 1987), pp.160-79.

Leicestershire, a similar sized county, contained 18 manors divided between 13 baronial families. The multiple manor holders were the Bassets with three and the Ferrers of Groby, Zouches and Scropes of Bolton with two each. The Bassets were originally from Shropshire, but most of their estates were in this period in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Groby in Leicestershire was the Ferrers' *caput honoris*. The Zouches were based at Harringworth in Northamptonshire but had lands scattered across the region and in 13 counties in all. The Scropes of Bolton were from Yorkshire, where 13 of their 16 manors lay. The main concentration of manors in Leicestershire were on a north-south line up the centre of the county, with others in the north-east corner. The two Scrope of Bolton estates were practically adjoining and two of the Basset ones were also close together. However, the two Ferrers of Groby and particularly the two Zouche estates were disunited. The spheres of influence within Leicestershire are therefore less apparent, or at least obvious, than in Derbyshire.

Lincolnshire was the second largest English county and as such it was divided into three parts - Lindsey, Kesteven and Holland – for judicial and administrative purposes. There were 78 manors in Lincolnshire, with Helpringham and Scredington both changing hands twice during the period, held by 20 different families. The most significant of these were the Willoughbys with 11, de la Warrs with nine, the Ros family with nine, Beaumonts with nine and de la Poles with eight. The Willoughbys' *caput honoris* was at Eresby in Lincolnshire and all but a couple of their manors were in the county. The de la Warrs, originally from the West Country but with most on their interests in Northamptonshire and Sussex, had inherited these Lincolnshire lands through marriage to the daughter and heiress of Sir Gilbert Neville of Grimsthorpe in the late 1380s. The Ros family were from Helmsley in the North Riding of Yorkshire, but were slowly becoming more and more involved in the East Midlands and actually relocated their *caput* to Belvoir in Lincolnshire in 1414.¹⁹ The Beaumonts were a Lincolnshire family, probably with their principal residence at Folkingham, while the de la Poles were the famous Hull merchants who had acquired significant property interests, primarily from the failed Ufford line. In terms of distribution, baronial estates cover the entire county with a fairly even spread. There is evidence of clustering of family interests – the Willoughbys in the east, de la Warrs and Beaumonts in the north

¹⁹ S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England* (Oxford, 1991), p.89.

and south extremities and de la Poles in the north-west. The Ros lands are noticeably scattered with no obvious concentration in the county, although Freiston and Belvoir on the eastern border are in close proximity to Bottesford in Leicestershire and Sutton, Screveton and Orston in Nottinghamshire, illustrating how aristocratic landed interests were often detached from the county administrative structures.

The southern-most East Midlands county, Northamptonshire, had the highest concentration of baronial estates in the region. There were 50 manors, with Church Stowe transferring to the Berkeleys from the Lisles following the failure of the Lisle line, and 21 different families with presences. The Zouches and the Thorpes were the largest baronial landowners in Northamptonshire with seven manors each. The Zouches estates included their principal residence of Harringworth, although in spite of the presence of this their other manors were scattered throughout the county. In contrast most of the Thorpe lands were heavily concentrated in the north-east of the county in close proximity to their *caput honoris* of Longthorpe. The Lovels were another Northamptonshire family, although also with extensive lands in Wiltshire, and they had six Northamptonshire manors including their *caput* Titchmarsh. The Lovel properties were concentrated in the south-east corner of the county. The de la Warrs had five properties, some again from their late 1380s acquisitions, all in the centre-east of the county. The Bassets had four manors in the north and west, more than they had in any other county, just exceeding their Leicestershire total. The Willoughbys also had four manors, generally in the north and east but still a distance from their main lands in Lincolnshire. The overall partner of the county was a fairly even distribution.

Nottinghamshire was more on a level with Derbyshire and Leicestershire in its concentration of baronial estates, with 21 manors in a similar sized area, owned by 11 different families. The two dominant families were the Ros family and the Furnivals. Three of the five Furnival manors were toward the north-west border within reach of their Sheffield residence. The Ros lands were similarly concentrated on the south-east border, close to Belvoir and their other Lincolnshire and Leicestershire manors. Again, three of their five manors were clustered, with two outliers further afield. Another family worth mentioning are the Cromwells who were the only native barons from the county, although they had relocated their *caput honoris* to Tattershall in Lincolnshire in

the 1360s.²⁰ The overall distribution within Nottinghamshire saw some concentration around the edges, particularly the south and east and the north-west. This could be partly to do with Sherwood Forest which ran up the centre-west of the county.

Finally, Rutland had only three barons' manors, one each for the Zouches in the north, the Lovels in the centre and the Despensers (S. Wales) in the east.

One of the main themes in understanding land distribution is the idea of the *caput honoris*, the head of the honour. Each baronial family had its principal residence, where its household and central administration was based and where the lord held his court. This was often, unless there was a conscious relocation following an inheritance, where the family had originated and where it took its locative name from. This was important because this ancient seat was part of what had originally defined them as barons, as it was often the finding that this property was held *per baroniam* that established their initial creation.²¹ Also in contemporary terms, because the *caput* legally had to remain intact, retaining its identity and not being divided between coheirs, it was still important in succession disputes. In the Berkeley dispute in the fifteenth century, James, Lord Berkeley succeeded as baron, rather than his cousin's husband the earl of Warwick, because as heir male he inherited the *caput* of the barony of Berkeley, even though he received less of the total lands.²² With regard to landholding patterns, analysis of this East Midlands sample has supported the observation that around the *caput* there was often a substantial group of 'home manors' which were largely in demesne and where additional rights were held.²³ The Furnival, Grey of Codnor, Ros, Willoughby, Thorpe and Lovel holdings are all good examples of this. Both branches of the Scrope family have also been shown to have been concertedly establishing cohesive territorial blocs in Richmondshire.²⁴ Other manors further away were then grouped in honours or receiverships for administrative purposes.

²⁰ Payling, *Political Society*, p.89.

²¹ See Chapter 2 for more details on the history and definitions of barons and baronies.

²² For the great Berkeley law-suit: J. H. Cooke, 'On the Great Berkeley Law-Suit of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, iii (1878-9), pp.305-24; A. Sinclair, 'The Great Berkeley Law-Suit Revisited, 1417-39', *Southern History*, ix (1987), pp.34-50; G. L. Harriss, 'Berkeley, James, First Baron Berkeley (c.1394-1463)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50214.

²³ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.104.

²⁴ B. Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham, c.1300-c.1450', Unpublished D.Phil thesis, York (1987), p.113.

While this chapter has so far looked at landholding simply in terms of numerical units, there is also the important issue of honours, liberties and private hundreds associated with it. Lordship was not a matter of ownership of land, but of the privileges and duties of tenants-in-chief, particularly the possession of ultimate legal rights in a property relationship. The holding of a lordship gave a lord rights, such as control of judicial and administrative functions, power to fulfil these rights on behalf of the king, and income associated with them. In return they accepted moral and legal responsibility for keeping the king's peace and doing his justice within it.²⁵ Several different classifications of lordship existed above that of a basic manor. Honours were administrative units based on a number of manors which had an honour court, as well or instead of the manor court. Honours were therefore greater lordships representing, or at least being indicative of, regional power blocs. Possession of them enhanced the standing of the holder in comparison with other landholders. When used as part of a title, such as 'the Lordship of Abergavenny', lordship tended to be used to give the title of an honour and the two words are interchangeable in this context, although generally lordship was used to describe authority over any territorial unit from a manor upwards. Honours are also identifiable with the more thirteenth century concept of baronies.

A liberty or franchise was territory with extraordinary privileges, where the lord was responsible for performing the administrative and judicial tasks undertaken elsewhere by the sheriff and other royal officials, essentially a portion of the royal prerogative in the hands of a subject. These were associated with a particular manor and were usually held over a borough and the associated hundred and hundred court. The greatest franchises were the palatinates of Durham, Chester and Lancashire, held by the bishops of Durham, earls of Chester (royal) and dukes of Lancaster respectively.²⁶

Lordship of a hundred and the hundred court was also often associated with possession a particular manor. For instance, the Berkeleys claimed the hundred of

²⁵ H. M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (London, 1963), pp.xiii, 183.

²⁶ King notes that although the king's writ did not run to these areas, franchises were still bound to the counties they were situated in and they were also too small to generate a separate political community: A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-c.1408', Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham (2001), pp.235-9.

Berkeley as an appurtenance of the manor of Berkeley which Henry II had granted them with all its liberties and dependencies.²⁷ Many hundreds were also leased out by the king as a form of patronage. In 1376 though this activity was attacked by the Commons who urged the enforcement of the 1328 Statute of Northampton, which stated that all hundred should be rejoined to their counties.²⁸ This however did not happen and the practice actually increased under Richard II.²⁹ Possession of a private hundred, where the lord's steward took the place of the sheriff, naturally entailed a large degree of overlordship over the whole region. In leased hundreds lords also received all extra profits once the agreed rent had been paid to the Exchequer. The franchises claimed over an urban area differentiated liberties from simple private hundreds.³⁰

The recording of all these were to some degree simply a question of record in the inquisitions post mortem and by no means are all such groupings of estates and franchises recorded in them. However where they are recorded this does indicate the presence of an area of greater lordship. Of the 99 sample barons from the baronial families, the following are recorded in the inquisitions post mortem as possessing honours:

14	Thomas, Lord Despenser ³¹
3	Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1389) ³²
2	Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby
	Walter, Lord Fitzwalter (d.1406)
	John, Lord Cherleton
	William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny ³³

²⁷ Cam, *Liberties and Communities*, p.65.

²⁸ H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (London, 1963), pp.137-45; W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III* (London, 1990), pp.118-19.

²⁹ *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1377-1383 (CFR)* (London, 1926), pp.15-16, 28, 36, 94-5, 96, 137, 246-7, 251, 280, 344; *CFR 1383-1391* (London, 1929), pp.1-2, 10, 22-3, 90, 112, 149, 149, 150, 173-4, 192, 203-4, 230, 244-5, 280, 353; *CFR 1391-1399* (London, 1929), pp.198-9, 203, 211-12, 213, 256, 257-8, 287-8, 290, 296, 303-4. Compare with: Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III*, p.118n (p.235). In Richard II's reign the leases were fairly consistent, except between February 1391 and December 1396 when there were none (there was only one between February 1389 and December 1396).

³⁰ Cam, *Liberties and Communities*; W. O. Ault, *Private Jurisdiction in England* (New Haven, 1923); W. O. Ault, 'Manors and Temporalities', in J. F. Willard, W. A. Morris and W. H. Dunham (eds.), *The English Government at Work, 1327-36*, vol. iii (Massachusetts, 1950), pp.3-34.

³¹ Thomas, Lord Despenser – Lordship of Langtree (Devon), Lordship of Sherston, Lordship of Broad Town, Lordship of Winterslow (all Wiltshire), Lordship of Ashley (Hampshire), Lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, Lordship of Newton Nottage, Lordship of Sully, Lordship of Whitchurch, Lordship of Peterston super Ely, Lordship of Boerton, Lordship of Griffiths, Lordship of Whittington, Lordship of Chipping Sodbury (all Gloucestershire and the March).

³² Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1389) – Lordship of Cowthorpe, Lordship of Solbergh, Lordship of Little Smithton (all Yorkshire).

1	Nicholas, Lord Audley
	Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418)
	John, Lord de la Warr
	John, Lord Ros
	John, Lord Clifford
	Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415)
	Ralph, Baron Greystoke
	Roger, Lord Strange
	John, Lord Strange
	John, Lord Arundel (d.1421)
	Thomas, Lord Neville of Hallamshire ³⁴

Despenser, de la Pole and Neville of Raby all became earls during this period and are certainly amongst the greatest of the baronage in terms of landed wealth. Two of the most notable lordships were Despenser's one of Glamorgan and Morgannwg and Neville of Raby's of Richmond. These were geographically larger and more prestigious than any of the other baronial honours.³⁵

In terms of liberties, the following are recorded in the inquisitions post mortem:

3	Thomas, Lord Despenser
2	William, Lord Zouche (d.1415)
1	William, Lord Zouche (d.1396)
	John, Lord Montagu (d.1400) ³⁶

³³ Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby – Honour and Lordship of Richmond, Barony of Worton (both Yorkshire). Walter, Lord Fitzwalter (d.1406) – Lordship of Lyonshall, Lordship of Dorstone (both Herefordshire). John, Lord Cherleton – Lordship of Llangurig, Lordship of Plas Dinas (both Shropshire and the March). William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny – Lordship of Abergavenny, Lordship of Ewyas Harold (both Herefordshire and the March).

³⁴ Nicholas, Lord Audley – Lordship of Newport (Herefordshire and the March). Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) – Lordship of Goodrich (Herefordshire). John, Lord de la Warr – Lordship of Fletching (Sussex). John, Lord Ros – Honour of Belvoir (Lincolnshire). John, Lord Clifford – Honour of Skipton (Yorkshire). Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415) – Honour of Eye (Suffolk). Ralph, Baron Greystoke – Barony of Greystoke (Cumberland). Roger, Lord Strange – Lordship of Knockyn (Shropshire and the March). John, Lord Strange – Lordship of Knockyn (Shropshire and the March). John, Lord Arundel (d.1421) – Lordship of Ruyton (Shropshire and the March). Thomas, Lord Neville of Hallamshire – Lordship of Sheffield (Yorkshire).

³⁵ The Honour of Glamorgan was roughly worth roughly £1200 annually: M. J. Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation: The Despensers, c.1281-1400', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2005), p.123; The Honour of Richmond was worth between £1500-1700 annually: M. Arvanigian, 'Henry IV, the Northern Nobility and the Consolidation of the Regime', in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.125.

³⁶ Thomas, Lord Despenser – Free Borough of Bawtry (Yorkshire), Liberty and Free Borough of Tewkesbury (Gloucestershire), Free Borough of Cardiff (Gloucestershire and the March). William, Lord Zouche (d.1415) – Free Borough of Totnes (Devon), Free Borough of Bridgwater (Somerset). William, Lord Zouche (d.1396) – Free Borough of Totnes (Devon). John, Lord Montagu (d.1400) – Free Borough of Christchurch (Hampshire).

Those recorded as possessing private hundreds were:

6	John, Lord Arundel (d.1421) ³⁷
4	Thomas, Lord Berkeley ³⁸
3	Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby
	Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415) ³⁹
2	Richard, Lord Talbot
	Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418)
	Thomas, Lord Morley ⁴⁰
1	Nicholas, Lord Audley
	Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387)
	John, Lord Neville of Raby
	John, Lord Ros
	William, Lord Zouche (d.1382)
	William, Lord Zouche (d.1396)
	William, Lord Zouche (d.1415)
	Aymer St Amand (d.1381)
	Aymer St Amand (d.1402)
	John, Lord Cobham
	Constantine, Lord Clifton
	John, Lord Montagu (d.1400) ⁴¹

Again, nearly all those with liberties and multiple private hundreds were at the top end of the property spectrum and even the notable ones who did not make the step up to earldoms, the Zouches and Berkeleys, have already been shown to be amongst most substantial landowners of the baronage.

The barons at this time who possessed the majority of these greater lordships - honours, liberties and private hundreds - were therefore also those with more substantial

³⁷ John, Lord Arundel (d.1421) – Hundred of Poling, Hundred of Rotherbridge, Hundred of Easebourne, Hundred of Box, Hundred of Stockbridge, Hundred of Westbourne (all Sussex).

³⁸ Thomas, Lord Berkeley – Hundred of Bedminster, Hundred of Portbury (both Somerset), Hundred of Berkeley, Hundred of Bledisloe (both Gloucestershire).

³⁹ Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby – Wapentake of Hang East and Hang West, Wapentake of Hallikeld, Wapentake of Gilling East and Gilling West (All Yorkshire). Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415) – Hundred of Lothingland, Hundred of Hartismere, Hundred of Stowmarket (all Suffolk).

⁴⁰ Richard, Lord Talbot – Hundred of Irchenfield (Herefordshire), Hundred of Bampton (Oxfordshire). Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) - Hundred of Wormelow (Herefordshire), Hundred of Bampton (Oxfordshire). Thomas, Lord Morley – Hundred of Eynsford, Hundred of Forehoe (both Norfolk).

⁴¹ Nicholas, Lord Audley – Hundred of Llandovery (Herefordshire and the March). Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) – Hundred of Irchenfield (Herefordshire). John, Lord Neville of Raby – Half-Hundred of Clavering (Essex). John, Lord Ros – Hundred of Shropshire (Norfolk). William, Lord Zouche (d.1382) – Hundred of Calne (Wiltshire). William, Lord Zouche (d.1396) – Hundred of Calne (Wiltshire). William, Lord Zouche (d.1415) – Hundred of Calne (Wiltshire). Aymer St Amand (d.1381) – Hundred of Bloxham (Oxfordshire). Aymer St Amand (d.1402) – Hundred of Bloxham (Oxfordshire). John, Lord Cobham – Hundred of Shamwell (Kent). Constantine, Lord Clifton – Hundred of Shropshire (Norfolk). John, Lord Montagu (d.1400) – Hundred of Shrewton (Wiltshire).

overall landed wealth and those entering or bordering the titled nobility. These findings support Holmes' theme of the tendency for accumulation within landed society whereby families who continued to produce heirs added to their estates through marriages to heiress and thereby property slowly concentrated into fewer hands.⁴² Whilst this broader accumulation of property is hard to trace over time on a baron-wide level, the way it can be seen to be happening here with honours and liberties associated with land ownership affords an insight into this process.

To understand the motives of barons with regard to landholding, the strategies they employed for putting their estates together must be understood. Titled nobles' estates were generally widely scattered, whilst the gentry's were seen to cluster.⁴³ Therefore determining the patterns of baronial estates will help characterise them and indicate their designs. Although there was no such thing as an average baron, and the landholding findings have certainly demonstrated the wide spectrum that existed, the idea of the average baron holding 16.6 manors across 5.11 counties is a useful illustration. It reflects the intermediate position of barons, demonstrating that they held numerous cross-county interests but not enough to be considered national figures. Their political reach was therefore wider than the gentry's, but not as wide as the titled nobility's. On a local level a tendency to cluster manors around a central *caput* can be seen. Outlying manors were often sold off or given to younger sons and when new ones were bought they tended to be in close proximity to existing properties. Thomas, Lord Berkeley acquiring South Cerney and Cerney Wick in his Gloucestershire heartland

⁴² G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), ch.1; K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp.61, 79-80, 152-3.

⁴³ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.104-7, 126-37, 153; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp.128-30; C. Carpenter, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Gentry and their Estates', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), pp.39-41, 46-7. The titled nobility were also motivated to acquire land around their *caput* and their 'home manors', but had such vast assemblages that they had holdings in many counties. It was also in the king's interest to scatter his nobles' estates in an attempt to prevent regional power blocs becoming too autonomous. Richard II's redistribution of the forfeited Appellant inheritances in 1397 was one clear obvious of this happening: J. A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), p.191; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.137; N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p.382; A. Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power in England and Wales, 1389-1413* (Oxford, 2003), pp.65-6. Scattered lands were also a sign of landed interests assembled by inheritance and marriage, rather than through purchases which were easier to influence the location of. Land was more commonly bought by new families: M. E. Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-1487?', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1999), p.95.

from the heirless Aymer, Lord St Amand in 1398 is one such example of this.⁴⁴ This supports the idea that there was a motivation to create ‘countries’, regional spheres of influence where their lordship was unquestioned.⁴⁵ However, most barons had more than one such region, usually as the result of the family having acquired diverse interests through marriages. This enabled them to enhance their national profile and raise them above the more single county gentry. It can therefore be said that the motivation of the baronage with regard to landholding was to create ‘countries’, but also to spread their interests and have at least two or three regional groupings across the country to ensure their influence was both deep and as wide as possible. The wider their reach the closer they came to achieving the next political marker up – an earldom.

ii) Inheritance

If possession of land was the marker of status, then it was inheritance which determined success and failure. The continued production of heirs and procurement of prosperous marriages were the two key determinants of medium-to-long term dynastic success. This very clearly impacted on the rising and falling social stations of families, as can be demonstrated by analysis of recruitment and extinction patterns.

13 new barons were created between 1377 and 1399:

1377	J. Arundel	Lord Mautravers through his wife
1381 ⁴⁶	W. Thorpe	Promotion
	W. Windsor	Promotion
	J. Bourchier	Family not summoned since 1348, so promotion
1383 ⁴⁷	T. Neville of Hallamshire	Lord Furnival through his wife
	J. Falvesle	Lord Say through his wife
	T. Camoys	Family not summoned since 1335, so promotion
1384 ⁴⁸	R. Lumley	Promotion (extensive Thweng lands)
	J. Devereux	Promotion
1387 ⁴⁹	J. Beauchamp of Kidderminster	Promotion (by writ)

⁴⁴ See Chapter 6.iii for a detailed study of Thomas, Lord Berkeley’s landholding.

⁴⁵ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.160-79.

⁴⁶ J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp.390-1.

⁴⁷ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.391.

⁴⁸ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.394.

P. Despenser	Promotion
1392 ⁵⁰ W. Beauchamp of Abergavenny	Promotion (extensive Pembroke lands)
1393 ⁵¹ W. Heron	Lord Say through his wife

Of these, seven can be classified as promotions, two of which were obviously recognising the recent acquisition of extensive new lands - Ralph, Lord Lumley of much of the Thweng inheritance through an heiress and William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny of the earl of Pembroke estates from the Hastings family. The other five promotions can be seen more as rewards for service or favour and were true new men. Two more were families who had been summoned before, but not for several generations, Camoys and Bourchier, should also really be classified as promotions. The other four new baronial creations were titles that were directly acquired by marrying heiresses. Thomas Neville and John Arundel were both younger sons of nobles, while John Falvesle and William Heron's marriages to Elizabeth Say were likely the work of their shared patron the earl of Arundel.

Although there was no large-scale recruitment to the baronage, as had happened at times during Edward III's reign, the failure of lines freed up both land and titles that younger noble sons and members of the gentry could acquire. The usual mechanism for this permeation of the nobility was first the acquisition of land and then a marriage to an heiress. Settlements tended to be made by fathers on younger noble sons through the devices of entail and enfeoffment, which set them up with their own assets. In the case of rising gentry, successful merchants, soldiers, administrators and lawyers sought to convert their non-landed wealth into landed wealth by purchasing estates. This was important because heiresses were unlikely to marry landless men. In both these situations, if younger noble sons and members of the gentry were then able to secure successful marriages either they, or their children who would then be equipped to make even better marriages, could make the jump up to the baronage. The most rapid and most famous example of upward social mobility at this time was the de la Poles who went from wool merchants to earls in two generations.⁵²

⁴⁹ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.402-5.

⁵⁰ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.412.

⁵¹ Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, p.412.

⁵² S. J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, xlv (1992), pp.62-70.

In terms of where this land and room in the peerage was coming from, from the 66 1377-99 baronial families, nine had become extinct by 1399, with a further four by 1425:

1381	Ferrers of Wem
1384	Windsor
1385	Botetourt
1390	Basset
	Brian
1391	Audley
	Aldeburgh
	Thorpe
1392	Falvesle
1402	St Amand
1404	Heron
1420	Burnel
	Beauchamp of Kidderminster

This is an extinction rate of 13.6% in the first 22 years and 19.7% in the full 48 years.⁵³ As well as these, where there were no heirs at all, the following seven saw descent through a female:

1381	W. Latimer	Daughter Elizabeth	>	J. Neville of Raby
1382	W. Lisle	Daughter Elizabeth	>	T. Berkeley
1383	W. Furnival	Daughter Joan	>	T. Neville of Raby
1393	J. Devereux	Sister Joan	>	W. Fitzwalter
1406	T. Bardolf	Daughters Anne and Joan	>	Sir William Phelip
1407	T. Neville of Raby	Daughter Maud	>	J. Talbot
1418	G. Talbot	Daughter Ankaret	>	J. Talbot

Of these, Thomas Neville, as mentioned above, and John Talbot were younger noble sons. John, Lord Neville of Raby, Thomas, Lord Berkeley and Walter, Lord Fitzwalter were already barons and so acquired double titles. Sir William Phelip married Joan the younger Bardolf daughter but was never summoned to parliament as a result, even though he was sometimes described as Lord Bardolf. In the case of the Talbot lands, Gilbert, Lord Talbot chose to settle his lands on his two-year-old daughter Ankaret who was his heir general, rather than his brother John who was his heir male. However,

⁵³ McFarlane calculates similar data for the entire fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.172-6.

Ankaret died in 1421 aged five and the lands reverted to John Talbot anyway.⁵⁴ This accumulation of the Furnival and Talbot (which already included the Strange of Blackmere one) inheritances, along with his military service, would later see John Talbot raised to earl of Shrewsbury.

Using the inquisitions post mortem from the end of the reign of Henry III until the Black Death, Russell estimated that 72% of landowners left sons or grandsons as their heirs, 10% left daughters only and 18% left no issue. These figures change to 57%, 15% and 29% respectively in the second half of the fourteenth century following the plague outbreaks.⁵⁵ For the sample of barons being used in this study, 80% left male heirs, 7% descended through the female line and 13% had no heirs.⁵⁶ These figures are slightly different from Russell's as they do not account for when there was another heir male such as a brother or nephew. This information however is more important when looking at aristocratic family fortunes as opposed to demographic trends, as any heir male would propagate the title. There was therefore only a failure or change of the family in 20% of cases.

The issue of heirs and the descent of land in the event of a failure of direct heirs was not always a simple one.⁵⁷ If a landholder did not have a son he would often be left with two different types of heirs, depending how different parts of his land were held. Land held in fee simple was inherited by the heir general, the primogenitary heir, which included those connected through a female line and even female issues themselves. If however land was held in fee tail then it could not be inherited by collaterals and instead went to the heir male. Entailing land was a device which was used by landowners to ensure lands reverted to the main male line, the patriline, of the family. This device was used increasingly in the later medieval period as landowners sought more control over the descent of their lands. Entail started happening on a notable scale after the clause *De Donis Conditionalibus* in the 1285 Statute of Westminster facilitated the device. In 1272 all the earldoms in the kingdom were earldoms in fee. A hundred years later the

⁵⁴ Payling, 'Social Mobility', p.61.

⁵⁵ J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp.240-2.

⁵⁶ Of the 99 barons in this sample, 79 were succeeded by males, seven by daughter and 13 had no heirs.

⁵⁷ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.61-82; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.124-59; Payling, 'Social Mobility', pp.56-62.

last earldom in fee was created at Richard II's coronation. After that time all new earls were granted their status in tail male.⁵⁸ While McFarlane suggested that 'preference for the heir male was hardening into habit', Payling in his analysis of settlements demonstrated that only around 26% of manors at this time were actually settled in tail male and that this remained exceptional.⁵⁹

The case of Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418), who tried to settle more land in fee simple to inherit his daughter over his brother, has already been mentioned. Two other notable inheritance disputes from this period involved members of the baronage. When John Hastings, earl of Pembroke died in 1389 he left Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin (d.1440) as his heir general. The heir male, Hugh Hastings, was overlooked because he was only half-blood. However, because of an earlier enfeoffment made to another relative, Sir William Beauchamp, the lands were split and Beauchamp received the Lordship of Abergavenny and other estates, while Grey received the rest. The division meant neither succeeded to the earldom.⁶⁰ The other major dispute was that between the rival heirs of Thomas, Lord Berkeley. Thomas' nephew James was his heir male and inherited his title and part of his lands, whilst his daughter and heir general, along with her husband Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick received the rest of the lands, again resulting in a major division of the inheritance.⁶¹

Another factor affecting the recruitment and extinction of the baronage was that of families that simply dropped out of the rank. Four families who were summoned between 1377 and 1399 dropped out of the baronage before 1425, even though they continued to produce male heirs who reached majority:

- 1380 Roger, Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe
- 1381 Richard, Lord Stafford of Clifton
- 1381 William, Lord Deincourt
- 1395 Constantine, Lord Clifton

⁵⁸ For the history of development of the entail see: McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.63-4, 270-2; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.137-53

⁵⁹ McFarlane, *The Nobility*, p.272; Payling, 'Social Mobility', p.57.

⁶⁰ R. I. Jack, 'Entail and Descent: The Hastings Inheritance', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1965), pp.1-19; Holmes, *The Estates*, pp.38, 42, 54; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.74-6.

⁶¹ Cooke, 'On the Great Berkeley Law-Suit', pp.305-24; Sinclair, 'The Great Berkeley Law-Suit', pp.34-50; Harriss, 'Berkeley, James, First Baron Berkeley (c.1394-1463)'; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp.369, 371-2, 380, 387.

Roger, Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe and Constantine, Lord Clifton had sons/grandsons and further descendants who were never summoned. Neither of these were major landholders, with five and three manors respectively, and so it is likely that they did just stop being summoned because they were no longer regarded as being of sufficient magnitude. William, Lord Deincourt's second son reached majority briefly yet was not summoned, and the line became extinct when his son died childless. Richard, Lord Stafford of Clifton's heir Edmund was a priest and went on to become bishop of Exeter, rather than taking his father's title.

Dynastic fortunes were also potentially threatened by forfeitures. Six barons from within the sample suffered forfeitures:⁶²

1388	Michael, Lord de la Pole
	John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster
1401	John, Lord Montagu
	Ralph, Lord Lumley
	Thomas, Lord Despenser
1406	Thomas, Lord Bardolf

However, forfeiture did not usually cause the permanent ruin of a family as sons tended to recover land held in fee tail and in many cases attainders were later repealed entirely and sons even recovered their father's acquisitions.⁶³ Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415) for example regained his father's controversial earldom of Suffolk, both from Richard II in 1397 and then again from Henry IV in 1399. John, Lord Montagu's son also became earl of Salisbury again, although this had not been a new creation as Montagu had succeeded his uncle through the normal process. The Lumleys also fully recovered their position within two generations. John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster (d.1420) however did not recover his father's barony and it was still under attainder when he and the line died out. Neither Bardolf or Despenser produced male heirs who reached majority. Premature unnatural deaths as a result of treasonous action, and thereby the

⁶² John, Lord Cobham was sentenced to forfeiture and execution as a result of his impeachment in 1398, but he was pardoned on condition of his banishment.

⁶³ Holmes, *The Estates*, p.40; McFarlane, *The Nobility*, pp.270-1. Bellamy notes that in 1397 Richard II broke with the tradition of fee tail lands being exempt from forfeiture and that his successors often followed this precedent: J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970), pp.115, 191-5, 236.

reduced chance of leaving heirs, was the biggest threat of dynastic failure due to political action, not the legal retribution that could be as incurred a result. The fact that there were only two forfeitures in Richard II's reign is surprisingly low. This could actually be seen as a sign of general political stability which, because of the two big fractures in 1386-8 and 1399, is possibly overlooked.

The final and most significant marker of social mobility was promotion into the titled nobility by achieving an earldom. Four barons made this jump during Richard II's reign, with another from the cohort later achieving the rank:

1385	Michael, Lord de la Pole	Suffolk	Promotion
1397	Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby	Westmorland	Promotion
1397	John, Lord Montagu	Salisbury	Inheritance
1397	Thomas, Lord Despenser	Gloucester	Promotion
1415	John, Lord Arundel	Arundel	Inheritance

Montagu and Arundel were heads of cadet lines who succeeded their uncle and cousin respectively as earl following the failure of direct heirs. Michael, Lord de la Pole was a new creation as earl of Suffolk. The former earls, the Uffords, had died out in 1382 and de la Pole was endowed with many of their lands, as well as receiving their old title. The Nevilles of Raby were raised to earls as part of Richard II's 1397 'duketti' promotions as a reward for his support against the Appellants. However, along with the earldom of Worcester, it was one of only two of these that were not revoked in 1399, partly because of Ralph, Lord Neville's support for Bolingbroke and partly because it was less of a controversial creation because of the magnitude of the family.⁶⁴ Despenser was another intimate of Richard II and also received his earldom following the Appellants' destruction. Despenser's was the only one of these titles which did not descend to an heir, although this was ultimately because of failure of heirs as much as the 1399 degrading. Whether his son would have eventually been allowed to inherit the title if he had achieved majority is less likely than the de la Poles and Montagus, as the creation had been more controversial, but it is possible. William, the eldest son of Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, became earl of Wiltshire in 1397 but was executed in

⁶⁴ C. R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166-1400* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.137-8.

1399 so never succeeded to his father's barony. A second son, Roger, did on his father's death in 1403, although his brother's earldom remained under attainder.

A test of the demarcation and collective identity of the baronage, which also affected inheritance issues, particularly with regard to the opportunities for social mobility, was the social level at which barons married. The 109 barons listed in Appendix 2 are recorded as having married 146 times. Of the 146 brides, the rank of their fathers are known in 125 cases. The breakdown of the 125 cases shows:

Dukes/Earls	27	22%
Barons	58	46%
Knights/Others	40	32%

These figures support the assumption that marriage into their own rank was the most common state of affairs. The figure for marriages into the titled nobility is also notably very high, particularly when the total number of dukes and earls, and therefore their daughters, was actually not very large. There were approximately four barons to every titled noble, so if nearly a quarter of barons were marrying into the rank above, that is effectively one baronial son-in-law for each duke and earl. The percentage of barons with gentry brides was also significant. However the actual proportion of the gentry who were able to marry their daughters into the nobility was not high because the gentry were so much greater in number. The large sums given by members of the nobility as marriage portions, often at least 1000 marks for wealthy barons and substantially more for titled nobles, meant that, in the short term, marriage into the same social class or above was most profitable.⁶⁵ Marrying above rank was not always the most profitable long-term enterprise, even though the patronage of an influential father-in-law could be useful in terms of social advancement.⁶⁶ None of those who rose into the titled nobility in this period did so as a result of marriage. Marriages to heiresses, of whatever class, were ultimately far more significant for families than marriages to titled noble's daughters in this period. It was Thomas, Lord Berkeley with the Lisle heiress, Walter,

⁶⁵ T. B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in S. B. Chimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), p.87.

⁶⁶ Simon notes the difference between those who were interested in keeping their lands compact, who married women from the local gentry, and those who preferred to strengthen their ties with other peers, who chose their wives from baronial families from other parts of the kingdom: Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', pp.268-9.

Lord Fitzwalter with the Devereux heiress, John, Lord de la Warr with the Neville of Grimsthorpe heiress and the several of the Talbots and Nevilles of Raby with their brides who made some of the most profitable marriages in the reign. As Pugh notes, 'even the greatest of aristocratic houses...did not allow social snobbery to impede their chances of material gain'.⁶⁷ The Zouche family were one example of the success this strategy could bring as four consecutive generations married wealthy heiresses, establishing their extensive, if scattered, collection of estates.⁶⁸ Lord Scrope of Bolton also made valuable gains by securing the wardships of the Tiptoft heiresses, marrying two of the three daughters to his sons.⁶⁹ Marrying heiresses was sometimes the result of chance, as male heirs could die after the marriage had been agreed or happened, which would cause unexpected inheritances. In most cases though marriages to heiresses were granted in return for large payments. Marriage to heiresses therefore tended to be a device for those on the ascendant, not those already established. Established families were actually disinclined to chase heiresses because they were more conservative on such potentially hazardous and expensive speculation than the cash rich social risers.⁷⁰ It was instead for younger sons that nobles actively sought such provisions, not their own heirs. In some cases the ambitions of both the established and those on the rise could be met, such as in the case of Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton and Blanche, sister of Michael de la Pole. For the de la Poles this marriage brought the respectability of an alliance with a family with substantial landed estates, whilst the Scropes would have received substantial financial gains from the wealthy merchant family.⁷¹ In general then marriage was an important factor in dynastic fortunes, although it was far more so for those attempting to rise into the baronage than those endeavouring to rise out of it.⁷²

The foremost motivation of barons with regard to matters of inheritance was not the unadulterated perpetuation of the patriline, nor the unchecked acquisition of new

⁶⁷ Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', p.87.

⁶⁸ J. T. Rosenthal, *Nobles and Noble Life, 1295-1500* (London, 1976), pp.59-61.

⁶⁹ Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham', p.123.

⁷⁰ As well as the large payment parts of the groom's estates were settled on the couple in jointure. This could have the negative affect on the family of depriving an heir of large part of his estates if his mother was long-lived: Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', p.103.

⁷¹ Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham', p.71.

⁷² S. J. Payling, 'The Economics of Marriage in Late Medieval England: The Marriage of Heiresses', *Economic History Review*, lxxxiv (2001), pp.413-29. Lawrence notes that four out of five Despensers married upwards, to women from comital families, and that this was an important agent of their rise: Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', pp.42-3.

inheritances. Devices such as entail and enfeoffment were used to manipulate the descent of lands, but the motives behind this were not always simple and they were more often used to provide for collaterals than to assist aggregation on an heir male and ensure the integrity of the inheritance. Indeed the welfare of their immediate children was usually the highest, or at least short-term, priority of a baron.⁷³ The chasing of heiresses was not common conduct for those already established in the nobility. Marriage instead was an opportunity to build alliances and to reinforce status both within and of the social group, but the guaranteed profits of dowers tended to be preferred to the more risky speculation on heiresses. Promotion into the titled nobility tended to come as a result of political favour. Therefore as the existing establishment, barons tended to be conservative in their longer term and dynastic ambitions. They generally sought to preserve and manage, rather than rapidly extend, their interests.

iii) Economics

With the limitations of the inquisitions post mortem for valuing lands, there is fortunately one source from this period which does facilitate comparison of aristocratic wealth, the 1436 tax returns.⁷⁴ These are not entirely reliable estimations of landed wealth as the assessments were made of income, so for instance lands held by dowagers that would revert and land settled on feoffees were not included. However it is a unique source which provides a very useful insight into the economic position of barons. 30 of the 66 baronial families from the Richard II's reign survived and were listed in this record.⁷⁵ The average annual assessed income of these 30 was £514.50, ranging from the Talbots of Furnival at £1205 to the Clintons at £112:

1) Talbot of Furnival	£1205
2) Cromwell	£1007
3) Lovel	£1000
4) Ros	£802
5) Grey of Ruthin	£780
6) Beaumont	£733
7) Willoughby	£679

⁷³ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.143.

⁷⁴ E 163/7/31/1; E 163/7/31/2; H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xl ix (1934), pp.607-39, esp. pp.614-18.

⁷⁵ The de la Poles, Nevilles of Raby and the Montagu and Arundel cadet lines had fully established themselves as comital families.

8) Abergavenny ⁷⁶	£667
9) Ferrers of Groby	£666
10) Greystoke	£650
11) Morley	£600
12) de la Warr	£563
13) Scrope of Masham	£557
14) Zouche	£533
15) Poynings	£500
16) Grey of Codnor	£494
17) Fitzhugh	£484
18) Strange	£399
19) Scales	£376
20) Harington	£347
21) Berkeley	£333
22) Welles	£321
23) Dacre	£320
24) Audley	£300
25) Mauley	£266
26) Clifford	£250
27) Grey of Wilton	£200
28) Latimer ⁷⁷	£170
29) Darcy	£121
30) Clinton	£112
	= £15,435

Four barons had also granted life annuities totalling £604, which if excluded brings the average down to £494.37.⁷⁸ The overall baronial averages, including the six other new barons, were slightly higher at £534.28 including annuities and £511.94 without them. To put this in context, the average of the entire nobility in these figures was £865 including annuities and £768 without.⁷⁹ The incomes of the 15 titled noble were estimated as being worth an average £1594.40 with annuities, or £1313.47 without. Grey also identifies a group of 138 'richer knights' who had an average income of £208. These averages, dukes/earls £1594, barons £534 and greater gentry £208, do give interesting perspective on the differentials between the social classes. They also correspond fairly closely to the later fifteenth century Black Book, which assumed that dukes enjoyed an income from land of a clear £4,000 a year, earls £2,000, barons £500 and knight bannerets £200.⁸⁰ There were significant overlaps in the 1436 figures -

⁷⁶ The titled had passed from the Beauchamps to a cadet line of the Nevilles of Raby through daughter.

⁷⁷ This was a cadet line of the Willoughby family.

⁷⁸ Ros £200, Willoughby £171, Cromwell £133, Scrope of Masham £100.

⁷⁹ Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p.619.

⁸⁰ A. R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp.95-6, 97, 99-100, 102-5, 109-10.

several of the richest barons are listed as wealthier than the poorer earls, and even the ‘richer knight’ average is above the likes of the Darcys and Clintons.⁸¹ Pugh has criticised the figures for conveying ‘an exaggerated impression of the landed property held by the gentry, while at the same time making the greater magnates seem much less affluent than they really were’, but even in spite of this there is noticeable demarcation between the three social groups.⁸²

The 1436 figures also enable barons to be individually ranked by assessed wealth, which affords comparison between them. The set of figures though have to be treated largely in isolation, as there are no other comparable sources of income. The inquisition post mortem data cannot be used as an index of wealth, although by recording the distribution of land it does give some indication of the relative positions of barons to each other as landowners. Many of the richest families in 1436 had been not very prominent families with middling sized inheritances during the reign of Richard II – the likes of the Cromwells, Lovels, the Ros family, Greys of Ruthin, Beaumonts and Willoughbys. This is perhaps demonstrative of steady consolidation and organic growth. One or two of those who had a large number manors at the end of fourteenth century, for various reason, had only modest incomes in 1436. Two notable examples were the Audleys and the Clifford. The Audleys’ title had fallen into abeyance and after a period passed to the Tuchet family. The Cliffords’ numerous estates were in a poor region and possibly just not very profitable. They also suffered numerous minorities and long-lived dowagers in the early fifteenth century.⁸³ Others such as the Nevilles of Raby, Arundels and Montagus had been promoted to comital status by the time of the 1436 assessment. Many of the lesser barons in Richard II’s reign were still members of the peerage and a number, such as the Greys of Codnor and Scales, had mid-sized incomes for the class. Three of the six new ennoblements since

⁸¹ Given-Wilson has suggested that £1,000 was the minimum income required/expected for an earl but most would have had at least double this and that about £250 per year was the minimum compatible with parliamentary status with regard to lesser peers: Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.66.

⁸² Pugh, ‘The Magnates, Knights and Gentry’, p.97.

⁸³ Tuck portrays the border areas as disrupted by war and poor: J. A. Tuck, ‘Richard II and the Border Magnates’, *Northern History*, iii (1968), p.28. During only 10 of the 45 years between 1391 and 1436 did the Cliffords have a lord of age. In this period there were three dowagers on two occasions: Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, pp.235-6. One of the dowagers, Elizabeth Clifford is described as ‘a woman of considerable character and determination’, who steered the family through a testing time: V. J. C. Rees, ‘The Clifford Family in the Later Middle Ages, 1259-1461’, Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Lancaster (1973), p.118.

1399 that are listed, Lords Tiptoft, Hungerford and Fanhope, are amongst the richest of the barons; in fact they make up three of the top six. The other three new men, Lords Ferrers of Chartley, Fauconberg and Beaufort, are in the bottom half, but not among the poorest. This indicates that the doors to the peerage had largely been closed, and that those entering it since the start of the fifteenth century were doing so through patronage or large inheritances, rather than because the organic growth of their wealth made them of sufficient standing to permeate the group.

In the 1379 graduated poll tax barons were scheduled to pay 40s.⁸⁴ However, because peers dealt directly with the Exchequer, rather than local commissions, there is no empirical evidence in the particulars of the poll tax records for what individual barons actually paid.⁸⁵ This information can instead be found in the enrolled lay subsidy accounts and these findings may have implications with regard to confirming barons' status, both as individuals and as an estate.⁸⁶ Considerable work would though be involved with the enrolled accounts to be able to extract this information and it has not been possible to undertake this within the confines of this study.⁸⁷

The general economic situation in the late fourteenth century was not a good one for landowners. Although demesne agricultural produce and rents were not the only source of nobles' income, they were the main ones and the level of these manorial revenues did affect their overall economic position, although only in a relative sense. The Black Death of 1348-9 and later outbreaks in 1361-2, 1369 and 1375 had devastating effects on the population of England. The mortality rate of the Black Death has been estimated at between 30-45% of affected areas.⁸⁸ This is not entirely undisputed. Kosminsky has suggested that the manorial documents exaggerate the extent of the decline and neglect the growth of population outside manorial system, both in towns and of free peasantry, and the expansion of other areas of economy,

⁸⁴ C. C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, vol. i (Oxford, 1998), pp.xix-xvi; Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp.385-7.

⁸⁵ The particulars are published in: C. C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381* (3 Volumes, Oxford, 1998-2005).

⁸⁶ E 359.

⁸⁷ For nobles and taxation in general at this time see: G. Dodd, 'The Lords, Taxation and the Community of Parliament in the 1370s and Early 1380s', *Parliamentary History*, xx (2001), pp.287-310.

⁸⁸ J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530* (London, 1977), pp.21-6; E. Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. iii (Cambridge, 1991), pp.4-5.

particularly the cloth industry.⁸⁹ However, Postan's detailed analysis of the indirect evidence - wages, rents, prices, land values and holding vacancies evidence remains the most convincing and influential assessment.⁹⁰ He empirically demonstrated that there was a downturn in internal colonisation of land, a fall in land values and rising wages, all evidence of a declining population.⁹¹

The consequences of a declining population on the economy were marked as the number of potential producers, consumers, tenants and labourers were all drastically reduced.⁹² This forced a re-organisation of landed structures and of relations between landlords and tenants. However, the impact was not immediate. Although this economic decline is seen to begin early in the fourteenth century, probably originating during the Great Famine of 1315-17, and acceleration of these trends occurred from 1348, the major recession did not really occur until the mid-1370s. Up to 1348 there had been a steady population growth since at least the late eleventh century to the extent that many parts of England were probably overpopulated at that time.⁹³ As a result there was no immediate collapse of the existing system of labour-intensive demesne farming. Even though there were rising wages, made apparent by the 1349 Ordinances of Labourers which tried to legislate a return to pre-plague wage levels, prices remained high enough so to make 'the 1350s and 1360s something like an "Indian summer of demesne farming"'.⁹⁴ From the 1340s until the mid-1370s the decline in landlords' incomes was not severe, perhaps only up to 10%.⁹⁵ The explanations given for this have included and are likely the result of a combination of: pre-plague overpopulation, higher production rates of the surviving peasantry, harsher landlord repression which

⁸⁹ E. A. Kosminsky, 'Problems of English Agrarian History in the XVth Century', *Voprosi Istorii*, iii (1948); E. A. Kosminsky, 'The Evolution of Feudal Rent in England from the XIth to the XVth Centuries', *Past and Present*, vii (1955), pp.12-44.

⁹⁰ M. Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, ii (1950), pp.221-46.

⁹¹ Modification and certain challenges to Postan's 'population resource' model have been made by: E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London, 1978); M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁹² Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol. iii, p.1.

⁹³ Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol. iii, p.5; E. B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England, c.1380-c.1525* (Stroud, 1996), p.1.

⁹⁴ Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol. iii, p.4.

⁹⁵ Holmes, *The Estates*, p.114; C. Dyer, 'The Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt in 1381', in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge, 1984), p.29; Hatcher, *Plague, Population*, p.32.

culminated in the events of 1381, and increased judicial profits.⁹⁶ Real economic hardship did not therefore begin to hit home until the late 1370s.

What correlated depopulation and economic depression for landowners was the altered balance between the supply and demand for land. A falling population meant a greater supply of land and a peasantry that could obtain more favourable conditions such as lower rents and the release from labour services. While this and rising wages benefited those working on and holding land, landowners suffered. As well as revenue from rents falling, there was an overall decline in agricultural yields because of vacant leases and abandonment of land and, from the mid-1370s, a drop in grain prices in particular due to low demand, which all meant that profits from demesne farming were significantly decreasing.⁹⁷ As with the population figures, there have been studies which have attempted to qualify this exposition of an aristocratic economic depression and at least show that it was not universal, although these instances of stability do not seem to be the experience of most.⁹⁸ A more common experience seems to be that of the Talbots at their Whitchurch estate which, as will be explored more in Chapter 6, suffered severe economic decline at this time.⁹⁹ For some nobles the economic climate was so detrimental that they had to accumulate new estates just to be able to maintain a ¹⁰⁰status quo.

⁹⁶ A. R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxvi (1973), pp.557-92; A. R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxx (1977), pp.393-410; Dyer, 'The Social and Economic', pp.28-9; R. H. Hilton, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England* (London, 1969), pp.41-2; P. H. W. Booth, *The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272-1377* (Manchester, 1981), pp.109-10; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.116-18. For the nobles' response to the 1381 Revolt, see: J. A. Tuck, 'Nobles, Commons and the Great Revolt of 1381', in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.194-212; Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords*, pp.242-55. Barons' role in putting down the Peasants' Revolt will be discussed in Chapter 5.iii.

⁹⁷ M. Postan, 'Revisions in Economic History: IX, The Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, ix (1939), p.166.

⁹⁸ J. L. Kirby, 'The Hungerford Family in the Later Middle Ages', Unpublished MA thesis, London, King's College (1939); H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey* (Cambridge, 1951). For other studies on this 'economic crisis' of the aristocracy, although generally not the baronage per se due to the lack of surviving archives, see: 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), pp.1-28; Ross and Pugh, 'Materials for the Study', pp.185-94; R. R. Davies, 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxi (1968), pp.211-29.

⁹⁹ See Chapter 6.iii; A. J. Pollard, 'Estate Management in the Later Middle Ages: The Talbots and Whitchurch, 1383-1525', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxv (1972), pp.553-66.

¹⁰⁰ M. Postan, 'A Devon Abbey', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, v (1952), pp.134-6.

Landlords did not just accept this situation however. An early response was to change land use from arable farming to pasture, particularly for sheep farming, which was less labour-intensive and wool remained in high demand for the expanding cloth industry.¹⁰¹ One example of this from the very limited baronial records is from the Berkeley estates which show a shift in arable use of demesne land from 90% in 1327 to 65% in 1368. The Berkeleys also purchased extensive sheep grazing land around Beachley in the 1340s and 1350s.¹⁰² Purchasing more land in general was another solution to falling landed incomes and the Berkeleys again were very active in this between 1330s and 1350s. There is also evidence of other barons making notable investments in land at this time, including the Greys of Ruthin and the Scropes, the Nevilles of Raby.¹⁰³ Purchasing land was one of three methods used to increase landholding, the other two being through grants and by marriage. As has been explored in Chapter 3, barons in general received few grants of land from the king.¹⁰⁴ Prosperous marriages were more fortuitous but took a long time to come to fruition. Therefore those who were cash rich and eager to acquire land purchased it.¹⁰⁵ Some upwardly mobile baronial families were even benefiting from this 'economic decline', as those with large amounts of capital to invest could more easily accumulate estates.¹⁰⁶

Most significantly there was one particular course of action that most landlords followed at some point between 1380 and 1420 and which did to some extent arrest this economic decline - the switch from demesne farming to leasing. With direct farming of the land being so unprofitable, this move helped reduce the fall in profits. It is seen as the most important change in the organisation of estates between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. It happened in every part of the country and produced a

¹⁰¹ R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), p.115; L. F. Salzman, 'The Property of the Earl of Arundel, 1397', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xci (1953), pp.38-41; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.124-5.

¹⁰² J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. i, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), pp.302, 326; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.125-6.

¹⁰³ R. I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490: A Study of the Lesser Baronage', Unpublished PhD thesis, London, Royal Holloway College (1961), pp.180-1, 359; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp.1-13, 223; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, pp.325-31; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.127.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 3.vi.

¹⁰⁵ Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', pp.87-90, 95-6.

¹⁰⁶ Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham', p.67.

profound transformation in relations between landowners and peasants.¹⁰⁷ Most of the evidence of the move to leasing of demesnes comes from the study of ecclesiastical estates, such as those of Westminster Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral Priority, Ramsey Abbey, Durham Cathedral Priory and the Bishops of Worcester, where records are more abundant.¹⁰⁸ The lay lords, who had always been less involved in demesne farming, also withdrew from it at this time. Most of the evidence of this comes from studies of the estates of titled nobility, particularly the Duchy of Lancaster, the earls of Stafford and the earls of Northumberland.¹⁰⁹ The limited evidence from baronial estates shows as far as possible that they were affected and acted in the same way. The Berkeley records show lands being leased in 1385/6, which were not being leased in 1367/8.¹¹⁰ Smyth, the Berkeley family historian, also describes the process happening and cites the 1381 Revolt as the prompt for it.¹¹¹ At the Talbot estate of Whitchurch they had abandoned demesne farming by 1390, the consequence of which was an increase revenues by over 25%.¹¹² Some evidence which demonstrates that this process was not uniform or exactly concurrent on all estates across the country comes from the Cromwells' manor of Tattersall, where large sheep flocks were maintained beyond 1420, although not past 1450.¹¹³ In Westmorland the Clifford account rolls for 1407-8 shows some evidence of general decline, but actually an increase in direct exploitation

¹⁰⁷ Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords*, p.76.

¹⁰⁸ B. Harvey, 'The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxii (1969), pp.17-27; B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), pp.148-51; R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1947), pp.116-18; M. Mate, 'Agrarian Economy After the Black Death: The Manors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1348-91', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxxvii (1984), pp.341-54; J. A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organisation* (Toronto, 1957), pp.281-301; E. M. Halcrow, 'The Decline of Demesne Farming on the Estates of Durham Cathedral Priory', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xii (1955), pp.345-56; R. A. Lomas, 'The Priory of Durham and its Demesnes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxxi (1978), pp.339-53; C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in A Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (Cambridge, 1980), pp.113-52; Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords*, pp.80-2.

¹⁰⁹ R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1953); Holmes, *The Estates*, p.117-19; 116-19; C. Rawcliffe, *The Stafford Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978); J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958).

¹¹⁰ BC SR 47; BC SR 48; B. Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 2004), pp.203, 263.

¹¹¹ J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. ii, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), pp.5-6. The economics of the Berkeleys are dealt with more in Chapter 6.iii.

¹¹² Pollard, 'Estate Management', p.561. The economics of the Talbots is dealt with more in Chapter 6.iii.

¹¹³ SC 11/822; Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol. iii, p.574.

of land. Here, even in the absence of tenants for the land, Lady Elizabeth Clifford appears to have obtained labour to farm it.¹¹⁴

It has been suggested that the smaller, gentry landowners were more entrepreneurial than those above them in the social scale and adapted quicker to the requirements of the market.¹¹⁵ This however has been countered by the argument that it is not a logical deduction to say that a greater dependence on trade for their income and for investment expenditure, due to their proportionally smaller income from rents, would have made smaller landlords more concerned about prices. Instead economic motivation was an individual matter and the differing structures of large and small estates were of no apparent significance for the dynamics of medieval economy.¹¹⁶ If the former argument was the case then barons would be expected to bridge the range as the larger baronial landowners would have more in common with the big conservative ecclesiastical and titled noble estates, while the lesser barons would be responding and diversifying quicker, along with their gentry neighbours. Whether it was size of estate or individual motivation, there is evidence from both the Talbots and Cliffords that conscientious and hands-on estate managers could to some extent check the economic decline.¹¹⁷ This however does not mean that professional estate stewards could not do comparable jobs.¹¹⁸

The historiography of economic fortunes of landlords has therefore tended to divide this period into two distinct phases. 1350-80 was the aftermath of the Black Death where a combination of circumstances protected the nobility from the expected economic ramifications of the catastrophe. However this illusion of stability and suggestion of an almost instant recovery was based on weak foundations. 1380-1420 was a period of the abandonment of direct demesne farming as the false economy fell away and large landowners belatedly began to feel the consequences of the new conditions. The movement to leasing demesnes was the most common and most successful method of attempting to arrest the widespread decline of revenues from land.

¹¹⁴ Rees, 'The Clifford Family', pp.186-7.

¹¹⁵ Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History*, pp.256-82.

¹¹⁶ R. H. Britnell, 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism', *Past and Present*, lxxxix (1980), pp.3-22.

¹¹⁷ Pollard, 'Estate Management', pp.553-66; Rees, 'The Clifford Family', pp.186-7.

¹¹⁸ Britnell, 'Minor Landlords', p.22.

The two periods that follow, which are outside the parameters of this study, are seen to be the 1420-70 marked fall in landed revenue and the 1470-1500 years of recovery.¹¹⁹ In the second half of the fourteenth century the expansion of economy had for the first time since the late twelfth century been checked and started to reverse. While this was certainly not disastrous for the landed elite, it did require a considered reaction and re-organisation, and ultimately their dependence on their landed resources receded as a result.

However, this disruption of barons' landed revenue was only relative and the reduction in disposable income could be offset by acquiring new estates and through service and patronage. Not only were court favour, household and military service and purchasing or marrying into new lands becoming the more successful routes to wealth and power, they were also beginning to be seen as the more fitting for someone of that dignity than farming. The agrarian decline of this period did not therefore impact on the underlying status of the baronage or their ability to exercise power.

iv) Successes and Failures

Measures of the success or failure of baronial families depend on what it is they were trying to achieve. Increasing the depth and breadth of their power was certainly one motivation. Promotion to the next social marker, an earldom, was another. Providing for their children was a third. Most action taken, devices used and decisions made can be understood in the context of these. However the long-term dynastic fortune by which historians tend to judge the success or failure of the noble families was not a pressing contemporary concern. Barons were essentially conservative by nature, seeking consolidation and organic growth, and did not really look beyond the next generation with regard to their strategies for land ownership, marriage, inheritance and economic management. Above all they sought security and dignity for themselves and their children.

¹¹⁹ Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History*, vol. iii, p.579. Bean's findings from the Percy estates also follow this pattern with growth in the fourteenth century, decline between 1416-1470 and recovery again after 1470: Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family*, pp.3-11, 12-42, 43-68.

CHAPTER 5: LORDSHIP, RETAINING AND MILITARY SERVICE

Service was a prominent part of the lives of late fourteenth century barons, both that which they performed and that which they received. Indeed it has even been suggested that service has some claim to be considered the dominant ethic of the middle ages in general.¹ In this hierarchical society any activity performed by a servant for a lord with an expectation that it would bring some return, and would therefore be mutually beneficial, can be deemed as service. It underpinned the workings of government, law, military activity and estate and household management and in fact it incorporated just about any engagement that was not a person being hired by the job. It existed across all social groups, right up to the greatest magnates performing service to the king. Noble and gentry service was always ‘honourable’, as opposed to ‘menial’, because of the status and independent standing of the servant. Service was a prestigious undertaking for those of high birth and could even enhance their standing. It was attractive for them not just because of the tangible rewards, but as an end in itself due to its potential to endorse their authority and extend their influence through the devolution of responsibility.²

Barons were both servants and lords. At the same times as they were undertaking service for their social superiors, they were also patronising their social inferiors. During Richard II’s reign evidence exists to show over a third of the baronial families in the service of the king or a member of the titled nobility. The large majority of these relationships were with either Richard II or John of Gaunt, whose two affinities were without comparison in terms of their scale, influence and ability to attract to them those of the highest standing in local societies. Several barons can also be seen to be closely associated with other dukes and earls within whose greater orbit their own domain lay.

¹ R. Horrox, ‘Service’, in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes* (Cambridge, 1994), p.61.

² For general discussions on service and retaining see: Horrox, ‘Service’, pp.61-78; R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.1-26; A. Curry and E. Matthew (eds.), *Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000); J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron* (Manchester, 1989); N. B. Lewis, ‘The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England’, *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, xxvii (1945), pp.29-39.

In their own right baronial households could themselves contain several hundred individuals. In the early fourteenth century the Berkeley household is described as consisting of ‘200 persons and upwards, ranked into their degrees of servants, milites, armigeri, valetti, gaciones et pagetti, knights, esquires, yeomen, gromes, and pages, besides husbandmen, hindes and such other of lower condition’.³ As well as general domestic servants, barons also drew into their service members of the gentry. A baronial retinue would consist of an inner circle of household knights and councillors, and those employed in regular administrative, legal and peacetime martial positions. This affinity would be completed by an outer circle of more independent associates and followers that would include formally indentured retainers and annuitants, campaign retinues, friends, neighbours, relatives and other ‘well wishers’. This group would particularly include members of the upper gentry from the local communities in close proximity to a baron’s sphere of influence.

Patterns of service and connections are therefore essential to understanding the relationship and, to some extent, relative importance of barons to both the titled nobles above them and the gentry below them. This chapter will therefore explore the idea of the baronage as a service aristocracy. It will determine if barons were more likely to be doing active service for the crown in the household, the wider affinity and through military service, than titled nobles. If so this would be both because they were less active in high politics and therefore had more opportunity, and because aspects of these careers were possibly viewed as being beneath the dignity of a duke or earl. Service was also an opportunity for ambitious barons wanting to achieve social promotion to make themselves conspicuous in the service of the king or a titled noble. The way barons drew up others from below to help them with this, and to exercise and extend their own authority in the localities, perhaps also parliament, will also be explored.

³ J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. i, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), p.166.

i) Lordship

Evidence survives and is presented in Appendix 5 to show that 34 barons of the 99 in the sample for this study were part of another lord's affinity.⁴ Of these, five served in two different affinities. Four of those five were retained by both the king and the duke of Lancaster. The leading retainer of barons was Richard II, who retained 20 different barons during the course of his reign.⁵ The structure of the king's affinity was generally similar to that of a baron's, only on a much larger scale and more widely distributed. In addition to those regularly waged personnel, i.e. all but the very senior members of the household, those of more substantial status were divided into inner and outer circles. The inner circle consisted of the household officers, royal councillors and chamber knights who were involved personally with the king on a regular basis. The outer circle of king's knights was made up of more independent figures retained for their influence in the localities.⁶ Seven of the 20 barons who were royal retainers were chamber knights, all holding one of the two senior lay offices in the household, five serving as steward and two acting as chamberlain. 14 of the barons retained by the king were king's knights. John, Lord Devereux was attached to the king as a king's knight in 1377 and then became a knight of the chamber by 1388, thereby moving from the outer circle to the inner one.

Richard II's baronial chamber knights included Lords Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Brian and Scrope of Bolton, who were all prominent from the start of the reign.⁷ Brian had been a notable member of Edward III's household, whilst Beauchamp of Abergavenny and Scrope of Bolton had both received fees from John of Gaunt. These were prominent members of a group that Given-Wilson categorised as Richard II's inherited chamber knights.⁸ Lords Clifford and Beauchamp of Kidderminster

⁴ Barons could also occasionally be found in the service of great ecclesiastical lords, for example William, Lord Thorpe was a retainer of Thomas Arundel (bishop of Ely, archbishop of York and archbishop of Canterbury): M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford, 1967), pp.200-2; R. C. Kinsey, 'The Thorpes of Northamptonshire, c.1200-1391: A Study of a Medieval Lawyer Family', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2009) (Forthcoming), ch.4. In parts of this section the sample group is 99, rather than the full 109 individual barons from Appendix 2, due to the parameter of death having occurred by 1425 being used in the methodology.

⁵ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), pp.282-6.

⁶ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.203-4.

⁷ For Richard II's chamber knights see: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.160-88.

⁸ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.161-2.

formed part of Given-Wilson's second chronological group, the king's 'new men' of the early to mid-1380s. Clifford was removed from court by the Appellants in 1387, while John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster was one of the less fortunate victims of the 'Merciless' Parliament. Beauchamp of Kidderminster's personal service to the king effectively earned him his promotion into the peerage, a very unpopular act of advancement. In contrast from this same period John, Lord Montagu (d.1390) was a very established figure and a former retainer of the Black Prince who was more acceptable to the opposition lords and survived the purges. A third chronological group who were considered less controversial came to prominence during the 1390s. This group only included one additional baron, John, Lord Devereux, who served as steward between 1388 and 1393. Devereux was an experienced diplomat and councillor and another figure with a history of service with the Black Prince. In all, barons contributed seven of the 49 identified chamber knights and high officers of the household from the reign, giving some idea of their significance in the king's inner circle. Although not formally recorded as chamber knights, the five other barons expelled from court by the Appellants along with Clifford (not actually a baron until his father's death in 1389) in 1387-8 were also evidently courtiers at that time. These were Lords Beaumont, Burnel, Camoys, Lovel and Zouche.⁹ Outside of the reign, Lords Latimer (chamberlain), Brian (steward), Neville of Raby (steward) and Arundel (chamber knight) were prominent courtiers under Edward III. Lords Grey of Codnor (chamberlain) and Heron (steward) were also senior household officers under Henry IV.

Whereas a baron's outer circle tended to be made up of gentry and yeomen from the local societies where they held land and whom they hoped would secure and extend their lordship in their 'country', the king's reasons for and patterns of retaining in the localities were slightly different and again on a much larger scale. Richard II, far more than Edward III, sought to retain lesser nobles and members of the upper gentry. The purpose of this was to directly harness the loyalty and influence of this broader

⁹ For those expelled from court by the Appellants in 1388 see: H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p.429; T. Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. i, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), p.849; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p.261; L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.231; J. L. Leland, 'The Abjuration of 1388', *Medieval Prosopography*, xv (1994), pp.115-38.

landowning class across the whole realm. They were men of ability and standing whom the king wished to utilise to his advantage and to build a following in regions.¹⁰ Given-Wilson has identified 149 king's knights, the top level of retainers in this outer circle who tended to receive annuities, rather than fees as the chamber knights did, from Richard II's reign.¹¹ Among these are 14 who were, or would become, barons. The pattern of retaining appears to follow a similar chronological pattern to that of the chamber knights. The early retainers, Lords Devereux, Cobham, Arundel (d.1379), Windsor and Talbot (d.1387), were largely established figures from Edward III's reign whom the king effectively inherited. Among those retained in the mid to late 1380s, when Richard II was personally beginning to become more active in attaching men to himself, were Lord Lovel and Sir John Montagu (d.1400). Lovel was probably more strongly linked with court, from where he was removed by the Appellants in 1388, than his position as king's knight suggests. Montagu (as earl of Salisbury) was one of Richard II's staunch loyalists between 1397 and 1400. Richard II really began retaining extensively from about 1389 in an attempt to secure a broader basis of support. Only four barons were retained during the whole of this second half of the reign – Lords Darcy, Talbot (d.1418), Beaumont and Neville of Raby. Darcy was an experienced soldier and his annuity was probably a straightforward reward for past service. Talbot was a young ward of Richard II's and his retention is possibly related to his grandfather's holding a similar position up until his death three years previously. Beaumont was another of the courtiers who were expelled in 1388, but was one of the least controversial figures from that time. Finally the Nevilles of Raby were a family with connections to court and the house of Lancaster. Richard II's parallel endowment of him with the earldom of Westmorland was evidence of his standing and favour during much of the 1390s. None of these figures were especially controversial and fitted with Richard II's apparent strategy of trying to reflect existing local power structures in the makeup of his affinity. No barons were retained after Neville in 1395 as, particularly from 1397, Richard II instead concentrated on undermining these existing power structures and imposing his own men by recruiting heavily from the lower gentry and almost solely in the north-west.¹²

¹⁰ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.217.

¹¹ For Richard II's retainers see: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.212-57.

¹² Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.255.

The barons attached to the king during the reign can therefore be seen to correlate with the underlying political developments. The more acceptable and consensual figures were recruited during the minority and following the Appellants purges, whilst in the mid-1380s Richard II was able to retain those more of his own choosing. During the final two years of the reign, Richard II's supporters consisted of the new titled nobles whom he had raised through patronage outside of this service route and lesser Cheshire men. His alienation of the nobles and upper gentry at this time was undoubtedly a reason for the success of the usurpation in 1399. Richard II's retaining patterns from the baronage provide further empirical evidence of this.

The other figure with such wide and penetrating retaining capabilities at this time was John of Gaunt. The structure and personnel of Gaunt's affinity has, like Richard II's, been much analysed.¹³ However, analysis of just the barons associated with him can impart further understanding of not only the nature of the baronage, but also the purpose and functioning of the affinity itself. Evidence survives to show that nine barons received fees from the duke of Lancaster.¹⁴ Lords Ros, Welles, Neville of Raby (d.1388) and Scrope of Bolton were all tenants of Gaunt's when he was the young earl of Richmond and made up what Walker described as a small and homogeneous group of senior retainers who played an important part in the affinity from its initial formation.¹⁵ De la Pole was also a Yorkshire man with early and enduring associations with Gaunt, while Dacre had connections to him through his estates in Lancashire. Beauchamp of Abergavenny and Talbot seem to have had slightly more removed relationships. Beauchamp of Abergavenny was the younger brother of the earl of Warwick and served under six lords in total as he sought to establish himself and enhance his position.¹⁶ Talbot was a reputed soldier who does not seem to have had any explicit peacetime connections with Gaunt.¹⁷ The final retainer, Ralph, Lord Neville, is only recorded as receiving an annuity from the Lancastrian estates after Gaunt's death when Richard II confirmed it in 1399, though he had effectively grown

¹³ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).

¹⁴ See Appendix 5.

¹⁵ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.27.

¹⁶ Beauchamp of Abergavenny also served Edward III, Richard II, the Black Prince, the earl of Cambridge, and his brother the earl of Warwick.

¹⁷ See Chapter 6.iv for more details on Talbot and his political associations.

up in Lancastrian service and his family's links with the duke were long established.¹⁸ Eight of the nine baronial retainers were repeatedly engaged for military expeditions under Gaunt. Lords Beauchamp (1367, 1370, 1372, 1373), Dacre (1369, 1372, 1373), de la Pole (1369, 1370, 1372, 1373, 1378), Neville of Raby (d.1388) (1367, 1369), Ros (1369, 1370, 1372, 1373, 1378), Scrope of Bolton (1359, 1367, 1369, 1373, 1384, 1385), Talbot (1373, 1386) and Welles (1369, 1372, 1373) all took out numerous protections to go overseas with the duke.¹⁹ This repeated employment demonstrates a high level of continuity between his peacetime affinity and the core of his campaigning retinue.

Association with Gaunt brought significant rewards to those in his service. The most explicit examples of these were Lords de la Pole, Neville of Raby (d.1388) and Scrope of Bolton. De la Pole, the son of a merchant, was promoted to the baronage, made one of the admirals of the fleet, served as chancellor and eventually became an earl, primarily as a result of the patronage of Gaunt. Such influential backing was also instrumental to the careers of Neville of Raby, who became Edward III's steward in the mid-1370s, and Scrope of Bolton, who was another central figure in the household and government in the 1370s, serving as treasurer, steward and chancellor.²⁰ The Scropes of Bolton were, like the de la Poles, also first raised to the peerage at this time. It is noticeable that the major phases of office-holding by these three retainers coincided with the dotage of Edward III and minority of Richard II, when Gaunt's influence was at its height. Another example of the benefit of a baron having such a powerful patron was the Scrope-Grosvenor dispute. While Grosvenor's deponents were drawn heavily from his kinship group and retainers, Gaunt mobilised the Lancastrian affinity for Scrope's cause. Not one of Scrope's deponents admitted to belonging to his own affinity, although some of them undoubtedly were members.²¹ However, when Gaunt gave his testament at Plymouth in 1386, 46 of those who were interviewed with him

¹⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1396-1399 (CPR)* (London, 1909), p.548; C. R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166-1400* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.130-8.

¹⁹ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.262-84. As will be discussed below, protections did not necessarily mean the individual actually went on campaign.

²⁰ For Scrope's royal service and Lancaster's role in this see: B. Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham, c.1300-1450: A Study of a Northern Noble Family', Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, York (1987), pp.78-87.

²¹ Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', p.102.

were Lancastrian retainers – 21 life retainers and the others recruited for the expedition on which he was about to embark.²²

Even for those already in the nobility, service with a lord as powerful as John of Gaunt could be of huge benefit. His baronial retainers tended to be men whom he had carried with him through his own career and rise to greatness – his tenants, neighbours and men who had served on campaign with him, rather than influential figures in the localities who he was actively seeking to recruit to harness their power. That he also had a spread of knights and esquires in his pay who did carry his influence, to some extent at least, into the localities is perhaps an important demarcation between his noble and gentry retainers.²³ In his two surviving registers there are only nine references to seven different barons among the 3057 indentures recorded.²⁴ Like the king's baronial retainers, Gaunt's barons were a select group retained for personal, martial or courtly reasons, not as local clients.

Gaunt's brother Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was another titled noble who can be seen to have had close personal and political connections to several members of the baronage. Lords Bardolf, Bourchier, Fitzwalter snr. (d.1386), Fitzwalter jnr. (d.1406), Morley and Scales were all neighbours of Gloucester's from Essex and East Anglia and seem to have formed a clique around that lord.²⁵ Fitzwalter snr. (1377-8, 1380-1), Fitzwalter jnr. (1391), Bourchier (1380-1, 1391) and Morley (1380-1, 1391) all served with Gloucester on expeditions he led. Of these six individuals Fitzwalter snr. seemed the most highly regarded. In 1377-8 he served in Gloucester's retinue, rather than leading his own, being listed directly beneath Gloucester (then earl of Buckingham) on the Muster Roll.²⁶ In 1380-1 he was marshal of Gloucester's army. He also acted as his deputy in March 1380, this time as constable

²² N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, vol. i (London, 1832), pp.49-72; Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', p.103.

²³ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.235-61.

²⁴ *John of Gaunt's Register 1372-76 (Reg. I)*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, xx-xxi, 1911); *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83 (Reg. II)*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, lvi-lvii, 1937). *Reg. I* has 1812 names, *Reg. II* has 1245.

²⁵ See Appendix 5; A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), pp.123-5. For Bourchier see: M. Jones, 'The Fortunes of War: The Military Career of John, Second Lord Bourchier (d.1400)', *Essex Archaeology and History*, xxvi (1995), pp.145-61. For Fitzwalter see: T. Moore, 'Walter, Fifth Lord Fitzwalter of Little Dunmow (Essex)', www.medievalsoldier.org/May2008.php (2008).

²⁶ E 101/38/2 m.1.

of England in a court martial case, and served with him as a trier of petitions concerning Gascony and overseas from 1378.²⁷ Morley, Bardolf and Scales all acted together in their desertion of Richard II for Bolingbroke at Shrewsbury in 1399. The most powerful demonstration of the devotion of this faction, though, came during Henry IV's first parliament, when Fitzwalter jnr. and Morley challenged to battle those complicit in the betrayal and death of Gloucester.²⁸ Morley appealed John Montagu, earl of Salisbury of treason while Fitzwalter did the same to Edward, duke of Aumale. Fitzwalter withdrew his appeal upon hearing that his key witness the duke of Norfolk had died on his return from exile.²⁹ Morley's case, though, proceeded to the Court of Chivalry and a date for a trial by battle was set. Ultimately Salisbury was killed in the Epiphany Rising a few weeks before the judicial combat was due to take place. However, these efforts by Gloucester's retainers to seek revenge on those they believed responsible for their lord's death demonstrates an association that must have more closely resembled a friendship group of comrades and neighbours than that of a patron and his clients.

The final cases where a strong link of lordship can be shown relate to the earls of Arundel and Northumberland.³⁰ Both Lords Falvesle and Heron were retainers of the earl of Arundel, serving with him on his naval campaigns of 1387 and 1388. Both also had peacetime association with Arundel through their successive marriages to Elizabeth the heiress of Lord Say. This brought them the manors of Buxted and Streat in Sussex, very much within the orbit of Arundel. These consecutive marriages of Elizabeth Say to two of his key retainers suggest that Arundel had some influence over the situation. In his will, William, Lord Heron acknowledged his service to both Arundel and the earl of Northumberland, as well as the king.³¹ Heron was originally from Northumberland so the Percy association is likely to have occurred earlier in his life. Ralph, Lord Lumley can also be found in the service of the earl of Northumberland on several

²⁷ T. Moore, 'Walter, Fifth Lord Fitzwalter'; *CPR 1377-81* (London, 1895), p.485.

²⁸ T. Walsingham, 'Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae', *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde, Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1866), pp.309-10, 313-14. This specific episode does not appear in the version of Walsingham's chronicle used by Preest and Clark: Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.313-14.

²⁹ M. H. Keen and M. Warner (eds.), 'Morley vs. Montagu (1399): A Case in the Court of Chivalry', *Camden Miscellany xxxiv* (Camden Soc, 5th series, x, 1997), pp.141-95.

³⁰ See Appendix 5; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18.

³¹ N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i (London, 1826), p.163.

occasions between 1385 and 1388. What Falvesle, Heron and Lumley have in common is that they were members of the gentry who rose into the baronage during Richard II's reign. It is hard to determine exactly how much the patronage and influence of their lords brought about their promotion, or how much the earls sought to utilise these already 'rising knights', but both factors would be important and complementary.

The sources used to demonstrate ties of lordship are far from definitive or consistent. Royal retainers are ascertained by references in Wardrobe account books to chamber knights and other references, especially in the Patent Rolls, to men being king's knights.³² For Gaunt's retainers there are two surviving volumes of his register for the periods 1371-4 and 1379-83, which are complemented by 42 further indentures that were enrolled in the Chancery.³³ The ties to Gloucester, Arundel and Northumberland have been determined largely by behavioural patterns which strongly suggest attachment. Other connections will have existed. For example, William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny was the brother of the earl of Warwick, as was John, Lord Montagu (d.1390) to the earl of Salisbury, Richard, Stafford of Clifton to the earl of Stafford, and John, Lord Arundel (d.1379) to the earl of Arundel. Although these brothers can sometimes be seen acting together - for example the Montagus in the defence of Poole in 1377 - none of these can really be described as lordly relationships.³⁴ In some regions other barons cannot have failed to fall under the influence of a large titled noble. For example, West Country barons like Lords Brian and Botreaux must have had close dealings with Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, even though there are only a few explicit references to service.³⁵ As will be explored more below, indentures and annuities were only two forms of the bonds of service which existed. An example of another involving a baron in service is Thomas, Lord Camoys. He was one of those purged from court by the Appellants in 1388 and is

³² Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.211-12.

³³ *Reg. I; Reg. II*; N. B. Lewis (ed.), 'Indentures of Retinue with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Enrolled in Chancery, 1367-1399', *Camden Miscellany xxii* (Camden Soc, 4th series, i, 1964), pp.77-112. Of the 42 indentures in Lewis, the only baronial one is for John, Lord Neville of Raby.

³⁴ J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. ii (London, 1815), p.161.

³⁵ M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, i (1979), pp.77, 83.

otherwise linked with the earl of Arundel, yet he is found wearing a Lancastrian livery collar on his effigy, an association otherwise unknown.³⁶

One final source of potential links of lordship is speculation from the alignment of individuals during the political upheavals of 1387-8 and 1399. With regard to 1387-8 both William, Lord Heron and Thomas, Lord Camoys were pardoned by Richard II in 1398 for adherence to Appellants, implying their allegiance to the earl of Arundel at that time.³⁷ Lords Lovel and (confusingly) Camoys were both removed from court in 1388, yet then served on Arundel's expedition later in the year. In 1399, Lords Ros, Willoughby, Greystoke, Furnival and Neville of Raby all demonstrated early loyalty towards Bolingbroke, composing what Biggs calls Lancastrians and Lancastrian allies.³⁸ Biggs also regards Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin as a Lancastrian complicit in Bolingbroke's invasion plan, as he left Richard II's service and abandoned his charge on the eve of the king's departure for Ireland.³⁹ Lords Montagu (then earl of Salisbury), Despenser (then earl of Gloucester) and Lumley showed their personal loyalty to Richard II, particularly their involvement in the Epiphany Rising early in Henry IV's reign. Finally Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1415), appeared firmly attached to the duke of York during this period of civil unrest.⁴⁰

Connections with members of the titled nobility did not always imply simple partisanship however. Although a friend and retainer of the duke of Gloucester, Lord Bourchier was also associated with another powerful Essex neighbour - Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford. In the Merciless Parliament of 1388 de Vere was one of the prime targets of the Appellants. Although Bourchier was present in the parliament, there is no record of his stance and he does not appear to have acted in any capacity for either side.⁴¹ Good relations were resumed with both parties afterwards, as he campaigned again with Gloucester in Prussia in 1391, while also assisting de Vere's widow avoid

³⁶ See Figure 4 in Chapter 7; N. Pepys, 'Who Lies Here? The Camoys Brasses in Trotton Church', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, xxxvii (1984), pp.110-13.

³⁷ C 67/30 m.3; C 67/31 m.11.

³⁸ D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (Leiden, 2006), p.6.

³⁹ Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, pp.49-50.

⁴⁰ Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, pp.135-6.

⁴¹ He did not, for example, in 1398 receive a pardon for adherence to the Appellants as Lords Heron and Camoys did.

the full consequences of the forfeiture against her husband.⁴² Although on a personal level this episode may have been difficult for Bourchier, politically there does not seem to have been concern over any conflict of loyalties and he was able to see through the turmoil by withdrawing and keeping aloof of the situation.

It can be seen therefore that only the greatest dukes and earls were able to retain barons. Even then though, these relationships were more ones of association, rather than clientage. The various links with the different lords have slightly different qualities to them. Whereas connections with Richard II tended to reflect political trends, Gaunt seemed to reward those who had burgeoned alongside him, Gloucester had a circle of friendly neighbours and comrades, and Arundel and Northumberland attracted and backed 'rising knights'. In almost every example of an explicit link between a titled noble and a baron, the service was evidently mutually beneficial. The results for barons of these associations appear overwhelmingly positive, with many obtaining promotions or offices which can in some way be attributed to the connection with their lord. Only when major domestic upheavals came about, as in 1387-8 and 1399, could connections become tainted with the accusations of opposition and loyalties called into question. At times like this, astute manoeuvring was required to avoid the fate that befell Lords Beauchamp of Kidderminster, Montagu (d.1400), Despenser and Lumley.

ii) Retaining

A variety of bonds existed which lords employed to attach men to their service.⁴³ The most formal tie was an indenture of retinue.⁴⁴ These outlined specific and limited conditions and rewards of service in times of war and times of peace, and were almost always contracts for life. Other than the Lancastrian ones, 32 private

⁴² Jones, 'The Fortunes of War', p152; *CPR 1391-1396* (London, 1905), p.305.

⁴³ For detailed discussions on types of bonds see: Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues', pp.29-39; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*.

⁴⁴ For indentures of retinue see: Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp.13-17, 131-43; M. Jones and S. Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476', *Camden Miscellany xxii* (Camden Soc, 5th series, iii, 1994), pp.11-33.

indentures survive for Richard II's reign.⁴⁵ In 24 of these dukes and earls were retaining men, while in seven it was barons who were retaining and in one it was a knight.⁴⁶ The surviving baronial private indentures are:

Lord	Retainer	Date
James, Lord Audley	Sir John Massey of Tatton	23 Sept 1377
Roger, Lord Clifford	John Lowther	26 Oct 1379
Walter, Lord Fitzwalter	Sir Alexander Walden	22 June 1385
Roger, Lord Clifford	Roger Hornby	13 Jan 1387
Thomas, Lord Despenser	John Wilcotes	29 Sept 1395
Thomas, Lord Despenser	William Daventry	1 Oct 1396
Thomas, Lord Despenser	William Hamme	27 Oct 1399 ⁴⁷

In almost all of these cases regional association can be seen to play a part. Massey was an influential Cheshire knight from Tatton, roughly 30 miles north of Audley's *caput* at Heighley in Staffordshire. Lowther was from an old Cumberland family and his two sons Robert and William would later go on to have strong associations with one of Clifford's main northern rivals, the Nevilles of Raby. Walden, like Fitzwalter, was an Essex man. Hornby held land in Westmorland where Clifford was his overlord. Of Despenser's three indentured retainers Wilcotes, the younger brother of fellow retainer William Wilcotes, was from Oxfordshire, as too was Hamme, whilst Daventry was a Northamptonshire knight. These western parts of Oxfordshire (Great Tew near Chipping Norton and Burford respectively) were within the orbit of (c.30 miles from) the important Despenser borough of Tewkesbury, and while Daventry was from the East Midlands, it was his tenure of Sherston in Wiltshire that brought him into contact with the Despensers.

Outside of Richard II's reign there are eight further indentures which survive involving baronial families from the sample for this study:⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', pp.1-190, esp. nos. 62-93. Jones and Walker note that there are 156 known surviving private indentures for the period 1278-1476, other than those of John of Gaunt and William, Lord Hastings: Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', p.10.

⁴⁶ Earls: Nottingham = 8, Warwick = 5, March = 4, Exeter = 2, Cambridge/York = 2, duke of Gloucester = 1, Arundel = 1, earl of Gloucester (Despenser) = 1. Knights: Sir Ivo Fitzwarin = 1. The barons' total includes one for Despenser after his promotion to earl of Gloucester.

⁴⁷ Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', nos. 63, 67, 73, 74, 84, 87, 93.

⁴⁸ Also of note is the appearance of Sir John Falvesle as a witness in an indenture between Edward, Lord Despenser and Sir Thomas Arthur in November 1372. Falvesle would go on to serve in Despenser's

Lord	Retainer	Date
Roger, Lord Clifford	Sir Robert Mowbray	28 Oct 1368
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	John Pirian	15 Feb 1400
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	Anthony Ricz	15 Feb 1400
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	Nicholas Aldrewich	15 Feb 1400
Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk	Sir William Berdewell	8 Feb 1401
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton	6 Aug 1404
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	John de Thorp	24 Apr 1406
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland	Richard Otway	21 June 1408 ⁴⁹

Again the regionalised nature of the associations in almost all these cases implies a level of local hegemony on behalf of the lords. Mowbray was from Cumberland, Berdewell from Suffolk, Grey of Heaton from Northumberland, Thorp was a tenant of the Honour of Richmond and Otway was from Seaton in Cumberland. Otherwise Pirian and Ricz were Bretons and their agreements with Neville of Raby resulted from the confused tenurial position of the Honour of Richmond, which the duke of Brittany had held prior to it being granted to Neville in October 1399. Pirian held land in Boston, a borough which was part of the Honour of Richmond, while Ricz was a councillor and servant of the duke. Though an Englishman, Aldrewich was also a servant and agent of the duke of Brittany and certainly his and Ricz's fees, if not all three, represent an effort at placation more than reward.

Indentures of retinue were generally stable ties founded on long-term service. So too were the more common annuities, which differed from indentures in that they were grants made by letters patent for more general and open-ended past and future services.⁵⁰ Unfortunately because virtually no private financial records survive, these cannot be traced for barons like royal ones can be, so further analysis is not really possible.

The third type of formal bond between lord and man was the wearing of livery.⁵¹ These ties were far less defined and though references to them exist in

retinue during Gaunt's expedition to France in July 1373: Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', no. 57; E 101/32/26.

⁴⁹ Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', nos. 52, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102, 105.

⁵⁰ For annuities see: Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp.13-17, 129-31.

⁵¹ For liveries see: Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp.17-22, 143-6.

petitions and legislation, it is very difficult, again in the absence of baronial archives, to make a systematic study of them.⁵² However barons were certainly involved in this practice as well as titled nobles. In the statute of 1390 which dealt in detail with issues regarding retinues, the right to give out livery was limited to those of banneret rank upwards.⁵³ The perceived need for such action implies that those beneath this rank had been granting liveries and this practice was being curbed. On his effigy Thomas, Lord Berkeley can be seen wearing his own livery collar which has on it four mermaids, an emblem of the Berkeley family.⁵⁴ This is a demonstration that, although nowhere near the scale of their titled counterparts, fully developed baronial affinities were a reality and did play a role in local affairs.

These formal methods of retaining were only one form of the bonds of service which existed. Tenurial relationships were also still very significant in terms of exercising lordship and distributing patronage, as too were appointments to senior household and estate administrative posts. Local hegemony could certainly be maintained without resorting to formal contracts of service.⁵⁵ With the sparse survival of documentation relating to these formal contracts, other clues have to be sought to build up a picture, if not of the baronial affinity, then at least of some of the power structures and relations that existed. This can be done by searching for more informal connections between barons and the county elite.

Connections with members of the upper gentry were essential to barons' influence and power within the regions where they possessed concentrations of land and were attempting to impose lordship. These knights were the individuals who could

⁵² Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p.17.

⁵³ R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace, 1388-90', in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp.131-52; Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues', p.30; N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History*, ix (1990), pp.302-15.

⁵⁴ See Figure 2 in Chapter 6; Smyth *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.356; Saul, 'The Commons', p.308; N. Saul, 'Brass of the Month, June 2006: Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 1392', www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page127.html (2006). Saul disagrees with himself in these two articles. In the former he follows Smyth by saying that the mermaid was on the family's coat of arms had appeared on his grandfather Thomas' (d.1361) seal, whereas in the latter he states that it might allude to Thomas, Lord Berkeley's (d.1417) office of admiral to which he was appointed in 1403.

⁵⁵ Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', pp.12-13; Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls', pp.71-97; S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp.95-8, 140-7, 195-200.

most effectively do their bidding in political, military and administrative capacities. By establishing lordship over these, barons could endeavour to control their localities. In return for 'good lordship', a baron could harness the abilities and standing of these county elites for their own interests. This support however was not guaranteed and had to be earned. Lord Despenser is one example of a lord who did not do this and he was consequently entirely unable to rally any support in his Glamorgan heartland during the crisis of 1399.⁵⁶

It has been estimated using the 1436 graduated income tax that there were at that time 933 knights and approximately 1200 esquires in England, or between 50-70 substantial to middling gentlemen active in most counties.⁵⁷ In terms of an individual baron's retinue one example, John Talbot's (Lord Furnival from 1407 and later earl of Shrewsbury), has been shown to have included around 20 knights and esquires in his youth, rising to around 35 later in life.⁵⁸ This compares to Gaunt's 202 and the duke of York's c.40.⁵⁹ Ross in his study of the Yorkshire baronage in Lancastrian England suggested that while a magnate of exceptional wealth could employ many knights and esquires, a large proportion of baronial retainers were instead of yeomen status.⁶⁰ The gentry retainers were however the most important and therefore the more valuable to trace.

It is generally regarded that office holding can be used as a measure of gentry status and that the administrative elite in a county were also its social elite - the upper gentry.⁶¹ Therefore to attempt to quantify and qualify these relationships it is a valuable exercise to trace the connections between barons and county office holders. The invaluable research undertaken for the very extensive survey of MPs of the period *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, allows about as

⁵⁶ M. J. Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation: The Despensers, c.1281-1400', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2005), pp.115-17.

⁵⁷ H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xlix (1934), p.630; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.251.

⁵⁸ A. J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', Unpublished PhD thesis, Bristol (1968), pp.216-17.

⁵⁹ C. D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford (1950), p.338.

⁶⁰ Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp.338-9.

⁶¹ J. A. Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century', in J. A. Tuck and A. Goodman (eds.), *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p.184; C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), ch.3.

comprehensive as possible a collation and comparison of baron-upper gentry connections.⁶² Although other county offices, particularly those of sheriff, escheator and justice of the peace, are also important markers of local standing, because no comparable works of biography of these individuals exists, it is not feasible to undertake such a broad search for connections with these figures.⁶³ However those who held these offices and the MPs returned were not mutually exclusive and those who undertook all four roles were drawn from the same pool of county elites. The baronial impact upon or links with those specifically serving as justices of the peace, sheriffs and escheators will however been explored on a more manageable individual county level in Chapters 6 and 7.

Although far from exact, collating lists of those identified as having connections with barons is a way of establishing the networks and patterns of association that underlay local society. This information comes from sources such as estate records, parliamentary writs, court records, witness lists, ancient deeds and protection letters. Using *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, which collates this information, connections have been deemed to exist where references are found to: indentured retainers, annuities, liveries, feoffees, trustees, sureties, executors, legal advisers/representative, military service, tenants or family relations. While some of these connections, such as indentured retainers and annuities, indicate firm and enduring service, other connections are more tenuous. Connections also should certainly not imply allegiance or shared political outlook. A nephew or son-in-law would not for example necessarily have good relations with the head of the family, even though the link is obvious. Wartime service was a less permanent tie and men could simply bind themselves for a campaign. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between retainers already in service who followed their lords abroad, and professional soldiers following whichever lords could provide them with the most suitable employment. The rank and

⁶² J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (4 Volumes, Stroud, 1992).

⁶³ These office holders are however listed in: 'List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to AD 1831', compiled by A. Hughes, *List and Index Society*, ix (New York, 1963, reprint of London, 1898 edition); 'List of Escheators for England and Wales with the dates of Appointment', complied by A. C. Wood, *List and Index Society*, lxxii (London, 1971, reprint of London, 1932 edition). MPs are listed in: 'Return of Names of Members of Lower House of Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, with Names of Constituency and Date of Return, 1213-1874', *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* (London, 1878, lxxii – 3 parts).

file on expeditions tended to bear no resemblance to those associated with a lord in peacetime. There is sometimes evidence of a strong degree of continuity within the knightly element, but their service was not usually exclusively reserved just for that one lord. Professional lawyers and clerks were retained, but these men would not necessarily give exclusive service and were also liable to rise into the service of greater lords and even royal service as their talent directed.⁶⁴ In martial, legal and administrative areas, service was therefore very fluid. The identification of these connections is also determined to a large extent by the chance survival of sources. Therefore many more connections are likely to have existed which cannot now be established.

In the 3173 biographies in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, there are 783 connections identified between MPs and the 66 baronial families in this study. These have all been listed in Appendix 6.⁶⁵ 672 of the connections are between barons and shire knights, 33 with men who at different times represented both counties and boroughs, and 78 with burgesses. That is an average of just under 12 connections per family from this 35-year period. A number of the MPs had links with more than one baronial family. Therefore it can be seen that 524 individual MPs were retained by barons. This means that there is evidence to show that 16.5% of the total number of MPs from this period had connections to barons. Of these 524, 430 were shire knights, 25 were both shire knights and burgesses, and 69 were just burgesses.

Using this data, the biggest retainers of members of the gentry were the Nevilles of Raby (36), Greys of Ruthin (33), Montagus (31), Cromwells (28), de la Poles (25), Despensers (S. Wales) (25) and Fitzwalters (25). The Nevilles of Raby, Montagus, de la Poles and Despensers all rose into the titled nobility during this period so had the financial and landed resources to bring a significant number of knights and esquires into their service. Although the Greys of Ruthin were primarily a Shropshire family, they

⁶⁴ Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp.344-9.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 6. For other calculations and analysis deriving from the *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* resource see: L. Clark, 'Magnates and their Affinities in the Parliaments of 1386-1421' in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), pp.127-53.

were also the leading landowner in Bedfordshire and it is from this county that a large number of their retainers were drawn. The other reasons for their high number of connections is the heavy involvement of Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin in the Glendower Revolt early in Henry IV's reign. Not only was he active in recruiting men to serve on the Welsh March, but following his capture in 1402 he became involved with numerous members of the gentry as a result of having to obtain securities for his release and his subsequent endeavours to sell property to raise his ransom. Although the Cromwells were not an especially powerful family during Richard II's reign, Ralph, Lord Cromwell (d.1417) was a prominent councillor under Henry IV, whilst his successor Ralph (d.1455) was treasurer under Henry VI. Both were, as a result of these positions and their general heightened stature, regularly appointed as feoffees and sureties and similarly had other prominent figures act as theirs, which accounts for many of their connections. This unexpectedly high ranking of the Cromwells is therefore caused by the source material not quite aligning chronologically with the period of this study, a factor inherent but unavoidable in all these findings. The Fitzwalters were significant landholders, particularly in Essex where many of their associations derive from. They were also a notable military family and their peacetime connections appear to have been supplemented by a number of bonds established while campaigning. At the other end of the scale the Lisles, Furnivals,⁶⁶ Ferrers of Wem, Falvesles, Despensers (Lincs.), Seymours, Lumleys and Deincourts have virtually no recorded connections. The Lisles, Furnivals, Ferrers of Wem and Deincourts had all died out during the early 1380s, at least a few years before the source survey begins. The Falvesles, Despensers, Seymours and Lumleys were minor baronial families who had all, except the Seymours, only been raised into the peerage during Richard II's reign.

Of the 524 MPs identified as having connections to barons, 340 served only one baron, 128 served two, 42 served three, 10 served four, three served five and one served six.⁶⁷ William Burley was the MP with the most baronial connections. Burley was a

⁶⁶ William, Lord Furnival of Sheffield only. Lords Neville of Hallamshire and Talbot who also became Lord Furnival have been dealt with separately.

⁶⁷ 6 = William Burley; 5 = Sir Gerard Braybrook I, Sir Ralph Euer, Sir Thomas Willoughby; 4 = Sir John Bussy, Sir Edmund de la Pole, Sir Edmund Hastings, Sir Gerard Braybrook II, Sir John Berkeley I, Sir John Grendore, Sir John le Scrope, Sir Philip de la Vache, Sir Robert Neville, Sir William Bardwell.

Shropshire knight who is described as a lawyer of exceptional ability and councillor to some of the leading magnates of the realm, including Lords Strange of Knockyn, Talbot, Burnel, Grey of Wilton, Neville of Hallamshire and Audley, all families with Shropshire interests. Sir Gerard Braybrooke I from Bedfordshire was a soldier with strong connections to the Black Prince, the duke of Gloucester and the Cobhams and was essentially all but baronial in wealth, influence and social standing. Braybrook also had links with Lords Basset, Latimer, Beauchamp of Abergavenny and Grey of Ruthin. Sir Ralph Euer also had five baronial connections, with the northern Lords Latimer, Fitzhugh, Clifford, Greystoke and Neville of Raby. Euer represented both Northumberland and Yorkshire and was one of the richest and most powerful members of the northern gentry in the period. The final MP with five connections to barons was Sir Thomas Willoughby. Willoughby was a younger son of the Lincolnshire baronial family and although he had a comparatively modest income, he was able to exploit the considerable influence which his family exercised. As a result he had connections with important midland barons such as Lords Zouche, Ros and his father, as well as Lords Latimer and Neville of Raby. Even this brief snapshot of some of the most connected MPs demonstrates a number of the key qualities for which gentry service was sought – legal expertise, martial service, local political influence and cadet links to powerful families. The regional orientation of the majority of those associations was also very marked; MPs were clearly being drawn into the service of the greatest lord in their locality. Where there were two competing lords in one region, such as Berkeley and Despenser in Gloucestershire, men such as the lawyer Richard Ruyhale and local landowner Robert Poyntz did well to foster relations with both lords.⁶⁸

To avoid concentrating on the extraordinary retaining, a regional case study will help illustrate more normal patterns. Five members of the aristocracy were resident in Northern England (Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland) during this period. The only titled noble for the majority of the time was Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. The second most powerful family were the Nevilles of Raby who rose into the titled nobility when Ralph Neville became earl of Westmorland in 1397.

⁶⁸ For more discussion on Gloucestershire power relations and retaining see Chapter 6.ii and iv; N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981).

The Cliffords, Greystokes and Dacres were the other northern members of the peerage.⁶⁹

It was been suggested that the earl of Northumberland was able to count on the support of some 20 knights and esquire, most of whom were indentured retainers, plus a much larger number of yeomen.⁷⁰ The Percies had established themselves as the greatest landowners in Northumberland under Edward III, particularly towards the end of the reign through their acquisition of the Strathbogie and Umfraville lands.⁷¹ However throughout Richard II's reign they are seen to continue to rely heavily on retainers drawn from their Yorkshire and Cumberland lands.⁷² Percy, as newly promoted earl of Northumberland, was endeavouring to build up his own affinity in what was otherwise a region largely independent of magnate influence. From 1379, when he was appointed the king's lieutenant in the Scottish Marches, John of Gaunt was also seeking to build a Northumbrian affinity and entered into direct competition for retainers with Percy, particularly in the period 1381-6. Neither was particularly successful at dominating Northumbrian political society nor establishing an effective local hegemony.⁷³ From the mid-1380s when he turned his attentions to Iberia, Gaunt appears to have lost interest in the Scottish Marches. To protect his interests in the region he utilised and enhanced the position of his main northern retainer John, Lord Neville of Raby.⁷⁴ Gaunt and Neville are even seen to have shared retainers and household officers due to their connections and the proximity of their estates, to the

⁶⁹ Vale also highlights the Crown's cultivation of the Scropes of Bolton to strength the position of the family in northern border politics vis-à-vis the Percies and Neville: Vale, 'The Scropes of Masham and Bolton', p.87.

⁷⁰ Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p.339.

⁷¹ For the Percy family see: J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958); Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp.79-99.

⁷² Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community', pp.178-95; A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-c.1408', Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham (2001), pp.205-6.

⁷³ Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community', p.191; King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society', pp.206-15. As King notes with reference to the revolts of Henry IV's reign, the Percies 'could undoubtedly bring the gentry of Northumberland out against the Scots...but they could not bring them out against the king': King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society', p.233.

⁷⁴ M. Arvanigian, 'Henry IV, the Northern Nobility and the Consolidation of the Regime', in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.117-38; M. Arvanigian, 'The "Lancastrianization" of the North in the Reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413', in D. Biggs, S. D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2004), pp.9-38; M. Arvanigian, 'A Lancastrian Polity? John of Gaunt, John Neville and the war with France, 1368-88', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England III* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.121-42; R. L. Storey, 'The North of England', in S. B Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), pp.129-44.

extent that further south in North Yorkshire ‘so many gentlemen wore livery of both...that it was difficult to tell where the Neville affinity began and the Lancastrian affinity ended’.⁷⁵ During the 1390s both the Nevilles and also Richard II were competing influences in the region for the Percies and were actively seeking to retain prominent individuals there.⁷⁶

The Nevilles of Raby were, according to the findings of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, the biggest baronial retainers in the country.⁷⁷ Connections can be established between them and 36 MPs. Nine of these served as MPs in Yorkshire (including the city of York), eight in Cumberland (including Carlisle), five in Northumberland and four Westmorland (including Appleby). The Nevilles as lords of Raby and Middleham were the greatest family in Yorkshire and Durham at this time. However, they only extended their interests into Westmorland when they were granted the Honour of Penrith in 1397, only held two manors in Cumberland up to 1405, and held very little else outside their Yorkshire-Durham bloc.⁷⁸ The numerous retainers from southern and midland counties became associated with the family for a variety of reasons, including Ralph Lord Neville’s position at court during Henry IV’s reign (Norbury), his post as marshal of England (Mauleverer), military commissions (Fastolf, Lisle, Roches, Sandys) and land/inheritance matters (Scott, Vernon, Walsall). Sir Thomas Willoughby was related to the family through marriage, Sir John Chalers had been a ward of theirs and others such as Clitheroe and Darell were northern associates of the family who ended up representing Kent. In general though it was the family’s stature and influence, particularly after their promotion to the earldom, that brought a broader range of upper gentry into their network alongside those with geographical reasons to seek their lordship.

⁷⁵ Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.181.

⁷⁶ For Richard II’s general gentry retaining policy in the 1390s see: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.212-17.

⁷⁷ For the Neville family see: Young, *The Making of the Neville Family*; Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, pp.1-78.

⁷⁸ Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby was granted Penrith for life on 29 November 1396 and then in tail male on 7 October 1397: *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.39, 267; Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, p.4.

While Richard II followed Gaunt in raising the Nevilles, particularly in west Cumberland, as a counterpoise to the Percies, he was incidentally alienating the Cliffords.⁷⁹ The Cliffords had held the Lordship of Westmorland since 1291 and their principal residences at Appleby and Brougham were just 14 and three miles respectively from the new Neville grant of Penrith.⁸⁰ This was particularly untimely because the Cliffords suffered a 19-year extended minority between 1391 and 1411, while between 1391 and 1394 there were three and between 1394 and 1402 two dowagers drawing from the estates. One demonstration of this transfer of power at this time was the Cliffords' hereditary office of the shrievalty of Westmorland being granted out for life to the new earl of Westmorland in 1397.⁸¹ The Cliffords would later in the fifteenth century ally themselves with the Percies against the Nevilles and eventually recover their position and gain promotion themselves to the earldom of Cumberland in 1525. However, in spite of this blip in their power, the Cliffords still had 18 identifiable connections with members of the upper gentry, placing them joint eighteenth out of 66 of all the barons of England. Lady Elizabeth Clifford is noted for her strong character and determination during the minority of her son John, and she continued to retain many of the servants of her husband and those who had been with his father before him.⁸² The most striking thing about the Clifford network is how concentrated it was in Westmorland. 15 out of the 18 MPs associated with the Cliffords were knights of the shire for Westmorland.⁸³ Only Hugh Burgh (Shropshire), Sir Ralph Euer (Northumberland and Yorkshire) and Thomas Mandeville (Leicestershire) did not represent the county. Burgh was actually from Westmorland and acted as an attorney for the family, Euer was related to them by marriage and Mandeville was a ward of the family. This strong relationship with the Westmorland gentry was partly due to the pre-1397 landed dominance of the Cliffords. According to the findings in Chapter 4, the Cliffords held every baronial manor in the county with the exception of one or two each from the Cumberland-based Greystokes and Dacres.⁸⁴ The hereditary shrievalty that they possessed was also unique, with only

⁷⁹ J. A. Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility', *Northern History*, xxii (1986), pp.14-15. For the Clifford family see: V. J. C. Rees, 'The Clifford Family in the Later Middle Ages, 1259-1461', Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Lancaster (1973), esp. pp.81-142; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp.235-50.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1396-1399*, p.267.

⁸¹ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.361-2.

⁸² Rees, 'The Clifford Family', pp.130-1.

⁸³ Clark calculates 14 but I have also included Christopher Curwen who represented Appleby: Clark, 'Magnates and their Affinities', p.129.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 4.i and Appendix 3.

the earls of Warwick and the duke of Lancaster having comparable control over parliamentary elections in Worcestershire and Lancashire respectively. To what extent this power obliged the local gentry to seek relations with the Cliffords if they had parliamentary aspirations, as opposed to it simply formalising the Cliffords' existing hegemony, is hard to tell. It is evident though that the border situation during the fourteenth century had allowed the Cliffords to establish practically a private fiefdom in the county. Four MPs, Robert Crackenthorpe, Sir Ralph Euer, Christopher Moresby and Sir Thomas Musgrave, are found in the service of both the Cliffords and the Nevilles. This intimates either something about the changing power balance in the region, or at least about the need for knights to be on good terms with both lords to guarantee their political and business fortunes.

The Greystokes and Dacres were minor baronial families in comparison to the Nevilles and Cliffords. The Greystokes were from Cumberland and held land in all three northern counties and Yorkshire, while the Dacres were also a Cumberland family with estates in Westmorland and Lancashire. Both families had links with the Duchy of Lancaster, Hugh, Lord Dacre was an indentured retainer of John of Gaunt for more than a decade, while Ralph, Lord Greystoke served in his retinue on the Scottish Marches for two years.⁸⁵ Connections can be found between the Greystokes and eight MPs. All eight were from counties where the Greystokes held land, while four of the connections were shared with the Cliffords and two with the Nevilles. The Dacres can be linked to nine members of the gentry – seven from Westmorland or Cumberland (including Carlisle), plus Sir Roger Fiennes from Sussex and Thomas Santon from Yorkshire. Fiennes was related by marriage and Santon pledged for him at an Assize Court in York. Three of those linked with the Dacres were also associated with the Cliffords, two with the Nevilles and one with the Greystokes, again demonstrating the fluidity of connections.

The individual county networks and the respective balances of power that they imply can also be outlined. There were 24 connections between Cumberland (including Carlisle) MPs and barons – eight with the Nevilles, six with the Cliffords, five with the

⁸⁵ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.17.

Dacres, one with the Greystokes and four with other outside barons.⁸⁶ In Northumberland (including Newcastle-upon-Tyne) there were 21 connections – five with the Nevilles, three with the Greystokes, one with the Cliffords and 12 with other barons.⁸⁷ In Westmorland (including Appleby) 15 of the 39 connections were with the Cliffords, there were four each with the Nevilles, Dacres and Greystokes and 12 with other barons.⁸⁸ This reinforces the picture of the Cliffords' dominance of Westmorland and the broader regional influence of the Nevilles.

So far connections and retaining have been discussed largely in a local context. As the connections explored have been those with MPs, it is important to address the matter of the potential baronial influence over the lower chamber of parliament. If 16.5% of MPs from this period had known association with members of the baronage, it is at least conceivable that their influence could on occasions be brought to bear. At a higher level John of Gaunt was accused of trying to pack parliament with his men in 1377, whilst the articles of deposition against Richard II accused him of interfering with the elections to the 1397 parliament.⁸⁹ However analysis of royal, Lancastrian and other nobles' affinities in parliament have shown that it tended to be a natural consequence of retaining already prominent men that increased their number of associates, rather than any deliberate policy or attempt at interference.⁹⁰ The situation in different counties varied and Clark has judged that in eight out of the 37 counties where MPs were returned, representatives were dominated by a particular seigniorial affinity (including Westmorland), whereas in roughly the same number of counties a strong gentry community and absence of resident magnates meant there was little scope for outside intervention, with the remaining counties falling somewhere between.⁹¹ But

⁸⁶ Montagu, Aldeburgh, Scrope of Bolton and Windsor.

⁸⁷ Latimer (2), St Amand, Fitzwalter, Grey of Wilton, Scrope of Masham, Grey of Ruthin, Heron, Lumley, Darcy, Mauley and Fitzhugh.

⁸⁸ Harington (3), Windsor (3), Scrope of Bolton (2), Deincourt, Montagu, de la Pole and Willoughby.

⁸⁹ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.246; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.69, 71; Wedgewood, 'John of Gaunt and the Packing of Parliament', *English Historical Review*, xlvi (1930), pp.623–5; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii (London, 1783), p.420; C. Given Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of 1399 (October), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 36; A. Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), p.191; Walsingham, 'Annales Ricardi Secundi', p.302. The specific articles do not appear in the version of Walsingham's chronicle used by Preest and Clark: Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.310-11.

⁹⁰ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.246-8; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.237-41; Clark, 'Magnates and their Affinities', pp.127-53.

⁹¹ Clark, 'Magnates and their Affinities', p.133.

even where magnate hegemony was paramount, there is little evidence that affinities were used as political forces in national affairs, and this would be even less the case for barons.⁹² Therefore while connections between barons and MPs in the lower house may have aided communications and relations between the two chambers, there is no real evidence of significant political factions deriving from these bonds or the ‘political independence’ of MPs being compromised.⁹³

As was explored in Chapter 3, there were several private petitions submitted by barons which were enrolled in the parliamentary proceedings.⁹⁴ These private petitions were sponsored, meaning they were enrolled on the parliament roll separate from the common petitions and distinct from ordinary private petitions.⁹⁵ The Commons could sponsor ordinary private petitions which meant they would bypass the receivers and auditors and be forwarded directly for the consideration of the king and council. The petitions presented by the nobility, a high proportion of the total sponsored private petitions, were also sponsored and forwarded by the Commons.⁹⁶ It is not really conceivable that a lord would require the Commons’ support to gain the attention of the king regarding their private grievance. They had no need to go to the Commons as supplicants or to rely on their support. Instead this process can be explained in terms of the political symbolism which the support brought to the petition. The Commons’ support was simply useful and petitions coming via the lower chamber gained prestige.⁹⁷ As this then was essentially symbolic, it should not be used as evidence of

⁹² Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.239.

⁹³ G. Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry: The English Parliament, 1369-1421’ Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1998), pp.153-8

⁹⁴ See Chapter 3.i; Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry’, pp.157, 193-200; G. Dodd, ‘The Hidden Presence: Parliament and the Private Petition in the Fourteenth Century’, in A. Musson (ed.), *Expectations of the Law in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.135-49; G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), pp.156-66.

⁹⁵ Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry’, p.194.

⁹⁶ A. R. Myers, ‘Parliamentary Petitions in the Fifteenth Century’, *English Historical Review*, lii (1937), pp.385-404, 590-613, esp. pp.398-404; Clark, ‘Magnates and their Affinities’, p.142; W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), p.35.

⁹⁷ Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p.184. Dodd has revised his earlier interpretation of this peculiarity. Initially he suggested that petitions submitted by lords were not in reality actually sponsored and forwarded by the Commons. He stated that as lords already had direct access to the king and council, their private petitions would instead have been handed straight to the clerk of parliament for the consideration of the upper chamber. This previous analysis concluded that they were therefore recorded alongside those that were actually sponsored by the Commons because both had bypassed the receivers and auditors: Dodd, ‘Crown, Magnates and Gentry’, pp.198-9.

barons and other lords utilising their connections within the lower chamber to get private business done in parliament.

iii) Military Service

Traditionally the reign of Richard II is not seen as a phase of the Hundred Years War notable for military activity.⁹⁸ There were no great battles like the 1340s and 1350s. In 1389 a truce was made between England and France which lasted, with renewals, until 1415. This was the longest break in hostilities since the conflict began in 1337. Before this, during the first 12 years of Richard II's reign and in fact since peace had broken down in 1369, operations in the so called 'Caroline War' were mainly limited to naval activity and chevauchées. It was a period when England's territorial gains secured in the 1360 Treaty of Brétigny were reversed. This was to a large extent the result of the absence of any royal expeditions due to Edward III's dotage and Richard II's minority. Even in adulthood though Richard II is seen to be of a peace-loving nature, or at least Francophile in outlook.⁹⁹ In 1385 he came under criticism from his uncles for his reluctance to lead an expedition to France, preferring to continue his chancellor Michael, Lord de la Pole's rapprochement policy.¹⁰⁰ The nobles of this period were the sons and grandsons of those who had fought at Sluys, Crécy and Poitiers. The perception at least of a shift away from the pursuit of war with France and the martial values of Edward III and his aristocratic comrades, was a major source of animosity towards the king, particularly for the senior Appellants in their opposition of 1386-8.

However, in spite of this, there were still 12 notable military expeditions during the 22-year reign:¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Both Bennett in the General Editor's Preface and Bell talk about the tendency for historians to concentrate on periods of great battles and English victories: A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. ix-x, 1-2.

⁹⁹ C. Barron, 'The Art of Kingship: Richard II, 1377-1399', *History Today*, xxxv (vi) (1985), pp. 30-7; N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp. 351-3; N. Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II', in A. Goodman and J. L. Gillespie, *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 37-58; C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-1399* (Oxford, 2008).

¹⁰⁰ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 112; J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-1399* (London, 1972), p. 81.

¹⁰¹ For full details of foreign policy and warfare during Richard II's reign see: Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*; J. Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London, 1994); Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*; A. Ayton, *Knight and Warhorses* (Woodbridge, 1994);

Year	Destination	Commander
1377-8	Naval (Relief of Brest)	Earl of Buckingham
1378	Naval (Spain (Navarre) and attack on St Malo)	Duke of Lancaster/Earl of Arundel
1379	Brittany	Duke of Brittany
1380-1	Brittany	Earl of Buckingham
1381	Portugal	Earl of Cambridge
1383	Flanders	Bishop Despenser
1385	Scotland	Richard II
1386	Castile	Duke of Lancaster
1387	Naval (Sluys and Brest)	Earl of Arundel
1388	Naval (Brittany-Normandy coast and La Rochelle)	Earl of Arundel
1394	Ireland	Richard II
1399	Ireland	Richard II

Palmer has also described this part of the war as being both unremitting and more intensive than the preceding ‘Edwardian War’, with campaigns being longer and more arduous. He also notes the marked increase in naval activity in this period and the wider geographical spread of operations.¹⁰² Amongst these 12 expeditions were three royal-led campaigns against England’s Celtic neighbours, one of which saw the assembly of the third largest army led by any English king in the fourteenth century.¹⁰³ These expeditions, listed in Appendix 7 along with the barons recorded as participating in them, are not exhaustive. While they are the major expeditions, there were also frequent naval skirmishes, such as that involving the admiral of the northern fleet Philip, Lord Darcy in 1386, when during a defensive operation he captured six Genoese ships.¹⁰⁴ There were also numerous coastal and border raids, the latter of which tended to occur perpetually in the north, even during periods when truces were in place.¹⁰⁵ For

Bell, *War and the Soldier*; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*; J. L. Gillespie, ‘Richard II: King of Battles?’, in J. L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp.139-64; N. B. Lewis, ‘The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385’, *English Historical Review*, lxxiii (1958), pp.1-26; J. J. N. Palmer, ‘The Last Summons of the Feudal Army in England (1385)’, *English Historical Review*, lxxxiii (1968), pp.771-5; N. B. Lewis and J. J. N. Palmer, ‘The Feudal Summons of 1385’, *English Historical Review*, c (1985), pp.729-46; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (Harlow, 1992), ch.7; E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5* (Oxford, 1927); J. F. Lydon, ‘Richard II’s Expeditions to Ireland’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xcii (1963), pp.135-49.

¹⁰² Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp.1-2.

¹⁰³ Lewis, ‘The Last Medieval Summons’, pp.5-6; Gillespie, ‘Richard II: King of Battles?’, p.139.

¹⁰⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.793-5; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.347; Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, p.347.

¹⁰⁵ J. A. Tuck, ‘Richard II and the Border Magnates’, *Northern History*, iii (1968), pp.39-40.

the purpose of this study crusades have also been excluded, since like border raids into Scotland, these were essentially private, rather than public, undertakings.¹⁰⁶ Military service is here defined as public enterprise – the undertaking of a martial cause directly on behalf of the king and realm. For this reason the two brief periods of civil military conflict in 1387 and 1399 have similarly not been considered in this section. This criterion is particularly important as looking at military service, rather than military activity, enables exploration of the concept of the baronage as a service aristocracy.

The record of baronial involvement in these 12 expeditions is determined by and limited by the survival of sources. There is no consistent or definitive record of service. Therefore the names of those barons involved have been collated from a variety of references including Muster Rolls, Indentures of War, records of protection and chronicle evidence and presented in Appendix 7.¹⁰⁷ The Muster Rolls are few and imperfect in coverage, but they do give very detailed information where they survive. The indentured contracts are an incomplete collection and also only give the proposed, rather than mustered, retinue sizes. Protections are even less reliable records of those involved in campaigns as they are simply statements of intent, rather than evidence of any service. Therefore although it can be said with some degree of confidence that the majority of captains can be accounted for, these lists are far from exact and particularly many younger lords serving in the retinues of other magnates may be missing. For example, about the only record of Thomas, Lord Berkeley serving in the campaigns of the late 1370s and early 1380s comes from the archives of Berkeley Castle.¹⁰⁸ This archive is a unique survival and no comparable records exist for any other baron from this period to provide corresponding information. Similarly many other barons' involvement is only known by chance references in chronicles, with no record in government accounts. There are also clear mistakes in some of the sources, with Froissart mentioning William, Lord Windsor being in Spain with Gaunt in 1386, two

¹⁰⁶ For more on crusading careers at this time see: T. Jones, *Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (London, 1980); M. H. Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp.45-61.

¹⁰⁷ More details on the range of sources used are also set out in Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁸ J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. ii, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1882), pp.7-8. There are also surviving Letters of Protection and Powers of Attorney for the 1378 and 1381 campaigns: C 76/65 m.13; C 76/65 m.17; C 76/63 m.19; C 76/65 m.15.

years after his death, and an Issue Roll from 1385 listing Roger, Lord Strange who had died in 1382, rather than his son John.¹⁰⁹ There are more uncertainties regarding other sources too - for instance Froissart notes John, Lord Bourchier's presence on John, Lord Arundel's expedition in 1379. This however would have broken the terms of his discharge from prison following his capture in 1371 or 1372 and later ransom, something which he does not seem to have done.¹¹⁰ The figures calculated therefore are not exact and can only be a guide to baronial military service.

According to Appendix 7, there were 127 baronial representatives recorded serving on the 12 expeditions in total, an average of 10.58 on each.¹¹¹ These range from 24 on the Scottish expedition of 1385 when writs of summons to a general feudal levy were issued, to two on Bishop Despenser's disastrous Flanders campaign of 1383 where the assistance of any secular lord in the role of king's lieutenant was refused.¹¹² This figure of 10.58 is interesting when set alongside the overall average number of barons from this period of 43, demonstrating that on average nearly one quarter (24.6%) of those of baronial rank went on each campaign.¹¹³ This relatively high level of involvement is particularly noticeable in 1380 (November) and 1395 when attendance at parliament was significantly and directly affected by military excursions. The number of barons summoned to these two parliaments were 36 and 29 respectively, compared to the average number of 43. Not only were the two armies on those campaigns, the earl of Buckingham's Breton expedition and the one Richard II led to Ireland, both large, these were also quite lengthy campaigns, which explains why there was this impact on the parliaments, even though they were both held in the winter. There is some general correlation between the size of the overall army and the number of barons involved, but no other marked trend with regard to shifting ratios of the corresponding number of earls and barons involved.

¹⁰⁹ J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. iii (London, 1815), p.267; Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons', p.17.

¹¹⁰ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305; Jones, 'The Fortunes of War', pp.150-1.

¹¹¹ The following calculations are also based on the data collated in Appendix 7.

¹¹² M. Aston, 'The Impeachment of Bishop Despenser', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1965), pp.128-9.

¹¹³ See Chapter 3.i and Appendix 1 for this calculation of the average number of barons, based on the data of those being summoned to parliament.

To give these baronial figures context, 44 dukes and earls are recorded on the 12 campaigns, an average of 3.67 on each. With the average number of titled nobles in the period being 12.4, their rate of participation was 29.7% on each campaign, slightly higher than the baronage at 24.6%. In terms of how this compares to other times during the Hundred Years War, Ayton's work on 1338-40 has shown that 19 out of the 60 barons at that time, 31.7%, served on that long campaign which ended with the Battle of Sluys.¹¹⁴ Although the participation rate for the barons of Richard II's reign is slightly lower than that for the titled nobles and from earlier in the century, the figure of approximately a quarter per campaign is still high. This is also bearing in mind that numerous individuals would always be exempt because of age, infirmity or other engagement such as on the Scottish border. Recruitment to the baronage largely closed during this reign and there were also generally fewer barons in total than at the high points of hostilities during Edward III's reign.

The average number of men recorded in baronial retinues on the 12 campaigns was 118. 14 full baronial retinues (men-at-arms only) are reproduced in Appendix 8 and those of Lords Heron and Camoys are analysed in detail in Chapter 7.¹¹⁵ With an average army size of 4870 (men-at-arms and archers) it can be estimated that on these expeditions baronial retinues made up on average one quarter (24.4%) of the armies. In comparison, the average size of the retinues of the dukes and earls was 524, which equates to 39.5% of the armies. The remaining 36.1% would be made up of the men of non-noble captains, and in the royal-led campaigns the household division. This is a different balance to that found by Ayton in his analysis of Edward III's armies. He saw that the household division in 1338-40 made up between 50-55%, while generally characterising baronial retinues as being between 60-70 men, with earls' at several hundred.¹¹⁶ This illustrates how the reduced royal involvement in campaigns in Richard II's reign meant that barons were being relied on to contribute both more in total and a greater proportion of troops at this time.

¹¹⁴ A. Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War', in M. Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France* (Stamford, 1998), p.194.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 7.iv.

¹¹⁶ Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp.184-5; A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in A. Curry and M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), p.31.

The campaign-by-campaign breakdown of the figures shows:

Campaign	Earls	Barons	Ave. earl's retinue	Ave. baron's retinue
1377-8	3	12	284	303
1378	9	15	249	141
1379	1	5		
1380-1	3	16	2554	358
1381	1	3		
1383	0	2		
1385	9	24	694	70
1386	1	8		
1387	3	10	300	140
1388	3	12	311	99
1394	5	13	319	58
1399	6	7	560	55
Total	44	127	$(16255 \div 31)$	$(6135.5 \div 52)$
Average	3.67	10.58	524.35	117.99

The Scottish expedition of 1385 and two Irish ones of 1394 and 1399 had the smallest average baronial retinue sizes. These were also some of the campaigns where the highest number of dukes and earls were involved. This suggests that in these cases the titled nobles were soaking up men that barons would otherwise have led. In contrast the highest average size of a baronial retinue was in 1380-1 when three earls served, although two of them were in the earl of Buckingham's retinue, rather than leading their own ones, effectively leaving only one comital retinue. The most interesting breakdown of an armed force is that for the 1385 Scottish expedition, as with 24 barons listed and the size of each of their retinues detailed, comparisons can be made between the different barons. Their retinues ranged from John, Lord Strange who is recorded as having a contingent of one squire and two archers, to John, Lord Neville of Raby, who brought seven knights, 75 squires and 150 archers – 232 men in total.¹¹⁷ The three barons with the largest contingents were one each from the two great northern baronial families – the Nevilles and the Cliffords - and Michael, Lord de la Pole, who was raised to earl of Suffolk at the beginning of the campaign.

¹¹⁷ Lewis, ‘The Last Medieval Summons’, pp.17-21.

Of the 66 baronial families from the reign, the lords of 48 are recorded as serving on at least one of the 12 expeditions. This means that records exist to show at least 72% of the families saw some foreign military action in the reign. The most active were the Welles, Arundels, Ferrers of Groby, Talbots, Beaumonts, Lovels, Bassets, Beauchamps of Abergavenny, Berkeleys, Camoys, Fitzwalters and de la Poles who all served on more than three campaigns.¹¹⁸ Of these the Arundels, Ferrers of Groby, Talbots, Fitzwalters and de la Poles include two generations of barons. Individually, John, Lord Welles is recorded on eight campaigns, while Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby, John, Lord Lovel and John, Lord Beaumont can be shown to have gone on five each during this period. These figures imply that these barons were essentially professional soldiers, seasoned campaigners who viewed this as a career. From these 12 families only Lords Beaumont, Beauchamp of Abergavenny and de la Pole (d.1389) were particularly active at court. With the exception of Michael, Lord de la Pole, who gained most of his lands in 1382 after his last overseas campaign and Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who completed his four campaigns by the age of 32 before returning to estate management, the others were all middling to smaller landowners.¹¹⁹ De la Pole served as chancellor but otherwise none of the 'professionals' were heavily involved in central administration. Of the remainder, 12 families served on three campaigns, nine barons on two, 15 on one and 18, according to surviving records, none.¹²⁰ The average number of campaigns per family during the reign was therefore 1.95.

Several noteworthy incidents involving barons during these campaigns have been recorded which help illustrate the type of roles they played and activities they were involved in. In 1378 Lord Fitzwalter's men almost mutinied and refused to allow their

¹¹⁸ 8 = Welles; 6 = Arundel, Ferrers of Groby, Talbot; 5 = Beaumont, Lovel; 4 = Basset, Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Berkeley, Camoys, Fitzwalter, de la Pole.

¹¹⁹ The Arundels also held moderate lands, particularly in the south-west, which they had inherited through marrying the Maltravers heiress. Berkeley returned to military service again in the early years of Henry IV's reign.

¹²⁰ 3 = Bardolf, Clinton, Despenser (S. Wales), Falvesle, Grey of Ruthin, Heron, Montagu, Neville of Raby, Poynings, Ros, Scales, Seymour; 2 = Beauchamp of Bletsoe, Botreaux, Bourchier, Clifford, Clifton, Devereux, Latimer, Morley, Willoughby; 1 = Beauchamp of Kidderminster, Brian, Cromwell, Cobham, Darcy, Despenser (Lincs.), Grey of Codnor, Harington, Lisle, St Amand, Strange, Thorpe, de la Warr, Windsor, Zouche; 0 = Aldeburgh, Audley, Botetourt, Burnel, Cherleton, Dacre, Deincourt, Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem, Fitzhugh, Furnival, Grey of Wilton, Greystoke, Lumley, Maulay, Neville of Hallamshire, Scrope of Bolton, Scrope of Masham, Stafford of Clifton. These figures include Montagu and Despenser's involvement on the 1399 Ireland expedition which was after they had been raised to earls, which is why they total 129, rather than 127.

ships to assist the earl of Buckingham's attack on the Spanish fleet. Eventually Fitzwalter escaped from his men and, in a small ship with only one or two companions, he joined up with Buckingham and gave him what assistance he could.¹²¹ Lord de la Warr played a prominent part in the 1380-1 Brittany expedition, inciting his men Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir William Clinton and Sir Evan Fitzwarren to join him on a night raid where, following a skirmish, they captured the Lord of Brimeu.¹²² During the 1386 Spanish campaign, Walter, Lord Fitzwalter was commended for his actions at the siege of Brest on the way to Spain and was later recorded as being given responsibility for the protection of the duchess of Lancaster.¹²³ Gilbert, Lord Talbot was also involved in a notable skirmish during this expedition where he was matched against a knight called Tristram de la Gaile.¹²⁴ These incidents reinforce the idea of barons being significant figures in the army with important and at time autonomous commanding responsibilities.

The position that barons held in these military expeditions tended to be as captains, leaders of their own independent retinues. No baron commanded an expedition per se, although John, Lord Arundel effectively led the fleet in the 1379 campaign to Brittany as the official commander, the duke of Brittany, had gone ahead to negotiate a treaty. During the reign Lords Fitzwalter (north, 1382), Darcy (north, 1386) and Beaumont (north, twice in 1389) were among the 26 high admirals of the fleets, while both Lords Grey of Codnor (north, 1401) and Berkeley (west, 1403) held one of the two admiralties early in the reign of Henry IV.¹²⁵ In general on expeditions barons, like all captains, commanded a retinue of bannerets, knights, esquires, men-at-arms and archers, as calculated above, totalling approximately 118 men.

As well as those commanding retinues, several barons instead served in the retinues of other magnates. A number of these were younger lords in their formative years, earning their spurs under the command of a senior noble. One such example was Thomas, Lord Despenser who in 1388 as a 15-year-old was discharged out of the

¹²¹ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.212; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.61.

¹²² Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.328.

¹²³ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.789; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.238; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.428.

¹²⁴ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267.

¹²⁵ J. Haydn, *The Book of Dignitaries* (London, 1851), p.328.

custody of his mother to go overseas in the company of the earl of Arundel.¹²⁶ Despenser was knighted by the earl of Arundel on this naval expedition.¹²⁷ Similarly 16-year-old Sir Ralph Neville of Raby, who succeeded his father as baron in 1388, was knighted by the earl of Cambridge during the 1380-1 Brittany campaign.¹²⁸ Other barons however were linked through ties of lordship to the expedition commanders. Lords Fitzwalter, Bourchier and Morley were neighbours and associates of the earl of Buckingham/duke of Gloucester. Fitzwalter served under Woodstock in 1377-8 and 1380-1, while Bourchier and Morley were both also with him in 1380-1.¹²⁹ In 1386 John of Gaunt was attended by Lords Talbot and Beauchamp of Abergavenny. Talbot was receiving, and Beauchamp had previously received, fees from Gaunt.¹³⁰ On the campaigns of 1387 and 1388 the earl of Arundel was accompanied by John, Lord Falvesle and Sir William Heron (a baron from 1393), two retainers of his who were both raised to the peerage during Richard II's reign.¹³¹ Barons therefore could be both lords and retainers within a military capacity, although more often those in retinues of other magnates were either younger or those at the lower end of the scale in terms of magnitude. Similarly only the most substantial titled nobles were of sufficient stature to be able to draw other lords into their service.

Foreign expeditions though were only one side of the military service in which barons were engaged. The other was the defence of the realm, in which they played an equally important role. During the first decade of Richard II's reign England was subject to a number of invasion scares and attacks along its south coast. In 1377 the worst attacks took place and several barons were prominent in the defensive response. John, Lord Arundel is praised by Walsingham for putting up strong resistance against the French when they attacked Southampton, bravely preventing them from entering the town and then driving them back into the sea.¹³² Froissart affirms this, commenting that without Arundel's action the town would have been taken.¹³³ At the same time John,

¹²⁶ *CPR 1381-1385* (London, 1900), p.416.

¹²⁷ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.353.

¹²⁸ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.325. Sir Thomas Camoys, a 'rising knight' who would become a baron in 1383, was also knighted at this time although aged about 30.

¹²⁹ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.171, 212; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.48, 61; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323.

¹³⁰ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267.

¹³¹ E 101/40/33; E 101/41/5.

¹³² Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.159; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.44.

¹³³ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.161.

Lord Montagu, alongside his brother the earl of Salisbury, successfully defended the passage into the port of Poole 30 miles down the coast.¹³⁴ Similarly Sir John Falvesle, who became a baron in 1383, helped in the defence of Sussex, fighting the French at Rottingdean near Lewes where he was captured and taken off to a French ship.¹³⁵ John, Lord Clinton was also ordered to go to his manor of Folkestone, to repair the castle's household and abide there with a company sufficient to defend it from the apprehended invasion.¹³⁶ There are also numerous other examples up until 1387 when barons with interests along the south coast were bidden to defend those adjoining counties, such as in 1383 when Lords St Amand, Audley, Brian, Montagu, Zouche and Basset were ordered to defend Devon, and Lord Botreaux Cornwall, against the French.¹³⁷ Although such action also served private interest as they had their own local landed interests to preserve, this was also an important demonstration of barons acting with some altruism in service of the realm.¹³⁸

The south coast was one of the two major frontiers where defensive action was necessitated. The other was the Scottish border where the northern barons – the Nevilles of Raby, Cliffords, Greystokes and Dacres, along with the Percy earls of Northumberland - were involved in an almost continuously turbulent state of affairs.¹³⁹ In a poor region it was in the interests of the border magnates to perpetuate disturbances, often in spite of official truces, as they relied on the booty acquired in border raids to maintain themselves. An indication of those controlling political and military affairs of the border can be seen by looking at those who held the posts of

¹³⁴ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.161.

¹³⁵ Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), p.48; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.165; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.46.

¹³⁶ *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1377-1381 (CCR)* (London, 1914), p.6.

¹³⁷ *CCR 1381-1385* (London, 1920), p.270.

¹³⁸ For an interpretation which cites the failure of the aristocracy to defend the English coast from French attacks as the cause of the Peasants' Revolt see: E. Searle and R. Burghart, 'The Defence of England and the Peasants' Revolt', *Viator*, iii (1972), pp.365-88.

¹³⁹ For the Scottish border situation at this time see: Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', pp.27-52.; Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility', pp.1-17, esp. pp.14, 16; R. L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *English Historical Review*, lxxii (1957), pp.593-615; Storey, 'The North of England' pp.129-44; King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society'; Arvanigian, 'Henry IV, the Northern Nobility', pp.117-38; Arvanigian, 'The "Lancastrianization" of the North', pp.9-38; Arvanigian, 'A Lancastrian Polity?', pp.121-42; M. Arvanigian, 'The Durham Gentry and the Scottish March, 1370-1400: County Service in Late Medieval England', *Northern History*, xlvi (2005), pp.257-73; M. Arvanigian, 'Regional Politics, Landed Society and the Coal Industry in North-East England, 1350-1430', in J. S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England IV* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.175-91.

Warden of the March. Between 1377 and 1399 there were 116 appointments of wardens of either the East March, West March or both.¹⁴⁰ 75 (65%) of the 116 appointments were magnates. In particular 55 (47%) of the 116 were barons. 46 (40%) of the 116 were from just the four main northern baronial families (Nevilles of Raby, Cliffords, Greystokes and Dacres).¹⁴¹ These families profited from war and benefited from the incessant feuding and raiding, and through their domination of these appointments they were able to do so largely unchallenged and also funded by public expenditure.¹⁴²

A third frontier, which was less disruptive at this time, although it would become a much more significant theatre early in Henry IV's reign, was Wales.¹⁴³ In 1400 a long running land dispute between Owen Glendower and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin escalated into a full scale revolt which lasted until 1409. As well as Grey of Ruthin, who played a major part in events, being captured and imprisoned by Glendower in 1402, several other barons were also involved in the repression of it.¹⁴⁴ In 1402 Lords Fitzhugh and Greystoke were sent as captains to suppress the revolt, while in 1405 Thomas, Lord Berkeley as admiral of the western fleet burnt 15 French ships and captured 14 others that were attempting to support the revolt near Milford Haven.¹⁴⁵ Gilbert, Lord Talbot is also found on the border in the service of the Prince of Wales in 1403, where he drew pay for 97 men under his command.¹⁴⁶ Other barons who held commands and posts during the revolt included Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny, Thomas, Lord Neville of Hallamshire and Hugh, Lord Burnel.¹⁴⁷ With many of the region's traditional baronial families, those who possessed territorial bases for their authority, particularly the

¹⁴⁰ Calculated using: Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', pp.609-12

¹⁴¹ 19 = Nevilles of Raby; 16 = Percy earls of Northumberland; 13 = Cliffords; 9 = Greystokes; 5 = Dacres; 4 = Scropes of Bolton; 2 = Beaumonts; 1 = Mauleys, Fitwalters, Ros, duke of Lancaster, earl of Nottingham, duke of Exeter, duke of Aumale.

¹⁴² Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', p.33.

¹⁴³ For Wales and the Welsh March at this time see: R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978); R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.321; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, pp.168, 172, 175; Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, p.161; F. S. Haydon (ed.), *Continuatio Eulogii* (London, 1863), pp.388-9, 395; M. V. Clarke and V. H. Galbraith (eds.), 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381-1403', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xiv (1930), p.175.

¹⁴⁵ Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, p.174; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.339.

¹⁴⁶ Q. R. Wardrobe 95/36 vol. ii, p.19, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part i, (London, 1953), p.617.

¹⁴⁷ E 101/43/21 m.2; E 101/44/6; Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr*, pp.76, 109, 244-5.

Despensers (S. Wales) and the Cherletons of Powis, having recently become extinct, leadership of this suppression fell onto less entrenched, at most peripheral, families, particularly the Talbots and Greys of Codnor. Therefore, more so and even in contrast to Scotland, this demonstrates a degree of public service by barons on behalf of the realm.

One final area where barons were required to perform military service was internally, particularly in 1381 to put down the Peasants' Revolt. There is little surviving evidence of barons putting down rebellions on their own lands. However, between June and August a large number of commissions were issued empowering barons, and other members of the political community, to resist and punish the insurgents, by force if necessary.¹⁴⁸ These commissions were not just appointed in the South-East and London, but in 29 of the 36 counties (excluding the three palatinates), with almost every single baron being involved in at least one county.¹⁴⁹ In December 1381 new peace commissions were appointed with extra powers to arrest those congregating in unlawful assemblies or inciting insurrection.¹⁵⁰ These commissions drew together the whole parliamentary peerage as a co-ordinated agent of suppression. Some barons were also very directly caught up in the rising. Roger, Lord Scales and Thomas, Lord Morley were captured by a group of rebels and compelled to march with them and wait upon their leader John Lester. The rebels had planned to send Lord Morley to the king to obtain redress and a pardon, until the lords were rescued by the Bishop of Norwich.¹⁵¹ Walter, Lord Fitzwalter is praised in the chronicles for his and his men's work in pursuing and assailing rebels.¹⁵² Fitzwalter was also recorded sitting alongside the earl of Buckingham and Sir Thomas Percy undertaking judicial work in Essex in late June 1381.¹⁵³ The elevation of Lords Thorpe and Windsor to the baronage at this time was also possibly a direct reward for their services in this capacity. As well

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1381-1385*, pp.69-78.

¹⁴⁹ *CPR 1381-1385*, pp.69-78. The three palatinates were Cheshire, Durham and Lancashire. The seven other counties where these commissions were not appointed included: Buckinghamshire, Rutland, Shropshire and Staffordshire. In the three northern counties – Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland - just the sheriffs were given extra powers, rather than a commission: *CPR 1381-1385*, p.69.

¹⁵⁰ *CPR 1381-1385*, pp.84-6. These were appointed in every county apart from the three palatinates and Gloucestershire and Staffordshire.

¹⁵¹ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.489, 491; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.145; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.410.

¹⁵² Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.517; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.154.

¹⁵³ KB 145/3/6/1.

as being an act of patronage, these two experienced soldiers and former retainers of the Black Prince may also have been ennobled as a reactive measure in an effort to establish a more imposing presence in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire where there were at that time no strong resident lords.¹⁵⁴ This also mirrors Bothwell's observation that Edward III concentrated his patronage of loyalists in areas perceived to be open to external threats, particularly East Anglia.¹⁵⁵ Aside from this initial campaign of suppression by military force, the reaction of the nobles to the revolt is a matter of debate. Their response is seen to be both a studiously moderate one once manorial authority had been restored on their estates and a ruthless stamping out of insurgency in the localities, presumably determined by the specific individuals and local situations involved.¹⁵⁶

In a military capacity barons were very active in the service of the crown in a range of operations and theatres. The motivation for this service seems varied. Some barons were hungry for action and viewed military service as a prestigious career and an expedient method of social and economic advancement, and these became part of the hardcore of 'professional' soldiers. Others preferred to serve the king in alternative capacities, such as through engagement in central and local government or the royal household. However the overall number who undertook some military duties, be they foreign, domestic or internal, shows that there was an expectation that this was still an essential obligation that all should undertake at certain times, even though alternative forms of service were now viewed as being as valid usual occupations. There is little direct evidence of baronial attitudes towards their military pursuits. Those who were repeatedly engaged in them clearly sought service more actively than if they had simply regarded it as a duty. The rewards may have made it worth while for many – patronage and service were closely linked. Not only did patronage often follow distinguished military careers, in the case of William, Lord Windsor service was actually a condition

¹⁵⁴ Kinsey, 'The Thorpes of Northamptonshire', ch.3.

¹⁵⁵ J. S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.96, 140.

¹⁵⁶ J. A. Tuck, 'Nobles, Commons and the Great Revolt of 1381', in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.194-212; E. B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England, c.1380-c.1525* (Stroud, 1996), pp.242-55.

of patronage. In 1380 he recovered his wife Alice Perrers' forfeited lands on the proviso that he serve on Buckingham's upcoming Brittany campaign.¹⁵⁷

An interesting insight into the aristocratic military community, their experiences and values comes from the Court of Chivalry evidence.¹⁵⁸ Records survive for three armorial disputes that were tried before the court, all involving at least one baron – Scrope (of Bolton) versus Grosvenor (1385-90),¹⁵⁹ Lovel versus Morley (1386-7),¹⁶⁰ and Grey (of Ruthin) versus Hastings (1408-10).¹⁶¹ A few particularly illuminating themes come out of these cases. The first is the obvious importance attached to these heraldic issues and how that reflects on a society deeply concerned with status and family and martial reputations. Another is the existence of a broad and varied chivalrous class which encompassed individuals from a wide range of backgrounds both socially and in terms of their other occupations aside from martial ones, rather than it being restricted to a narrow aristocratic elite.¹⁶² The deponents involved in the respective cases also raise interesting issues. In Scrope-Grosvenor, 151 depositions were given in favour of Grosvenor including 27 supporters who were related to him and at least 33 known retainers, while almost all were from Cheshire and North Wales as he

¹⁵⁷ *CPR 1377-1381*, pp.503, 506; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Trials of Alice Perrers', *Speculum*, lxxxiii (2008), pp.366-96.

¹⁵⁸ For the Court of Chivalry see: G. D. Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry* (Oxford, 1959), pp.1-28; M. H. Keen, 'The Jurisdiction and Origins of the Constable's Court', in J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt, *War and Government in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.159-69.

¹⁵⁹ C 47/6/2; C 47/6/3; N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* (2 Volumes, London, 1832); Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', pp.95-105; R. Stewart-Brown, 'The Scrope-Grosvenor Controversy, 1385-1391', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, lxxxix (1937), pp.1-22; M. H. Keen, 'Chivalrous Culture in Fourteenth Century England', *Historical Studies*, x (1976), pp.1-24.

¹⁶⁰ C 47/6/1; A. Ayton, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in A. Ayton and J. L. Price, *The Medieval Military Revolution* (London, 1995), pp.81-104; M. E. Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-1487?', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (1999), pp.233-59; C. Richmond, 'Thomas Lord Morley (d.1416) and the Morleys of Hingham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxxviii (1984), pp.1-12.

¹⁶¹ C. G. Young, *An Account of the Controversy between Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthyn and Sir Edward Hastings in the Court of Chivalry* (London, 1841); M. H. Keen, 'English Military Experience and the Court of Chivalry: The Case of Grey v. Hastings', in P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison, M. H. Keen (eds.), *Guerre et Société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe-XVe Siècle* (Lille, 1991), pp.123-42; R. I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin, 1325-1490: A Study of the Lesser Baronage', Unpublished PhD thesis, London, Royal Holloway College (1961); R. I. Jack, 'Entail and Descent: The Hastings Inheritance, 1370 to 1436', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1965), pp.1-19; A. R. Wagner, 'A Fifteenth-Century Description of the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk', *Antiquaries Journal*, xix (1939), pp.421-8.

¹⁶² Keen, 'Chivalrous Culture', pp.14-23.

appeared to mobilise these local communities behind him.¹⁶³ Scrope on the other hand had 246 deponents including the most prominent northern lords – Percy, Neville and Clifford, plus Gaunt, York, Derby and Arundel. Although none admitted to belonging to Scrope's affinity or being related to him, his main support seems to have come from Yorkshire where two-thirds of his deponents were interviewed, while Gaunt also mobilised his affinity behind his retainer. Scrope's greater status meant that he could call on prominent men and Gaunt's powerful influence, rather than having to rely solely on local and family ties like Grosvenor.¹⁶⁴

The deponents in the Lovel-Morley dispute, 177 and 62 respectively although both records are incomplete, also reflect their local networks. Many of Lovel's supporters came from Oxfordshire and Wiltshire where his two principal powerbases were, whilst Morley's were generally from Norfolk and the rest of East Anglia. Few of either's supporters were men of high rank. Particularly notable in these depositions are the few direct references to retaining or ties of affinity and instead the reliance on informal regional and friendship ties. Particularly in Norfolk where there was no resident titled noble, there appears to be a contingent of near-professional soldiers who did not seek permanent commitment to a single magnate, but instead regularly switched to the service of other lords.¹⁶⁵ Analysis of this case has suggested that the underlying reason for the dispute was not about arms, but land, particularly the right to inherit the Burnel lands when the heirless Hugh, Lord Burnel died (eventually in 1420). Lovel's claim to the Burnel arms was in reality just the first step towards him recovering the inheritance.¹⁶⁶

The main theme that has been highlighted in the Grey-Hastings case is the move away from military values in the later generation and the suggestion that 'the seeds of

¹⁶³ For Cheshire (and Lancashire) local society at this time see: M. J. Bennett, 'A County Community: Social Cohesion amongst the Cheshire Gentry, 1400-25', *Northern History*, viii (1973), pp.24-44; M. J. Bennett, 'Sources and Problems in the Study of Social Mobility: Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxviii (1978), pp.59-95; M. J. Bennett, 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and the Literary Achievement of the North-West Midlands: The Historical Background', *Journal of Medieval History*, v (1979), pp.63-88; M. J. Bennett, 'Good Lords and King-Makers: The Stanleys of Lathom in English Politics, 1385-1485', *History Today*, xxxi (vii) (1981), pp.12-17; M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983).

¹⁶⁴ Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', pp.100-4.

¹⁶⁵ Ayton, 'Knights, Esquire and Military Service', pp.85-94.

¹⁶⁶ Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh', pp.256-8.

that cooling of bellicose ardour, among gentlemen, that had become noticeable by the 1440s, had been sown a generation earlier'.¹⁶⁷ Whereas many of those testifying in the two cases in the 1380s had served on the great campaigns of the 1340s and 1350s, those in this case 20 years later had largely been active during the less glorious 1380s and 1390s. The witnesses' recollections are not seen to have the same confident tone of knightly nostalgia as those in Scrope-Grosvenor and Lovel-Morley and some even explicitly sought to distance themselves from martial association in a way none had in the 1380s.¹⁶⁸ Like Lovel-Morley, this case was not only about the right to bear arms, it was also a device in a larger inheritance dispute.

Back in Richard II's reign though, and particularly amongst the baronage, there was a firm tradition of military service associated with their rank. Whether to their personal inclination or not, they were members of the military elite and it was an expectation of their dignity that they should participate in and contribute to expeditions, at least once a generation. Military service was a means of making themselves conspicuous in the service of the king and also a recognition of and an opportunity to manifest their power. With a quarter of the baronage contributing a quarter of the army for each campaign, barons were in martial terms a significant part of a service aristocracy. This public military service could bring some private reward in terms of pay, booty and ransom, but material benefits were not an important motivation and war is no longer considered to have been a profit making enterprise for most noble participants.¹⁶⁹ It was instead something they were accustomed to and enthusiastic about, plus an opportunity for them to display and endeavour to increase their status and influence.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Keen, 'English Military Experience', p.135.

¹⁶⁸ Keen, 'English Military Experience', pp.133-6.

¹⁶⁹ M. Postan, 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', *Economic History Review*, xii (1942), pp.1-12; K. B. McFarlane, 'War, the Economy and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years War', *Past and Present*, xxii (1962), pp.3-13; M. Postan, 'The Cost of the Hundred Years' War', *Past and Present*, xxvii (1964), pp.34-53.

¹⁷⁰ J. A. Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years War', *History Today*, xxxiii (iv) (1983), pp.35-40; M. Prestwich, 'Why Did Englishmen Fight in the Hundred Years War?', *Medieval History*, ii (1992), pp.58-65; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Domestic Response to the Hundred Years War', in A. Curry and M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp.83-101.

iv) The Baronage as a Service Aristocracy

The baronage was a service aristocracy. Aside from their own estate management, just about every engagement they undertook was part of a culture of service. The distinction between private and public enterprises was often blurred. Serving the king or another lord brought personal gain and enhanced their own position, whilst privately assembled retinues were regularly put to national use. Though the titled nobles were relatively more active in martial enterprises, barons were more involved in the royal household and affinity. In all capacities however the level of baronial involvement was high and it was something that all engaged with as a means of demonstrating, securing and increasing their power. For the majority of barons service was the fundamental means of aggrandisement.

CHAPTER 6: GLOUCESTERSHIRE BARONS (THE BERKELEYS, DESPENSERS AND TALBOTS)

i) Introduction to the Tenurial Geography and the Resident Barons

The county of Gloucestershire incorporated significant parts of the spheres of influence of three baronial families – the Berkeleys, the Despensers and the Talbots. The other major landowner in the county was the Church, with large ecclesiastical estates belonging to the abbeys of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Winchcombe (Benedictine), Bristol, St Augustine's, Cirencester, Llanthony-by-Gloucester (Augustinian), Flaxley, Hailes, Kingswood (Cistercian), several minor houses, the alien priories of Beckford, Brimspfield, Deerhurst and Newent, as well as considerable lands belonging to Westminster Abbey. These monastic estates dominated the Cotswold area of east Gloucestershire, while the Forest of Dean in the north-west of the county generally did not function under the typical arable manorial system. Most of the lay landowners were therefore concentrated in west Gloucestershire in the Severn Valley and on the western edge of the Cotswolds.¹

Of the other magnates, the king and duke of Lancaster had unparalleled ability to hold influence in and retain men from all counties in the reign of Richard II and Gloucestershire was no exception. Although there were not significant royal lands in the county, John of Gaunt held the manors of Rodley, Minsterworth and Kempsford. Thomas of Woodstock was duke of Gloucester from 1385, although this title bore little resemblance to any significant landed powerbase in the county, with his interests generally being those which he inherited from the Bohuns in Northamptonshire and Essex. He did though hold the manors of Wheatenhurst (or Whitminster) and Newnham, as well as Caldicot Castle, by right of the inheritance of his wife Eleanor Bohun or, in the case of Newnham, by life grant from his nephew Henry Bolingbroke from the other half of the Bohun inheritance. Bolingbroke, who became duke of Hereford in 1397, himself held the Gloucestershire manors of Haresfield and Southam through his marriage to Eleanor's sister Mary. The Mortimer, earls of March, who had

¹ N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp.2-3, 5-6.

manors at Brimspfield, Winstone and parts of Bisley, suffered a stretch of minorities during this period and were thus unable to exercise their traditional influence in the region. The earl of Warwick also held three manors in the county, Wickwar, Lydney and Chedworth. However, the earls of Stafford were generally the only members of the titled nobility with any notable peripheral interest in the county at this time. They held the manors of Eastington, Thornbury, Rendcombe and a series of knights' fees in the county and played some role in local politics. The Staffords were also lords of the Honour of Gloucester.²

Of the barons, the Berkeleys had their principal residence at Berkeley in the west of the county. Like almost all baronial landowners they had estates in multiple counties, most significantly Somerset, but the majority of their estates, and thus their interests, were concentrated in Gloucestershire. Thomas, Lord Berkeley would acquire significant estates in Berkshire following the death of his father-in-law Warin, Lord Lisle of Kingston Lisle in 1382. However, at this time the Berkeleys were by some margin the most significant magnates in Gloucestershire and the lord for the whole of Richard II's reign, Thomas (1353-1417), was proclaimed 'the magnificent' by the Berkeleys' family historian, John Smyth.³

The Despensers had inherited most of the lands of the county's traditional dominant lords, the Clares, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though they were still attempting to restore their fortune following the events of the reign of Edward II. The focal point of their lordship was Cardiff and the majority of their estates were located in Glamorgan, although they did still have interests in Gloucestershire, most notably Tewkesbury and in the northern part of the county. During much of the reign of

² E. Stokes (ed.), *Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, vol. vi (London, 1914), *passim*; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Gloucestershire*, vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi (London and Oxford, 1907-2001), *passim*. The Honour and earldom of Gloucester descended from the Clares to the Audleys through Elizabeth, the second of the three Clare heiresses, rather than to the Despensers as most of the Clares' Gloucestershire lands did through the oldest heiress Eleanor. The Honour of Gloucester then passed through Hugh Audley's daughter Margaret to the earls of Stafford.

³ J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. i, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), p.447. Smyth's manuscript was completed in approximately 1628 and uses some account rolls and charters which no longer survive. Where his work can be compared to the original documents it demonstrates diligence and skill, so therefore his unique accounts of events and details are worthy of serious consideration. For Thomas, Lord Berkeley see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. ii (London, 1912), pp.130-1; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iv (London, 1885), p.341.

Richard II, the Despenser lord, Thomas (1373-1400), was a minor, although he quickly rose to prominence following his majority in 1394 as a result of his friendship with the king, which saw him raised to earl of Gloucester in 1397.⁴

The Talbots' principal residence was Goodrich Castle, just over the north-west border of Gloucestershire in Herefordshire. The distribution of their estates was almost equally divided between these two counties, while the marriage of Richard Talbot to the Strange of Blackmere heiress in about 1380 also gave the family new additional interests in Shropshire, where Richard's younger brother John, who became Lord Talbot in 1421, would later become earl of Shrewsbury. There were three generations of lords of Talbot during Richard II's reign, Gilbert (1332-1387), Richard (1361-1396) and Gilbert (1383-1418).⁵

Saul has calculated that in 1316 there were approximately 312 manors in the county, 111 of which were held by the Church, 166 by the gentry and 35 by nobles.⁶ As has been shown above, in the reign of Richard II 16 manors were held by members of the titled nobility. The Berkeleys, Despensers and Talbots held between them 22 manors at this time,⁷ while 14 manors were held by seven other non-resident barons.⁸ Removing the duplicated South Cerney and Cerney Wick which Thomas, Lord Berkeley purchased from the last Lord St Amand, as well as Wickwar and Lydney (which were also held by multiple owners during the reign), there were in total 48 manors belonging to members of the nobility. This is therefore still roughly in

⁴ For Thomas, Lord Despenser see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv (London, 1916), pp.278-81; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xiv (London, 1888), p.417; T. B. Pugh, 'Despenser, Thomas, Second Lord Despenser (1373–1400)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7555; M. J. Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation: The Despensers, c.1281-1400', Unpublished PhD thesis, York (2005).

⁵ For these three Talbot lords see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part i, (London, 1953), pp.614-20.

⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.5. These calculations are based on the *Nomina Villarum* survey of 1316. Although this is 60 years before the reign of Richard II, it is a unique source and therefore an invaluable guide to landholding patterns in the county.

⁷ Berkeleys = 11 (Alkington, Cam, Coaley, Ham, Hinton, Symond's Hall, Slimbridge, Wotton-under-Edge, Awre, South Cerney, Cerney Wick); Talbots = 7 (Longhope, Huntley, Lea, Lydney, Painswick, Moreton Valence, Whaddon); Despensers = 4 (Tewkesbury, Fairford, Chipping Sodbury, Stoke Gifford).

⁸ Richard, Lord Seymour = 4 (Meysey Hampton, Breadstone, Bulley, Stinchcombe); Richard, Lord Stafford = 3 (Ashton under Edge, Charingworth, Linton); St Amands = 2 (South Cerney, Cerney Wick); John, Lord Arundel (d.1390) = 2 (King's Stanley, Woodchester); John, Lord de la Warr = 1 (Wickwar); Hugh, Lord Burnel = 1 (Little Rissington); William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny = 1 (Kemerton). None of these can be seen to have played a significant role in local affairs at this time.

accordance with the full survey of the distribution of landed wealth that survives from earlier in the century. A map of baronial landholding during Richard II's reign can be found in Appendix 4. The landholding of the three principal baronial families will be addressed in more detail below.

Towns were distinct from the land-based countryside, but the two were very much interdependent, with produce being brought into towns for markets and, in the case of Bristol, exporting. Bristol was at this time the third largest urban area in the kingdom behind London and York with a population of over 10,000 (which had been as high as 15,000-20,000 on the eve of the Black Death) and in 1373 became the country's first county borough.⁹ The shire town Gloucester and Tewkesbury were also boroughs, while Berkeley, Cirencester and Thornbury were other important market towns. Although they were more self-regulating, most still lay under lay or ecclesiastical lordship and were not untouched by its influence.

ii) Politics, Favour and Patronage

The most important instrument of local government from the time of the demise of the general eyre in 1294 was the commissions of the peace.¹⁰ Here, a selection of nobles, gentry and lawyers were appointed justices of the peace and given far-reaching powers to enforce criminal law in the county. These would sit quarterly to hear felony and common law trespass cases and would assist royal officials by undertaking a range of administrative and judicial duties. As the main instrument of justice in the localities, involvement in or influence over these commissions was an important gauge of relative power in a county. In Gloucestershire there were 16 commissions of the peace appointed during the reign of Richard II.¹¹ The noble appointees on these were Thomas, Lord Berkeley (nine), Thomas, earl of Buckingham/duke of Gloucester (six),

⁹ G. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford, 1995), pp.273-4, 281-2.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3.iv. For more detailed discussions of peace commissions and justices of the peace see: B. H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III* (London, 1938), pp.xiii-cxxxii; E. Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice in Late Medieval England: Peace Sessions and Assizes', in R. Eales and D. Sullivan, *The Political Context of Law* (London, 1987), pp.49-59; S. J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp.168-80; A. Musson, *Public Order and Law Enforcement* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.11-82; A. Musson and W. M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp.50-74.

¹¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1377-1399 (CPR)* (6 Volumes, London, 1895-1909), *passim*.

Hugh, earl of Stafford (five), John, duke of Lancaster (five), Thomas, Lord Despenser/earl of Gloucester (three) and Richard, Lord Talbot (three).

Analysis shows that Thomas, Lord Berkeley was almost a constant appointment, which would be expected for the dominant lord of the county. Six of the seven he does not serve on though are successive from July 1389 until July 1397. In national politics this was seen as a period of reconciliation and governing by consensus.¹² On three of these six, the ones between July 1389 and June 1390, the commissions in general were made up of quite obscure and minor figures. This was linked to national affairs as Richard II had bowed to pressure from the Commons, who were complaining about magnates subverting justice in the shires, and actively excluded all magnates from peace commissions nationwide at this time.¹³ The commission of December 1390 and those of 1394 and July 1397 see the first involvement of John of Gaunt in the county's commissions. By this point in the reign he was seen as a figure of stability and harmony, and he was possibly taking more interest in the affairs of the county.¹⁴ Although Berkeley quickly turned to support Bolingbroke in 1399, he was not associated with the Appellant lords, other than through his daughter's marriage to the son of the earl of Warwick, although that did not happen until 1392. Nor was he in any real sense a national political player in the late 1380s. The fact that he was not a partisan figure is attested by his return to the commissions in November 1397 and 1398, during the years of Richard II's apparent 'tyranny'. Therefore it can only be assumed that this period of absence from the commissions between 1390 and 1397 either came from an attempt to revitalise, rather than rebalance, the commissions, or his own decision to withdraw from them for a period.

Thomas, Lord Despenser was on all three peace commissions appointed after he reached his majority, which is as expected considering his new title as earl of

¹² For the early to mid-1390s 'period of relative calm in English domestic politics' see: N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), pp.235-69 (quotation at p.235); A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), ch.7; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vol. iii (Manchester, 1928) p.454. Steel calls the period one of 'appeasement', whilst Tout refers to it as an 'age of compromise'.

¹³ R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace, 1388-90', in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp.131-52.

¹⁴ Gaunt headed 13 peace commissions in 1382, 19 in 1394 and 22 in 1397, suggesting that this was fairly typical and therefore probably more a recognition of his dignity than an active attempt to extend his influence: Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, p.72.

Gloucester and the fact that he was a close ally of the king during the tumultuous period of 1397-9. Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) was frequently on commissions in both Gloucestershire and Herefordshire from the 1360s until his death in 1386, most frequently in the latter. His son Richard served in Herefordshire and Shropshire from before his father's death and even on one occasion alongside him, drawing parallels with his own summons to parliament in his father's lifetime as Lord Talbot of Blackmere following his marriage to the Strange of Blackmere heiress.¹⁵ Richard, Lord Talbot first served on a Gloucestershire commission in 1384, but then not again until 1390. This is explained by his new interests in Shropshire where he was becoming involved in local affairs and the resulting division of his interests into three county administrative structures.

Where detailed research has been done on the actual attendance at the quarter sessions in other counties, it has been suggested that nobles sitting as justices was an uncommon occurrence and their role was much more as general maintainers of the good conduct of the bench, who were also expected to be ready to intervene when called upon in the case of serious disturbances. However, it has also been shown that powerful lords could exercise influence over the personnel of the commission without being themselves present.¹⁶ It is often hard to trace the lines of local loyalties, particularly as no livery rolls survive for the Gloucestershire barons, even in the Berkeley records, while protection letters were less frequently being enrolled by this time. However, some records of service and evidence of other connections can be found between these other local political figures from the upper gentry and the three principal baronial families, as well as with other magnates.¹⁷ Sir John Berkeley who appears on five commissions, four of which were alongside Thomas, Lord Berkeley, was Thomas' uncle.¹⁸ John Sergeant who was appointed in 1377, the only occasion other than the

¹⁵ *CPR 1381-1385* (London, 1897), pp.347, 501-2, 502.

¹⁶ S. Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413', *English Historical Review*, cviii (1993), pp.281-311.

¹⁷ Surviving references to ties between members of the Gloucestershire upper gentry and members of the nobility are collated at: Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.270-92. For a broader national survey of connections, including those of the three Gloucestershire baronial families, see Appendix 6. Appendix 6 is compiled using: J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (4 Volumes, Stroud, 1992), *passim*.

¹⁸ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, pp.349-50; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls (CFR) 1383-1391* (London, 1929), pp.144-5; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iv, p.341; B. Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 2004), p.572. Sir John Berkeley 1351-1428, the younger half brother of Thomas' father Maurice, the sole issue from Thomas, Lord

period between 1389 and 1397 that Berkeley himself was not named, was serving as his steward at that time and therefore a clear case of deputising.¹⁹ The Sergeants came from Stone which bordered Berkeley on the south-east and were neighbours very much in the Berkeley sphere of influence.²⁰ So too were the Veels of Charfield and Sir Peter le Veel was appointed on two peace commissions in 1382. Sir John Bromwich, who was appointed three times between 1382 and 1384, had links with the Talbot family, being Gilbert, Lord Talbot's (d.1387) father-in-law, as well as having other links with John of Gaunt and the Mortimer earls of March.²¹ Other commissioners also had ties with other magnates outside the county baronage - Sir John Thorp was retained by the king while John Joce and Robert Whittington are also described as being the king's esquires.²² John Beauchamp of Powick was related to the earls of Warwick and Thomas Berkeley of Cobberley was an indentured retainer of John of Gaunt.²³

Generally the balance in the makeup of the commissions seems quite routine and harmonious. Thomas, Lord Berkeley was the most powerful political figure in the county and that is reflected by him being the most frequently appointed commissioner. The secondary figures are represented reasonably proportionately, with the Despenser and Talbot cross-county boundary interests being reflected in the division of their appointments. Associates and retainers can at times be seen to be deputising or representing certain parties and interests, but again this seems balanced according to stature in the county. Although these were in the service of magnates, they all also tended to be local men too. There do not seem to be any overtly political or controversial appointments made and it is hard to see any interference with this body being the root of any ill feeling Berkeley may have had towards Richard II. The only

Berkeley's (d.1361) second marriage to Katherine Clivedon. From him descended the line of the Berkeleys of Beverstone Castle. Thomas and John are near contemporaries, John being two years older.

¹⁹ Just 3/60/4 m.21d; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.65.

²⁰ John Sergeant also sought lordship from the earl of Stafford and John of Gaunt: Stafford Record Office D 641/1/2/135-42, cited in Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.288; *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83 (Reg. II)*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, lvi-lvii, 1937), nos.75, 644.

²¹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls (CCR) 1360-1364* (London, 1908), p.158; *CCR 1374-1377* (London, 1913), p.112; *CCR 1381-1385* (London, 1920), p.408; *CPR 1367-1370* (London, 1913), p.463; *CPR 1370-1374* (London, 1914), p.279. For Bromwich's links to John of Gaunt see: *Reg. II*, no.9. For his record of service to the Mortimers see: *CCR 1381-1385*, p.59.

²² *CPR 1377-1381* (London, 1895), p.157; *CPR 1370-1374*, p.27; *CRP 1399-1401* (London, 1903), p.183.

²³ *Reg. II*, no.35.

appointment that has raised interest before is that of Sir John Russell on 14 November 1398.²⁴ Russell was a Worcestershire man, with other lands in Suffolk, but no apparent interests at all in Gloucestershire. As was happening in other counties at the time, there is a suspicion that Russell was a courtier appointed for political reasons.²⁵ However, even if this was the case, one king's man manoeuvred into an entrenched and very localised body would at worst be seen as an infiltrator and would certainly not have had a serious impact upon the balance of the commission.

Some of the rolls of the sessions of the peace for this period for Gloucestershire survive.²⁶ In Gloucestershire four rolls, covering 14 sessions, under six commissions during the periods of 1361-3, 1378, 1384-6 and 1395-8 survive, which give an insight into the makeup and workings of this body. In terms of sitting on the commissions, on the first roll Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) presides over the one session recorded in 1361.²⁷ The other justices present are listed as simply he 'et sociis suis justiciariis domini Regis' (and his fellow justices of the lord king).²⁸ On the second roll, Sir John Beauchamp, John Sergeant, Robert Cole and John Gayner are named as being present in the 1378 session.²⁹ On the third roll, Thomas, Lord Berkeley is recorded as being present as part of the quorum (at this particular commission one of the peers was required to be present for business to be conducted when hearing indictments) on four of the five sessions during the 1384-6 roll.³⁰ On two he was named as being simply 'with others' and the other two with John Cassy, William Heybere and 'others'. On the fifth session recorded, Hugh, earl of Stafford takes over as the peer required by the

²⁴ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.131-2; *CPR 1391-1396* (London, 1905), p.435.

²⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.132. Saul highlights Robert Witney and Thomas Clanvow being appointed in Herefordshire and also Sir John Russell also being appointed in Warwickshire as other examples of household knights being parachuted into counties they had no links at this time.

²⁶ E. G. Kimball (ed.), 'Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions of the Peace 1361-1398', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, lxii (1940), pp.4-185. These are four of the 53 which survive between the reigns of Edward III to Edward IV: Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace*, pp.34-7.

²⁷ Collating references of recorded attendance is far more accurate than looking at the payment of expenses as most members of peace commissions did not claim them.

²⁸ Kimball (ed.), 'Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions', pp.63, 69. Another session late in 1361, not recorded on these rolls, notes that Gilbert, Lord Talbot was present along with Simon Basset, John Tracy and William Yonge: KB 27/404 Rex m.12.

²⁹ Kimball (ed.), 'Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions', p.82.

³⁰ Powell describes the 1380s as a decade of confusion and ambiguity in the history of the justices of the peace. The quorum of 1384 was a particularly large and unusual one: Powell, 'The Administration', pp.54-5; Kimball (ed.), 'Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions', p.36.

quorum, again with John Cassy, William Heyberer and ‘others’.³¹ On the final roll, covering 1395-8, there is no noble presence in the seven sessions with John Cassy seemingly heading them in this period. He is joined over the sessions by a selection of Robert Whittington, John Derhurst, Sir Thomas Boteler, Sir Maurice Russell, Sir John Berkeley and John Bisle.³² There is no record of Richard, Lord Talbot sitting and the records do not exist for the period in which Thomas, Lord Despenser or Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d. 1418) were appointed. Of the other justices, John Cassy was a lawyer and one of the chief barons of the Exchequer, whereas all the other justices recorded as attending were members of the local gentry. Cassy also had local connections, as he was from Deerhurst near Gloucester.

Although this sample is small, it is valuable enough to show that, more so than where attendance has previously been studied, there was a reasonable involvement of the Gloucestershire barons in the peace commissions.³³ Of the 14 sessions recorded, six had a peer in attendance. These six were all also from the seven recorded in the period between 1361 and 1386, whereas there was no noble presence on any of the sessions between 1395 and 1398. This was probably linked to the changing quorums that were being experimented with, particularly during the 1380s, which finally settled down in 1394.³⁴ It is hard to conclude from the evidence that barons attended peace commissions in Gloucestershire with any frequency. However, it is possible to say that it was not a completely unheard of occurrence.

Members of three baronial families were also appointed to other commissions in the county such as special commissions of oyer and terminer (to hear and determine) and commissions of *de wallis et fossatis* (walls and ditches) and *de kidellis* (fish weirs, sometimes with mills as well).³⁵ These are harder to quantify because whereas peace commissions were appointed routinely and for the administrative unit of the county,

³¹ Kimball (ed.), ‘Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions’, pp.100, 105, 109, 129, 135.

³² Kimball (ed.), ‘Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions’, pp.143, 144, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 159, 161, 162, 165.

³³ Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices of the Peace’, p.285. Walker shows that only six of the 19 magnates appointed to the Yorkshire commissions between 1389 and 1413 can be shown to have sat as justices and that they were instead expected to maintain a general watch on the conduct of the bench.

³⁴ Powell, ‘The Administration’, pp.49-59.

³⁵ For commissions of oyer and terminer see: R. W. Kaeuper, ‘Law and Order in Fourteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Special Commissions of Oyer and Terminer’, *Speculum*, liv (1979), pp.734-84.

these were commissioned for specific purposes, often localised, and appointment to them would be based on a more complex set of criteria including geographical location or ownership of certain types of property or possessions. However, they still demonstrate an involvement in local concerns and the willingness of central government to delegate duties to the individuals commissioned.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley was appointed to 23 special commissions of oyer and terminer: nine for Gloucestershire, four for Somerset and 10 for multiple counties or more localised purposes. Nine of these were spread fairly evenly across Richard II's reign, 10 were concentrated between 1400 and 1403 and the remaining four between 1413 and 1417. Obviously these were more common during periods of civil unrest such as following the 1381 Peasants' Revolt or the 1400 Epiphany Rising and Glendower Revolt. However, Berkeley's recurrent use during the latter of these periods, as well as acknowledging the geographical importance of his lordship during the Welsh disturbances, also reinforces his reputation as a loyalist to the new king.³⁶ Berkeley was also appointed to three commissions *de wallis et fossatis* in the first half of the 1380s and one in 1401, referring to the banks of the Severn in Gloucestershire, as well as other places in the county.³⁷ Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) was appointed on 11 commissions of oyer and terminer: two in Gloucestershire, four in Herefordshire and five with more specific local mandate. These were generally evenly spread over time, but with some concentration in 1381 and 1382.³⁸ He was also appointed to a commission *de kidellis* in April 1364, referring to the River Wye in Gloucestershire.³⁹ A licence granted in 1358 had previously highlighted Talbot, along with Henry, duke of Lancaster, the abbot of Gloucester and John Gyse, as a notable weir owner on the Severn.⁴⁰ Removing illegal weirs would help enforce the monopoly of authorised ones of which he was clearly an interested party. Richard, Lord Talbot was appointed on a special commission of oyer and terminer in Shropshire in 1384, about the time he began serving on peace commissions in that county too.⁴¹ He was also appointed on one special oyer and

³⁶ *CPR 1367-1422* (15 Volumes, London, 1895-1916), *passim*.

³⁷ *CPR 1377-1381*, p.576; *CPR 1381-1385*, p.496; *CPR 1385-1389* (London, 1900), p.89; *CPR 1401-1405* (London, 1905), p.65.

³⁸ *CPR 1350-1389* (11 Volumes, London, 1895-1916), *passim*.

³⁹ *CPR 1361-1364* (London, 1912), p.540.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1358-1361* (London, 1911), pp.107-8.

⁴¹ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.496.

terminer commissions in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire in 1391, again related to the River Severn, this time regarding the prevention of illegal salmon fishing.⁴² Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) served on two special oyer and terminer commissions between 1413 and 1415, one in Cirencester touching problems with the abbot's tenants, one in Herefordshire about suppressing Lollards and the other regarding tenants in the Arundel lordships in Shropshire.⁴³ Thomas, Lord Despenser was only appointed to two special commissions, both preventing the enhancement of mills, weirs and kiddles, one in Gloucestershire and one in Worcester, both in June 1398.⁴⁴

A number of cases from this time are good examples of the use of baronial influence and force to uphold law. In 1385, Thomas, Lord Berkeley was appointed to head a commission to repress an insurrection in Cirencester after the abbey there had been attacked.⁴⁵ Berkeley and Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) were also sanctioned to undertake similar action there again in 1413 when they were called upon to reassert the authority of the abbot and his right to exact due customs and service from his tenant.⁴⁶ A third instance from 1399 sees a petition from the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, requesting that the king grant a special commission to Lord Berkeley to enquire into a case where riotous commons had attacked their watermills and oppressed their servants, which the king assented to.⁴⁷

These commissions demonstrate how barons were important figures in all kinds of local affairs. The investigation and enforcement of law, from keeping waterways free from illegal fishing machinery, to securing customs and service from tenants for third party landowners, to the suppression of unorthodox religious practices, were all matters in which the king looked to these local representatives to do his bidding. While some of the lesser men on these commissions used them as stepping stones to help make their careers, members on the baronage were appointed out of recognition of their substance and influence in the area. By legitimising the use of organised force for constructive and royal purposes, a partnership was in place which recognised and

⁴² *CPR 1391-1396*, p.77.

⁴³ *CPR 1413-1416* (London, 1910), pp.38, 177, 344.

⁴⁴ *CPR 1396-1399* (London, 1909), pp.371, 372.

⁴⁵ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.593; *CCR 1381-1385*, p.529.

⁴⁶ *CPR 1413-1416*, p.38.

⁴⁷ SC 8/250/12456; *CPR 1396-1399*, p.585.

reinforced the reality of local dominions, but at the same time tried to ally state and private causes. The suppression of criminality from the lower social orders was one such common interest, as was the protection of property conventions. On the other hand, commissions such as repairing riverbanks and drainage ditches, while in the interests of landholders as much as anyone, also displayed some sign of altruism. However, in general these commissions were conservative in nature and aimed to protect the status quo, the powerful acting harmoniously together to maintain order. In this way barons were ultimately using public authority for their own purpose and to protect their private interests.

Apart from through their involvement on commissions there were also other areas where barons could influence local politics in an indirect sense and prejudice matters in their favour. The most important local offices in each county were the sheriff, the escheator and the two knights of the shire returned to parliament.⁴⁸ The sheriff was the chief administrative and judicial officer of a shire.⁴⁹ He was the king's representative in the county and responsible for royal interests, seeing that writs were carried out and that law and order were maintained. The sheriff was appointed by the chancellor, treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, but there seems little doubt that magnates were able to influence appointments. The appointments of sheriffs in the late fourteenth century show a number of retainers and associates of the three principal baronial families. Sir John Berkeley, as mentioned above, was Thomas, Lord Berkeley's uncle and he served as sheriff twice (1392-3 and 1397-8).⁵⁰ Sir John Tracy (served as sheriff in 1363-8, 1369-71 and 1378-9) and his son Sir William Tracy (1394-5 and 1417-18) were retainers of the Berkeleys. Sir John Tracy was described as a household knight of Thomas, Lord Berkeley's father and Sir William Tracy was recorded as being a councillor (*de consilio*) of Berkeley's in 1395.⁵¹ Other sheriffs who

⁴⁸ For a detailed study of office holding in fourteenth century Gloucestershire, see: Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, ch.4.

⁴⁹ 'List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to AD 1831', compiled by A. Hughes, *List and Index Society*, ix (New York, 1963, reprint of London, 1898 edition), p.50. For discussions on sheriffs see: R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁵⁰ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.115. Sir John Berkeley also served as sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire.

⁵¹ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.313; J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. ii, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1883), p.3; KB 27/536 Rex mm.21-21d.

have been identified as Berkeley retainers were Ralph Walsh (or Waleys) (1379-80 and 1383-4) and Sir Nicholas Berkeley of Durseley (1374-5).⁵² Berkeley's neighbour Sir Peter le Veel also served in 1375-6. The Berkeleys were not alone though in having friends and patrons serve as sheriff. Sir Thomas Moigne, a retainer of Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387), served as sheriff between 1360 and 1363.⁵³ Robert Pointz (1396-7) and John Brouning (1398-9) were both retainers of the Despensers and indicative of a swing in power relations in the county following Thomas, Lord Despenser's majority, although Sir John Berkeley did serve in the period in between the two.⁵⁴ Regarding other magnates, John Joce (1373-4 and 1376-7) and Sir John Thorp's (1381-2) links with the king have already been highlighted, whilst Sir Thomas FitzNichol (1382-3) was the steward of the earl of Stafford's Gloucestershire lands, as well as a neighbour of the Berkeleys.⁵⁵ In total, Saul has calculated that of the 47 different sheriffs in the fourteenth century, 22 are known to have been retainers of magnates.⁵⁶

A similar pattern can be found for escheators, the royal officials who held inquests to determine who should inherit the property of deceased tenants-in-chief and who took control of any lands coming into the king's custody because of the minority of heir.⁵⁷ Although approximately half of these in this period came from outside the county, some clients identified above appear in this position as well.⁵⁸ Berkeley stewards John Sergeant (1374-5) and John Couley (1384-5) both served as escheator for Gloucestershire, as did Ralph Walsh (1376-7).⁵⁹ Despenser's retainer Robert Pointz (1395-7 and 1399-1400) and the king's esquire Robert Whittington (1392-4) held the post as well. The appointment of David Vaghan, a king's esquire, in February 1397 was almost certainly political because he had to deal with the duke of Gloucester's confiscated lands, something for which the king would have wanted a dependable representative. The second appointment of Robert Pointz in November 1399 is also significant because that was after Richard II's fall and therefore indicates that even

⁵² Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.154; *CPR 1374-1377* (London, 1916), p.164; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.3.

⁵³ E 159/143 Easter Recorda.

⁵⁴ *CCR 1399-1402* (London, 1927), p.306; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.510.

⁵⁵ Just 3/180 m.16.

⁵⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.153-4.

⁵⁷ 'List of Escheators for England and Wales with the dates of Appointment', complied by A. C. Wood, *List and Index Society*, lxxii (London, 1971, reprint of London, 1932 edition), p.53.

⁵⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.137-9.

⁵⁹ For reference to Couley's tie to Berkeley see: Just 3/180 m.24d.

though he was a retainer of Thomas, Lord Despenser, he was not considered unacceptably partisan to the county community.

The two knights of the shire returned from Gloucestershire to sit in the lower chamber of parliament were important political figures whose appointments were in some ways also indicative of more general local power relations.⁶⁰ Several prominent knights with links to nobles were returned during this period. The Berkeleys of Coberley (Gaunt), Berkeleys of Beverston (Berkeley), Tracys (Berkeley) and FitzNichols (Stafford and Berkeley) were among the most recurring names returned to parliament. Sir Thomas Moigne (Talbot) and Sir John Thorp (king) also represented the county. Drawing parallels with other Despenser-orientated appointments to the shrievalty and escheator's office at the time, Hugh Mortimer, an esquire of Thomas, Lord Despenser's with no connection to Gloucestershire, and John Brouning, another of his retainers, were returned together in 1399.⁶¹

Although lordship was not simplistic and a plurality of affiliations was not uncommon, local government was almost entirely carried out by entrenched local figures with other loyalties which would affect any impartiality that was supposed to pertain to their offices. The extent to which having friends and retainers in these political offices enabled barons to use, and even abuse, this influence can be seen by studying the records of legal cases which show the system working in practice.⁶² This in particular requires a look at lawlessness, both of the barons themselves, but more commonly their retainers, and the use of local administration and justice to manipulate the law to their advantage.

Noble lawlessness in general tended to come in the form of attacks on property as a result of disputes. Some crimes were very minor. For instance Thomas, Lord Berkeley and his uncle Sir John Berkeley were pardoned in 1387 for entering the Forest

⁶⁰ 'Return of Names of Members of Lower House of Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, with Names of Constituency and Date of Return, 1213-1874', *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, lxii – part i (London, 1878), pp.197-260; Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. i, pp.398-403.

⁶¹ *CCR 1396-1399* (London, 1927), p.459.

⁶² For this section on baronial lawlessness only the Ancient Petitions collection and details of special commissions of oyer and terminer appointed have been used. A full trawl of the King's Bench plea rolls has not been undertaken due to the scale of such an undertaking.

of Dean without licence and unlawfully killing some of the king's deer there.⁶³ A more serious case involving the Gloucestershire barons though is recorded. A feud between Thomas, Lord Berkeley and James Clifford appears to have reached breaking point in 1389. They both owned part of the manor of Frampton-on-Severn. Clifford had a notorious past, being indicted for murder in 1386 and described by Saul as being 'without parallel in the annals of crime in fourteenth century Gloucestershire'.⁶⁴ However, he also held offices in the county including being elected to parliament and was also retained by both Richard II and Henry IV. A petition by James Clifford, probably from 1389, requests redress because Berkeley and others had come by force and arms to Frampton and taken 200 of his sheep which he could not have delivery of because of the power of Berkeley.⁶⁵ In 1389 Thomas, Lord Berkeley was bound by a mainprise of 500 marks, with the earl of Northumberland and John, Lord Devereux his suretors, not to do or procure hurt or harm to Clifford.⁶⁶ The nature of this implies that Berkeley either had undertaken such action before or was threatening to do so, or it could be a direct response to Clifford's petition. Another possible indirect reference to this feud appears in 1402-3 when the justices who would have been natural Berkeley loyalists, his uncle Sir John Berkeley and steward Richard Ruyhall, were excluded from a rump session of the peace commission judging Clifford in another case brought by John Atwood.⁶⁷

The other cases of lawlessness involving Gloucestershire barons relate to the work of their retainers. John Poleyn, an esquire of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, and John Trevisa, the Berkeley chaplain, were accused in a case involving the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym. Poleyn's services had been secured by Trevisa who was disputing the prebend of Woodford with Thomas Cone (or Coue). Poleyn and Trevisa went to the church of Westbury-on-Trym, ejected Cone from his stall and placed Robert Barrak, the vicar of Trevisa, in it. They also took Cone's servants and imprisoned them

⁶³ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.22; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.358. Smyth mistakenly calls Sir John Berkeley Thomas' cousin, rather than uncle, distorting his own and the commonly accepted genealogy – see footnote above.

⁶⁴ Just 3/172 m.6; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.176.

⁶⁵ SC 8/84/4192. Probably from 1389 as it was attached to SC 8/84/4193 which will be discussed below and which has been conclusively dated to 1389.

⁶⁶ *CCR 1385-1389*, p.672.

⁶⁷ I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin (eds.), *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482* (Selden Society, xxxv, 1918), pp.86-92.

and held the prebend by force. Cone petitioned the king because nothing could be done about it because of Poleyn's power.⁶⁸

Another petition made by Robert Wattes, dean of Westbury-on-Trym, complained at the same time that Poleyn had come at night with a large number of armed men, broken into his house, assaulted him, imprisoned him and threatened him so that for fear of death he promised to make fine with him and to give him all his goods. Then, at a later date (the same night as the attack on Cone), Poleyn, Trevisa and others again broke into his house to kill him, assaulted his servants, carried off his goods and chattels and committed other wrongs against him. Wattes requested a remedy because he could not have recovery at common law because Poleyn was such a great maintainer of quarrels and had so much support from great men in the country. This last statement seems to clearly be a reference to Berkeley who was patron of both Poleyn and Trevisa.⁶⁹

A Close Roll entry addressed to Thomas Holand, earl of Kent as constable of the Tower of London, approximately nine months after these offences were committed, orders that, following a petition made on behalf of Poleyn, he be set free, with John Dautry, John Coueley, Walter Griffin and Nicholas Gascoigne having mainperned in Chancery under pain of £200. Poleyn had also undertaken the same pain and had made an oath on the gospels for his peaceable behaviour towards Robert Wattes and Thomas Cone and that he would do or procure them no harm.⁷⁰

Another case, this time involving retainers of Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387), sees the prior of Rochester in Kent complaining about the seizure of crops by Talbot's men.⁷¹ However, turning a blind eye to retainers extorting and rustling using the broad banner of their association with a lord was one matter. In some instances though barons would actively intervene to protect their clients. In 1379 Gilbert, Lord Talbot obtained by his supplication a pardon for William Wydyherst for the death of Peter atte

⁶⁸ SC 8/84/4193; N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History*, ix (1990), pp.311-12.

⁶⁹ SC 8/84/7355.

⁷⁰ CCR 1389-1392 (London, 1922), pp.25-6.

⁷¹ SC 8/138/6873.

Nyrdelond.⁷² Thomas, Lord Despenser also entreated on behalf of a number of individuals, presumably retainers or associates of his, in three different criminal cases in the mid-1390s. He obtained pardons for John Tayllour of Thornebury in July 1393 for robbery and murder in Gloucestershire, for Richard Stafford of Baschurche for murder in Shropshire in October 1393, and for a number of servants of his uncle Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich for robbery and murder in Norwich, most acquired in December 1393 and one other in January 1394.⁷³

The political character of Gloucestershire during the reign of Richard II was without doubt dominated by Thomas, Lord Berkeley. According to Smyth, the Berkeley family historian, in December 1384 and January 1385 Richard II committed to him the government of the whole county as part of the preparations for war with France and Scotland.⁷⁴ Although no other record of such a charge would appear to exist anymore, it does reinforce the idea of him being earl in all but name.⁷⁵ Central government clearly saw him as the essential person to commission to do its bidding. Complaints about his ‘power’, both direct and indirect, obstructing the workings of common law shows that he was also able to subjugate the citizens to his will without royal backing. The argument has been made that Richard II purposefully attempted to erode his powerbase and that there was an estrangement between the two in the 1390s.⁷⁶ Although it is clear that Berkeley was a closer political ally of Henry IV - taking a leading role in the deposition proceedings, even personally representing the entire baronial estate at one point, serving as admiral of the west, escorting the king’s bride from Brittany for the wedding and sitting on the king’s council - it is a slightly illegitimate leap to suppose that there was active animosity between him and Richard II.⁷⁷ The re-emergence of royal-backed Despenser influence in the county certainly

⁷² *CPR 1377-1381*, p.315.

⁷³ *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.314, 327, 341, 376.

⁷⁴ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.24,

⁷⁵ C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p.64. Given-Wilson lists the Berkeleys as one of the six greatest families never to receive an earldom in the fourteenth century.

⁷⁶ R. Hanna, ‘Sir Thomas Berkeley and his Patronage’, *Speculum*, lxiv (1989), pp.890-1; Saul, *Richard II*, pp.442-3.

⁷⁷ C. Given Wilson, ‘Henry IV: Parliament of 1399 (October), Text and Translation’, in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 59; A. Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), p.67; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), p.159; ‘Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre’, *Publications of the English*

weakened Berkeley's regional hegemony, but this would have been largely expected once the heir came of age. The subsequent involvement of Despenser and his men in local politics is notable but not extraordinary. The commissions and administrative appointments did begin to represent the rebalancing of the power equilibrium, but again this was not unexpected. The dominance of the county Berkeley had enjoyed for 20 years since the death of Edward, Lord Despenser in 1375 was unparalleled by any baron of the age, except the Nevilles of Raby in North Yorkshire (who did become earls in 1397). That this dominance began to subside would have been disappointing, but would unlikely have been the cause of complaint as it was a natural part of the inheritance and birth right conventions of the age.⁷⁸ Perhaps some innovations though were beyond the level of acceptability for Berkeley, particularly the raising of Despenser to earl of Gloucester. This, more than any material challenges to his lordship, would probably have angered him and ultimately stirred him to rebellion. In an age where rank and social status were all defining, this elevation of Despenser to a title which he likely harboured ambition for would have been unacceptable, viewed as contrary to established protocol and could well have led to serious local conflict had it endured longer. The impact on Gloucestershire was in the end short lived as, due to the deposition of Richard II and the failure of the Epiphany Rising, by 1400 the Berkeleys had restored their unrivalled supremacy. This would last until Thomas' death in 1417 when a dispute between his daughter and nephew would cause the family's lands to be divided and their local influence consequently diluted.

Historical Society, ed. B. Williams (London, 1964), p.219; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, 1376-1422, eds. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.309-10; *CPR 1401-1405*, pp.328-9; E 101/43/16; C. Given Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of 1404 (January), Text and Translation', in C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), item 37; SC 8/88/4365; SC 8/144/7174; SC 8/173/8624; SC 8/180/8975; SC 8/303/15103. Berkeley even entertained Richard II at Berkeley Castle in 1386: BC SR 48; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, p.203.

⁷⁸ Harriss notes that 'between long-established nobility of comparable rank disruptive rivalry was less common. Their own estates and area of influence were usually well defined, and even where these were juxtaposed a tacit recognition of the need for coexistence seems to have obtained.': G. Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), p.5.

iii) Land, Inheritance and Economics

Thomas, Lord Berkeley was by some distance the largest lay landowner in Gloucestershire.⁷⁹ The focus of his lands was the castle and town of Berkeley with its members and hundred, located on the east bank of the River Severn in the north and west of the South Cotswolds. The standard division of the members of this ‘great manor’ of Berkeley (also known as Berkeley Harness) were the nine manors of Alkington, Cam, Coaley, Ham (with Appleridge), Hinton, Hurst, Symond’s Hall, Slimbridge and Wotton-under-Edge. On the west bank adjacent in the Forest of Dean, Berkeley also held the manor of Awre and its appurtenances Etloe and Blakeney, with the hundred of Bledisloe. In total Thomas, Lord Berkeley held 11 manors in Gloucestershire, as well as significant other rents and knights’ fees in the county.⁸⁰ Berkeley’s other main concentration of land was further down the Severn Estuary, just over the Somerset border to the south and west of Bristol. Here he held the manors and appurtenant hundreds of Portbury and Bedminster, bringing his total number of hundreds to four.⁸¹ The final manor Berkeley inherited from his father was the outlying Great Wenden in Essex. These lands were valued at approximately £1160 per year, although two dowers were for a time taken away from that figure and will be discussed below.⁸²

Thomas, Lord Berkeley’s inheritance in Gloucestershire was slightly smaller than the lands his grandfather Thomas (d.1361) had held at his death, as the elder Thomas had granted some of his acquisitions to his son from his second marriage Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone. Further, the manor of Hurst from his patrimony in the ‘great manor’ of Berkeley went to Thomas’ (d.1417) younger brother James, father of Berkeley’s eventual heir James, Lord Berkeley (d.1463).

⁷⁹ For Berkeley’s landholding see: C 138/28/50; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1413-1418 (CIPM)* (London, 1995), pp.250-6; *CIPM 1365-1369* (London, 1938), pp.192-5; Stokes (ed.), *Inquisitions Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, vol. vi, pp.47-50; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xxxvii-xliii, 1; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.62-3; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp.xiv-xv. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁸⁰ Alkington, Cam, Coaley, Ham (with Appleridge), Hinton, Symond’s Hall, Slimbridge and Wotton-under-Edge and Awre (but not Hurst, which his younger brother James held), plus South Cerney and Cerney Wick.

⁸¹ Berkeley, Bledisloe, Portbury and Bedminster.

⁸² BC GMR 17; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xl-xli, 562.

In terms of manor acquisitions during his lifetime, Berkeley bought the manors of South Cerney and Cerney Wick in Gloucestershire in 1398, Shorncote in Wiltshire in 1414 and Tickenham in Somerset in 1415. He also sold Great Wenden in Essex in 1404 to part balance his acquisitions.⁸³ However, with two dowagers restricting his purchases until the late 1380s and the knowledge that he had no younger sons to provide for following his wife's death in 1392, land acquisition was not a exuberant engagement of his, particularly compared to the major procurement of his grandfather.

In addition to Berkeley and Portbury-Bedminster, the third bloc of Thomas, Lord Berkeley's interests came to him by virtue of his marriage to the Lisle heiress in 1367. Through this marriage he acquired, on his stepfather's death in 1382, two-dozen new manors, plus other interests, scattered across Devon (six manors), Berkshire (four manors), Cornwall (four manors), Wiltshire (four manors), Oxfordshire (three manors), Northamptonshire (two manors) and Buckinghamshire (one manor). This inheritance was the whole lands of the two baronies of Lisle (*caput* at Kingston Lisle in Berkshire) and Tyeys (with two *caputs* at Alverton, Cornwall and Chilton Foliat, Wiltshire) and was a major acquisition worth an estimated c.£600 a year.⁸⁴ This was not part of the original marriage agreement as Warin, Lord Lisle had a son, Gerard, who only died without issue in 1380 or 1381. Following this the arrangements were made for Lisle to settle all his lands on Berkeley and Margaret Lisle in exchange for accommodation and free hunting at Berkeley Castle for the rest of his life and the agreement that their issues would also bear the Lisle arms.⁸⁵

During the early years of his majority Berkeley was impeded by the dowers of his mother and step-grandmother, who lived until 1389 and 1385 respectively. His mother Elizabeth's dower was worth £335 per year and included the manors of Great Wenden, Coaley, Awre and two-thirds of Portbury.⁸⁶ His grandfather's second wife Katherine's dower was worth £285 a year and included the manors of Cam, Wotton-

⁸³ Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xli-xlii; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pp.13-16.

⁸⁴ SC 12/18/42 dorse; C 138/28/50; CIPM 1413-1418, pp.250-6; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, p.xli, 575.

⁸⁵ BC SC 559; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, p.656; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.4.

⁸⁶ C 136/58 no.1; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pp.16-18; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xl-xli.

under-Edge and Symond's Hall and a third of the hundreds of Berkeley and Bedminster.⁸⁷ This meant that Thomas, Lord Berkeley only inherited lands worth £540 a year once he had liveries of his land in 1374. This is compared to the c.£1760 he had in his possession by 1392 (when Lisle's widow died and he had reversion of his third set of dowered lands). Following the death of his father in 1368, the wardship of Berkeley's lands was granted to his father-in-law Warin, Lord Lisle for £400 a year, reflecting this valuation.⁸⁸ During the period when he was handicapped by the dowagers Berkeley suffered cash shortages and was forced to mortgage his unentailed lands in 1375 to raise 400 marks, and also to make an agreement with his step-grandmother in the same year to cut and sell timber from the dowered manor of Wotton-under-Edge.⁸⁹ From the 1390s though Berkeley became one of, if not the, richest barons in the country, with an income easily sufficient to support a small earldom.⁹⁰ Given-Wilson lists the Berkeleys as one of the six greatest families never to receive an earldom in the fourteenth century and it was during this lord's time that the family were at their zenith.⁹¹

In the reign of Richard II the Talbots were the second largest lay landowners, after the Berkeleys, in the county.⁹² Their baronial *caput* was at Goodrich (although they are also interchangeably referred to the Talbots of Archenfield (Irchenfield), another key patrimonial manor), just north-east of Monmouth and south of Ross-on-Wye in Herefordshire. During Richard II's reign the Talbots possessed seven manors in Gloucestershire – Longhope, Huntley, Lydney and Lea in the Forest of Dean, and Painswick, Moreton Valence and Whaddon all in west-central Gloucestershire.⁹³

⁸⁷ C 136/38 no.10; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pp.16-18; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xl-xli.

⁸⁸ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1356-1368 (CFR)* (London, 1923), p.388.

⁸⁹ BC SC 549; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xli, 343.

⁹⁰ According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, Thomas, Lord Berkeley held 39 manors in nine counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

⁹¹ Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.64.

⁹² For the Talbots' landholding see: C 136/48/4; C 136/95/17; C 138/41/68; *CIPM 1384-1392* (London, 1974), pp.175-7; *CIPM 1391-1399* (London, 1988), pp.335-9; *CIPM 1418-1422* (London, 2002), pp.91-3; Stokes (ed.), *Inquisitions Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, vol. vi, pp.152-3, 200-1.

⁹³ It seems certain that this is Lea in the Forest of Dean, rather than Leigh in the Deerhurst Hundred. The inquisitions post mortem reveal that it was held from the Abbot of St Peter's Gloucester, which Lea was, whereas Leigh belonged to Deerhurst Priory. Also see map in Appendix 4.

Slightly more than these Gloucestershire lands, the main focus of the family's interest lay in Herefordshire. Here they held the castle and lordship of Goodrich, the hundred of Wormelow and the manors of Archenfield, Penyard and Eccleswall. The family also held the manor of Bampton in Oxfordshire and Broughton Gifford (incorporating High Swindon) in Wiltshire.

In 1383 Richard Talbot married Ankaret, heiress of the Shropshire family the Stranges of Blackmere (a cadet branch of the Stranges of Knockyn). From this point he began to receive summons to parliament as Lord Talbot of Blackmere, even though his father was still alive and being summoned as Lord Talbot of Goodrich. Upon his father's death in 1387 Richard's summonses reverted to his father's title. This marriage brought the family new landed interests, particularly in Shropshire where they inherited the manors of Doddington, Wrockwardine and Blackmere (also called Whitchurch). Like the Berkeleys with the Lisle inheritance, this marriage brought new wealth to the family and cause a realignment of their regional interests.

Three manors in Essex, Great Braxted, Hallingbury and Wallbury, play a part in one of the famous inheritance disputes of the age. When John Hastings, earl of Pembroke died without children in 1389 there followed a struggle for his lands between rival claimants. These estates were first awarded to Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin who it was found was descended from a sister of Hasting's grandfather and therefore heir general, and William Beauchamp (Lord Abergavenny from 1392) who was descended from a sister of Hasting's grandmother.⁹⁴ However, in 1396 they were ejected by Richard, Lord Talbot, leader of three claimants descended from sisters of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Talbot died in the same year though and the estates were restored by the Chancery to Grey and Beauchamp.⁹⁵

The Despensers were the third largest lay landowners in late fourteenth century Gloucestershire, although far more than the Berkeleys and Despensers this represented

⁹⁴ *CCR 1389-1392*, p.411.

⁹⁵ SC 8/249/12446; *CCR 1396-1399*, pp.110-11; *CCR 1399-1402*, pp.376-9; R. I. Jack, 'Entail and Descent: The Hastings Inheritance, 1370 to 1436', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1965), pp.1-19. According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, the three Lords Talbot averaged between them 12 manors in four counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

only a small competent of their total landed interests.⁹⁶ They held the Honour of Tewkesbury with the borough, plus Fairford, Chipping Sodbury and Stoke Gifford. These four manors were very spread apart, Tewkesbury being on the north border of the county, Fairford on the east border and Chipping Sodbury and Stoke Gifford in the south. Tewkesbury, Fairford and Chipping Sodbury had passed to the Despensers from the Clares, whilst the other two Clare Gloucestershire manors Thornbury and Rendcombe had descended with the Honour of Gloucester to the Staffords. Tewkesbury was the principal Despenser possession in the county, both because it was an important market town, the third largest in the county after Bristol and Gloucester, and because the monastery there had been founded as the family mausoleum.⁹⁷ Outside of Gloucestershire Edward, Lord Despenser left on his death in 1375 42 manors, castles, hundreds and towns, scattered across 16 other counties. Some of these manors had been part of the restoration of the Despenser barony in 1338. Hugh, Lord Despenser (d.1349), son of the famous Hugh the younger, received his mother's third of the Clare lands and these descended to his nephew and heir Edward. Others, particularly the manors in the Midlands, had come to Edward, Lord Despenser from his father. The rest of Edward's lands, those in Suffolk and also half of the Ewyas Lacy lordship in the Welsh Marches, had come to him through his marriage to Elizabeth, the wealthy heiress of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh. The centre of this inheritance was the Lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg and in particular the castle and borough of Cardiff. For nearly two decades Edward, Lord Despenser's estates were administered by his widow, who had been granted the keeping of her son's lands.⁹⁸

Thomas, Lord Despenser was granted livery of his lands, except his mother's dower which he never received, in 1394, despite still being underage.⁹⁹ In 1397, as a reward for his support in the destruction of the three Appellant Lords, he was endowed with some of the forfeited lands. These were mostly from the earl of Warwick and

⁹⁶ For the Despensers' landholding see: C 135/252/1; C 135/253/1; C 137/1/2; *CIPM 1374-1377* (London, 1952), pp.214-27; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (CIM) 1399-1422* (London, 1968), *passim*; Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', ch.5. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁹⁷ R. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey, The Despenser Mausoleum', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xciii (1974), pp.142-55.

⁹⁸ SC 8/158/7884; SC 8/106/5275; *CFR 1368-1377* (London, 1924), p.349; *CFR 1377-1383* (London, 1926), pp.46, 178, 193, 218-9, 276, 277-8; *CFR 1383-1391* (London, 1929), pp.243, 262-3, 346; *CFR 1391-1399* (London, 1929), p.51.

⁹⁹ *CCR 1392-1396* (London, 1925), pp.204-5; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.384, 427.

included Elmley Castle and six manors in Worcestershire, just over the border from Tewkesbury, and the Welsh Lordship of Elfael. He was also granted the manor of Medmenham and the keeping of Gloucester Castle for life, both of which had formerly belonged to the earl of Arundel. He also received the constablership of St Briavels Castle and wardenship of the Forest of Dean, which were formerly the duke of Gloucester's.¹⁰⁰ These additions were seen to endow him to a level appropriate to his new dignity, having at the same time been made earl of Gloucester. In January 1398 he even obtained reversal of the forfeitures laid on his ancestors in the 1320s. However, a series of quitclaims demonstrate that this was far more symbolic than a real attempt at mass property redistribution.¹⁰¹ Other estates in the region were granted to other of Richard II's allies instead, also preventing Despenser from recreating his ancestors' 'empire'.¹⁰² In spite of this, by Richard II's deposition in 1399 Thomas, earl of Gloucester was commanding a comfortable earldom's worth of land.¹⁰³

The baronial family of Berkeley was founded by Robert FitzHarding (d.1170), a Bristol merchant who purchased lands in Somerset (including the hundreds of Portbury and Bedminster) from Robert earl of Gloucester in the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰⁴ As an associate of the earl of Gloucester, he supported Empress Matilda and her son Henry of Anjou in the war against King Stephen. In reward for his services, Henry II granted him the town and members of Berkeley at some point before 1166. A period of consolidation followed for the rest of the twelfth and most of the thirteenth centuries as these two blocs of land remained the family's patrimony. Three successive lords between 1281 and 1361, particularly Thomas (d.1361), expanded the family's landed interests through marriage, but more so estate purchasing. Most land purchased was in and around their established lands in central Gloucestershire (including Awre and Bledisloe) and northern Somerset, while lands further afield tended to be used to endow younger sons. The next lord, Maurice (d.1368), was a retainer of the Black Prince and

¹⁰⁰ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.186, 219, 224; A. Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power in England and Wales, 1389-1413* (Oxford, 2003), pp.139-40.

¹⁰¹ *CCR 1396-1399*, pp.278, 284, 298, 329; Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, pp.141-2.

¹⁰² J. A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), p.191; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p.137; Saul, *Richard II*, p.382; Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, p.65-6

¹⁰³ According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, Thomas, Lord Despenser held 58 manors in 17 counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

¹⁰⁴ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, pp.34-5; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.420-1, 429, 517, 524, 528, 535.

fought in the Poitiers campaign of 1355-7. He was wounded and imprisoned for three years before being ransomed. He returned an invalid and died, probably of his injuries, without making much of an impact as lord and leaving 16-year-old Thomas as heir. As has been shown above, the acquisition of the Lisle estate through Thomas' (d.1417) marriage greatly increased the fortune of the family and was the culmination of this second period of expansion of the family's landed interest. Through the whole period from 1140 to 1417 it has been reflected that only the Plantagenets rivalled their ability to continue to produce male heirs and it was the failure of this that was the catalyst for the third period of the family's fortunes, one of dispute and conflict.¹⁰⁵

Following the death of Thomas, Lord Berkeley in 1417, his lands were divided between his nephew James, who succeeded him as baron and his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Richard earl of Warwick. Evidence seems to suggest that Berkeley fully intended James to succeed him as heir male, particularly as he had twice sold his marriage declaring him so. However the Warwicks mounted a legal challenge and while James inherited the barony of Berkeley, Elizabeth received her mother's lands (the Lisle inheritance) and claimed the lands of her father that had not been settled in tail male (Wotton, Symond's Hall, Coaley, Cam, Hinton and Slimbridge). An arbitration in the mid-1420s settled the former three on Warwick for life, while the latter three and the male issue were retained by James, Lord Berkeley. The earl of Warwick's death in 1439 reopened the dispute, this time between James and the three Warwick heiresses, led by the Talbots, the family into which the oldest daughter Margaret had married. James had seized Wotton, Symond's Hall and Coaley after Warwick's death but was dispossessed by the new countess of Shrewsbury. The dispute escalated into violence, including an assault on Berkeley Castle by the Talbots in 1451, and eventually culminated in the Battle of Nibley Green in 1470 (the last battle fought in England entirely between the private armies of feudal magnates) between the heir male William, Lord Berkeley and the heir general Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle. Berkeley was victorious and with Talbot killed a victor's peace was made with the new Lord Lisle.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, p.xxi.

¹⁰⁶ For a more detailed history of the Berkeley family through the Middle Ages see: Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.xxi-xlix. For the great Berkeley law-suit: J. H. Cooke, 'On the Great Berkeley Law-Suit of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, iii (1878-9), pp.305-24; A. Sinclair, 'The Great Berkeley Law-Suit Revisited, 1417-39', *Southern History*, ix (1987), pp.34-50; G. L. Harriss, 'Berkeley, James, First

The Talbot family enter the baronage in 1332 when Sir Gilbert Talbot was first summoned to parliament. However, it was his son Richard, the second Lord Talbot, who really secured the family's standing, both through domestic and military service to Edward III and through his marriage to the wealthy heiress Elizabeth Comyn. Covetous of her Comyn and Pembroke estates, Elizabeth was imprisoned by the influential Despensers and in March 1325 she was pressured into surrendering some of her possessions to them. Shortly after her release Elizabeth married Richard Talbot and in 1326 he helped her seize back Goodrich Castle and Painswick manor as the Despensers were forced from power. Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) and Richard, Lord Talbot (d.1396) continued the family's tradition of military careers and through this extended their wealth and reputation. Both also married well. Gilbert (d.1387) married two earls' daughters, the daughter of the earl of Ormond (the leading Anglo-Irish family the Butlers) and the daughter of the earl of Stafford. The marriage to Pernel Butler is also a reminder of the Talbot interests across the Irish Sea. The family had a claim to the Lordship of Wexford from their part of the Pembroke inheritance which John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury made good when he became the earl of Waterford in 1446.¹⁰⁷

The acquisition of the Strange of Blackmere inheritance through Richard, Lord Talbot's (d.1396) marriage proved to be of major significance to the Talbots in a way that the Lisle one never became for the Berkeleys. Gilbert (d.1418) again married into the titled nobility following his betrothal to Joan, daughter of the duke of Gloucester, although she died aged 15 or 16. His second marriage to a Portuguese lady was again childless and so he was succeeded by his brother John in 1421.¹⁰⁸ John Talbot, like his father, had married an heiress, Maud, daughter of Lord Furnival of Sheffield. He was therefore already being summoned to parliament as Lord Furnival (or interchangeably Lord Hallamshire) from 1409. A distinguished and loyal military career, which earned him the names 'the English Achilles' and 'the Terror of the French', saw him well

Baron Berkeley (c.1394–1463)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50214.

¹⁰⁷ John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury was appointed lieutenant of Ireland in 1414. His heavy handedness and economic exploitation in the country alienated the Anglo-Irish establishment and a resulting feud with the earl of Ormond plagued the administration in Ireland for over a quarter of a century. See: M. C. Griffiths, 'The Talbot-Ormond Struggle for Control of the Anglo-Irish Government, 1414-1447', *Irish Historical Studies*, ii (1940-1), pp.376-97.

¹⁰⁸ Following the death of his daughter and heir who was still a minor.

rewarded with lands and titles and in 1442 he was made earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁰⁹ The Talbots as a family were certainly a success story of the late medieval period, rising from gentry to titled nobility in 110 years, six generations and seven lords. A succession of male heirs, distinguished military careers and profitable marriages show the ingredients that were required for a family to prosper in the long term.¹¹⁰

The fortunes of the Despenser family had throughout their history been associated with royal favour. Hugh the elder Despenser was summoned to the parliament of 1295 where the lists of those individually summoned was first recorded. He became the chief adviser to Edward II and was raised to earl of Winchester in 1322. His son Hugh the younger Despenser had in 1306 married Eleanor Clare and as a result received part of the vast Clare lands, which he used as the foundation for building his own ‘Welsh empire’. Hugh the younger was also summoned to parliament from 1314 and father and son for a while held effective rule of the country before both were driven from power and executed in 1326, with their lands forfeited. Hugh the younger’s son Hugh began to restore the family’s fortunes by winning back the favour of Edward III and managing to secure new grants of land. On his mother’s death in 1337 he inherited her dowered third of the Clare lands and subsequently he began to receive parliamentary summonses. When he died in 1349, probably of plague, his nephew Edward succeeded to the lordship. Edward’s marriage to the heiress Elizabeth Burghersh saw the Despensers’ standing elevate significantly again following his majority in 1357 and the reversion of his mother-in-law’s dowered lands in 1359. Edward, Lord Despenser was a famed soldier but he died aged 39 leaving a two-year-old son as his heir. With Elizabeth having tirelessly administered the estates through his childhood, Thomas, Lord Despenser’s majority was characterised by a rapid rise to an earldom and an even quicker descent to a traitorous lynching in 1400, aged just 26. He had married

¹⁰⁹ The earldom of Shrewsbury has become the oldest existing earldom that has not merged into a higher title and the current and twenty-second earl is still a Talbot.

¹¹⁰ For a more detailed history of the Talbot family through the Middle Ages see: A. J. Pollard, ‘The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century’, Unpublished PhD thesis, Bristol (1968); A. J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453* (London, 1983); H. Talbot, *The English Achilles: An Account of the Life and Campaigns of John Talbot, First Earl of Shrewsbury, 1383-1453* (London, 1981); M. Woodcock, ‘John Talbot, Terror of the French: A Continuing Tradition’, *Notes and Queries*, li (2004), pp.249-51; S. L. Waugh, ‘Talbot, Richard, Second Lord Talbot (c.1306–1356)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26938; A. J. Pollard, ‘Talbot, John, First Earl of Shrewsbury and First Earl of Waterford (c.1387–1453)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26932.

Constance, daughter of Edmund duke of York, but their only son Richard died a minor and any lands that his mother had secured passed through his sister to her husbands the earl of Worcester and then the earl of Warwick.

In a hundred years the Despensers had twice risen into the titled nobility and had been among the most powerful men in the realm. But they had also suffered two forfeitures and three executions in five generations. The family were without a male heir of majority age for 63% of the period between 1349 and 1414.¹¹¹ By building their lands and their position with exceptional ambition and aggression, the Despensers had twice turned the political community against them. Ultimately though it was premature deaths, both natural and unnatural, which proved the downfall of the family. Edward III showed that he did not hold men responsible for their fathers' sins. Individual political miscalculation therefore was not necessarily fatal to dynastic development. Failure of heirs though was.¹¹²

There is little evidence from this period to assist in establishing accurately the economic position of individual magnates. The tax returns of 1436, while not a reliable estimation of landed wealth, are useful in a comparative sense. The Despensers had not survived to this point but the Talbot and Berkeley lords at that time were assessed. Of the 30 baronial families from Richard II's reign that survived to and are listed in 1436, John, Lord Talbot of Furnival is listed as the richest baron. He is the eleventh richest of all the lay lords with an assessed annual income of £1205 (including annuities), which puts him above three earls. This obviously reflects the Talbot, Strange of Blackmere and Furnival inheritances which had all reverted to him by this point, as well as his war spoils. James, Lord Berkeley is listed near the lower end, twenty-first of the 30 surviving families, with an income of £333 a year (including annuities), demonstrating

¹¹¹ T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History III: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971), p.182.

¹¹² For a more detailed history of the Despenser family through the Middle Ages see: Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', ch.2; M. J. Lawrence, "Too Flattering Sweet to Be Substantial?" The Last Months of Thomas, Lord Despenser', in J. S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England IV* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.146-58; N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979); Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, pp.138-42; T. B. Pugh, 'Despenser, Edward, First Lord Despenser (1336-1375)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7550; Pugh, 'Despenser, Thomas, Second Lord Despenser'; M. A. Hicks, 'An Escheat Concealed: The Despenser Forfeitures 1400-61', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, liii (1998), pp.183-89; M. A. Hicks, 'The Later Lords: The Despensers and their Heirs', in R. K. Morris and R. Shoesmith (eds.), *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture* (Almeley, 2003), pp.19-30, 291-92.

the impact of the dispute with his cousin and the division of the Berkeley land. These two figures should be viewed in the context of the average noble income from the figures of £865 (including annuities) and the average baronial income of £534 (including annuities). The Talbots had risen economically to the top of the class, which they would be raised out of in 1442. The Berkeleys on the other hand had sunk to below some of the leading gentry, a far cry from the family's zenith under Thomas, Lord Berkeley just 20 years before.¹¹³

As a landowner and estate manager Berkeley is regarded as being typical of his age in his decision to cease farming his own land and begin demesne leasing.¹¹⁴ The declining population in the second half of the fourteenth century following the Black Death was a serious threat to the economic outlook of the aristocracy. With labour shortages and higher wages increasing costs and the drop in demand for produce reducing prices, it became decreasingly profitable for landowners to farm land. Therefore from 1348-9, and increasingly from the 1370s, it became more and more common for magnates to abandon farming and lease out land for a guaranteed fixed rent.¹¹⁵ This enabled them to maintain their cash income which was essential to maintain expenditure on their retinues.¹¹⁶ Tracking the chronology of these changes in Gloucestershire, Saul finds initial hesitancy in making these far-reaching organisational changes, with at most experiments in piecemeal leasing through the 1350s and 1360s, as large landowners were still at this time generally doing well with husbandry. The earliest recorded rent from the lease of a demesne in the county appears in the earl of Stafford's accounts for 1357/8. By the late 1370s though the switch to demesne leasing was becoming more and more common as land prices fell further.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ E 163/7/31/1; E 163/7/31/2; H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xlix (1934), pp.614-8.

¹¹⁴ For a general agrarian history of Gloucestershire during the late medieval period see: Miller, E (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. iii (Cambridge, 1991), pp.77-92, 222-38.

¹¹⁵ G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility In Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp.113-16.

¹¹⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquire*, p.251. The other consequence of this was the enhanced opportunities for the gentry, who were far less burdened by expenditure, to buy land. The same applied to merchants and burgesses who, with more social than economic motives, aspired to become landed proprietors: Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.229-32.

¹¹⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.234-40.

There are few surviving records from the Berkeley estates to see this process occurring in detail. An account roll from 1385/6 shows demesnes being leased where they were not being in 1367/8.¹¹⁸ Smyth supports this, reporting that ‘then began the times to alter, and bee with them (much occasioned by the insurrection of Wat Tyler and generally of all the Comons in the land,) And then instead of manureing his demesnes in each manor with his own servants, oxen, kine (cows), sheep, swine, poultry and the like, under the oversight of the Reeves of the manors...This lord began to joyst and tack in other mens cattle into his pasture grounds by the week, month, and quarter: And to sell his meadow grounds by the acre; and so between wind and water (as it were) continued part in tillage, and part let out and joysted as aforesaid for the rest of that kings raigne. And after, in the time of Henry the fourth, let out by the year still more and more by the acre as hee found chapmen and price to his likeing’.¹¹⁹ Assessing this, McKisack described Berkeley a ‘conservative landlord’ because he did not respond to the winds of change until c.1385, although Hanna believed that he was more successful than many in doing so.¹²⁰ Saul has questioned Smyth’s assumption that this adaptation was such a major innovation, as in the mid-1320s the Berkeley Hundred manors of Alkington, Ham, Hilton, Hurst and Slimbridge were all more reliant on rents (though not leases) than demesne produce.¹²¹ Essentially though on a personal level Berkeley is unlikely to have been especially concerned or affected by these wider changes. The day-to-day administration and management of lands was done by reeves at manor level and more centrally by the steward. Whilst magnates would have noticed the nominal decline in their incomes, in real terms because the developments were national, their relative position remained largely unchanged. For Berkeley in particular any drop in income would have been very much offset by the acquisition of the Lisle lands. Such a wealthy, established and experienced family as the Berkeleys had no problems riding such economic tides.

The Cotswolds was one of the principal sources of supply for England’s wool export market and the Berkeleys were major sheep farmers in the region. 300 was the

¹¹⁸ BC SR 47; BC SR 48; Wells-Furby (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments*, pp.203, 263.

¹¹⁹ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pp.5-6.

¹²⁰ M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p.341; Hanna, ‘Sir Thomas Berkeley’, p.886.

¹²¹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.67-8.

smallest flock kept by Thomas, Lord Berkeley (d.1361) on any of his demesnes and some were as big as 1200-1500.¹²² The Berkeleys were also unashamed to style themselves as merchants to enable themselves to conduct wholesale trading through the staples.¹²³ Wool exports from Bristol were never large and they virtually ceased after 1363 when Calais became an overseas staple and caused the reorientation of the trade. Instead the region's and the Berkeleys' wool found its market going through Southampton and London. This choice of ports therefore gave the local landowners like Berkeley freedom from the Bristol merchants and more scope for private enterprise.¹²⁴ The Berkeleys' role is seen to be exceptional at the time in that this situation and their active use of their local influence to protect their interests as producers was in contrast to the rest of the country where merchants through monopolies and staples were controlling the rest of the wool trade.¹²⁵

Although the long-term fortunes of the Talbots have been shown to be one of development and success, a different picture can be perceived by examining their economic position in detail in a particular snapshot. From the 1380s Gilbert, Lord Talbot and then his son Richard had several writs issued against them for the recovery of debts. In 1389 Gilbert, Lord Talbot was found to owe £800 to John de Kingsfold, although Talbot had actually died two years earlier.¹²⁶ His son Richard, Lord Talbot also owed £500 to William Framlingham in 1392, 5000 marks to Sir William Heron (a baron from 1393) and John Trygge in 1392, 1399 and 1400, and 227 marks 7 shillings to Thomas Percy in 1395.¹²⁷ Even more significantly, in 1386 Gilbert, Lord Talbot was pardoned for outlawry for not appearing to answer Richard, earl of Arundel touching a debt of £3,000.¹²⁸ These economic troubles were still clearly affecting the family in 1403 when Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) petitioned for livery of his lands, even though he was not of age, to enable him better to serve the king, as he was of such poor

¹²² H. P. R. Finberg, *The Gloucestershire Landscape* (London, 1975), p.84. Smyth also reports that in 1330 1500 sheep were bought for the newly acquired manor of Beverstone and that 5775 sheep were being sheared there from that manor and the surrounding ones a few years later: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, pp.302, 326.

¹²³ P. Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants: Trade, Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, clxix (2000), p.45.

¹²⁴ E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275–1547* (Oxford, 1963), pp.48-74; Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants', p.42.

¹²⁵ Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants', p.61.

¹²⁶ C 131/205/66.

¹²⁷ C 131/41/15; C 131/42/3; C 131/48/17; C 131/215/7; C 131/45/16.

¹²⁸ *CPR 1385-1389*, p.153.

estate.¹²⁹ These difficulties have been blamed on the spendthrift Gilbert snr. (d.1387).¹³⁰

Pollard's study of the Talbots' Shropshire estate Whitchurch has portrayed both Richard, Lord Talbot and Gilbert jnr. (d.1418) as being conscientious and efficient hands-on estate managers.¹³¹ However, in spite of this they also presided over a period of sharp decline in the estate's fortunes. This he argued was partly demonstrative of a general later medieval agricultural crisis and partly due to the raids resulting from the Glendower rebellion.¹³² This estate saw the abandonment of demesne farming by 1390, which helped arrest the decline and increase revenues by over 25%. In general though, this survey of Whitchurch showed the Talbots as so heavily reliant on their seigniorial income that they were forced to withdraw from the political arena to toil and to try and squeeze out marginal revenue increases. It was a time where large profits were not forthcoming from farming lands and marrying heiresses, military engagement and court favour were firmly becoming the more successful and more dignified paths to aggrandisement. Indeed Postan argued that in this economic climate some families only managed to keep their heads above water by accumulating new estates.¹³³ In the case of the Talbots this also rang true as it was marriages and military campaigns that brought prosperity to the family across generations, in spite of economic hardship along the way.

¹²⁹ SC 8/229/11443; CPR 1401-1405, p.262.

¹³⁰ A. J. Pollard, 'Estate Management in the Later Middle Ages: The Talbots and Whitchurch, 1383-1525', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, xxv (1972), p.561.

¹³¹ Pollard, 'Estate Management', pp.553-66. For other studies of Talbot estates in Shropshire, all based on the surviving Bridgewater Collection accounts, see: B. Ross, 'The Accounts of the Stewards of the Talbot Household at Blakemere: An Example of Medieval Accounting Practice', *Abacus*, iv (1968), pp.51-72; B. Ross, *Accounts of the Stewards of the Talbot Household at Blakemere, 1392-1425*, (Shrewsbury, 2003); F. Bumpus, 'The 'Middling Sort' in the Lordship of Blakemere, Shropshire, c.1380-c.1420', in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000), pp.202-19.

¹³² Pollard uses this case study to reaffirm the arguments of Postan regarding a fifteenth century economic depression for the aristocracy: M. Postan, 'Revisions in Economic History: IX, The Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, ix (1939), pp.160-7; M. Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, ii (1950), pp.221-46. Studies of other estates have shown this decline was not universal: J. L. Kirby, 'The Hungerford Family in the Later Middle Ages', Unpublished MA thesis, London, King's College (1939); H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey* (Cambridge, 1951).

¹³³ M. Postan, 'A Devon Abbey', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, v (1952), pp.134-6.

The Despensers owed their wealth much more to royal favour than to any close connection with or nurturing of their landed interests. Elizabeth Burghersh, Lady Despenser, who enjoyed custody of two-thirds of her late husband's lands, however demonstrated diligence and determination in her administration of them. Initially she worked tirelessly to gain custody of her husband's lands and safeguard the estates from fragmentation.¹³⁴ Then in her stewardship of the lands she is seen to uphold the continuity of the lordship - paying annuities to her husband's retainers, maintaining a substantial household and exploiting her rights over her tenants with severity.¹³⁵ Thomas, Lord Despenser, like his ancestors, was more interested in high politics and courtier life, although part of this involved actively petitioning for his restoration of his great grandfather's 'empire' from his royal patron in the January 1398 Shrewsbury session of parliament.¹³⁶ Following his death and forfeiture, Despenser's widow Constance sued for the recovery of her dower, while the marriage and custody of the lands of their son Richard went to his uncle Edward, duke of York.¹³⁷

The economic fortunes of the Berkeleys, Talbots and Despensers followed three very different patterns but still illustrate the same conditions for success and failure of baronial dynasties. The farming of land itself was at this time not especially profitable and even the switch to leasing in the late fourteenth century only helped reduce the fall in profits. However, this was only relative and could easily be counterbalanced by the acquisition of new lands through purchase or marriage, or by other forms of service or patronage. It was the acquisition of entire inheritances through marriage to wealthy heiresses that was the catalyst for acceleration through the ranks of political society. These marriages were obtained either as acts of patronage or contractual arrangements made by parents or those holding a wardship. In other cases wives unexpectedly became heiresses following the premature deaths of brothers-in-law. In this way the

¹³⁴ SC 8/158/7884; SC 8/106/5275; Lawrence, 'Power Ambition and Political Reconciliation', pp.135-8.

¹³⁵ E 101/511/12, nos. 2, 7, 15; E 101/511/12, nos. 2-15; *CFR 1391-1399* (London, 1929), p.51; *CCR 1399-1402*, pp.537-8; Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power*, p.139.

¹³⁶ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii (London, 1783), pp.360-8; C. Given Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of 1397 (September), Text and Translation', in ed. C. Given-Wilson et al (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM (Leicester, 2005), items 55-71.

¹³⁷ Constance's dower lands briefly passed to Queen Joan in April 1405 following Constance's implication in the abduction of the young Mortimers, although these were restored to her in January 1406. SC 8/187/9329; *CFR 1399-1401*, pp.204-5, 223-4; SC 8/172/8595; *CFR 1401-1405*, p.235; SC 8/231/11526; *CFR 1405-1408* (London, 1907), p.4; SC 8/182/9051; *CFR 1405-1408*, p.107.

Talbot marriage to the gentry Stranges of Blackmere and the Berkeley union with the baronial Lisle were far more profitable than either Despenser's to a duke's daughter or any of the Talbots' three other marriages above their rank in this period.¹³⁸ But just as the lack of heirs enabled others' inheritances to grow, it was also the eventual cause of almost all failed dynasties. Although the Talbots were during the reign of Richard II the poorer of the three families, it was their ability to continue to produce male heirs who reached majority that saw them surpass their two neighbours and establish themselves in the titled nobility. By doing this, good marriages could then be secured every few generations that would ensure the steady growth and long-term success of the family.

iv) Lordship, Retaining and Military Service

There is no evidence of any of the Gloucestershire barons of this time seeking lordship from members of the titled nobility, with one exception. Several of them accompanied dukes, earls and the king on expeditions, particularly in their formative years, but that was essentially for those specific campaigns and not an indication of continued service or even alliance. In 1388 Thomas, Lord Despenser, aged 15, accompanied Richard, earl of Arundel on his naval expedition, but then a decade later condemned the same lord to execution.¹³⁹ Despenser's relationship with the king in some ways suggests a type of service but, with them also being near contemporaries, it appears that friendship rather than lordship was the nature of this association.¹⁴⁰ The one Gloucestershire baron who can be seen to have been in the service of a greater lord was Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) who between 1383 and 1387 received a fee from John of Gaunt. Talbot went on two campaigns with Gaunt, one in 1373 and the other in 1386, and also received a peacetime fee from him. The highest peacetime fee he received was 20 marks, but it is unlikely that he was more active in the retinue than just an end of campaign life annuitant, even though 10 marks was generally the standard

¹³⁸ As Pugh comments, 'even the greatest of aristocratic houses in late medieval England did not allow social snobbery to impede their chances of material gain': T. B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), p.87.

¹³⁹ *CPR 1385-1389*, p.416. It had always been assumed that Despenser was given licence to go to Prussia with another of the Appellants, Thomas, duke of Gloucester in 1391. However, Lawrence has recently shown the 'Lord Despenser' referred to to be his cousin Hugh Despenser: *CPR 1388-1392*, p.413; Lawrence, "Too Flattering Sweet", p.147n.

¹⁴⁰ For Despenser's royal service, in the context of his family's history of such service, see: Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', ch.3.

sum granted to an esquire or above in such an arrangement.¹⁴¹ Gilbert, Lord Talbot was primarily a soldier so this was likely to be military service, rather than any form of domestic political association. The marriage between Gilbert's second son Sir John Talbot and the daughter of Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, has also been cited as an alliance between two families prominent in Lancastrian service, with the implication that membership of the affinity fostered such links.¹⁴² The Talbots as the least powerful of the three families were the most likely to seek lordship to gain influence, protection and wealth. However, there is still little evidence that they were clients depending on Gaunt's patronage and instead this relationship is better viewed as an association and one that was primarily military-based.

Connections between the upper gentry in Gloucestershire and members of the nobility in the fourteenth century have already been carefully mapped by Saul.¹⁴³ He traced ties between the Berkeleys and 14 individuals through the period c.1350-1425.¹⁴⁴ The easiest to clarify are those who served as stewards to the family, William Cheltenham (1339), John Sergeant (1378), Richard Ruyhall (1388-95), John Couley (1393) and Lionel Sebrok.¹⁴⁵ Cheltenham was of obscure origins with no landed

¹⁴¹ DL 29/738/12104 m.2; C 81/960 (35); S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p.282.

¹⁴² Pollard, 'Talbot, John, First Earl of Shrewsbury'. Walker however does not see that marriage arrangements of retainers were particularly determined by membership of the affinity and instead believes that existing local contacts remained more important: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.260. Sir John Talbot was an established retainer of Gaunt, receiving a wage between 1373 and 1384: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.282; *John of Gaunt's Register 1372-76 (Reg. I)*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, xx-xxi, 1911), no.1297; DL 29/402/6448 m.2; C 81/925 (20); C 61/83 m.4.

¹⁴³ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.270-92. This can be supplemented by the information compiled from *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* in Appendix 6. That lists connections between the Berkeleys and 24 MPs - nine who represented Gloucestershire, two Gloucester and 13 other places across southern and midland counties. Because of the better alignment of periods and Saul's extra scrutiny of the connections, his compilation of ties has primarily been used, rather than Appendix 6.

¹⁴⁴ Sir William Tracy (1326-52: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.313). Sir Simon Basset (c.1330-60: I. H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the Possession of the Right Hon. Lord FitzHardinge at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 1892), pp.154, 163). William Cheltenham (c.1330-60: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.342). Sir John Tracy (1352-89: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.313; Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.3). Sir Nicholas Berkeley of Dursley (1367: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.3). Richard Ruyhall (1384-95: KB 27/536 Rex m.21d; Just 3/180 m.27). John Sergeant (1378: Just 3/60/4 m.21d). Ralph Walsh (1373: Berkeley Castle, Account of William atte Nasche, cited in Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.288). John Couley (1393: Just 3/180 m.24d). Sir Gilbert Denys (1417: BC SC 581). Sir John Grendour (1407: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.23). John Poleyn (1388-90: SC 8/148/7355). Lionel Sebrok (1417: BC SC 584). William Tracy (1384-6: KB 27/536 Rex m.21d).

¹⁴⁵ Just 3/127 m.25; Just 3/60/4 m.21d; Just 3/180 mm.16, 27; Just 3/180 m.24d; BC SC 584; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.65.

interests but served the family ubiquitously for over 20 years and rose to prominence through this.¹⁴⁶ Sergeant was a small landowner from neighbouring Stone, very much in the orbit of Berkeley Castle.¹⁴⁷ Ruyhall was from a well-established Worcestershire gentry family who was also steward to the earl of Warwick.¹⁴⁸ Couely had a modest estate in the hundred of Berkeley but, like Cheltenham before him, rose to prominence through his service to the Berkeleys.¹⁴⁹ Sebrok was probably the son of Lawrence Sebrok, former sheriff and keeper of Gloucester and an important figure in the 1380s and 1390s.¹⁵⁰

The Tracys were an important family from Toddington in north-east Gloucestershire and three generations of them served as household knights to the Berkeleys.¹⁵¹ Another gentry family with a long history of service to the Berkeleys were the Bassets of Uley and Sir Simon Basset, although a household knight of Edward III, was also an associate, as well as a neighbour, of the Berkeleys.¹⁵² Another neighbour found as a household knight was Sir Nicholas Berkeley of Dursley.¹⁵³ Sir Gilbert Denys was another important local knight who was appointed Thomas, Lord Berkeley's feoffee in 1417.¹⁵⁴ Sir John Greydour was from Mitcheldean, almost half way between Berkeley and Goodrich, and is interestingly retained by both the Talbots (1397) and the Berkeleys (1407), as well as Henry IV; a good example of a knight hedging his bets between the powerful lords in his locality.¹⁵⁵ Finally, Ralph Walsh was from a respectable knightly family and was recorded as being Berkeley's receiver, and John Poleyn from Kingsweston in Berkeley hundred of Portbury was an esquire of Berkeley's who was renowned for lawlessness.¹⁵⁶

As well as these 14 where there is documented evidence of retaining or association, Sir John Berkeley, another member of the local elite, was certainly

¹⁴⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.64-5, 76, 158.

¹⁴⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.81.

¹⁴⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.65-6, 85, 94.

¹⁴⁹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.65, 157, 247.

¹⁵⁰ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.114, 127, 163.

¹⁵¹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.72, 85.

¹⁵² Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.56, 74-5, 90.

¹⁵³ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.72, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.73.

¹⁵⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.79, 93.

¹⁵⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.72, 138-9, 166, 176-7.

affiliated with Thomas, Lord Berkeley as John was his uncle.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, like the Bassets and Serjeants, the Veels were located so close to Berkeley that they had little option but to co-operate and although no formal indenture exists with Sir Peter le Veel equivalent to the one that he had with the Black Prince, he was seen to enjoy the favour of the Berkeleys.¹⁵⁸ This was also likely to have been the case with Sir Thomas FitzNichol from nearby Hill who, although attached to the earl of Stafford, was in frequent attendance at Berkeley Castle, as can be seen from his frequent witnessing of charters.¹⁵⁹

The witness lists from the charters at Berkeley Castle permit a glimpse of how regularly the county hierarchy were in attendance at Berkeley. Analysis shows that of 47 men deemed to be of social consequence in Gloucestershire between c.1350 and 1425, 25 witnessed charters at Berkeley with 11 doing so on more than five occasions.¹⁶⁰ The most frequent attestors were understandably stewards William Cheltenham and John Sergeant. Neighbours Sir Simon Bassett and Sir Thomas FitzNichol also witnessed numerous charters, as did Ralph Walsh and Despenser retainer Robert Pointz. Sir Thomas Bradeston, an important figure from the middle of the fourteenth century, completes those on double figures.

From this evidence it can be estimated that approximately a quarter of the county hierarchy were retained by the Berkeleys, whilst up to a half can be shown to be involved at some time or other with business affairs at his castle.¹⁶¹ This of course does not include any other knights or esquires that he chose to retain from Somerset or any

¹⁵⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.115-6.

¹⁵⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.75.

¹⁵⁹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.75.

¹⁶⁰ 56 = William Cheltenham. 53 = John Sergeant. 22 = Sir Simon Bassett. 16 = Ralph Walsh. 15 = Sir Thomas FitzNichol. 11 = Robert Pointz. 10 = Sir Thomas Bradeston. 8 = John Clifford. 7 = John Couley. 6 = John Joce, Sir John Tracy. 4 = Sir John Berkeley, John de Weston. 3 = John Poleyn, Sir Peter de Veel. 2 = Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley, Sir Gilbert Denys, Robert Palet. 1 = Sir Nicholas Berkeley, Sir Thomas Berkeley of Coberley (d.1365), John Brouning, Sir John Pauncefot, Lionel Sebrok, Sir William Tracy (d.1352), William Tracy (d.post 1439). 0 = Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley, Sir Thomas Berkeley of Coberley (d.1405), Sir Edmund Bradeston, Thomas Bridges, Sir John Bromwich, Sir John Cassy, Sir John Cheyne, Sir Walter Daston, John Derhurst, Richard Foxcote, Sir Gilbert Giffard, John Giffard, Sir John Greydour, Laurence Greydour, Sir Thomas Moigne, Sir Henry de la Rivere, Sir Maurice Russell, Richard Ruyhall, Laurence Sebrok, Sir John Thorp, Robert Whittington, William Whittingham.

¹⁶¹ Saul estimates that between a third and half of the county's gentry were retained by magnates (14 of the 40 in c.1375, 16 of the 37 in c.1400), with the Berkeleys retaining approximately eight or nine at one time: Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.97-8.

other counties, or his household staff that was seen to be around 300 individuals.¹⁶² At the standard 10 mark rate, Berkeley would be spending £60 a year retaining these eight or nine members of the Gloucestershire gentry.¹⁶³ Their geographical spread shows that there was a higher concentration of those from manors in close proximity to Berkeley and the surrounding estates in the west of the county. For those unquestionably in its orbit there was little choice but to foster at least cordiality. The composition of those knights and esquires retained by Berkeley shows almost a three-way equal split between local men whose families had a tradition of service (Tracys, Bassett, Sergeant), talented individuals who had either risen from obscurity by virtue of their service and had been rewarded accordingly or had been recruited for their talents (Cheltenham, Couley, Ruyhall) and powerful local figures who were likely retained for specific political, strategic or coercive purposes (Walsh, Berkeley of Dursley, Greydour, Poleyn). Berkeley's retinue was carefully selected to ensure it was both well equipped and had the weight to carry his influence and reinforce his lordship beyond the borders of his estates. From the point of view of being able to dominate and cherry pick from the local hierarchy, Gloucestershire was very much Berkeley's 'country'. Berkeley's effigy in Wotton-under-Edge church depicts him wearing a livery collar with mermaids, an emblem taken from the Berkeley family badge, on it.¹⁶⁴ The use of this personal livery gives some indication that his affinity provided its members with a sense of identity comparable with the titled lords' retinues.

Connections have been established between the Talbots and two members of the Gloucestershire gentry at this time.¹⁶⁵ Sir Thomas Moigne had estates in the west of

¹⁶² According to Smyth the household of Berkeley's grandfather Thomas (d.1361) consisted of 12 knights, 24 squires and other menial and domestic servants bringing the total to approximately 300. He is also recorded as taking 40 members of his household to France as archers: Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, pp.304, 320.

¹⁶³ Pugh has used the declaration of life annuities in the 1436 tax returns to calculate that these payments on average represented about 10% of the income of the peerage: Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', pp.97-8.

¹⁶⁴ See Figure 2 below; Smyth *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i, p.356; Saul, 'The Commons', p.308; N. Saul, 'Brass of the Month, June 2006: Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 1392', www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page127.html (2006). In his first article Saul follows Smyth and states that the mermaid was on the family's coat of arms had appeared on his grandfather Thomas' (d.1361) seal. In his latter article he instead suggests that it might allude to Thomas, Lord Berkeley's (d.1417) office of admiral to which he was appointed in 1403.

¹⁶⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.270-92; Sir Thomas Moigne (1356: E 159/143 Easter Recorda). Sir John Greydour (1397: *CPR 1396-1399*, p.138). This can be supplemented by the information compiled from *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* in Appendix 6. That lists connections between the Talbots and 23 MPs - two who represented Gloucestershire, seven

Gloucestershire, the part of the county most under the influence of Goodrich.¹⁶⁶ Sir John Grendour, as has been noted, held lands in north-west Gloucestershire and served both the Talbots and Berkeleys, the two lords whose sphere of influence his estates lay between.¹⁶⁷ A third member of the Gloucestershire elite with ties to Talbot, although not essentially a retainer, was Sir John Bromwich. Bromwich was noted for his multiple loyalties to the duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt and the earl of March, but he was also Gilbert, Lord Talbot's (d.1387) father-in-law.¹⁶⁸ The Talbots were lesser magnates than the Berkeleys and would therefore have been able to recruit fewer of the county's gentry. A greater proportion of their retainers would also have come from other counties, particularly Herefordshire and then later Shropshire.¹⁶⁹ The location of the two recognised Talbot patrons in Gloucestershire reinforces the idea of spheres of influence, with localised retaining allowing a lord to build up his 'country'.

Despenser retainers were fewer in this period than they would normally have been, due to the extended minority of Thomas, Lord Despenser and the related absence of strong lordship from the family.¹⁷⁰ In spite of this, five members of the upper gentry have been shown to be in their service at this time.¹⁷¹ Robert Pointz was from a respectable knightly family and is often cited as a Despenser placeman in local offices during Richard II's tyranny.¹⁷² However, his continued appointments after Despenser's fall and frequent charter attestation at Berkeley Castle between 1404 and 1425 show him to be an important local figure in his own right.¹⁷³ John Brouning was another

Herefordshire, eight Shropshire and five other places across southern and midland counties. Because of the better alignment of periods and Saul's extra scrutiny of the connections, his compilation of ties has primarily been used, rather than Appendix 6.

¹⁶⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.79, 123, 153.

¹⁶⁷ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.79, 93.

¹⁶⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.93; *CCR 1360-1364*, p.158; *CCR 1374-1377*, p.112; *CCR 1381-1385*, p.408; *CPR 1367-1370*, p.463; *CPR 1370-1374*, p.279.

¹⁶⁹ This is demonstrated by the data in Appendix 6.

¹⁷⁰ For Despenser's 'circle', see: Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', ch.4.

¹⁷¹ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.270-92; William Whittington (1346-8: C 76/22 m.7 and SC 1/39/194). Thomas Bridges (1378-99: KB 27/471 Rex m.9d; 1378-99; Just 3/180 m.26). Robert Palet (1367: KB 27/429 m.21). John Brouning (1394-1400: *CPR 1391-1396*, p.510; *CCR 1399-1402*, p.306). Robert Pointz (1401: *CCR 1399-1402*, p.306). This can be supplemented by the information compiled from *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* in Appendix 6. That lists connections between the Despensers and 25 MPs - four who represented Gloucestershire and the other 21 scattered around the rest of the realm. Because of the better alignment of periods and Saul's extra scrutiny of the connections, his compilation of ties has primarily been used, rather than Appendix 6.

¹⁷² Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.80, 113, 124.

¹⁷³ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.113, 138-9, 124; BC GC 4085; BC GC 4102; BC GC 4057; BC GC 4153; BC GC 4005; BC SC 581; BC GC 3980; BC GC 4098; BC GC 4099; BC SR 11; BC GC 4135.

retainer of Despenser who held important offices in the county between 1397 and 1399, although he was also an established local landowner.¹⁷⁴ Thomas Bridges was in the service of Edward, Lord Despenser and continued to serve Lady Despenser as steward at Tewkesbury between 1378 and 1395, before accepting a fee from Thomas, Lord Despenser when he reached majority. However, during this time he was also employed in the administration of John of Gaunt and worked as steward at the earl of Warwick's Chedworth estate, another individual seen to be serving several lords at once.¹⁷⁵ Robert Palet was another local figure who served as steward for the Despensers, while William Whittington was from Pauntley in the north of the county within the Tewkesbury-centred Despenser sphere of influence.¹⁷⁶ The characteristics of these men again show a mixture of local/traditional retainers, talented professionals and important county men recruited because of the influence they already held. However, the overall lack of local support that Despenser could command has been identified as a factor which contributed greatly to his downfall in 1400.¹⁷⁷

As well as the three barons, other magnates were retaining members of the upper gentry of the county. During this approximate period 1350-1425, evidence survives to connect nine such men to the king (both Edward III and Richard II), eight to John of Gaunt, five to the earl of Stafford, two each to the duke of Clarence, earl of March and earl of Warwick and one each to the Black Prince and earl of Hereford.¹⁷⁸ The king and John of Gaunt had the stature and wealth to be able to retain numerous men from every county. These findings reinforce the idea that the earls of Stafford had the most significant influence in the county of the other titled nobility. They also give some idea of the relative power of the nobles in the county over this period with Berkeley, Gaunt, Despenser and Stafford, then Talbot, March and Warwick seeming quite a reasonable

¹⁷⁴ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.113, 124.

¹⁷⁵ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.65, 81, 86, 93, 103.

¹⁷⁶ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.65.

¹⁷⁷ Lawrence, 'Power, Ambition and Political Reconciliation', pp.12, 100, 103-4.

¹⁷⁸ Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp.270-92. King: Sir Edmund Bradeston, John Joce, Sir John Thorp, Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley, Sir John Cheyne, James Clifford, Sir John Greydour, Sir John Pauncefot, Robert Whittington. John of Gaunt: Laurence Greydour, Thomas Berkeley of Coberley (d.1365), Thomas Berkeley of Coberley (d.1405), Thomas Bridges, Sir John Bromwich, John Giffard of Leckhampton, John Sergeant, Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley. Earl of Stafford: John Sergeant, Thomas Bridges, Sir Gilbert Denys, Sir Thomas FitzNichol, Robert Pointz. Duke of Clarence: Sir John Bromwich, John Joce. Earl of March: Sir John Bromwich, Sir John Pauncefot. Earl of Warwick: Thomas Bridges, Richard Ruyhall. Black Prince: Sir Peter le Vee. Earl of Hereford: Sir Gilbert Giffard.

order of eminence. Only the minorities of the Despensers and Mortimers distort this as minors and widows were far less able to offer ‘good lordship’ to those with political or military (though less so administrative) ambitions.¹⁷⁹ In all therefore in 41% (21 of the 51) of the documented evidence of retaining found between members of the Gloucestershire upper gentry and nobles, barons are found as the providers of lordship. This is likely to have been amongst the highest proportion of any county of the time, with perhaps the exception of the North Riding of Yorkshire, which due to the power of the Neville family saw a similar relative absence of intervention from members of the titled nobility.¹⁸⁰

All five individual barons from the reign served in foreign military campaigns.¹⁸¹ Thomas, Lord Berkeley leading two knights, 21 squires, 23 other men-at-arms and 30 archers and Gilbert, Lord Talbot with one knight, four squires, five other men-at-arms and 12 archers both served in the Scottish campaign of 1385, as did most of the nobility.¹⁸² Berkeley also served in France in 1374 with the earl of March as a 22-year-old along with ‘many of the principal gentlemen his neighbours’, in France and Spain in 1377-8 and 1378 respectively, and in Brittany with the earl of Buckingham in 1380-1.¹⁸³ A period of relative peace between England and France followed and Berkeley is next found in active service in 1403 when Henry IV appointed him admiral of the west, a position that he held for two years.¹⁸⁴ One notable escapade of his during this charge was the burning of 15 French ships and the capturing of 14 others that were near Milford Haven on their way to support the Glendower Revolt in 1405.¹⁸⁵ Berkeley

¹⁷⁹ The other caveat must be the survival of records. The records of the Duchy of Lancaster and of Berkeley Castle are relatively unique and therefore more retaining references will survive for them than other nobles. However, taking this into account would only curb the extent of these two lords’ ascendancy, rather than question it.

¹⁸⁰ The Nevilles of Raby had been endowed with the lands, although not title, of the earl of Richmond. As mentioned above, Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby was though raised to earl of Westmorland in 1397. As well as the Percies (raised to an earldom in 1377), another baronial family the Cliffords, who were particularly dominant in Westmorland and were themselves raised to earls of Cumberland in 1525, were the main rival to the Nevilles in the north.

¹⁸¹ For full details of baronial military service see Appendix 7. For more general studies on warfare and foreign campaigns at this time see: J. Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London, 1994); J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom* (London, 1972).

¹⁸² N. B. Lewis, ‘The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385’, *English Historical Review*, lxxiii (1958), p.18.

¹⁸³ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pp.7-12.

¹⁸⁴ *CPR 1401-1405*, pp.328-9; *CPR 1405-1408*, p.95.

¹⁸⁵ Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.339-40; E 101/43/32; E 101/43/30. Berkeley also spent £1000 to outfit the ships which the king repaid to him out of the revenues of a subsidy collected in Devon, Cornwall and Devon: BC SC 575; SC 8/217/10850; *CCR 1402-1405* (London, 1929), p.415.

was also appointed joint warden of the Welsh Marches in 1403 to help resist the invasion of Glendower.¹⁸⁶ Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1387) also saw notable activity, beginning his career around 1357 when he served with the Black Prince in Gascony.¹⁸⁷ He later joined the earl of Cambridge on his expedition to Portugal in 1381 and John of Gaunt on his campaign in Spain and Portugal in 1386. Richard, Lord Talbot joined his father on the 1385 Scottish campaign, served at sea with the earl of Arundel in 1387 and went to Ireland on the king's service in 1394, on top of his attentive estate management.¹⁸⁸ Gilbert, Lord Talbot (d.1418) served with the Prince of Wales (later Henry V) on the Welsh border in 1403 where he would continue to defend his interests and repel invasions.¹⁸⁹ He then sailed with the English forces to France in 1415 and remained there for most of the rest of his life until his death at the siege of Rouen. Thomas, Lord Despenser, as mentioned, served with the earl of Arundel on his naval campaign of 1388.¹⁹⁰ He also accompanied Richard II to Ireland in 1394 and 1399 as one of his chief lieutenants.¹⁹¹ As well as these foreign engagements, Thomas, Lord Berkeley was on all commissions of array that were appointed in Gloucestershire during Richard II's reign.¹⁹² Richard, Lord Talbot was also appointed to one in Shropshire in 1392.¹⁹³ As a whole these service records are fairly typical of most barons of the period, with the exception of the Welsh border charges which were more localised. As the regional powers these lords had both the resources and the personal motivation to defend this frontier, another example of public and private interest being allied.

Letters of Protection for those going overseas in the company of Thomas, Lord Berkeley survive for 20 men for the 1380-1 Brittany campaign and their names have been reproduced in Appendix 8.¹⁹⁴ None of these men can obviously be identified with the upper gentry in Gloucestershire, in that they did not serve as justice of the peace,

¹⁸⁶ *CPR 1401-1405*, p.294.

¹⁸⁷ *CFR 1356-1368* (London, 1923), pp.28-9; *CPR 1358-1361* (London, 1911), p.132.

¹⁸⁸ *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.499, 536; E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i.

¹⁸⁹ Q. R. Wardrobe 95/36 vol. ii, p.19, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part i, p.617.

¹⁹⁰ L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.353; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.416.

¹⁹¹ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.483; E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5* (Oxford, 1927), p.123; *CPR 1396-1399*, pp. 520, 524, 526.

¹⁹² 1377, 1380, 1381, 1385, 1386 and 1392: *CPR 1377-1381*, pp.40, 474; *CPR 1381-1385*, pp.73, 589; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.217; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.89. The commission of array in 1386 is addressed simply to the 'arrayers', referring it can be assumed to those appointed the previous year.

¹⁹³ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.93.

¹⁹⁴ C 76/65 m.17.

sheriff, escheator or MP for the county during the reign. Nor do any of the names appear on the lists of known Berkeley retainers and associates compiled by Saul and in Appendix 6. John Trye is possibly a local man, as someone of that name appeared in a court case in the county in 1368.¹⁹⁵ It is possible that John Morton was the MP for Newcastle-upon-Tyne of that name.¹⁹⁶ John Brice may be either the Weymouth MP of that name or the archer who served with the earl of Arundel on the 1378 campaign.¹⁹⁷ A John Chappell also served on the 1378 and 1387 campaigns.¹⁹⁸ The John Cornwall named is unlikely to be the Shropshire knight and Lancastrian retainer of that name who went on Arundel's expeditions in 1387 and 1388, as that one would only have been aged about 14 in 1380.¹⁹⁹ He may though be the same soldier of that name who served under the duke of Brittany in 1377-8.²⁰⁰ Robert Flete, Thomas Marshall, John Morton and Richard Upton are all also names which appear on the 1388 Muster Roll, while Morton and Upton are listed in 1387 one as well.²⁰¹ Although it cannot definitely be established whether these names are the same people, the evidence leans towards a pattern of a reasonable degree of continuation of service with different lords across campaigns. This would be something associated with 'professional' soldiers, rather than if the men were Berkeley's own peacetime Gloucestershire retainers, which there is no real evidence of them being.

v) Motives

The underlying characteristic of late fourteenth century Gloucestershire was that it was a barons' county. In fact it can probably even be said that, other than the very north and north-west which were pulled more towards Tewksbury and Goodrich respectively, it was Berkeley's county. The free reign that the Gloucestershire barons, and Thomas, Lord Berkeley in particular, had in county politics, landholding and

¹⁹⁵ KB 27/536 Rex m.21; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p.198.

¹⁹⁶ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, p.788.

¹⁹⁷ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, p.355; E 101/36/32 m.5. Brice also received Letters of Protection for the 1383 and 1387 campaigns: C 76/67 m.11; C 76/71 m.12.

¹⁹⁸ E 101/36/39 m.6; E 101/40/33 m.4; E.101/40/34 m.16. Chappell also received Letters of Protection for the 1388 campaign: C 76/73 m.18; C 76/72 m.7; C 76/72 m.6.

¹⁹⁹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.661-3; E 101/40/34 m.2i; E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/41/5 m.7.

²⁰⁰ E 101/42/13 m.1; C 76/61 m.21.

²⁰¹ E 101/41/5 m.8; C 76/72 m.6; E 101/41/5 m.6d; E 101/40/33 m.6; E 101/40/34 m.18; E 101/41/5 m.12; E 101/41/5 m.15d; E 101/40/33 m.7d; E 101/40/34 m.11; E 101/41/5 m.15d.

retaining was almost unparalleled by any other group of barons in England at the time. However, what is important, more than tracing the detailed webs of their interests, is to step back and try to understand the motives behind the individuals in this situation. Local politics was a medium not just for them to demonstrate their power, but a means to maintain and increase their authority. Establishing themselves as public servants enabled them to implement commissions with one eye on their own affairs. Landholding patterns have shown that these Gloucestershire barons were very much attempting to build their own ‘countries’, with the clustering of estates creating formidable spheres of influence. However, unlike the gentry these barons had two or three such clusters in different counties, which gave them a broader outlook. They still though, other than Despenser between 1397 and 1399, lacked quite the spread of interests to become genuine national figures. The motivation in retaining seemed to combine a need for effective servants with a quest for maintaining and extending their power through useful alliances. The ultimate motivation of these barons was therefore to preserve and increase their positions in the localities. The particular circumstances in Gloucestershire at this time allowed them to achieve this to the extent that all three families were or would shortly be pushing at the door of the titled nobility.

**Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1353–1417) – Effigy Brass at St Mary's Parish Church,
Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire**



Fig. 1 - Margaret Lisle, Lady Berkeley and Thomas, Lord Berkeley



Fig. 2 - Thomas, Lord Berkeley's livery collar showing four mermaids, an emblem of the Berkeley family.

CHAPTER 7: SUSSEX BARONS (THE POYNINGS, CAMOYS, DE LA WARRS AND SAYS)

i) Introduction to the Tenurial Geography and the Resident Barons

There were three baronial families with notable interests in Sussex during Richard II's reign - the Poynings, Camoys and de la Warrs. In addition two individuals inherited lands through marriage to the daughter and heiress of William, Lord Say (d.1375), and subsequently acquired local consequence. John Falvesle and later William Heron received individual summonses to parliament, and so entered the baronage, as a result of their marriages to Elizabeth Say in 1382 and 1393 respectively. These barons were all though fairly secondary landholders in the county compared to the property held by some of the titled nobles, particularly Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. As a county Sussex was uniquely divided into rapes, six north-south strips, territorial units that were, other than Chichester, honours with their own castle. The earl of Arundel held two of these rapes, Arundel and Lewes, whilst the earl of Nottingham held Bramber, the duke of Lancaster held Pevensey and the earl of Richmond held Hastings. No honour of Chichester existed, but the earl of Arundel held sizable estates in that rape which had become incorporated into the Honour of Arundel.¹

The Fitzalan earls of Arundel were the largest landowners in Sussex. The list of their properties in the county compiled by the inquisition commission upon Richard, earl of Arundel's forfeiture in 1397 records 73 major properties, consisting of the castles of Arundel and Lewes, 18 hundreds and 53 manors.² The next largest

¹ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Sussex*, vols. i, ii, iii, iv, v.1, vi.1, vi.2, vi.3, vii, ix (London and Oxford, 1905-1997), *passim*.

² *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1392-1399 (CIM)* (London, 1963), nos.368-71. Arundel (castle and rape), Poling (hundred), West Easwirth (hundred), Avisford (hundred), Easebourne (hundred), Rotherbridge (hundred), Singleton (hundred), Westbourne (hundred), Bury (hundred), Stockbridge (hundred), Box (hundred), Poling, Lymminster, Sullington, Field near Heene (in Poling hundred), Clemfold, Pynkhurst in Shipley, Angmering, North Stoke, Stoughton, Pallington, Bignor, Madehurst, Pepper, Warningcamp, South Stoke, Offham, Harsfold, Lee (in West Easwirth hundred), Orfold, Westbourne, Stansted, Northwood (in Westbourne hundred, now lost), West Marden, Compton, Singleton, Treyford, Shopwhyke, East Hampnett, Tortington, West Hampnett, Cocking, Woolbeding, Preston (in Poling hundred), Woolavington, Aldsworth, Nutbourne, Lewes (castle and rape), Poynings (hundred), Buttinghill (hundred), Streat (hundred), Barcombe (hundred), Swanborough (hundred), Holmestrow (hundred), Younsmere (hundred), Whalesbone (hundred), Allington, Houndean, Kingston, Northease, Rodmell, Newhaven, Clayton, Keymer, Ditchling, Middleton, Rottingdean, Brighton, Patcham, Sedlescombe, Seaford, Cuckfield, Worth. A map showing the location of many of these

landowners were the Mowbray earls of Nottingham. Their properties in the county included Bramber Castle, four hundreds and 11 manors.³ The two other titled nobles with significant interest in the county were involved in an exchange of properties in 1372, which reoriented their respective geographical interests. John of Gaunt surrendered the earldom of Richmond, which included the Honour of Hastings with its castle and the Sussex manors of Crowhurst, Burwash and Bivelham. Along with the earldom these were then granted to John de Montfort, duke of Brittany. However, in 1384 the Richmond lands passed to Queen Anne, as they had been declared forfeit due to the duke's alliance with France. In 1394 the Richmond lands then passed to Joan, sister of John de Montfort, while in 1399 the new king Henry IV granted them to Ralph, earl of Westmorland. As a result of this disruption, the lords of the Honour of Hastings never really exercised a significant influence on Sussex affairs during Richard II's reign. Though Gaunt had given up this interest in 1372, in return he was granted the Honour of Pevensey, the rape to the west of Hastings, which included his mother's former properties of Pevensey Castle and the manors of Willingdon, Grinstead and Maresfield, as well as the Forest of Ashdown.⁴ The only other titled noble with a manor in the county was the earl of March, who held Drayton near Oving in the rape of Chichester.⁵

Because of the unrivalled primacy of the earl of Arundel in the county, as much as anywhere in the kingdom, the tenurial makeup of Sussex was affected by Richard II's destruction of the Lords Appellant in 1397. Arundel's execution and forfeiture saw his Sussex lands divided between John Holand, earl of Huntingdon/duke of Exeter who received the Honour of Arundel and all its components, as well as Arundel's third southern lordship of Reigate, and Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham/duke of Norfolk who received the Honour of Lewes and its constituents.⁶ This arrangement

holdings can be found in: M. Clough (ed.), 'Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel', *Sussex Record Society*, lxvii (1969), p.173.

³ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1399-1405 (CIPM)* (London, 1987), p.84; *CIM 1392-1399*, no.390; *CIPM 1365-1369* (London, 1938), pp.384-6. Bramber (castle and rape), Brightford (hundred), Steyning (hundred), West Grinstead (hundred), Burbeach (hundred), Bosham, Stoughton, Knepp, Shoreham, Horsham, Bewbush, Findon, Washington, Beeding, West Grinstead, King's Barn.

⁴ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p.130; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1364-1367 (CPR)* (London, 1912), pp.333-4; *John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-76 (Reg. I)*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, xx-xxi, 1911), nos. 24, 30.

⁵ *CIPM 1391-1399* (London, 1988), p.429.

⁶ *CPR 1396-1399* (London, 1909), pp.176, 209-10, 220, 249, 360-1.

however was short lived as a year later Mowbray was banished by the king and the Lewes lands also passed to Holand, effectively establishing him as earl of Arundel in all but name.⁷ Thomas Fitzalan was later restored to his father's lands and earldom in 1400 following the usurpation of Henry IV.⁸

There were also significant ecclesiastical estates belonging to the monasteries of Battle Abbey, Lewes Priory and Fécamp Abbey, and the bishop of Chichester and the archbishop of Canterbury, particularly in the east of the county.⁹ With these estates dominating the east and the earl of Arundel particularly prevalent in the south-west, most of the baronial estates were concentrated in the central, particularly the south-central, and the north-west parts of the county, which can be seen in the map of baronial landholding in Appendix 4.

After the titled nobles, the most important lay magnate in the county was the lord of Poynings. With their *caput* at Poynings, just to the north of modern day Brighton, the family were a powerful presence, particularly in south-central Sussex. During Richard II's reign, Richard (c.1355-1387) and Robert (1382-1446) were Lords Poynings, although Robert was a minor until 1401, meaning that the family did not exercise its full influence during the second half of the reign. The Poynings' estates were equally split between Sussex and Kent, but Sussex was the main focus of their interest and the arena that they tended to act in.¹⁰

The next baronial family in terms of magnitude were the Camoys from Trotton in north-west Sussex. Thomas, Lord Camoys (c.1350-1421) was the senior member of the family from his uncle's death in 1372, right through the whole of Richard II's reign. Thomas' summons in 1383 was the first that the family had received since 1335 and so

⁷ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.458, 472.

⁸ *CPR 1399-1401* (London, 1903), p.134.

⁹ N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1996), pp.38-48.

¹⁰ For Richard and Robert Poynings see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. x, (London, 1945), pp.662-4; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xlvi (London, 1896), pp.274-5; P. Fleming, 'Poynings, Michael, First Lord Poynings (c.1318–1369)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22684; J. H. Round, 'The Lords Poynings and St. John', *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, lxii (1921), pp.1-20; R. Jeffs, 'The Poynings–Percy Dispute: An Example of the Interplay of Open Strife and Legal Action in the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxiv (1961), pp.148–64; T. A. Holland, 'Poynings', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xv (1863), pp.1-56.

it was essentially an act of promotion by the king. Almost all Camoys' landed interests were in Sussex, with only a scattering of other estates in other counties.¹¹

The de la Warrs were originally from Wickwar in Gloucestershire, but they held substantial lands in Sussex from the end of the thirteenth century. They also had strong links with Northamptonshire and it was there where they were more active at this time. This was magnified by John, Lord de la Warr's (c.1345-1398) inheritance of his wife's lands in Lincolnshire, which firmly refocused the family's interests in the East Midlands. John was also at least partially blind from 1382 when he was first given exemption from attending parliament, which may also have restricted his level of involvement in local affairs.¹² John was succeeded by his brother Thomas (c.1352-1427) who was a priest and he chose to continue his ecclesiastical career even after he had become a baron.¹³

The Say family from Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire had first been individually summoned to parliament in 1313. When William, Lord Say died in 1375 he left two children. His son John died a minor in 1382 and so the lands then passed to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband John Falvesle (c.1335/6-1392), who she married within two months of her brother's death. They inherited seven Say manors including four in Kent and two in Sussex, and so this marriage effectively transformed Falvesle from a Northamptonshire knight into a south-eastern noble. When Falvesle died a decade later Elizabeth Say married William Heron of Eppleton (d.1404), head of a cadet line of the Herons of Ford. He also acquired the Say title and landed interests, to add to his own in inheritance in Northumberland. Both Falvesle and Heron were retainers of

¹¹ For Thomas, Lord Camoys see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. ii, (London, 1912), pp.507-8; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xiii (London, 1886), pp.306-7; J. L. Leland, 'Camoys, Thomas, Baron Camoys (c.1350-1420/21)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4461.

¹² *CPR 1381-1385* (London, 1897), p.185.

¹³ For John and Thomas de la Warr see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv, (London, 1916), pp.147-51; P. Fleming, 'Warr, De La, Family (per. c.1250-1427)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54519. In 1401 Thomas, Lord de la Warr was granted a licence to absent himself for three years from parliament and councils, possibly one indication of his reluctance to swap his ecclesiastical career for a lay one: *CPR 1401-1405* (London, 1905), p.32.

the earl of Arundel and possibly for this reason seem to have been more involved in Sussex affairs than Kentish ones or those of their birth counties.¹⁴

Aside from these lords, four or five other barons had landed interests in the county, though none of these appear to be conspicuous in county politics or society.¹⁵ According to the criteria established in Chapter 4, there were approximately 37.5 baronial manors in Sussex.¹⁶ However, many of John, Lord Arundel's (d.1421) should be excluded as these were estates which came to him by virtue of his inheritance of the earldom of Arundel in 1415. In total then there were about 30 manors belonging to barons during the course of Richard II's reign.¹⁷ This is compared to the 97 manors that were held by members of the titled nobility at this time. In Chapter 6 it has been shown that in Gloucestershire there were 32 baronial manors compared to 16 belonging to titled nobles.¹⁸ Whilst the number of baronial estates is comparable, there were six times more manors belonging to dukes and earls in Sussex than in Gloucestershire, which demonstrates the very different tenurial situation which existed in Sussex.

Although Sussex had the six rape towns, all except Chichester, which was the seat of the bishop of Chichester, lay under the direct control of a magnate, rather than possessing any significant level of autonomy. All six towns - Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber, Arundel and Chichester - were ports. However these tended more to serve military, rather than commercial, purposes.

ii) Politics, Favour and Patronage

Local government in Sussex reflected the landed influence of the titled nobles. 19 commission of the peace were appointed in Richard II's reign. Richard, earl of

¹⁴ For Falvesle see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, (London, 1926), pp.250-2; A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), pp.117-18; A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.94, 155-6. For Heron see: G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. vi, (London, 1926), pp.492-3; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp.94, 155-6.

¹⁵ Thomas, Lord Bardolf = 2 (Barcombe, Plumpton); William, Lord Bardolf = 1 (Portslade); Thomas, Lord Ros = 1 (Bourne); Thomas, Lord Despenser = 1 (Rotherfield); John, Lord Arundel (d.1379) = 1 (Cudlow); John, Lord Arundel (d.1421) = 25 (though all earldom of Arundel lands except Cudlow).

¹⁶ This figure was calculated using generational averages.

¹⁷ Mapped in Appendix 4. Buxted and Streat were held by both Lords Falvesle and Heron so this duplication has been accounted for.

¹⁸ See Chapter 6.iii.

Arundel was on 14 of these - every one apart from the three during 1389-90 when all nobles were excluded from peace commissions and the two after his execution in 1397.¹⁹ Arundel was the only titled noble appointed to the commissions between 1377 and 1390, at which point when he was joined by John of Gaunt and the earl of Nottingham. Both Gaunt and Nottingham served on six consecutive commissions between 1390 and the last one of the reign in November 1397. John Holland, earl of Huntingdon/duke of Exeter was appointed in July and then November 1397, reflecting his recent acquisition of some of Arundel's forfeited lands. His nephew Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey also served on the November 1397 one.²⁰ This helps illustrate the power relations in the county over the course of the reign, particularly Arundel's traditional hegemony, the slight regression of this and the increment of 'acceptable' rivals during the more consensual atmosphere of the 1390s,²¹ and then the more hostile promotion of Richard II's favourites during his 'tyranny'.

The most frequent baronial justice of the peace was Thomas, Lord Camoys. Camoys served on eight of the 19 commission: three in 1381, four between 1389 and 1390 and then the November 1397 one. These periods of activity, punctuated with periods of absence, are perhaps explained by his relationship with the king. Although, as will be explored below, Camoys had other ties of lordship, he was one of those purged from court by the Appellants as an intimate of Richard II in 1388.²² His three periods of active local government service notably coincide with some of the most crucial periods for royal government – the reaction to the 1381 Revolt, the aftermath of the Appellants' opposition, and the initiation of Richard II's 'tyranny'. At all these times the king would require men he could rely on to do the job well. There is little evidence that Camoys had a strong personal allegiance to the king, but he appears to have been a reliable and well-regarded servant. This employment of him primarily in important times could also suggest more general attempts to harness a broader range of

¹⁹ R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace, 1388-90', in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp.131-52.

²⁰ *CPR 1377-1399* (6 Volumes, London, 1895-1909), *passim*.

²¹ Both Gaunt and Nottingham were significant figures with important landed interests in the county and therefore certainly likely to be 'acceptable' to the county elite.

²² T. Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. i, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), p.849; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p.261; H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p.429; L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.231.

support at decisive moments. Later, under both Henry IV and Henry V, Camoys was also active in both Surrey and Hampshire, probably reflecting the location of his interests in the north-west of Sussex, in close proximity to both these counties.²³ Richard, Lord Poynings served on six commissions consecutively between 1381 and 1384. Poynings was first summoned to parliament in 1383 after having reached his majority, so the first appointment broadly coincides with his emergence as a political figure, whereas he had died before the following commission in 1389. His son Robert was a minor for the rest of the reign, but became active on commissions in Sussex and Surrey in later reigns. John, Lord de la Warr did not serve on any commissions in Sussex during this period. However, he was appointed twice in Northamptonshire in 1377, a county he also had strong interests in.²⁴ De la Warr was recorded as being partially sighted from 1382, so any engagement away from his favoured residence at Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire seems to have become limited as he largely withdrew from public life from that time. Finally John, Lord Falvesle was only appointed to the December 1382 commission, a particularly large one of 15 men with special powers to suppress insurrections.²⁵

Two of the knights who occur on the peace commissions can be identified as having significant connections with barons according to the lists compiled in Appendix 6.²⁶ As well as being a retainer of the earl of Arundel, Sir William Percy was a close associate and friend of Richard, Lord Poynings. In 1382 Percy helped Poynings purchase a number of manors and in 1386 Percy was appointed the sole executor of Poynings' will.²⁷ Percy was a prominent local administrator and served on 15 of the 19 peace commissions. Nicholas Wilcombe who served on the two 1377 commissions was also closely associated with both Poynings and Percy. In 1379 the three men provided sureties together for the farmer of Sele priory, while a few years later both Poynings and Percy witnessed deeds on Wilcombe's behalf.²⁸ Percy and Wilcombe were both

²³ *CPR 1399-1401*, pp.564-5; *CPR 1401-1405*, pp.519-20; *CPR 1405-1408* (London, 1907), pp.497-8; *CPR 1408-1413* (London, 1909), p.485; *CPR 1413-1416* (London, 1910), pp.423-3; *CPR 1416-1422* (London, 1911), pp.459-60.

²⁴ *CPR 1377-1381*, pp.47-8.

²⁵ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.249.

²⁶ Appendix 6 collates the connections established in: J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (4 Volumes, Stroud, 1992).

²⁷ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, pp.52-3.

²⁸ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, p.860.

retainers of Arundel and probably more friends with Poynings. Although they were significant enough to warrant these commissions in their own right – both Percy and Wilcombe had reasonable sized landed interests and represented the county in parliament – their foremost political allegiance would likely have been towards Arundel. As well as illustrating the plurality of interests, the makeup of these commissions demonstrates that both in what their own position automatically merited, and their ability to get their own undisputed loyalists appointed, the Sussex barons were very much secondary figures, particularly to the earl of Arundel.²⁹

A number of general commissions of oyer and terminer were linked to peace commissions. In addition there were several special commissions of oyer and terminer where a group of men were appointed to hear a special case, often as a result of a petition. In Sussex the only one of these to involve a baron was in 1383 when John, Lord Falvesle and others were required to investigate a complaint made by the earl of Arundel about insurgents breaking into Lewes Castle.³⁰ Falvesle was also involved in another commission in the same year in Surrey to enquire into the death of Richard Eyr.³¹ John, Lord de la Warr was appointed to seven special commissions of oyer and terminer during the reign, although all these were focused on parts of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire.³² This relatively low level of involvement is partly explained by the number of general commissions that there were. In addition though it is possibly further evidence of the role of Arundel and his affinity in automatically taking responsibility for these matters. A third factor could also be due to the more marginal distinction between the Sussex barons and their gentry counterparts and as a result a more equal apportioning of the administrative and judicial roles.

There were a number of commissions of array in Sussex, particularly in reaction to the invasion scares which occurred throughout the reign. No barons were involved in the three such commissions appointed during the late 1370s, led by the earl of Arundel,

²⁹ In Sussex there is no indication of who actually attended the sessions as no for the county rolls survive: B. H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III* (London, 1938), pp.34-7.

³⁰ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.259.

³¹ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.352.

³² *CPR 1377-1381*, pp.51 (assuming John is being mistaken for his father Roger who had died in 1370), 414; *CPR 1381-1385*, pp.201, 357, 358, 505.

the abbot of Battle and local knights.³³ In 1385 there was another appointed, this time including Richard, Lord Poynings and John, Lord Falvesle. As well as his associate Sir William Percy, Poynings was also accompanied by his relative the Hampshire knight Sir Thomas Poynings, head of the St John cadet branch of the family.³⁴ Lord Poynings was dead by the time of the next large commission of array in 1388, where Falvesle was the only baronial appointment.³⁵ In 1392 Falvesle led the Sussex commission and was the only peer in that charge.³⁶ Therefore in total, of the eight Sussex commissions of array during the reign, Falvesle was appointed to three and Poynings one. This was less frequent than the earl of Arundel and abbot of Battle who served on four each, as well as several leading members of the gentry such as Sir William Percy (seven), William Bateford (six), Nicholas Wilcombe (four) and Sir Thomas Poynings (four). Falvesle also served on two of the four commissions *de wallis et fossatis* (walls and ditches) in the county, while Camoys was on the only commission *de kidellis* (fish weirs and mills), appointed in 1398.³⁷ These forms of commissions again show a moderate but possibly lower than expected level of involvement in local administration by the county's barons.

Baronial influence over local offices is also fairly difficult to detect. There were 23 appointments to the shrievalty of Surrey and Sussex between 1377 and 1399, with 16 different individuals holding the office.³⁸ Of these connections can only be traced to a baron in one instance - between Sir William Percy, who was sheriff in 1377 and 1381, and Richard, Lord Poynings. As already discussed, Percy was also an important retainer of the earl of Arundel, as was another sheriff Sir Edward St John.³⁹ Sir Edmund Fitzherbert and Sir William Waleys were also connected to Arundel.⁴⁰ Of the nine escheators of Surrey and Sussex (Robert Loxle, John Oliver and John Broke and all held the office twice during the reign), Roger Dallingridge was the father of Arundel's

³³ *CPR 1377-1381*, pp.40, 360, 474.

³⁴ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.591.

³⁵ *CPR 1385-1389*, p.547.

³⁶ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.91.

³⁷ *CPR 1381-1385*, p.134; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.384; *CPR 1388-1392*, p.440; *CPR 1396-1399*, p.372.

³⁸ 'List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to AD 1831', compiled by A. Hughes, *List and Index Society*, ix (New York, 1963, reprint of London, 1898 edition), p.136. For discussions regarding sheriffs at this time see: R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003).

³⁹ For Arundel's Sussex retainers see: Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.114-19.

⁴⁰ For Arundel's broader connections with the Sussex gentry see: Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. i, pp.645-7.

retainer Sir Edward Dallingridge and John Broke was John of Gaunt's steward in Sussex, but otherwise no firm associations with magnates are obvious.⁴¹

It is when looking at the MPs though that Arundel's influence over the county becomes most apparent. Of the 50 seats during the period, Arundel loyalists Percy, Dallingridge, Fitzherbert and Waleys took 32 between themselves.⁴² Another was taken by Hugh Quecche who was also associated with the earl. Of the rest John Broke, a Lancastrian retainer, was elected once and John Pelham and John Preston, both returned in 1399, had links with Bolingbroke, being the constable of Pevensey Castle and the Duchy's steward in Sussex respectively.⁴³ According to the information collated in Appendix 6, several MPs had connections with barons, particularly with the Poynings family.⁴⁴ Sir William Percy and Nicholas Wilcombe's links to Poynings have already been established. Hugh Quecche and John Pelham both acted as trustees for Richard, Lord Poynings, while Robert Tauk had been a feoffee and executor for the family. Over the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V where *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* continues to trace connections, an increased number of associations between Sussex barons and the county's MPs can be found. Robert, Lord Poynings has further links with Richard Bannebury (a feoffee), John Halle II (a feoffee), Ralph Rademylde (related by marriage and stood surety), Richard Wakehurst (legal services) and Richard Wayville (overseer of will). Thomas, Lord Camoys also had connections with Ralph Rademylde (related by marriage) and Richard Styuecle (feoffee), while William, Lord Heron had links to Sir John Dallingridge (related by marriage and a trustee) and Sir Roger Fiennes (related by marriage). This apparent increase of baronial-gentry relations in the county, particularly in Henry IV's reign in comparison with the Richard II's, coincides with what the editors of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* describe as a period of eclipse for the house of Fitzalan. They attribute this to the absence of Thomas, earl of Arundel, who spent several years in the marches of Wales, and also note the resulting

⁴¹ 'List of Escheators for England and Wales with the dates of Appointment', complied by A. C. Wood, *List and Index Society*, lxxii (London, 1971, reprint of London, 1932 edition), p.164.

⁴² 'Return of Names of Members of Lower House of Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, with Names of Constituency and Date of Return, 1213-1874', *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, lxxii – part i (London, 1878), pp.197-260; Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. i, pp.643-7.

⁴³ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. i, pp.643-7.

⁴⁴ The full list of connections identified by *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* editors between barons and MPs are presented in Appendix 6.

rise in the number of royal retainers amongst the MPs returned at this time.⁴⁵ The resident barons also seem to have made inroads into the Fitzalan hegemony which had checked them during the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

An interesting episode regarding the election of MPs involves one of the Sussex barons. In 1383 Thomas Camoys was elected as knight of the shire for Surrey. However he was discharged from this because he was a banneret and ‘bannerets used not to be elected knights of the shire’.⁴⁶ This was probably a deliberate effort to keep Camoys out of parliament, an example made to attempt to counter the king’s interference with parliamentary elections.⁴⁷ Richard II however promptly summoned him to parliament as a baron instead. There were constitutional implications of this action in terms of matters of status, particularly regarding the differentiation between nobility and gentry.⁴⁸ It also reflected the growing independence of the king as a political figure and the associated opposition to that. In Sussex though it was most significant as an illustration of the magnitude of the county’s barons. In terms of political activity, landholding and provision of lordship to members of the gentry, Camoys was in stature the second baron in the county behind only the Poynings. However, this shows how borderline Camoys’ position actually was between the baronage and the gentry. In fact his specific promotion to the baronage owed more to an act of obstinacy than one of purposeful patronage. This again reinforces the assessment that the Sussex barons were relatively amongst the lesser barons in the kingdom.

There are a handful of examples from the Chancery rolls and Ancient Petitions of Sussex barons abusing rather than enforcing judicial processes, either directly evading repercussions after their own offence or by interceding on behalf of their clients.⁴⁹ In the early 1370s Thomas, Lord Poynings was accused of laying in wait at

⁴⁵ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. i, p.646.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1381-1385 (CCR)* (London, 1920), p.398.

⁴⁷ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986), p.247. Given-Wilson notes that James Berners and Thomas Morwelle were also discharged from their seats at the same time for what appears to have been similarly stilted excuses.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.ii for more discussions on how barons were defined and differentiated.

⁴⁹ For this paragraph on baronial lawlessness only the Ancient Petitions collection and details of special commissions of oyer and terminer appointed have been used. A full trawl of the King’s Bench plea rolls has not been undertaken due to the scale of such an undertaking.

Shooter's Hill in Kent for Henry Casteleyn with the intent of killing him, although he mistakenly attacked John Baas and Robert Rus who he thought were in Casteleyn's company. Poynings was summoned before the king and council in parliament to respond to Casteleyn's petition, but no more is known of this incident.⁵⁰ A quarter of a century later in 1417 Robert, Lord Poynings was accused with others of entering the countess of Arundel's chaces and warrens, hunting there and assaulting her servants.⁵¹ After the death of Richard, Lord Poynings and during the majority of their son Robert, Richard's widow Isabel can be seen to be intervening on behalf of her husband's former retainers. In 1388 she obtained a pardon for Nicholas Chelwardswode for the death of William Brodebare in Deptford,⁵² while in 1390 she did the same for Thomas Raundesdale who killed John Sewerd in Little Marlow.⁵³ This does hint at a level of influence which enabled them to abuse the law in certain instances, though there is not enough evidence to suggest that such undertakings were widespread or that any of the barons possessed the power to readily use the administrative and judicial mechanisms for their own means.

Although none of the Sussex barons can be seen to have had a major impact on local politics at this time, Camoys and Heron in particular were both involved at national level. Camoys was compelled to abjure court in 1388, showing that he had some association with the royal court and those who were persecuted in the 'Merciless' Parliament. Heron was a knight of the chamber under Henry IV and rose to become steward of the household in 1402.⁵⁴ By virtue of this office Heron also sat on the king's council.⁵⁵ Neither though, as their other associations will show, appear to have been particularly politicised and the involvement of both in this arena should be viewed in terms of their simply pursuing careers in royal service.

Several Sussex barons received royal patronage, with Thomas, Lord Camoys the biggest beneficiary. In 1390 he was granted a yearly fair at his manor of Broadwater in

⁵⁰ SC 8/184/9170.

⁵¹ *CPR 1416-1422*, p.139.

⁵² *CPR 1385-1389*, p.428.

⁵³ *CPR 1388-1392*, pp.195, 197.

⁵⁴ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.287.

⁵⁵ SC 8/167/8344.

Sussex.⁵⁶ In 1392 he received the lands forfeited by Robert atte Mille of Guildford.⁵⁷ Shortly after Henry IV's accession Camoys was regranted the Alice Holt and Woolmer Forest which his grandfather had held, and along with his son Richard was granted Portchester Castle, both in Hampshire.⁵⁸ In 1408 he also received lands, rents and services in Heyshott in Sussex.⁵⁹ Thomas, Lord de la Warr was granted lands by Henry IV, particularly a share of the possessions of Thomas West.⁶⁰ Other grants to de la Warr under Henry V included the keeping of some of the lands of the alien hospital of St-Gilles at Pont-Audemer in Dorset and the forfeited manor of Withington in Lancashire.⁶¹ Finally Robert, Lord Poynings received the keeping of some of the lands of the alien priory of Stoke Courcy in Somerset in 1413.⁶² Other than the grants to Camoys in 1399, which seem to be purposeful acts of favour, these were all fairly modest and routine grants which show little active attempts to woo these lords with patronage.

Sussex in the reign of Richard II was very much the earl of Arundel's 'country', other than for the last two years when the duke of Exeter was effectively set up in his stead. The county's barons played a secondary role in local politics behind not only Arundel, but several other non-resident titled nobles. Other indicators of how their influence was sought and utilised by the central government have shown that in a political sense these barons were in fact little differentiated from the leading members of the upper gentry.

iii) Land, Inheritance and Economics

The largest baronial landowner in Sussex was Thomas, Lord Camoys, who at his death in 1421 held nine manors in the county. These were the manors of Broadwater, Hawkesbourne (Horsham), Barcombe, Bevendean (Brighton), Trotton, Didling, Elsted,

⁵⁶ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls 1341-1415 (CChR)* (London, 1916), p.317.

⁵⁷ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1391-1399 (CFR)* (London, 1929), p.51.

⁵⁸ *CPR 1399-1401*, pp.46, 149, 153-4.

⁵⁹ *CFR 1405-1413* (London, 1933), p.129.

⁶⁰ *CFR 1399-1405* (London, 1931), p.305; *CPR 1405-1408*, p.11; *CFR 1405-1413*, pp.25-6.

⁶¹ *CFR 1413-1422* (London, 1934), pp.56-7, 136.

⁶² *CFR 1413-1422*, p.33.

Dumpford (Trotton) and Fyning.⁶³ The latter five of these were in the Chichester Rape clustered around the *caput* of Trotton in the very north-west of the county. Broadwater and Hawkesbourne were at opposite ends of the Bramber Rape near Worthing and Horsham respectively. Barcombe and Bevendean were in the southern part of the Lewes Rape, Barcombe slightly to the north of Lewes and Bevendean in what is modern day Brighton. Camoys' sphere of influence was certainly the Trotton area, but his other interests meant that he was the most significant baron in the western half of the county. This would have naturally put him within the larger orbits of the earls of Arundel and Nottingham and it was of these that the lands in the Lewes and Bramber Rapes were held respectively. All nine Sussex manors he had inherited from his uncle Sir Thomas Camoys in 1372. However he only seems to have had immediate seisin of Broadwater, Hawkesbourne, Barcombe, Bevendean and Fyning, as his aunt Margaret kept Trotton, Elsted, Didling and Dumpford because of a jointure on them, until her death sometime after 1386 when they reverted to Lord Camoys.⁶⁴ Outside of Sussex, Camoys held four other manors - Wheatley and Great Milton in Oxfordshire, Great Stukeley in Huntingdonshire and Stow Bedon (Bekerton) in Norfolk. Stow Bedon and Great Stukeley came to Lord Camoys from his father Sir John Camoys who had died before 1372. The Oxfordshire lands came from his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Louches of Milton. From his second wife Elizabeth Mortimer he received manors in Yorkshire (Tadcaster, Gristwaith, Austenby and Thorstanby – her dowry from her first marriage to Henry ‘Hotspur’ Percy), but only for her lifetime after which they reverted to the earl of Northumberland. Elizabeth Mortimer did however hold the manor of Honyden in Bedfordshire in her own right, which Camoys acquired through this marriage. Although they do not appear in his inquisition post mortem, Camoys also seems to have held manors in Lasham in Hampshire (an estate of his grandfather which had reverted back by 1386), Wotton in Surrey (which came from his cousin William, Lord Latimer in 1381, though it had formerly belonged to the Camoys family),⁶⁵ Tansor in Northamptonshire and Durrington in Sussex (which was generally regarded as part of

⁶³ CIPM 1418-1422 (London, 2002), pp.253-5; C 138/57/29; C 139/8/70. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁶⁴ N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta* (London, 1826), p.122.

⁶⁵ Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, p.108.

Broadwater though was sometimes listed as a separate manor).⁶⁶ Sussex though was unquestionably the centre of his landed interests.

Thomas, Lord Camoys' heir in 1421 was his grandson Hugh. Hugh however was only seven-years-old and died five years later. Hugh's two sisters Margaret, wife of Ralph Rademylde, and Eleanor, wife of Roger Lewknor, were his heirs and the Camoys inheritance of 14 manors was equally partitioned between the two.⁶⁷ The abeyance on the barony was only terminated in 1839. The territorial conglomerate that Thomas, Lord Camoys had established therefore lasted no longer than his lifetime. At its pinnacle it had been a mid-sized baronial inheritance, but it never became established as an identifiable unit much beyond the original one-county family patrimony.⁶⁸

The family with the next largest number of manors after Camoys were the Poynings. At the death of Richard, Lord Poynings in 1387 they are recorded as possessing eight manors in the county - Chiddingly, Waldron, Poynings, Hangleton, Ashcombe (Lewes), Twineham, Little Perching (Fulking) and Ifield. Poynings, Little Perching and Hangleton were in a cluster around the family *caput* at Poynings. Close by and also in the Lewes Rape were Twineham and Ashcombe. This south-central Sussex grouping constituted the family's heartland. Further east in the Pevensey Rape were Chiddingly and Waldron, while Ifield up on the Surrey border in the very north-east corner of the Bramber Rape was an outlying interest in the county. As a result of this distribution it would naturally be towards Lewes and the earl of Arundel that the Poynings would look to in terms of overlordship, as their ancestors had always looked to the Warenes. Poynings, Hangleton, Ashcombe and Twineham were held of the earl of Arundel, whilst Waldron was held of the duke of Lancaster and Ifield of the earl of Nottingham.⁶⁹ Outside of Sussex the Poynings family also had another important concentration of lands in Kent where they held 10 manors – Terlingham (Hawkinge), Newington Bertram, Westwood, Staundon (Isle of Sheppey), Coumbesdale (Isle of Sheppey), North Cray (Bexley), Leaveland, Tottington (Aylesford), Eccles (Aylesford),

⁶⁶ CCR 1369-1374 (London, 1911), pp.405-7; CCR 1385-1389 (London, 1921), p.134; CCR 1389-1392 (London, 1922), p.170; CCR 1419-1422 (London, 1932), pp.163-4.

⁶⁷ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, pp.167-8.

⁶⁸ According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, Camoys held 13 manors in four counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

⁶⁹ CIPM 1384-1392 (London, 1974); C 136/52/17, pp.232-9. Also see map in Appendix 4.

Ruxley (Sidcup). These were generally situated in two blocs, part in the Folkestone hundred and the rest across the top of the county in a line from the Essex border to the Isle of Thanet. Richard, Lord Poynings was also found seised of the manor of Wrentham in Suffolk. The Sussex manors of Pangdean, Crawley and Slaugham do not appear on the inquisition for Richard, Lord Poynings, even though his brother Thomas held them at his death in 1375.⁷⁰ In the case of Slaugham this is because it, along with Eastwell and Horsmonden in Kent, had been assigned to Blanche Mowbray, his sister-in-law, as her dower. Blanche did not die until 1409, so Richard, Lord Poynings never enjoyed those properties during his lifetime.⁷¹ Pangdean was possibly incorporated with nearby Poynings with which it descended, whilst Crawley had been granted out to Richard Scoteneye and his wife Isabel for life.⁷²

All the lands that the family possessed in 1387 had been fully assembled by the time of Michael, Lord Poynings (d.1369). He had married Joan Rokesley who was a coheir of the Honour of Folkestone and she brought to the marriage the manors of Terlingham, Newington Bertram and Westwood, as well as a moiety of the hundred of Folkestone. Neither Thomas nor Richard Poynings had added much to the inheritance by 1387. The lands which Thomas' wife Blanche Mowbray brought to her marriage reverted back to the Mowbrays at her death, while through Richard's wife Isabel Fitzpayn they eventually inherited the Fitzpayn estates in Dorset and Somerset, although not until the time of her son Robert, Lord Poynings.⁷³ After Robert's death in 1446 the Poynings inheritance became the subject of a dispute between his granddaughter and heir general Eleanor (heiress by entail and common law) and her husband Henry Percy (d.1461), earl of Northumberland from 1455, and Poynings' younger twin sons Robert and Edward who were his heirs males (heirs with her in gavelkind).⁷⁴ Robert, Lord Poynings (d.1446) had settled eight Sussex manors including Poynings and four Kent manors on Eleanor and Percy. Terlingham was entailed while the other 11 were enfeoffed. Wrentham, Twineham and other interests in

⁷⁰ *CIPM 1374-1377* (London, 1952), pp.197-201.

⁷¹ *CCR 1374-1377* (London, 1913), pp.178-9, 309; *CCR 1409-1413* (London, 1932), p.18; *CIPM 1405-1413* (London, 1992), pp.215-18.

⁷² *CIPM 1384-1392*, p.233.

⁷³ *CCR 1402-1405* (London, 1929), p.264; *CIPM 1391-1399*, pp.167-70.

⁷⁴ Gavelkind was a peculiar Kentish inheritance system where land descended to all sons (including their female heirs of dead sons, although through their husbands rather than in their own right) and not just the eldest.

Surrey, Sussex and Norfolk were settled on Robert Poynings (d.1461). Percy however entered all the gavelkind lands in Kent, rather than just their third, and used his influence at court to prevent the proper division of them. In spite of protracted legal and forceful attempts to state their right to the disputed inheritance, the efforts of Robert Poynings (d.1461), his wife Elizabeth Paston and their son Sir Edward Poynings were ultimately not bearing as the line died out in 1521 and the entire inheritance devolved to the Percies.⁷⁵ Overall the Poynings' landed interests during Richard II's reign were essentially typical of a middling baronial family.⁷⁶ The existence of several clusters of land was characteristic of a more established baronial family who had over generations brought together several different gentry inheritances. The Poynings were first summoned in 1348 which would have been recognition of their landed position, as well as military service. This multiple clustering is a distinction from the Camoys who were closer to the noble-gentry divide and without the same breadth of interests.

The third largest baronial landowners in Sussex were the de la Warrs. At his death in 1398 John, Lord de la Warr was found to be in possession of four manors in the county – Middleton, Isfield, Folkington and Portslade. Middleton was in the south-west of the county in the Arundel Rape. Portslade was further along the coast in the Lewes Rape, just east of Shoreham. Isfield and Folkington were both in the Pevensey Rape although at quite a distance from each other – Isfield being about three miles south-west from Uckfield, whilst Folkington was down near Eastbourne. De la Warr also held the Lordship of Fletching close to Isfield. Folkington was held of John of Gaunt, Portslade of Lord Bardolf and Isfield of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁷ In Northamptonshire de la Warr had manors at Grafton by Geddington (Grafton Underwood), Finedon, Great Harrowden, Little Harrowden and their *caput* at Wakerley.⁷⁸ In Lincolnshire he was seised of 10 manors - Swineshead, Gosberton, Grimsthorpe (where the family moved its chief residence in John, Lord de la Warr's lifetime), Southorp (Edenham), Althorpe,

⁷⁵ Jeffs, 'The Poynings-Percy Dispute', pp.148–64

⁷⁶ According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, Richard, Lord Poynings held 19 manors in three counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

⁷⁷ CIPM 1391-1399, pp.504-8; C 136/108/7. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁷⁸ Robert, Lord de la Warr is sometimes referred to as Lord of Wakerley e.g.: *CPR 1381-1385*, p.185; *CPR 1396-1399*, p.226. He is also though sometimes called Lord of Folkington and also Lord of Ewyas Harold in reference to the Herefordshire estate which he granted to his mother and father-in-law: *CCR 1364-1368* (London, 1910), p.472. Thomas, Lord de la Warr is occasionally called Lord of Manchester where he was Rector: *CCR 1422-1429* (London, 1933), pp.360-1.

Sixhills, Nettleton, Scalby (two manors) and Hainton. He also had two manors in Lancashire (Manchester and Cuerdley), two in Wiltshire (Allington and Durrington), Wickwar in Gloucestershire and Brislington in Somerset. The family also held the castle and manor of Ewyas Harold in Herefordshire. However this was granted in survivorship to de la Warr's mother Elizabeth Welle and her second husband Lewis Clifford in 1373, around the same time that he bought from them her third parts of Portslade, Folkington, Fletching, Wakerley, Brislington and Allington.⁷⁹

The de la Warr inheritance had been built up steadily for more than a hundred years. The first de la Warr to be summoned back in 1299, Roger (d.1320), had already inherited Wickwar and Brislington in the West Country from his father and Middleton, Folkington and Isfield in Sussex from his mother. Through his marriage to Clarice Tregoz in 1276 the family acquired Ewyas Harold, Allington and their first interests in Northamptonshire. His son John (d.1347) added Manchester, Cuerdley, Swineshead, Sixhills, Wakerley and Portslade through his marriage to the heiress Joan Grelle in 1294. John's grandson and heir Roger, Lord de la Warr (d.1370) does not seem to have added any substantial lands. John, Lord de la Warr (d.1398) however built on their interests in the East Midlands by his second marriage to Elizabeth Neville in the late 1380s. Elizabeth was the heiress of the Nevilles of Grimsthorpe and brought de la Warr the manors of Gosberton, Southorp, Grimsthorpe and possibly others in Lincolnshire, as well as Grafton, Great Harrowden, Little Harrowden and Finedon in Northamptonshire.⁸⁰ Although the direct line of the de la Warrs ended with the childless Thomas, Lord de la Warr in 1427, a nephew Reginald West was heir general and under him the baronies of de la Warr and West were combined and the family continued to prosper into the sixteen century and, via another nephew in 1570, beyond. The de la Warrs were long established in the baronage and were comfortably on the second tier of lords in terms of landed wealth, behind only those pushing towards the titled nobility.⁸¹ A series of prosperous marriages had brought together an expansive collection of estates across several regions. Although they were not primarily a Sussex

⁷⁹ *CPR 1370-1374* (London, 1914), pp.246-7; *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex*, vol. iii, ed. L. F. Salzman (Sussex, 1916), p.177.

⁸⁰ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv, pp.139-51.

⁸¹ According to the rules established in Chapter 4.i and the data collated in Appendix 3, John, Lord de la Warr held 25 manors in seven counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

family, the acquisition of further lands in the East Midlands by John, Lord de la Warr saw that region firmly established as their principal concern and theatre.

The final notable baronial landed presence in Sussex was the Say inheritance. The Say family from Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire died out with the death of John Say, a minor, in July 1382. Between his death and September 1382 his sister and heir Elizabeth married Sir John Falvesle. Falvesle was a knight from Northamptonshire who only appears to have inherited the solitary manor of Fawsley from his father Thomas.⁸² He is also possibly the John Falvesle to whom Sir William Devereux is recorded in 1371 as having granted the manor of Nether Heyton in Shropshire for life, though there is no other evidence that Falvesle had a first wife called Margaret as the enrolled indenture states this grantee did.⁸³ With regard to the Say lands, an inquisition was ordered following a petition because Falvesle and Elizabeth Say married without a licence and so had not been granted livery of the lands. This however was given in December 1382 after the petition had been heard in the great council.⁸⁴ Falvesle therefore acquired the seven manors which made up the Say inheritance. As well as Sawbridgeworth there were Buxted and Streat in Sussex and Birling, Cudham, Burham and West Greenwich in Kent. Buxted was in the northern half of the Pevensey Rape, just north of Uckfield. Streat was about eight miles south-west in the Lewes Rape, not far from Lewes itself. Streat was held of the earl of Arundel. This inheritance was enough to cause Falvesle to be summoned to parliament in 1383 and he began to use the style Lord of Say.⁸⁵

After Falvesle's death in 1392 Elizabeth Say remarried William Heron. Heron was from Eppleton (Hetton-le-Hole) on the County Durham–Northumberland border and he had inherited the manors of Eshott and Hartside in Northumberland from his father Sir John Heron. Heron married Elizabeth in 1393, at which point he acquired the seven Say manors. In his inquisition post mortem from 1404 the Say estates number

⁸² No inquisition post mortem survives for John Falvesle but his landholding can be determined by looking at those of his father and the Say family and other records such as that of his enfeoffment of the lands: *CFR 1347-1356* (London, 1921), p.393; *CCR 1385-1389*, pp.283, 407; *An Abstract of Feet of Fines*, vol. iii, p.195. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁸³ *CCR 1369-1374*, pp.318-9.

⁸⁴ *CCR 1381-1385*, pp.234-5.

⁸⁵ J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), p.391.

eight, as they also include Hamsey which had temporarily been settled on a John Say, uncle of the John Say who died in 1382, but it had returned to the main lordship before Heron's death.⁸⁶ Heron, like Falvesle, was also styled Lord of Say.⁸⁷ After Heron's death his Northumbrian lands passed to his nephew John Heron, whilst the Say lands were partitioned between the representatives of the heiresses – Elizabeth Say's three aunts Idonea, Joan and Elizabeth. The representatives were William, Lord Clinton, Sir Roger Fiennes and Maud and Mary Aldoun.⁸⁸ William, Lord Clinton and his heirs assumed the style Lord Say. The two individuals in possession of the Say inheritance, Falvesle and Heron, gained promotion into the baronage by virtue of it. However it was still one of the smaller baronial collections of estates, even if it did have the noble characteristic of being spread across several counties.⁸⁹ Because neither Falvesle nor Heron had direct heirs it cannot be known whether their descendants would have been able to sustain the rank, particularly if they did not have the skill or fortune to acquire more properties in an attempt to maintain the dignity. In their lifetimes though they had little more than their multi-county interests and parliamentary summonses to distinguish them from the local upper gentry.

In terms of the general economic position of the Sussex barons, the 1436 tax returns provide some insight into the relative wealth of the families. Of the 30 families from Richard II's reign who had survived and are listed in 1436, the de la Warrs ranked twelfth with an estimated annual income of £563 (including annuities), whilst the Poynings ranked fifteenth with an estimated income of £500 (including annuities).⁹⁰ The de la Warrs therefore, as their landholding also suggests, were assessed as being roughly on the second level of barons in terms of wealth and Poynings were slightly behind them in exactly the midpoint position.

⁸⁶ *CIPM 1399-1405* (London, 1987), pp.365-70; C 137/48/21; *An Abstract of Feet of Fines*, vol. iii, pp.205-6; *CCR 1381-1385*, p.157; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.339. Also see map in Appendix 4.

⁸⁷ *CCR 1402-1405*, pp.395, 405.

⁸⁸ *CFR 1399-1405*, p.315; *CCR 1405-1409* (London, 1931), pp.163-4, 193.

⁸⁹ According to the rules established in Chapter 4 and the data collated in Appendix 3, John, Lord Falvesle held eight manors in four and William, Lord Heron held 10 manors in four counties compared to the baronial average of 16.6 in 5.11.

⁹⁰ E 163/7/31/1; E 163/7/31/2; H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Historical Review*, xlix (1934), pp.614-18.

Little can be determined about the estate management of these barons as almost no records survive from any of their manors.⁹¹ One account roll survives from the Poynings estate of West Dean.⁹² This shows that they were still demesne farming there in the late 1380s. This fits with Saul's findings at the Sussex gentry estates of Chalvington, Beddingham and Heighton, which were all being farmed directly at the time of their latest entries during the 1380s, 1390s and early 1400s respectively.⁹³ Sussex landowners it seems, like elsewhere, did not experience any real post-Black Death economic downturn until at least the late 1370s, and it was after this time that direct cultivation began to cease as landlords looked for other ways to maintain their income.⁹⁴ The accounts at West Dean are also regarded as being unusually realistic as they have a discharge section for 'allowances and decayed rents', which at £2 4s. 0d. was nearly half the combined total of rents and farms (£3 12s. 0d. and £1 2s. 6d.).⁹⁵ Several years later when Isabel Poynings, widow of Richard, Lord Poynings, died in 1394, custody of the Poynings lands was granted to William Scrope of Bolton (later earl of Wiltshire) until the majority of the heir Robert.⁹⁶ However shortly after the grant Scrope petitioned the king requesting that the executors of Isabel Poynings be ordered to pay £8 12s. 6d. in compensation for wastes committed on the lands she held in dower in Kent, as found by the inquisition held on her death. He also requested that the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer be ordered to discharge him and Isabel's executors of the sum.⁹⁷ This suggests that these lands had not been maintained in the best condition, certainly in the seven years since the death of Richard, Lord Poynings. In other economic business John, Lord de la Warr lent money to the king on several occasions.⁹⁸ William, Lord Heron also appears to have been involved in money lending as he is recorded several times as a creditor, with his debtors including the financially troubled Richard, Lord Talbot.⁹⁹

⁹¹ For a general agrarian history of Sussex during the late medieval period see: E. Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. iii (Cambridge, 1991), pp.119-36, 268-85; Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, pp.98-139.

⁹² SAS M/673, cited in: Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.129.

⁹³ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.109.

⁹⁴ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.116.

⁹⁵ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.129.

⁹⁶ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.513.

⁹⁷ SC 8/223/11145.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1388-1392*, p.422; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.557; *CPR 1396-1399*, p.178.

⁹⁹ C 131/42/3; C 131/48/17; C 241/180/60; C 241/193/54. For the Talbots' financial troubles see Chapter 6.iii.

The Sussex barons were amongst the relatively modest members of their class in terms of landholding and overall wealth. The de la Warrs and Poynings had built their inheritances through a series of good marriages over a number of generations and were comfortably able to support their status through their possessions. Camoys, Falvesle and Heron were rising knights who had acquired enough property to cross the threshold, but did not go on to fully establish themselves in the class because of the failure of their lines. All the inheritances had the typical baronial characteristic of being two or three significant clusters of lands, which gave the lords cross-county interests, but were not enough to make them nationwide landowners like many of the titled nobles were. All four inheritances though were constantly under the shadow of the Fitzalans and to a lesser extent the Mowbrays and John of Gaunt. Because of this not even the more significant Sussex barons really established sizeable spheres of influence in the county outside of the quite immediate vicinity of their respective principal county residences at Poynings, Trotton and Folkington.

iv) Lordship, Retaining and Military Service

All the Sussex barons had connections with members of the titled nobility. The Poynings family had traditionally served the Warenne earls of Surrey who had possessed the rape of Lewes where a lot of their lands lay and were overlords of several of their manors.¹⁰⁰ However when the Warennes died out in 1347, instead of switching their primary allegiance to the Fitzalans, the family seems to have opted instead to establish ties with John of Gaunt. Thomas, Lord Poynings (d.1375) had been a ward of John of Gaunt and later went on to serve with him in Gascony in 1373.¹⁰¹ His brother Richard, Lord Poynings also served with him in Spain from 1386 until his death there in May 1387.¹⁰² There is no evidence though to suggest he was not on amicable terms with the earl of Arundel – he does not appear to have got caught up in the Dallingridge dispute in 1384, he acted as a feoffee for Arundel in 1381 and served on campaign with

¹⁰⁰ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, pp.33, 37-8.

¹⁰¹ *CFR 1368-1377* (London, 1924), p.6; *Reg. I*, nos. 49, 1675, 1776.

¹⁰² Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.341; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.101.

the earl's brother John, Lord Arundel in 1377.¹⁰³ If anything Poynings was a Lancastrian, but there is little evidence that this military association had much impact on peacetime and local Sussex affairs.

Camoys' ties are more difficult to discern. In 1388 he was removed from court by the Appellants, indicating that he was closely associated with the king and the court clique of the time.¹⁰⁴ However in 1398 he received a pardon from the king for adherence to the Appellants a decade before.¹⁰⁵ This might be in reference to his military service with Arundel on his naval expedition in 1388 during the period when the Appellants were controlling the government; Richard II may have remembered Camoys' haste in reconciling with his enemies.¹⁰⁶ Saul has described Camoys as someone Arundel could rely on and who was active in his service.¹⁰⁷ This is probably an overstatement of the strength of their relationship, but like Poynings there is little to suggest that they were anything but cordial. Camoys also appears to have been well regarded by both Henry IV, who granted him Portchester Castle upon his accession and for whom he undertook numerous martial and diplomatic commissions, and Henry V, who involved him heavily in the 1415 Agincourt campaign. On his effigy in Trotton church Camoys is found wearing a Lancastrian livery collar.¹⁰⁸ This could refer to an otherwise unknown association with John of Gaunt, but is more likely to originate from his service to Henry IV. It would seem therefore that Camoys was a highly regarded servant whose primary loyalty was to the throne, although he seems to have been less concerned about which individual was inhabiting, or even controlling, it.

¹⁰³ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. x, p.663; *CPR 1381-1385*, p.35. Saul also suggests that the Poynings are likely to have supported rather than challenged the authority of the Warenne successors the Fitzalans: Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.38.

¹⁰⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.849; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.261; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.429; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.231.

¹⁰⁵ C 67/31 m.11.

¹⁰⁶ E 101/41/5 m.7; J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. iii (London, 1815), p.581.

¹⁰⁷ Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p.36.

¹⁰⁸ See Figure 4 below; N. Pepys, 'Who Lies Here? The Camoys Brasses in Trotton Church', *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin*, xxxvii (1984), pp.110-13.

Prior to the reign de la Warr had been associated with the Black Prince. He had served with him in Gascony in the late 1360s and early 1370s.¹⁰⁹ During Richard II's reign he is most noted for his opposition to John of Gaunt in Sussex. When Gaunt had exchanged lands in 1372 his interests shifted westward into the rape of Pevensey. This put him in close proximity to de la Warr's lands there, such as Isfield and Folkington. According to Walker, de la Warr, along with Sir Edward Dallingridge, was one of the main local figures who resented the intrusive lordship of this powerful newcomer.¹¹⁰ The villagers of Folkington withdrew their suit from Gaunt's hundred court of Longbridge and were maintained in their defiance by de la Warr's steward John Brook.¹¹¹ Brook was also involved in Dallingridge and Sir Thomas Sackville's attack on Gaunt's ranger in Ashdown Forest the same year, demonstrating some level of support for these attacks against the Lancastrian administration in the neighbourhood.¹¹² De la Warr does not though appear to have been a full retainer of Arundel's in the way Dallingridge was. However when tensions in the region rose in 1384 de la Warr's instinct appears to have been to side with his influential gentry neighbour and Arundel, the county's traditional leader.

Falvesle's first ties of lordship appear to have been with Edward, Lord Despenser. He witnessed an indenture for Despenser in 1372, served with him in France in 1373 and was also named as one of his feoffees in 1376.¹¹³ After Despenser's death Falvesle transferred his service to the earl of Arundel. Falvesle acted as feoffee for Arundel in 1381 and served abroad with him in 1378, 1387 and 1388.¹¹⁴ Heron also found service under different lords. In his will in 1404 he states that he had been a soldier for Richard II, the earl of Arundel and the earl of Northumberland.¹¹⁵ The

¹⁰⁹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv, (London, 1916), pp.147-51

¹¹⁰ S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: A Franchisal Dispute in Fourteenth-Century Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, cxxi (1983), pp.87-94, esp. pp.88-9; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp.127-41, esp. pp.130-1.

¹¹¹ Just 1/944 m.2.

¹¹² Just 3/163 m.12; Just 3/216/5 m.176; Just 1/943 m.1; KB 27/502 Rex m.22.

¹¹³ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, pp.250-1; M. Jones and S. Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476', *Camden Miscellany xxxii* (Camden Soc, 5th series, iii, 1994), no. 57; E 101/32/26; *CPR 1374-1377* (London, 1916), p.289.

¹¹⁴ *CRP 1381-1385*, p.35; E 101/36/32 m.3; E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i; French Rolls 10 Ric. II, mm.10, 12, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252; E 101/41/5 m.1; French Rolls 11 Ric. II, m.7, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18.

¹¹⁵ Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, p.163.

service to Northumberland probably happened earlier in his life when he was still based in the North-East and he served with Richard II in Ireland in 1394.¹¹⁶ Like Camoys, in 1398 he received a pardon from Richard II for adherence to the Appellants in 1387-8.¹¹⁷ At that time he had served at sea twice with Arundel, and on the 1388 expedition he appears to have been an important captain within the force.¹¹⁸ As Arundel was also overlord of the Say property in Streat, it is likely that he had some involvement in securing the profitable marriages of these two retainers of his to the heiress Elizabeth Say. Heron was also a member of Henry IV's household and served as steward between 1402 and 1404.¹¹⁹

All the Sussex barons therefore sought some kind of association or service with members of the titled nobility. They were required to develop ties with greater lords for their careers and to improve and enhance their local and national standing. The earl of Arundel was the established source of 'good lordship' in the county and each baron had little choice but to foster relations with him. For Falvesle and Heron their service with the earl was the agent of their rise into the baronage. The others knew it was essential for their local prosperity to retain at least cordiality with him, alongside any additional connections to other members of the titled nobility.

The barons themselves also provided lordship and opportunities for service to those in the gentry below them.¹²⁰ According to the associations identified between barons and members of the upper gentry who served as MPs in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, tabled in Appendix 6 and discussed in Chapter 5.ii, the Poynings were by some distance the Sussex barons with the largest number of connections. 21 links are found between them and MPs during the 35 years the resource surveys, compared to the overall average of 12 per baronial family. 10 of

¹¹⁶ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.483.

¹¹⁷ C 67/30 m.3.

¹¹⁸ E 101/40/33 m.12d; E 101/41/5 m.10; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.449; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18.

¹¹⁹ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986), p.287.

¹²⁰ For the following paragraphs see individual MP biographies in: Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vols. ii-iv, *passim*. As well as from the lists of sheriffs, escheators and MPs for the county, another useful source for the makeup of the Sussex gentry at this time (1388 in particular) can be found in: N. Saul, 'The Sussex Gentry and the Oath to Uphold the Acts of the Merciless Parliament', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, cxxv (1997), pp.221-39, esp. pp.229-30.

these were Sussex MPs, four were from Surrey,¹²¹ two from Kent (including Canterbury) and the other six from other counties mainly around Wessex. The primary connection for nine out of the 10 Sussex MPs related to involvement in land, financial and inheritance transactions – acting as feoffees, trustees, executors, sureties and overseers of wills for each other. That members of the gentry were keen to have the Poynings act as guarantors of their business shows their engagement with the local political community and also the regard that the family were held. These kind of relationships usually indicate friendly relations, although that was not always the case. John Pelham for example had been asked by Robert, Lord Poynings to be a trustee of his estates. However a few years later the men quarrelled and Pelham was required to provide securities of £1,000 not to molest Poynings.¹²² The other Sussex MP, Richard Wakehurst, was a lawyer whose services were employed by the Poynings. The closest associates of the Poynings in the county appear to be Sir William Percy and Nicholas Wilcombe who both had numerous dealings with the family during the course of their lifetimes.¹²³

Outside of Sussex several other Poynings connections also stem from property dealings, in particular those with John Newdigate (feoffee), Thomas Ellis (deed witnessing), Henry Barton (joint title to an estate), Sir John Berkeley (will supervisor) and William Gosse (feoffee). Sir William Bonville and Sir Thomas Worting were both related by marriage, while Sir James Berners had been granted the marriage of Robert, Lord Poynings after his father's death. Thomas Ickham, who represented Canterbury, acted as guardian of Richard, Lord Poynings and in 1377 he shared custody of the manor of Wrentham in Suffolk pertaining to his ward's inheritance. When Poynings came of age he made Ickham a trustee of Wrentham and of other properties in Kent. He also granted him a life annuity of four marks.¹²⁴ Thomas Kynnersley, an MP for Surrey, was a close associate of Richard, Lord Poynings for over a decade. Poynings had conveyed a substantial part of his estates to Kynnersley in trust before his death and Kynnersley then helped protect the interests of the young heir Robert, being present as

¹²¹ Hugh Quecche represented both Sussex and Surrey so is included in both figures.

¹²² Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, p.42.

¹²³ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, pp.52-3, 859-60.

¹²⁴ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.470-2.

his ‘attorney and friend’ when an assignment of dower was made to Lady Poynings.¹²⁵ Dorset lawyer and MP for Dorchester and Shaftesbury Thomas Cammell was also heavily involved in managing the estates during the minority of Robert, Lord Poynings, acting as a mainpernor for several estates and a surety for Lady Poynings when custody of the inheritance was transferred to her. In 1388 Sir William Scrope leased to him all the Poynings lands in Sussex, Surrey, Norfolk and Suffolk for 100 marks a year, and he also continued to work for the family after Robert had come of age.¹²⁶ The Poynings family therefore had an array of important connections across southern England who they could call upon when they required services, while many other leading members of the gentry recognised their lordship and valued the prestige their backing brought.

Connections have been identified between Thomas, Lord Camoys and five MPs. Two of these represented Sussex, one Surrey, one Suffolk and one was a burgess for London. Of the Sussex MPs Ralph Rademylde was married to his granddaughter, while Richard Styuecle acted as a feoffee for him. John Gravesend from Surrey acted as a mainpernor for him and London burgess Thomas Fauconer served him as an attorney. Sir William Bardwell from Suffolk was contracted to serve under Camoys with two esquires and three archers during the earl of Arundel’s 1388 naval expedition.¹²⁷ Camoys therefore has a lot less documented dealings with members of the upper gentry than the Poynings. This is probably demonstrative of his being a less influential and wealthy lord. Ross has argued that while great magnates could employ many knights and esquires, a large proportion of baronial retainers were instead of lower gentry or even yeomen status.¹²⁸ Those representing the county were only drawn from the upper gentry and if many baronial retainers were these more obscure figures, that would help explain the smaller number of connections with MPs for minor barons. Camoys’ lack of recorded connections with MPs could also partly be explained by his being less active in matters regarding property, where many connections appear to originate from. Particularly as the Poynings suffered a lengthy minority during this period, they were far more in need of third-party involvement in their affairs. Camoys though still had

¹²⁵ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, p.538.

¹²⁶ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.470-1.

¹²⁷ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vols. ii-iv, *passim*.

¹²⁸ C. D. Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435’, Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford (1950), pp.338-9.

some important links with local and regional MPs, although he is markedly below the overall average number of connections that has been established for barons at this time (12).

All of the traceable de la Warr connections are with MPs from the East Midlands, demonstrating again that this had become their primary area of interest. Sir John Bussy who represented both Lincolnshire and Rutland was a beneficiary of the will of Lady de la Warr (d. 1393) and he was also involved in the provisions made shortly afterwards for setting up the family chantry at Edenham in Lincolnshire. In 1394 Bussy and Roger, Lord de la Warr acted together as attorneys for John, Lord Beaumont. Nottinghamshire MP Sir Hugh Hussey was also on friendly terms with Roger, Lord de la Warr. Sir John Byron who represented Lancashire and Lincolnshire was a trustee of Thomas, Lord de la Warr, while Roger Flore the Rutland MP appears to have been a close personal confidant.¹²⁹ Like Camoys, the de la Warrs have a relatively low number of identifiable connections to MPs. This is particularly marked when compared to de la Warr's East Midland neighbours, the Zouches, Willoughbys, Lovels and the Ros family, who all had three or four times as many connections. This again lends towards a conclusion that their lordship was not as desirable as that of other magnates locally at this time and that the de la Warrs possibly only had the influence and resources to retain those in the lower gentry and below. This would have been even more so the case under Thomas, Lord de la Warr, who preferred to continue his ecclesiastic career as Rector of Manchester, rather than actively developing his lay lordship.

No connections have been identified between John, Lord Falvesle and members of the upper gentry. As well as being one of the lesser barons of the period, this is probably also partly due to the fact that Falvesle died in 1392, whereas the other Sussex baronial lines continued until at least the end of the period covered by *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421*. The number of connections recorded for his successor as Lord Say, William Heron, who died in 1404, would also be affected by this. Links can be established between Heron and five MPs. Foremost among these was his younger brother Sir Gerard Heron who was MP for Northumberland. The

¹²⁹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vols. ii-iv, *passim*.

brothers seem to have worked closely together to further their mutual interests. While William relocated to southern England after his marriage to Elizabeth Say, Gerard maintained and extended the family's influence in the North-East. Both were able administrators, important diplomats, especially at the Scottish court, and significantly involved in government, yet able to remain aloof of political machinations both in the North-East and with regard to the Crown. William is also seen to be instrumental in directing royal patronage to Gerard, particularly after the accession of Henry IV. Arvanigian has characterised the brothers as being exceptionally ambitious and talented, and cites them as a distinguished example of a minor baronial family successfully augmenting their position through government service.¹³⁰ Of the other four connections, Sir Roger Fiennes who represented Sussex was related to the Says and was an eventual coheir of the Heron inheritance, while Heron's other Sussex connection was with Sir John Dallingridge. Heron was a trustee of Dallingridge's estates and after Heron's death it was to Dallingridge that Henry IV entrusted the custody of the contents of his London house until it could be decided whether any of them were goods forfeited by the earl of Worcester. Sir Thomas Brewes who represented Surrey was Elizabeth Say's uncle. The remaining connection is slightly contentious. The editors of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* follow the statement originally made by Morant in the 1760s that William, Lord Heron remarried after the death of Elizabeth Say.¹³¹ This second marriage was allegedly to Elizabeth Butler (or Boteler/Botiler) of Sudeley. There is no surviving contemporary evidence for this second marriage or knowledge of what Morant's authority was, so this conclusion remains tenuous. If this marriage did happen then the Gloucestershire MP Sir Thomas Butler would have become Heron's father-in-law.¹³² Heron's connections again tally more with that of a lesser baron, which is as to be expected for one who had only recently moved up to that rank.

While *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* collates references to peacetime associations between barons and a rough approximation of the

¹³⁰ M. Arvanigian, 'The Durham Gentry and the Scottish March, 1370-1400: County Service in Late Medieval England', *Northern History*, xlvi (2005), pp.257-73; Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.353-6.

¹³¹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.458-9; P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, vol. ii (Colchester, 1768), p.116.

¹³² Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vols. ii-iv, *passim*.

upper gentry, there is another source which provides the opportunity to look at a different aspect of baronial retaining. The Muster Rolls for military expeditions survive for five campaigns during Richard II's reign. In these there are 14 baronial retinues listed in full and the names of the men-at-arms in these have been reproduced in Appendix 8. Only the men-at-arms have been listed as it is just from these that members of the gentry, and indeed other nobles, would be found. Two of these military retinues belong to Sussex barons – Sir William Heron (before his ennoblement) and Thomas, Lord Camoys, both from the 1388 expedition commanded by the earl of Arundel.

Heron's retinue on this campaign consisted of 95 men, 54 archers and 41 men-at-arms.¹³³ The men-at-arms were made up of four knights - Heron himself, Sir Hugh Huse, Sir Andrew Luttrell and Sir John Ros, and 37 esquires. None of the men appear to be members of the upper gentry in Sussex, in that they did not serve as justice of the peace, sheriff, escheator or MP during the reign, nor are listed among those who took the oath to uphold the acts of the Merciless Parliament in 1388. John Dallingridge (then still an esquire) was a retainer of the earl of Arundel and would become a prominent member of the Sussex gentry. Dallingridge was also a close companion of Heron, both in the county and in Henry IV's household where they would later serve together.¹³⁴ Other than Dallingridge only a few of the men have possible associations with Sussex that can be identified. John Scott represented Hastings as a burgess,¹³⁵ while more tenuously Raulyn Cocking and Richard Middleton have locative surnames which could link them to the county. There were unsurprisingly, as this was at the time of the Appellant supremacy, no known chamber knights or king's knights of Richard II in the retinue.¹³⁶ Four of the men though were formally retained by John of Gaunt – Sir Hugh Huse, Sir Andrew Luttrell, William Plumstead and Sir John Ros.¹³⁷ It is notable how this group almost mirrors the list of knights in the retinue, highlighting a strong Lancastrian presence amongst the senior soldiers. John Burton (a valet of the Duchy's

¹³³ See Appendix 8; E 101/41/5 m.10.

¹³⁴ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.742-4; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.287.

¹³⁵ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, p.319.

¹³⁶ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp.282-6.

¹³⁷ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.272, 274, 278, 279. Huse also fought in Bolingbroke's army in 1399: C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993), p.253.

Wardrobe), John Elmeshale (an annuitant of Henry Grosmont who continued to serve Gaunt) and John Sergeant (deputy steward of Monmouth) also had connections with the duke.¹³⁸ It cannot definitely be established whether the following names are the particular people or namesakes, but other possible identifiable figures in the retinue are John Bassingbourne who could have been the MP for Weymouth of that name, John Beverley who may have been the John Beverley who represented Cambridge in 1414 and John Burton who might have been the knight of the shire for Nottinghamshire.¹³⁹ John Darell is possibly the person of that name who represented Kent from 1407, although that one would probably have not been old enough in 1388.¹⁴⁰

Many of the members of Heron's retinue were experienced campaigners. 15 of the 41 had served on Arundel's campaign the previous year under different captains, six of whom served together, along with Heron, under Sir Nicholas Clifton.¹⁴¹ Bassingbourne, Burton and Scott all fought on Buckingham's 1377-8 campaign.¹⁴² Six of the men served on the 1378 naval expedition – Huse under Arundel's command and Alan, Bassingbourne, Plumstead, Ros and Scott with various captains under Gaunt's command.¹⁴³ Four of the retinue, Forest, Marshall, Middleton and Ros, were also recorded on the 1380-1 Brittany campaign.¹⁴⁴ A lot in particular is known about the martial career of William Plumstead as he was one of the deponents in the Grey versus Hastings Court of Chivalry case. There he testified that he had served with Gaunt in 1378, John, Lord Arundel in 1379, Buckingham in 1380 and Gaunt again in 1386, as

¹³⁸ Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.12n, 286, 29n; *Reg. I*, nos. 441-2, 623-5, 1456; *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83 (Reg. II)*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, lvi-lvii, 1937), nos. 89, 128, 528-9, 79, 225.

¹³⁹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.143, 220-1, 439.

¹⁴⁰ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.752-5.

¹⁴¹ E 101/40/33; E 101/40/34. Captains in brackets: Bassingbourne (earl of Devon), Beverley (Sir Nicholas Clifton), Commander (Sir Nicholas Clifton), Dallingridge (earl of Arundel), Elmeshale (John Sleigh), Forest (Sir Nicholas Clifton), Framesden (Sir Robert Mounteney), Heir (Sir Nicholas Clifton), Marshall (Sir Thomas Trivet), Ros (Sir Thomas Poynings), Scott (Sir Thomas Trivet), Sergeant (Sir Nicholas Clifton), Spalding (Sir Robert Mounteney), Stanhope (Sir Nicholas Clifton) and Wistow (earl of Devon).

¹⁴² E 101/36/25; E 101/36/26; E 101/36/28; E 101/36/29; E 101/37/10; E 101/37/28; E 101/42/13. Captains in brackets: Bassingbourne (Sir Gilbert Talbot), Burton (duke of Brittany) and Scott (Michael, Lord de la Pole). All under the command of the earl of Buckingham. Middleton and Ros also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/61 m.26; C 76/61 m.25.

¹⁴³ E 101/36/32; E 101/36/34; E 101/36/38; E 101/36/39; E 101/37/2; E 101/37/29; E 101/38/2. Captains in brackets: Alan (John atte Pole), Bassingbourne (Sir Aubrey de Vere), Huse (Warin, Lord Lisle, Plumstead (earl of Buckingham), Ros (John, Lord Arundel) and Scott (Sir Thomas Percy).

¹⁴⁴ E 101/39/7; E/101/39/9. Captains in brackets: Forest (Sir William Windsor), Marshall (Sir Hugh Calveley), Middleton (Sir William Windsor) and Ros (Sir William Windsor). Scott and Burton also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/65 m.27; C 76/65 m.11.

well as Heron in 1388.¹⁴⁵ This is useful in illustrating the continuation of service that occurred across campaigns and the presence of professional soldiers who pursued martial careers in royal, rather than one lord's, service. Although Plumstead received a pardon in 1398 for his involvement in the 1388 campaign, this was likely simply a precaution as it is difficult to conceive that his involvement was overtly political and that he saw this as anything but a continuation of royal service.¹⁴⁶

Camoys' retinue in 1388 contained 135 men, 77 archers and 58 men-at-arms.¹⁴⁷ Of the men-at-arms Camoys was listed as a banneret, Sir Thomas Bekeryng, Sir William Bardwell, Sir William Bretteville, Sir William Calthorpe, Sir Robert Denny, Sir John Harling, Sir Baldwin St George and Sir Robert Twyte were eight knights and the remaining 49 men were esquires. John Vesque is the only soldier with an identifiable link to Sussex, as he was listed amongst the oath takers in 1388.¹⁴⁸ There was one future retainer of Richard II in the retinue, John Cornwall, while Richard Boyton, Sir William Bretteville, John Cornwall and Thomas Goids were all Lancastrian retainers.¹⁴⁹ The retinue contained two names already highlighted – Sir William Bardwell the Suffolk MP who had connections with Camoys and Thomas Brewes the Surrey MP and who was related by marriage to William, Lord Heron.¹⁵⁰ John Cornwall the Lancastrian retainer was an MP for Shropshire.¹⁵¹ Other individuals who can tentatively be identified include John Barton who is perhaps the John Barton who was an MP in Buckinghamshire from 1397, Richard Boyton who may have represented Somerset, John Colshull who may have been the MP for Cornwall who also served the king as steward of the Duchy of Cornwall between 1392 and 1397, and Robert Denny and Sir Baldwin St George who were possibly the Cambridgeshire MPs of those names.¹⁵² John Marshall may have been either the John Marshall who represented Cambridgeshire or the one elected in Totnes, and similarly Nicholas Sambourne may

¹⁴⁵ M. H. Keen, 'English Military Experience and the Court of Chivalry: The Case of Grey v. Hastings', in P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison, M. H. Keen (eds.), *Guerre et Société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe-XVe Siècle* (Lille, 1991), pp.132-3.

¹⁴⁶ C 67/30 m.15.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix 8; E 101/41/5 m.7.

¹⁴⁸ Saul, 'The Sussex Gentry', p.229.

¹⁴⁹ Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p.283; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp.265, 267, 270. Cornwall transferred his service to the king in 1397.

¹⁵⁰ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.125-7, 353-4.

¹⁵¹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.661-3.

¹⁵² Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.138-40, 321-2, 633-5, 768-70; Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, pp.278-80.

have been either the person of that name that represented Bath, or the one who represented Chippenham and Malmesbury.¹⁵³

There is considerable evidence of a continuation of service in Camoys' retinue as well. 18 of the 58 men-at-arms had also served on the previous year's campaign under different captains, including four under the direct command of the earl of Arundel and five serving together under Sir William Elmham.¹⁵⁴ Six of the retinue had also served in 1377-8,¹⁵⁵ four in 1378,¹⁵⁶ and three in 1380-1.¹⁵⁷ Bell has also identified Thomas Tryskebett as someone who continued in Camoys' service after this campaign and he is even still found in his retinue 30 years later at Agincourt.¹⁵⁸ Sir William Bardwell was also a deponent in the Lovel versus Morley and the Grey versus Hastings Court of Chivalry cases. According to these depositions he served on the expeditions of 1378, 1379, 1380-1, 1383, 1385 and 1386, as well as 1387 and 1388; practically every campaign during that decade.¹⁵⁹

Protections survive for 26 men who intended to travel on campaign with Richard, Lord Poynings, 20 to go with him to Brittany in 1380-1 and six to go with him

¹⁵³ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.695-6; Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iv, pp.295-6.

¹⁵⁴ E 101/40/33; E 101/40/34. Captains in brackets: Bawdewyn (earl of Arundel), Bekeryng (earl of Arundel), Bardwell (Sir William Elmham), Henry Brailes (Sir Hugh Luttrell), Breton (earl of Devon), Brewes (earl of Arundel), Calthorpe (Sir Robert Mounteney), Cornwall (earl of Arundel), Davy (Sir Thomas Mortimer), Sir John Hawkeston or earl of Arundel), Denny (Sir William Elmham), Engleys (earl of Devon), Gelham (Sir William Elmham), Grimston (John, Lord Beaumont), Harling (Sir William Elmham), Piers (Sir William Elmham), Picard (John Sleigh), John St George (Sir Reginald Cobham) and Talmache (Sir Hugh Luttrell). Grimston also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/71 m.5.

¹⁵⁵ E 101/36/25; E 101/36/26; E 101/36/28; E 101/36/29; E 101/37/10; E 101/37/28; E 101/42/13. Captains in brackets: Algood (duke of Brittany), Bawdewyn (Sir Ralph Ferrers), Thomas Brailes (John, Lord Cobham), Bretteville (Sir Ralph Ferrers), Davy (duke of Brittany) and Marshall (duke of Brittany). All under the command of the earl of Buckingham. The Shropshire MP John Cornwall would probably have been too young to have been the one in the company of the duke of Brittany: E 101/42/13 m.1; Goy, Baldwin St George, Bekeryng, Grimston and Kendal also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/61 m.19; C 76/61 m.22; C 76/61 m.27; C 76/61 m.24; C 76/61 m.20; C 76/61 m.23.

¹⁵⁶ E 101/36/32; E 101/36/34; E 101/36/38; E 101/36/39; E 101/37/2; E 101/37/29; E 101/38/2. Captains in brackets: Brewes (earl of Arundel), Henry Brailes (Sir John atte Pole under Gaunt), Thomas Brailes (Sir John atte Pole under Gaunt) and John Barton (Sir Aubrey de Vere under Gaunt). Goy, Picard, Baldwin St George, Cornwall and Marshall also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/62 m.3; C 76/62 m.18; C 76/62 m.19; C 76/62 m.14; C 76/62 m.4; C 76/62 m.23; C 76/62 m.1.

¹⁵⁷ E 101/39/7; E/101/39/9. Captains in brackets: Barton (Sir William Windsor), Bawdewyn (Sir Hugh Calveley) and Bardwell (Sir William Windsor). Denny, Picard, Bekeryng, Cornwall, Marshall and Tendring also intended to go on this campaign: C 76/65 m.28; C 76/65 m.7; C 76/65 m.16; C 76/65 m.29; C 76/65 m.17; C 76/65 m.15; C 76/65 m.10.

¹⁵⁸ Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.183.

¹⁵⁹ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. ii, pp.125-7.

to Spain in 1386.¹⁶⁰ These names have been reproduced in Appendix 8 and several of the men are identifiable. John Londoneys who took out a protection in 1381 was one of the 1388 Sussex oath takers.¹⁶¹ The Surrey MP Thomas Kynnersley has already been identified as a close associate of Poynings and also took out a protection for service abroad with him in 1381.¹⁶² Nicholas Haute whose protection was for 1386 may have been the one who represented Kent in 1395 and also held lands in Sussex. That Sir Nicholas Haute's main associations appeared to have been with other magnates from the South-East, particularly Lord Cobham and Thomas Arundel.¹⁶³ John Maryot, another who took out a protection in 1386, was probably the burgess of Lewes who was an adherent of the earl of Arundel, with whom he fought at Radcot Bridge in 1387.¹⁶⁴ Finally Thomas Salman took out protections for both campaigns, demonstrating a continuation of service with Poynings. Of the 26 men, three are found in the Muster Roll for 1377-8,¹⁶⁵ two for 1378,¹⁶⁶ one for 1380-1,¹⁶⁷ three for 1387,¹⁶⁸ and four for 1388.¹⁶⁹

This investigation of the individuals who made up these three baronial retinues has demonstrated that these smaller retinues of war were quite ad hoc. A significant proportion of the men can be seen to continue their service across multiple campaigns under different commanders. They were professional soldiers who were undertaking royal, rather than private, service. Aside from these men, there tend to only be a handful of obvious links between the baronial captain and members of his retinue. Tenurial and peacetime connections do not seem to have played an important role in the recruitment of these baronial retinues.¹⁷⁰ This is perhaps indicative of the fact that these

¹⁶⁰ C 76/65 m.17; C 76/70 mm.3, 7, 8, 13, 17.

¹⁶¹ Saul, 'The Sussex Gentry', p.229.

¹⁶² Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.528-9.

¹⁶³ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.323-4.

¹⁶⁴ Roskell et al (eds.), *The House of Commons*, vol. iii, pp.698-9

¹⁶⁵ E 101/36/25; E 101/36/26; E 101/36/28; E 101/36/29; E 101/37/10; E 101/37/28; E 101/42/13.

Captains in brackets: Clare (duke of Brittany under Buckingham), Salman (Sir Thomas Percy under Gaunt) and St Leger (John, Lord Cobham under Buckingham).

¹⁶⁶ E 101/36/32; E 101/36/34; E 101/36/38; E 101/36/39; E 101/37/2; E 101/37/29; E 101/38/2.

Captains in brackets: Clare (William, Lord Beauchamp under Gaunt) and Salman (earl of Arundel).

¹⁶⁷ E 101/39/7; E/101/39/9. Captains in brackets: Coddington (Sir Hugh Calveley).

¹⁶⁸ E 101/40/33; E 101/40/34. Captains in brackets: Clare (John, Lord Arundel), Hamwood (earl of Arundel) and Londoneys (Sir Thomas Trivet).

¹⁶⁹ E 101/41/5. Captains in brackets: Dawney (earl of Devon), Fitzralph (earl of Arundel), Hamwood (earl of Nottingham) and Londoneys (earl of Arundel).

¹⁷⁰ This was not necessarily the case with yeomen archers. Smyth notes that Thomas, Lord Berkeley (d.1361) took 40 members of his household with him to France as archers: J. Smyth, *The Berkeley*

particular Sussex barons were not powerful enough figures to be leading their own autonomous forces. In contrast for example there were seen to be a large number of Westmorland gentry in the retinues of the more substantial nobles Lord Neville of Raby (then earl of Westmorland) and Lord Clifford in their retinues in 1417. Even between these two, the Nevilles, who were the more powerful lords in the county, were seen to be able to attract the more local following.¹⁷¹ The lesser barons though would have been useful to the campaign commander, as their formal status of baron made them obvious candidates to lead retinues due to them outranking the rest of the men. However any sense in which they were really the baron's men is very tenuous indeed. To a large extent they were acting on behalf of greater lords, in these instances particularly Arundel and Gaunt, to whom the knights and esquires in turn often had direct links. This was therefore a more triangular relationship between the three classes, with the titled nobles at the top and the barons and gentry on either corner, rather than a strictly hierarchical one.

These particular baronial retinues were therefore confederacies of professional soldiers, retainers of titled nobles, plus maybe one or two of their own associates. These case studies also support Bell's assessment of the 1387 and 1388 armies as a whole. He found that of the peers and knights who fought in 1387, about half served again in 1388, whilst about 15% of esquires did. Alongside professional soldiers in the service of the crown, he also identified a hard core of participants who already had a relationship with Arundel and were his trusted allies and supporters.¹⁷² Heron, Camoys and Poynings lived in his shadow and it appears that when they went to war with him they were given a group of his retainers, plus other soldiers committed to his service, and installed as leaders of them on that occasion. Other than John Dallingridge none of the men-at-arms were from the major gentry families in the county. They were instead less significant men, a few knights, but mainly esquires, who were associated with Arundel or other nobles and were from all parts of the kingdom. Although the barons

Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618, vols. i and ii, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1882), p.320.

¹⁷¹ E 101/51/2; V. J. C. Rees, 'The Clifford Family in the Later Middle Ages, 1259-1461', Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, Lancaster (1973), pp.139-40.

¹⁷² Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp.97-114. Other than through military service on these campaigns and in 1378 it is generally difficult, because of the sources, to identify Arundel retainers in a way that is possible with the king and Gaunt. Goodman has identified some of the leading members of his peacetime affinity: Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.114-21.

formally lead them, it is a triangular, rather than simply linear, relationship which in these cases best describes the dynamic between the commanding earls, the captaining barons and the serving gentry.

All the Sussex barons saw overseas military service during Richard II's reign.¹⁷³ Camoys was the most active, serving on four campaigns. In 1377-8 and 1380-1 he served under his cousin William, Lord Latimer.¹⁷⁴ In 1386 he accompanied John of Gaunt to Spain.¹⁷⁵ Two years later in 1388 he is found commanding 135 men, the fourth largest retinue, on Arundel's naval expedition.¹⁷⁶ Under Henry V Camoys also famously led the rearguard, which fought on the left wing, of the army at Agincourt in 1415.¹⁷⁷ Richard, Lord Poynings campaigned three times in the reign, in 1377 in John, Lord Arundel's retinue, with the earl of Buckingham in 1380-1 where he was contracted to provide 160 men, and with John of Gaunt in 1386 where he died of disease.¹⁷⁸ Falvesle also fought on three campaigns during the reign, as well as one before it. In 1373 he fought in the retinue of Edward, Lord Despenser on John of Gaunt's expedition to France.¹⁷⁹ He then served three times with the earl of Arundel, in 1378, 1387 and 1388.¹⁸⁰ On all three expeditions he served in Arundel's retinue, as well as under his command, and in 1387 he is listed as the second name in the retinue. Heron served on three campaigns during the reign as well, with Arundel in 1387 and 1388, and with Richard II in Ireland in 1394.¹⁸¹ In 1387 he served in the retinue of Sir Nicholas Clifton, while in 1388 he commanded his own one of 95 men and is described on the Muster Roll as the 'Le Souz Admirall' - the under-admiral. After the latter campaign Heron also acted as Arundel's deputy and was required to explain the reasons for the

¹⁷³ For full details of baronial military service see Appendix 7.

¹⁷⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, p.306; J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. ii (London, 1815), p.325; *CPR 1377-1381*, p.569.

¹⁷⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, p.306.

¹⁷⁶ E 101/41/5 m.7; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp.64, 93-4, 183-4; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.581.

¹⁷⁷ E 101/47/13.

¹⁷⁸ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. x, p.663; C 76/61 m.22; E 101/68/8/187; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.341; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.101.

¹⁷⁹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, pp.250-1.

¹⁸⁰ E 101/36/32 m.3; E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i; French Rolls 10 Ric. II, mm.10, 12, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252; E 101/41/5 m.1; French Rolls 11 Ric. II, m.7, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252.

¹⁸¹ E 101/40/33 m.12d; E 101/41/5 m.10; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.483.

initial delay of the expedition to parliament.¹⁸² Heron's own ship La Marie of Sandwich was also used for the expedition.¹⁸³ Finally John, Lord de la Warr only served on one campaign during the reign, but he had previously seen service under the Black Prince in Gascony. In the 1380-1 Brittany expedition he was, according to Froissart, involved in a heroic night raid where he rallied his men Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir William Clinton and Sir Evan Fitzwarren to join him and following a skirmish they managed to capture the Lord of Brimeu.¹⁸⁴ It was also possibly an incident on this campaign that caused de la Warr's blindness, as that was first noted a year or two after the expedition.

In both peacetime and for military expeditions, the Sussex barons do not appear to have been major retainers of the local gentry. Instead the majority of men in their service were likely to have been more obscure men from the lower gentry and below. Even those members of the upper gentry with connections to them were more commonly men they associated with effectively as equals. While they still may have maintained households and military retinues fitting their dignity, all the Sussex barons, even the Poynings and de la Warrs, seem to have lacked the influence and possibly wealth which would encourage those of the rank below them to seek their lordship.

v) Motives

For all but the last two years of the reign Sussex was the earl of Arundel's 'country'. He was the only resident titled noble and his landed dominance effectively extended over three of the six rapes. Most of the baronial estates in the county were within his sphere of influence. As a result not only could they not build up any real meaningful spheres of their own, they were also always to some extent required to define themselves in relation to Arundel. For Falvesle and Heron he was an important agent in their aggrandisement. Camoys had slightly peripheral interests up in the north-west of the county but knew to establish and foster good relations with him as well as the king. The de la Warrs had moved the focus of their interests up to the East

¹⁸² E 159/167 m.51 (Brevia Baronibus Michaelmas); E 364/24 m.5; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.94.

¹⁸³ CPR 1385-1389, p.449.

¹⁸⁴ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, pp.323, 328.

Midlands, but as the Dallingridge incident demonstrated, they were still quick to side with Arundel in Sussex matters. The Poynings had risen through service to the Warenes but even though they had seemingly transferred their primary loyalty to John of Gaunt, they were careful not to let this negatively affect local affairs and wisely appear to have remained aloof during the standoff in 1384. All of the families were relatively unestablished as nobles in the county. Only the Poynings and de la Warrs' position went back more than one generation and these were both middling barons at most. Part of the reason for this, and also a result of it, was the existence of a strong county gentry. Families such as the Dallingridges, Waleyses, Percies, Etchinghamhs, Pashleys, Sackvilles, Fiennes, Husseys, St Johns, Salernes, de Braoses, Ashburnhams, Mesteds, St Cleres and Pelhams were important figures in their own right, and several were Arundel retainers as well. In reality the barons were not significantly differentiated from them in local affairs and it was actually more likely to be they who provided the county with political leadership than their ennobled neighbours. The underlying motivation of the Sussex barons seems to have been to try and develop an identity for themselves away from centripetal pull of Arundel, though without losing its support. None of them were established enough to be primarily concerned with consolidation. They were still on the rise and looking actively, through service and rich cross-county marriages, to build their dominion. This often though meant looking away from Sussex.

Thomas, Lord Camoys (1350–1421) – Effigy Brass at St George's Church, Trotton, Sussex



Fig. 3 - Elizabeth Mortimer, Lady Camoys and Thomas, Lord Camoys



Fig. 4 - Thomas, Lord Camoys wearing a Lancastrian Collar of Essess.

CONCLUSION

The position of the resident barons in Gloucestershire was very different to those in Sussex. In Gloucestershire the barons were leaders of the political community, the focus for government delegations and the nucleus of local power structures. In Sussex they were secondary figures who defined themselves by their relationship to titled nobles and competed almost on a level with the upper gentry for the leftover spoils. Peace commissions were the most important instrument of local government and there were 16 of these in Gloucestershire during Richard II's reign with a total of 15 baronial appointments. In Sussex there were 19 commissions, also with 15 baronial appointments. The three Gloucestershire families though had a combined total of just 44 years of majority in the reign, compared to 90 for the four Sussex families. In Sussex there were also a total of 29 titled noble appointments, compared to just 16 in Gloucestershire, demonstrating a greater involvement in affairs in Sussex by regional dukes and earls. Indirectly the influence of barons in Gloucestershire was also further reaching. There were a significant number of retainers and associates of the Berkeleys, Despensers and Talbots serving in local offices, whereas the earl of Arundel's influence over these appointments in Sussex was virtually unchallenged. The Gloucestershire barons were also seemingly more able to abuse, as well as uphold, the law for their own purpose and that of their clients. On a national level Despenser was the most obvious beneficiary of royal favour and patronage. At the opposite end of the scale Berkeley stayed distant from Richard II's court, yet managed to sustain his position because of his entrenched local standing. Although not favourites like Despenser was, Camoys and Heron were notable royal servants, identifying them more as ambitious men on the rise, rather than established figures.

The Gloucestershire lords could draw upon a considerably larger landed wealth, with more estates spread across more counties. The Berkeleys, Despensers and Talbots averaged 36.3 manors across 10 counties, whereas the Poynings, Camoys, de la Warrs and Says averaged 14.6 manors across 4.4 counties. These are compared to the overall baronial average of 16.6 across 5.1 counties, demonstrating that in landed terms the Gloucestershire barons were amongst the greater barons, whereas the Sussex lords were middling to lower. A wide scattering of estates was generally more characteristic of the

titled nobility, whereas gentry properties tended to be clustered. As well as the total number of manors, the distribution of them therefore also suggests which end of the baronial scale each group lay. There were 32 baronial manors in Gloucestershire including 22 held by the three main families, compared to 30 baronial manors in Sussex with 25 held by the four families there. The titled nobility though held only 16 manors in Gloucestershire, whereas in Sussex they possessed 97 and the earl of Arundel alone held 73. While the baronial landholding in both counties was therefore relatively comparable, it was the broader cross-county interests and the absence of resident titled nobles to detract from their dominion that distinguished and empowered the Gloucestershire barons. Pedigree as well as landed resources differentiated the two county's barons. The three Gloucestershire families had an average first parliamentary summons of 1307. The Berkeleys and Despensers had both been summoned in 1295 when those individually summoned first began to be recorded on the Close Rolls, while the Talbots received their first summons in 1332. The average first summons for the Sussex families was 1347. The de la Warrs had been summoned from 1299, the Camoys from 1313 and the Poynings from 1348. The Camoys date though is distorted by *The Complete Peerage*'s use of 'modern doctrine' which effectively recognises even the earliest summonses as inheritable ennoblements. When Thomas, Lord Camoys was summoned in 1383 it was the first time the family had received one of these since his grandfather in 1335. To contemporaries this was to all intents a new summons, rather than a continuation of his grandfather's one. Like Camoys, Falvesle and Heron were first summoned by Richard II. If the Camoys adjustment is made it therefore gives the Sussex families an average year of first summons of 1361. This 54 year difference between the average years when these two groups of families became nobles accounts for two or three additional generations. This meant that by Richard II's reign the Gloucestershire barons had had significantly more time and opportunity to use their noble position to obtain patronage and good marriages and generally establish and enhance their situation.

According to *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* the Gloucestershire families averaged 24 connections with members of the upper gentry, compared to just seven for their Sussex counterparts. Only the Poynings were close to a level equivalent to their Gloucestershire contemporaries. There was also a difference in

the nature of the relationships, with a larger percentage of the Gloucestershire barons' connections being more explicitly ones of service and clientage. In Sussex though this was virtually non-existent and almost all the connections are better characterised as being ones of association and friendship, and more as equals. For the Sussex barons it was also more important to find lords themselves, both to secure and promote their position in local affairs and for career reasons. In Gloucestershire there were no resident titled nobles that the barons were required to foster relations with and because they were already more established in their own right, there was less need for them to seek service under a greater lord. The exception was military service where the Gloucestershire barons averaged 4.3 campaigns during the reign, compared to 2.8 for the Sussex barons. As the overall titled noble participation rate was higher than that of barons, this finding also fits with the assessment of the Gloucestershire barons being among the higher echelons of their class. In terms of relations of lordship and service the Gloucestershire barons seem to have been at the pinnacle of a simple linear hierarchical structure, with them at the top and members of the upper gentry below them. In Sussex though there was a more triangular relationship with the titled nobles at the top and the barons and upper gentry at the two base corners. In this triangle lordship and service flowed between all three, but the barons almost never acted as middle men. Although their parliamentary summonses and cross-country interests meant they outranked and were more powerful than the gentry, they were not significant enough to function autonomously and so therefore had to compete with the gentry to find lordship and to undertake service.

In the three main themes that have been explored in this study – politics, land and lordship - the differences between the situations in Gloucestershire and Sussex were marked. It is however possible to reconcile the different findings by looking at motives. In Gloucestershire the primary motive of the barons was to preserve and increase their positions in the localities, whereas in Sussex it was to rise and to look to build their dominion. The idea of power and interests in the localities is therefore constant. The difference was that in Gloucestershire they already had it, while in Sussex they were looking to develop it. The barons' motives were the same but the circumstances and mechanisms they were able to employ to achieve them needed to be flexible according to local circumstances. In Gloucestershire the situation which existed had its roots in

conditions such as the extinction of the Clares in 1314 and the rise, fall and slow rehabilitation of the Despensers, which allowed the Berkeleys and Talbots to grow into the power vacuum throughout Edward III's reign. In Sussex though when the Warennes died out in 1347, the earldoms of Surrey and Sussex were combined in the hands of the Fitzalans and an even more powerful regional hegemony was created. Although this provided opportunities for advancement through service, no aspiring lesser noble in the county could hope to compete with the power of Arundel. Other matters of fate could also conspire, particularly regarding family situations such as the prolongation or failure of lines, periods of minority and deaths, such as of brothers-in-law, which unexpectedly made wives heiresses. The Gloucestershire barons were therefore established figures who attempted to control the mechanisms of politics, land and lordship to consolidate their position and attempt to push at the ceiling of the class, whereas the Sussex barons were newer families attempting to use the same mechanisms to secure their status and create their own 'countries' away from the pull of Arundel. Local, private and landed interests and the quest for prosperity and stability of these were the primary political concern of the baronage.

In matters of government and central politics barons appeared to possess a sense of duty and public service. But while they bought into the political culture it was not simply an expression of their existing power, but a means of enhancing it. They were slightly removed from high politics compared to the dukes and earls who were the king's natural councillors and who focused much more of their energies on matters regarding the overall wellbeing of the realm. The barons' principal priority was rather to augment and maintain their position in the localities. They therefore bought into the political culture, but were pragmatic with it. While their actions centrally were, and locally could appear, altruistic, royal service could indirectly be as privately rewarding as assertive property and retaining policies. When all three combined a baron could become lord of his own 'country'.

The fundamental question of this thesis has been to find out who late fourteenth century barons were. The two case study chapters have shown that they could be both part of the powerful group of magnates who dominated provincial society and formed an influential component of the political community yet, conversely, comparable to the

gentry in terms of the level of their dependence on members of the titled nobility, as well as everywhere on the spectrum between. At this time the baronage was a relatively new concept and there is little evidence of a sense of group identity. It was individual summonses to parliament that defined them as a distinct class, rather a common identity deriving from shared experience or interest. Engaging with institutions, not structural factors, therefore defined the baronage. The other elements of land and lordship were of course required to be within an acceptable range that was befitting the dignity, but they were not firm barriers which defined or bound the class.

Even though the experience of barons in different counties was so contrasting, the contribution of these findings to the lordship versus county community debate is consistent. Other than the very humblest ones, barons generally did not operate principally on a county stage. Baronial inheritances tended to consist of several clusters of estates, usually across a handful of counties. Although they would engage in county affairs, particularly where large concentrations of their lands lay, their concerns were not contained by county boundaries. The patchwork of lordly ties relating to spheres of influence and ‘countries’, either those which the barons controlled themselves, or those which they fell under, was the principal framework that barons operated in.

In institutional structures the baronage at this time was becoming a clearly defined and solidified group. This brought them greater rights, responsibilities and influence in the political arena. Private power relations had yet to follow suit and the differentiation between barons, and earls and knights at either end of the spectrum, could be virtually non-existent. Therefore whilst in the localities ability and assertiveness were required to maintain their interests, at the centre their power was institutionalised. It was thus formally acknowledged, and similarly limited. For this reason ideas could prevail over interest in this environment and they could at times shift their prevailing concern to the welfare of the kingdom. As an empowered and relatively independent group, the baronage was a growing force in affairs of state. This included in times of political conflict when they could become the key supporters of titled nobles.

In Richard II’s reign the barons were valuable partners in government, most explicitly during the consensual minority, as was their natural role. When political

crisis arose between 1386 and 1388 it was to this group that Richard II looked, largely unsuccessfully, for support. In 1399 Bolingbroke's baronial supporters at the Doncaster gathering lent weight and momentum to his invasion and became important allies for him in the new regime. Richard II's kingship failed because his actions alienated a large section of the political community. The barons, like their titled associates, were provoked into retracting their loyalty and transferring their support to an alternative which a majority felt better guaranteed their interests. It was this perceived threat to their interests which caused them to reluctantly disregard the political culture. An important section of the baronage made up a significant, possibly even decisive, part of this regime-changing coalition.

APPENDIX 1: PARLIAMENTARY SUMMONSES

The following tables record the names of those men summoned by individual writ to each of the 25 parliaments called during the reign of Richard II. This includes the one summoned in Richard II's name in September 1399, which Henry IV would go on to preside over. The summons lists are taken from *Reports of the Lords Committees Touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm (Dignity)*, vol. iv (1826). Three erroneous omissions have also corrected.¹ Where the summons lists are also reproduced in *Rotuli Parliamentorum (RP)*, vol. iii (1783), those references have also been given. The individuals are listed in the order they appear in the 1377 summons list, with new names at subsequent parliaments being introduced at the bottom. To a large extent this was also the practice of the clerk preparing the list, so the order is fairly consistent through the period. It should of course be noted that a summons to parliament was far from a guarantee of attendance. Any record of that can only be ascertained by a reference to that individual in the narrative of the proceedings. A list of the parliaments is first provided.

<i>Start Date/Place</i>	<i>Date of summons</i>	<i>Reference</i>
13 Oct 1377 Westminster	4 Aug 1377	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.673-5; <i>RP</i> iii, p.29
20 Oct 1378 Gloucester	3 Sep 1378	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.676-8
24 Apr 1379 Westminster	16 Feb 1379	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.679-81; <i>RP</i> iii, p.58
16 Jan 1380 Westminster	20 Oct 1379	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.682-4
5 Nov 1380 Northampton	26 Aug 1380	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.686-8; <i>RP</i> iii, p.90
3 Nov 1381 Westminster	22 Aug 1381	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.688-94; <i>RP</i> iii, pp.113-14
7 May 1382 Westminster	24 Mar 1382	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.694-7
6 Oct 1382 Westminster	9 Aug 1382	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.698-700
23 Feb 1383 Westminster	7 Jan 1383	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.700-3
26 Oct 1383 Westminster	20 Aug 1383	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.703-6

¹ Lords Dacre and Strange in 1386 and Lord Scrope of Masham in 1388: C 54/227 m.42d; C 54/228 m.24d; J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp.397, 405.

29 Apr 1384 Salisbury	3 Mar 1384	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.707-10
12 Nov 1384 Westminster	28 Sep 1384	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.711-13
20 Oct 1385 Westminster	3 Sep 1385	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.717-20
1 Oct 1386 Westminster 'Wonderful'	8 Aug 1386	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.721-4; <i>RP iii</i> , p.224
3 Feb 1388 Westminster 'Merciless'	17 Dec 1387	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.724-6; <i>RP iii</i> , pp.245, 252
9 Sep 1388 Cambridge	28 Jul 1388	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.728-32
17 Jan 1390 Westminster	6 Dec 1389	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.732-5; <i>RP iii</i> , pp.262, 273
12 Nov 1390 Westminster	12 Sep 1390	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.735-8; <i>RP iii</i> , pp.279-83
3 Nov 1391 Westminster	7 Sep 1391	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.738-41; <i>RP iii</i> , p.296
20 Jan 1393 Winchester	23 Nov 1392	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.746-8; <i>RP iii</i> , p.308
27 Jan 1394 Westminster 'Hilary'	13 Nov 1393	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.749-52; <i>RP iii</i> , p.323
27 Jan 1395 Westminster	20 Nov 1394	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.752-5
22 Jan 1397 Westminster	30 Nov 1396	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.755-8
17 Sep 1397 Westminster 'Revenge'	18 Jul 1397	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.758-61; <i>RP iii</i> , pp.355, 369
(Prorogued from 29 Sep to meet on 27 Jan 1398 at Shrewsbury)		
30 Sep 1399 Westminster	19 Aug 1399	<i>Dignity</i> , pp.765-67

Key for the tables

X	=	Summoned
	=	Not summoned
	=	Yet to be summoned in reign
O	=	Erroneously omitted from <i>Dignity</i> but actually on the original Close Roll
(S)	=	Presided over parliament as Steward

Name	1377	1378	1379	1380-Jan	1380-Nov	1381	1382-May
Titled Nobles							
John of Gaunt duke Lancaster d.1399	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)
Edmund earl Cambridge/duke York d.1402	X	X	X	X	X		
Richard earl Arundel d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas earl Buckingham/duke Gloucester d.1397	X	X	X	X		X	X
Edmund Mortimer earl March d.1381	X	X	X	X			
Thomas Beauchamp earl Warwick d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hugh earl Stafford d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gilbert de Umfraville earl Angus d.1381	X	X	X	X	X		
William de Ufford earl Suffolk d.1382	X	X	X	X	X	X	
William Montagu earl Salisbury d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Percy earl Northumberland d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Mowbray earl Nottingham d.1383	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guichard d'Angle earl Huntingdon d.1380	X	X	X	X			
John de Montfort duke Brittany/earl Rich d.1399		X	X				
Edward Courtenay earl Devon d.1419		X	X	X		X	X
Thomas Holand earl Kent d.1397						X	X
Robert de Vere earl Oxford/duke Ireland d.1392							
Henry Bolingbroke earl Derby/duke Hereford d.1413							
Michael de la Pole earl Suffolk d.1389							
John Holand earl Huntingdon/duke Exeter d.1400							
Edward earl Rutland/duke Aumale d.1415							
John Beaufort earl Somerset/marq Dorset d.1410							
Ralph Neville earl Westmorland d.1425							
Thomas Despenser earl Gloucester d.1400							
Thomas Percy earl Worcester d.1403							
William Scrope earl Wiltshire d.1399							
Barons							
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Latimer of Corby d.1381	X	X	X	X			
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Basset of Drayton d.1390	X	X	X	X		X	X
Guy Brian d.1390	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380	X	X	X	X			
John Clinton d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gilbert Talbot d.1387	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Botreaux d.1391	X	X	X	X	X		
John de la Warr d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Neville of Raby d.1388	X	X	X	X		X	X
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388	X	X	X	X		X	X
Thomas Ros d.1384	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381	X	X	X	X			
John Grey of Codnor d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nicholas Burnel d.1383	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1382	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Clifford d.1389	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Name	1377	1378	1379	1380-Jan	1380-Nov	1381	1382-May
Aymer St Amand d.1381	X	X	X	X	X	X	
John Botetourt d.1385	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408	X	X	X	X		X	X
Roger Scales d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Cromwell d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michael de la Pole d.1389	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Peter Maulay d.1383	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Greystoke d.1418	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386	X	X	X	X		X	X
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381	X	X	X	X			
Robert Harington d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Morley d.1379	X	X	X	Thomas		X	X
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Aldeburgh d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Cobham of Kent d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hugh Dacre d.1383	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Welles d.1421	X	X	X	X		X	
John Clifton d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Arundel d.1379	X	X	X	X			
Warin Lisle d.1382	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philip Darcy d.1399	X	X	X	X		X	X
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401					X	X	X
William Deincourt d.1381					X	X	
William Thorpe d.1391						X	X
William Windsor d.1384						X	X
John Bourchier d.1400						X	X
John Montagu d.1390						X	X
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401							
John Beaumont d.1396							
Richard Poynings d.1387							
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) d.1407							
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392							
Thomas Camoys d.1421							
Richard Talbot d.1396							
Ralph Lumley d.1400							
John Devereux d.1393							
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388							
Philip Despenser d.1401							
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411							
William Heron (Say) d.1404							
Thomas Despenser d.1400							
Total – (Titled Nobles + Barons)	13+47	15+47	15+47	14+47	10+36	11+47	10+44

Name	1382-Oct	1383-Feb	1383-Oct	1384-Apr	1384-Nov	1385
Titled Nobles						
John of Gaunt duke Lancaster d.1399	X (S)	X (S)				
Edmund earl Cambridge/duke York d.1402		X	X	X	X	X
Richard earl Arundel d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas earl Buckingham/duke Gloucester d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Edmund Mortimer earl March d.1381						
Thomas Beauchamp earl Warwick d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hugh earl Stafford d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gilbert de Umfraville earl Angus d.1381						
William de Ufford earl Suffolk d.1382						
William Montagu earl Salisbury d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Percy earl Northumberland d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Mowbray earl Nottingham d.1383	X	X	Thomas	X	X	X
Guichard d'Angle earl Huntingdon d.1380						
John de Montfort duke Brittany/earl Rich d.1399						
Edward Courtenay earl Devon d.1419	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Holand earl Kent d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Robert de Vere earl Oxford/duke Ireland d.1392			X	X	X	X
Henry Bolingbroke earl Derby/duke Hereford d.1413						X
Michael de la Pole earl Suffolk d.1389						X
John Holand earl Huntingdon/duke Exeter d.1400						
Edward earl Rutland/duke Aumale d.1415						
John Beaufort earl Somerset/marq Dorset d.1410						
Ralph Neville earl Westmorland d.1425						
Thomas Despenser earl Gloucester d.1400						
Thomas Percy earl Worcester d.1403						
William Scrope earl Wiltshire d.1399						
Barons						
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Latimer of Corby d.1381						
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Basset of Drayton d.1390	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guy Brian d.1390	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380						
John Clinton d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gilbert Talbot d.1387	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Botreaux d.1391		X	X	X	X	X
John de la Warr d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Neville of Raby d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Ros d.1384	X	X	X	X		
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381						
John Grey of Codnor d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nicholas Burnel d.1383	X	X	Hugh	X	X	X
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	William	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Clifford d.1389	X	X	X	X	X	X

Name	1382-Oct	1383-Feb	1383-Oct	1384-May	1384-Nov	1385
Aymer St Amand d.1402	Aymer					
John Botetourt d.1385	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Scales d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Cromwell d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michael de la Pole d.1389	X	X	X	X	X	(EoSuff)
Peter Maulay d.1383	X	X				
Ralph Greystoke d.1418	X	X	X	X	X	X
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381						
Robert Harington d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Morley d.1416	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383	X	X				
William Aldeburgh d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Cobham of Kent d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hugh Dacre d.1383	X	X	X	William	X	X
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Welles d.1421						
John Clifton d.1388	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382	X	John	X	X	X	X
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	X		X	X	X	X
John Arundel d.1379						
Warin Lisle d.1382						
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philip Darcy d.1399	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Deincourt d.1381						
William Thorpe d.1391	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Windsor d.1384	X	X	X	X		
John Bourchier d.1400	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Montagu d.1390	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Beaumont d.1396		X	X	X	X	X
Richard Poynings d.1387		X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) d.1407			X	X	X	X
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392			X	X	X	X
Thomas Camoys d.1421			X	X	X	X
Richard Talbot d.1396				X	X	X
Ralph Lumley d.1400					X	X
John Devereux d.1393					X	X
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388						
Philip Despenser d.1401						
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411						
William Heron (Say) d.1404						
Thomas Despenser d.1400						
Total – (Titled Nobles + Barons)	10+45	11+46	12+48	12+49	12+49	14+48

Name	1386	1388-Feb	1388-Sep	1390-Jan	1390-Nov	1391
Titled Nobles						
John of Gaunt duke Lancaster d.1399				X (S)	X (S)	X (S)
Edmund earl Cambridge/duke York d.1402	X (S)	X (S)	X (S)	X	X	X
Richard earl Arundel d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas earl Buckingham/duke Gloucester d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Edmund Mortimer earl March d.1381						
Thomas Beauchamp earl Warwick d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hugh earl Stafford d.1386						Thomas
Gilbert de Umfraville earl Angus d.1381						
William de Ufford earl Suffolk d.1382						
William Montagu earl Salisbury d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Percy earl Northumberland d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Mowbray earl Nottingham d.1399	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guichard d'Angle earl Huntingdon d.1380						
John de Montfort duke Brittany/earl Rich d.1399						
Edward Courtenay earl Devon d.1419	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Holand earl Kent d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	X
Robert de Vere earl Oxford/duke Ireland d.1392	X	X				
Henry Bolingbroke earl Derby/duke Hereford d.1413	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michael de la Pole earl Suffolk d.1389	X	X				
John Holand earl Huntingdon/duke Exeter d.1400			X	X	X	X
Edward earl Rutland/duke Aumale d.1415					X	X
John Beaufort earl Somerset/marq Dorset d.1410						
Ralph Neville earl Westmorland d.1425						
Thomas Despenser earl Gloucester d.1400						
Thomas Percy earl Worcester d.1403						
William Scrope earl Wiltshire d.1399						
Barons						
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386	Nicholas	X	X	X	X	
William Latimer of Corby d.1381						
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386					Thomas	X
Ralph Basset of Drayton d.1390	X	X	X	X		
Guy Brian d.1390	X	X	X	X		
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380						
John Clinton d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gilbert Talbot d.1387	X	Richard	X	X	X	X
William Botreaux d.1391	X	X	X	X	X	William
John de la Warr d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392	X	O	X	X	X	X
John Neville of Raby d.1388	X	X	X	Ralph	X	X
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388	X	X				
Thomas Ros d.1384	John	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381						
John Grey of Codnor d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388	X	X		Reginald	X	X
Hugh Burnel d.1420	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Clifford d.1389	X	X	X	Thomas	X	X

Name	1386	1388-Feb	1388-Sep	1390-Jan	1390-Nov	1391
Aymer St Amand d.1402				X	X	X
John Botetourt d.1385						
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roger Scales d.1386						
Ralph Cromwell d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michael de la Pole d.1389	(EoSuff)	(EoSuff)				
Peter Maulay d.1383						
Ralph Greystoke d.1418	X	X	X	X	X	X
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386					Walter	X
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381						
Robert Harington d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Morley d.1416	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383						
William Aldeburgh d.1388	X					
John Cobham of Kent d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Dacre d.1399	O	X	X	X	X	X
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Welles d.1421		X	X	X	X	X
John Clifton d.1388	X	X	X			
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397	O	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Arundel d.1379						
Warin Lisle d.1382						
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386	X	Henry	X	X	X	X
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philip Darcy d.1399	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Deincourt d.1381						
William Thorpe d.1391	X	X	X	X	X	
William Windsor d.1384						
John Bourchier d.1400	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Montagu d.1390	X	X	X	X		
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Beaumont d.1396	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Poynings d.1387						
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) d.1407	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Camoys d.1421	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Talbot d.1396	X	Succeeded		father	(see above)	
Ralph Lumley d.1400	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Devereux d.1393	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388		X				
Philip Despenser d.1401		X	X	X	X	X
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411						
William Heron (Say) d.1404						
Thomas Despenser d.1400						
Total – (Titled Nobles + Barons)	12+44	12+45	11+42	12+43	13+42	14+40

Name	1393	1394	1395	1397- Jan	1397- Sep	1399
Titled Nobles						
John of Gaunt duke Lancaster d.1399	X (S)	X (S)		X (S)	X (S)	
Edmund earl Cambridge/duke York d.1402	X	X		X	X	X
Richard earl Arundel d.1397	X	X	X	X		
Thomas earl Buckingham/duke Gloucester d.1397	X	X		X		
Edmund Mortimer earl March d.1381						
Thomas Beauchamp earl Warwick d.1401	X	X	X	X		X
Thomas earl Stafford d.1392						Edmund
Gilbert de Umfraville earl Angus d.1381						
William de Ufford earl Suffolk d.1382						
William Montagu earl Salisbury d.1397	X	X	X	X	John	X
Henry Percy earl Northumberland d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Mowbray earl Nottingham d.1399	X	X		X	X	
Guichard d'Angle earl Huntingdon d.1380						
John de Montfort duke Brittany/earl Rich d.1399						
Edward Courtenay earl Devon d.1419	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Holand earl Kent d.1397	X	X	X	X	Thomas	X
Robert de Vere earl Oxford/duke Ireland d.1392		Aubrey	X	X	X	X
Henry Bolingbroke earl Derby/duke Hereford d.1413		X	X (S)	X	X	X (S)
Michael de la Pole earl Suffolk d.1389						Michael
John Holand earl Huntingdon/duke Exeter d.1400	X	X		X	X	X
Edward earl Rutland/duke Aumale d.1415	X	X		X	X	X
John Beaufort earl Somerset/marq Dorset d.1410					X	X
Ralph Neville earl Westmorland d.1425						X
Thomas Despenser earl Gloucester d.1400						X
Thomas Percy earl Worcester d.1403						X
William Scrope earl Wiltshire d.1399						
Barons						
Nicholas Audley of Heleigh d.1391						
William Latimer of Corby d.1381						
Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay d.1406	X	X		X	X	X
Ralph Basset of Drayton d.1390						
Guy Brian d.1390						
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380						
John Clinton d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	William
Richard Talbot d.1396	X	X				
William Botreaux d.1395						
John de la Warr d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	Thomas
Stephen Scrope of Masham d.1406	Stephen	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Neville of Raby d.1425	X	X		X	X	(EoWest)
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388				William	X	X
John Ros d.1394	X	X	William	X	X	X
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381						
John Grey of Codnor d.1392	X	Richard		X	X	X
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396	X	X	X			
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1440	X	X		X	X	X
Hugh Burnel d.1420	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	X	X	X	William		
Thomas Clifford d.1391						

Name	1393	1394	1395	1397- Jan	1397- Sep	1399
Aymer St Amand d.1402	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Botetourt d.1385						
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408	X	X		X	X	X
Robert Scales d.1402				X	X	X
Ralph Cromwell d.1398	X	X	X	X	X	Ralph
Michael de la Pole d.1389						(EoSuff)
Peter Maulay d.1383						X
Ralph Greystoke d.1418	X	X	X	X	X	X
Walter Fitzwalter d.1406	X	X			X	X
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381						
Robert Harington d.1406	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thomas Morley d.1416	X	X		X	X	X
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383						
William Aldeburgh d.1388						
John Cobham of Kent d.1408	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Dacre d.1399	X	X	X	X	X	X
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396	X	X	X	William	X	X
John Welles d.1421	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Clifton d.1388		Constantine	X			
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397	X	X	X	X	X	
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Arundel d.1379						
Warin Lisle d.1382						
Henry Fitzhugh d.1425	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philip Darcy d.1399	X	X		X	X	John
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Deincourt d.1381						
William Thorpe d.1391						
William Windsor d.1384						
John Bourchier d.1400	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Montagu d.1400	John	X	X	X	(EoSals)	(EoSals)
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Beaumont d.1396	X	X				
Richard Poynings d.1387						
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) d.1407	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392	X					
Thomas Camoys d.1421	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Talbot d.1396		Succeeded	father	(see	above)	
Ralph Lumley d.1400	X	X	X	X	X	X
John Devereux d.1393	X					
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388						
Philip Despenser d.1401	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411	X	X	X	X	X	X
William Heron (Say) d.1404		X		X	X	
Thomas Despenser d.1400				X	X	(EoGlou)
Total – (Titled Nobles + Barons)	12+40	14+40	8+29	14+38	12+37	16+34

APPENDIX 2: BIOGRAPHIES

The following biographies are largely taken from Cokayne's *The Complete Peerage (GEC)* (13 Volumes, 1910-1959). They have also been cross-referenced against the *Dictionary of National Biography* (22 Volumes, 1885-1900) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 Volumes, 2004). In total there were 66 families who received individual summonses to parliament during Richard II's reign and who make up this sample.

ALDEBURGH (Barony by writ – 1371)

Name: William (GEC I, pp.101-2)
Dates: d. 1 Apr 1388
As Baron: 1371 - 1388
Had Livery: -
Parl Summonses: 8 Jan 1371 – 8 Aug 1386
Marriages: Elizabeth, sister or aunt of Robert, Lord Lisle of Rougemont
Other Details: Sometime *valettus* to Edward Balliol, King of Scotland. In 1364, Robert, Lord Lisle enfeoffed him and Elizabeth his wife the manor of Harewood, Yorkshire. Summoned in 1371 whereby he is held to become Lord Aldeburgh.

Name: William (GEC I, p.102)
Dates: d. 20 Aug 1391
As Baron: 1388 - 1391
Had Livery: -
Parl Summonses: Never summoned
Marriages: Margery, widow of Peter Maulay, da. and coheir of Sir Thomas Sutton.
Other Details: At his death the barony fell into abeyance between his two sisters.

(No Heir)

ARUNDEL (Barony by writ – 1377)

Name: John (GEC I, pp.259-60)
Dates: c. 1348 - 15/16 Dec 1379
As Baron: 1377 - 1379
Had Livery: -
Parl Summonses: 4 Aug 1377 – 20 Oct 1379
Marriages: Eleanor, da. and heir of John, Lord Mautravers
Other Details: Younger brother of earl of Arundel. In consequence, probably of his marriage, he was summoned to parl from 1377, whereby he is held to have become Lord Arundel. This barony would probably be held to be the same barony as that of Mautravers and the summons therefore not one creating a new dignity. Following a military career, he was made marshal of England in 1377 and 1378, and alongside the earl of Buckingham he presided over the court of chivalry in 1378 in this capacity. Being in command of a naval expedition in aid of the duke of Brittany, he defeated the French fleet off the coast of Cornwall, but was later wrecked and drowned in the Irish sea.

Name: John (GEC I, p.260)
Dates: 1364 - 14 Aug 1390
As Baron: 1370 - 1390
Had Livery: -
Parl Summonses: Not summoned

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Edward, Lord Despenser

Other Details: With the army in Scotland in 1383 and with the English fleet in 1388. Never summoned to parl because died before his mother, Baroness Mautravers.

Name: John (GEC I, p.261)

Dates: 1 Aug 1385 – 21 Apr 1421

As Baron: 1390 - 1421

Had Livery:-

Parl Summons: Not summoned as a baron

Marriages: Eleanor, da. of Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone

Other Details: Succeeded his grandmother in the barony of Mautravers in Jan 1405, but was never summoned to parl as a baron. In 1415, he succeeded to the earldom of Arundel.

AUDLEY OF HELEIGH (Barony by writ – 1313)

Name: James (GEC I, pp.339-40)

Dates: 8 Jan 1313 – 1 April 1386

As Baron: 1316 - 1386

Had Livery: 25 May 1329

Parl Summons: 25 Jan 1330 – 8 Aug 1386

Marriages: Joan, da. of Roger Mortimer, earl of March

Isabel, da. of Roger, Lord Strange of Knockyn

Other Details: In 1343 he became heir of his uncle William Martin's estates and entitled to any peerage which his uncle may be held to have possessed. Was one of the twenty-six founder members of the Order of the Garter in the 1340s. Served in wars in both Scotland and France. Exempt for life from attending parliament in April 1353. Entertained both the Black Prince in 1353 and Richard II in 1385.

Name: Nicholas (GEC I, p.340)

Dates: 1328 - 22 July 1391

As Baron: 1386 - 1391

Had Livery: 1386

Parl Summons: 17 Dec 1387 – 12 Dec 1390

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Henry, Lord Beaumont

Other Details: In 1352 was in arms with his brother Roger against their father when they sacked Castle Heleigh. Was in the wars with France in 1359 and 1372. Appointed chief justice of South Wales on 1 Feb 1382. On his death the baronies of Audley and Martin fell into abeyance between his sisters. His great nephew John Tuchet was summoned from 1405 as Lord Audley when the abeyance was terminated in his favour.

(No Heir)

BARDOLF OF WORMEGAY (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: William (GEC I, p.419)

Dates: 21 Oct 1349 – 29 Jan 1386

As Baron: 1363 - 1386

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 3 Sept 1385

Marriages: Agnes, da. of Michael, Lord Poynings

Other Details: Served in the wars in France and Ireland.

Name: Thomas (GEC I, pp.419-20)

Dates: 22 Dec 1369 – 1407/8

As Baron: 1386 - 1406

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 12 Sept 1390 – 25 Aug 1404

Marriages: Anice or Amice, da. of Ralph, Lord Cromwell

Other Details: Accompanied Richard II to Ireland in 1394 and 1399. Generally preferred to occupy himself overseas than in English public affairs. In 1405 he joined the earl of Northumberland in his rebellion and fled with him to Scotland. Was declared a traitor by parliament 4 Dec 1406 and his peerage became forfeited. Returning however he was defeated at Bramham Moor on 19 Feb 1408 and died of his wounds.

(Forfeiture)

(Through Daughters)

BASSET OF DRAYTON (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: Ralph

(GEC II, pp.3-6)

Dates: d. 10 May 1390

As Baron: 1343 - 1390

Had Livery: 6 Jun 1355

Parl Summons: 26 Dec 1357 – 6 Dec 1389

Marriages: Joan, da. of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick

Joan, sister of John de Montfort, duke of Brittany

Other Details: Greatly distinguished himself in the various wars with France. Joined the Black Prince's army and was with him at Bordeaux in Jan 1356. Made a Knight of the Garter in 1368. 30 Oct 1386 he was a deponent in the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy. The barony became dormant or possibly fell into abeyance upon his death with no sons.

(No Heir)

BEAUCHAMP OF ABERGAVENNY (Barony by writ – 1392)

Name: William

(GEC I, pp.24-6)

Dates: c. 1343 - 8 May 1411

As Baron: 1392 - 1411

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 23 Jul 1392 – 18 Dec 1409

Marriages: Joan, sis. and coheir of Thomas, earl of Arundel, da. of Richard, earl of Arundel

Other Details: Well endowed by his father, Thomas earl of Warwick (d. 1369), in Warwickshire, especially for a younger son (4th but 2nd surviving). Cousin (son of a sister of the grandmother) of the last owner John Hastings of Pembroke. He succeeded to the castle and Honour of Abergavenny by virtue of the entail made by John, earl of Pembroke. Served in the wars with France with great distinction including Najera and Prussia in 1367, France in 1370 and 1373 and Portugal in 1381-2. Although he served under Edward III, the Black Prince, the earl of Cambridge, and his brother, he primarily served in the retinue of Gaunt. Nominated Knight of the Garter in 1376. One of Richard II's earliest chamber knights, appointed in 1377, and was acting chamberlain from 1378-80. Often associated with the 'Lollard knights'. Both a brother of a leading Appellant and a member of the royal household though not one singled out for criticism between 1386-8. Having succeeded to the lands of Abergavenny, he was summoned from 1392 as a baron. From 1383-9 he was Captain of Calais. Managed to avoid identification with his brother in 1397-9 and had good association with Henry IV. Appointed justiciary of South Wales and governor of Pembroke in 1399.

BEAUCHAMP OF BLETSOE (Barony by writ – 1363)

Name: Roger

(GEC II, pp.44-45)

Dates: d. 3 Jan 1380

As Baron: 1363 - 1380

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 1 June 1363 – 20 Oct 1379

Marriages: Sibyl, da. of Sir John Pateshull of Bletsoe

Margaret (unknown)

Other Details: Elected as a banneret representative in the first Continual Council in 1377 and in the third, which ran from Nov 1378 to Jan 1380. From 1346 served in French wars. Was chamberlain of the household in 1376-7. Barony created by writ in 1363 whereby he is held to have become Lord Beauchamp. His grandson and heir Roger was never summoned to parliament, nor were any of his descendants. He was a knight and went with Richard II to Ireland in 1395.

BEAUCHAMP OF KIDDERMINSTER (First barony created by patent – 1387)

Name: John (GEC II, pp.45-6)

Dates: 1319 - 12 May 1388

As Baron: 1387 - 1388

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 17 Dec 1387

Marriages: Joan, da. and heir of Robert Fitzwith

Other Details: Head of a cadet branch of the family of the earls of Warwick. In the French wars and was an esquire of the king's chamber under Edward III. Regarded warmly by Richard II, a godfather of his son who also retained him in the household. Justice of North Wales and steward of the household in 1387. On 10 Oct 1387 he was by patent (being the first instance of the kind) created Lord Beauchamp Baron of Kidderminster, but though summoned by the writ of 17 Dec 1387, he never took his seat. The writ stated: 'Grant in tail male to the king's knight, John Beauchamp of Holt, steward of the household, in consideration of his good and gratuitous service, the place he held at the coronation, and which he will hold in the king's councils, and parliaments in the future, the noble family from which he is descended, and his great sense and circumspection, the dignity of peer and baron of the realm of England, under the style of Lord Beauchamp and Baron of Kidderminster, 10 Oct 1387' (CPR 1385-9, p.363). His rapid rise could not be borne by the lords Appellants including his kinsman and feudal lord the earl of Warwick. A few months after the creation he was impeached on 17 Mar 1388 by the Wonderful Parl and beheaded on Tower Hill when his honours became forfeited.

(Forfeiture)

Name: John (GEC II, p.46)

Dates: d. Sep 1420

As Baron: 1398 - 1400

Had Livery: 1398

Parl Summons: -

Marriages: -

Other Details: Son and heir, a godson of Richard II, aged 10 at his father's death. He, in 1398, by reversal of the attainer and forfeiture of 1388 became Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster. He accompanied Richard II to Ireland in 1399. The proceedings of 1388 being reaffirmed in 1400, his honours became forfeited. When he died without issue in 1420, the barony (which had for the last 20 years been under attainer) became extinct.

(No Heir)

BEAUMONT (Barony by writ – 1309)

Name: John (GEC II, p.61)

Dates: 1361 – 9 Sep 1396

As Baron: 1369 - 1396

Had Livery: 1382/3

Parl Summons: 20 Aug 1383 – 13 Nov 1393

Marriages: Catherine, da. and heir of Thomas Everingham

Other Details: Served in the French wars and against the partisans of Pope Clement VII. In 1389 appointed warden of the West Marches towards Scotland and also admiral of the north. Nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1393. On 1395 sent on an embassy to France to demand Princess Isabel in marriage for Richard II. His son Henry was summoned from 1404.

BERKELEY (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: Thomas (GEC II, pp.130-1)
Dates: 5 Jan 1353 – 13 Jul 1417
As Baron: 1368 - 1417
Had Livery: 5 Jan 1374
Parl Summons: 16 Jul 1381 – 3 Sep 1415 (There are writs from 1376 directed to his father Maurice Berkeley, which were no doubt intended for Thomas, he having come of age and Maurice having died in 1368)
Marriages: Margaret, da. and heir of Warin, Lord Lisle
Other Details: In a ward of his father-in-law Lord Lisle until 1374. Dubbed ‘the magnificent’ by the family historian, he commanded an income and retinue the size of a lesser earl. From 1378-85 he served in France, Spain, Brittany and Scotland. In 1386 he entertained the king at Berkeley Castle. For Richard II’s deposition, however, on 30 Sep 1399, he was one of the commissioners. Admiral of the South and West in 1403 and joint warden of the Welsh Marches in 1404. At Warin Lisle’s death on 28 June 1382, his wife inherited considerable estates, and in her right, he appears to have styled himself Lord Lisle. Part of the deputation sent to wait upon Richard II in the Tower and a commissioner in the deposition proceedings.

BOTETOURT (Barony by writ – 1305)

Name: John (GEC II, p.235)
Dates: 1318 - 1385
As Baron: 1324 - 1385
Had Livery: 1341 and 16 Jul 1338 (of his mother’s land)
Parl Summons: 25 Feb 1342 – 3 Feb 1385
Marriages: Maud, da. of John, Lord Grey of Rotherfield
Joyce, da. of William, Lord Zouche, formerly Mortimer
Other Details: His mother was coheiress of the lands of John Lord Somery. He distinguished himself in the French wars. Left issue by both wives. On his death his barony became dormant and then devolved. His granddaughter Jane was his heir, she married Hugh Burnel. When she died in 1407, the barony fell into abeyance among three branches of the family for upwards of three and half centuries.

(No Heir)

BOTREAUX (Barony by writ – 1368)

Name: William (GEC II, pp.241-2)
Dates: 1337 – 10 Aug 1391
As Baron: 1368 - 1391
Had Livery: 27 Sept 1359
Parl Summons: 24 Feb 1368 – 12 Sept 1390
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Sir Ralph Daubeny
Other Details: Son and heir of William Botreaux, Sheriff of Cornwall. Barony created by writ in 1368 whereby he is held to have become Lord Botreaux. Embarked on expeditions to Saxony in 1359 and Portugal in 1380.

Name: William (GEC II, p.242)
Dates: d. 25 May 1395
As Baron: 1391 - 1395
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 7 Sept 1391 (Only one)
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Sir John St Lo
Other Details: -

Name: William (GEC II, p.242)
Dates: 20 Feb 1389 – 16 May 1462
As Baron: 1395 - 1462
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 1 Dec 1412 – 23 May 1461
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of John, Lord Beaumont
Margaret, da. of Thomas, Lord Ros
Other Details: Attended Henry V in his expedition to France in 1415.

(Through Daughter)

BOURCHIER (Barony by writ – 1348)

Name: John (GEC II, p.247)
Dates: d. 21 May 1400
As Baron: 1349 - 1400
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 16 Jul 1381 – 30 Sep 1399
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Sir John Coggeshal
Other Details: With Black Prince in Germany in 1355. 1364 at battle of Auray. 1370 one of the council to the king's lieutenant in France. In Dec 1379 was with the fleet intended to convey succour to the Breton army. In 1380, being then a banneret, he was with the earl of Buckingham in France. Sent as a statesman to Flanders in 1384 and stayed in Ghent for 18 months. Nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1392.

BRIAN (Barony by writ – 1350)

Name: Guy (GEC II, pp.361-2)
Dates: c. 1310 - 17 Aug 1390
As Baron: 1350 - 1390
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 25 Nov 1350 – 6 Dec 1389
Marriages: Ann or Alice, da. of William Holway
Elizabeth, widow of Hugh, Lord Despenser and da. of William Montagu, earl of Salisbury
Other Details: Barony created by writ in 1350 whereby he is held to have become Lord Brian. Served in the wars with Scotland, Flanders and France from 1327. Steward of the household between 1359-61 and Chamberlain in 1370. He was constantly entrusted with martial and diplomatic affairs of the highest importance such as 1361 ambassador to the Pope, 1369 admiral of the fleet. Nominated as a Knight of the Garter in Dec 1369. Active local commissioner in Devon, Dorset and Somerset. On his death without male issue the barony created by the writ of 1350 fell into abeyance.

(No Heir)

BURNEL (Barony by writ – 1311)

Name: Nicholas (Haudlo) (GEC II, p.435)
Dates: d. 19 Jan 1383
As Baron: 1350 - 1383
Had Livery: 1348 and 1355
Parl Summons: 25 Nov 1350 – 7 Jan 1383
Marriages: Mary (unknown)
Other Details: Having succeeded in 1348 to his mother's brother's manors of Holgate, Acton Burnel, who was the last baron (1311-15), he assumed the name of Burnel. Had seisin of his father's lands in 1355. Served in the wars with France.

Name: Hugh (GEC II, p.435)
Dates: d. 27 Nov 1420

As Baron: 1383 - 1420

Had Livery: 1383

Parl Summons: 20 Aug 1383 – 21 Oct 1420

Marriages: Philippe, da. of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk

Joyce, da. of John, Lord Grey of Rotherfield

Joan, widow of Walter Fitzwalter, da. of John, Lord Devereux

Other Details: One of the lords who received the abdication of Richard II in the Tower. Nominated Knight of the Garter in 1406. On his death the barony fell into abeyance.

(No Heir)

CAMOYS (Barony by writ – 1313)

Name: Thomas

(GEC II, pp.507-8)

Dates: c. 1350 - 28 Mar 1421

As Baron: 1383 - 1421

Had Livery: 1372

Parl Summons: 20 Aug 1383 – 26 Feb 1421

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. and heir of William Louches

Elizabeth, widow of Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), da. of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March

Other Details: His family had not been summoned since his grandfather in 1335. Served with Latimer and Buckingham in France in 1380. In 1383 he, as a banneret, obtained exemption from serving in parl as a knight of the shire for Surrey. Summoned from 1383 whereby he is held to have become Lord Camoys. Summoned to serve in the Scottish expedition in 1385. When Richard II's friends were purged in 1387-8 he was compelled to abjure the court. He worked in administration for and alongside Richard II, the Appellants, including his neighbour the earl of Arundel, and Henry IV. Served on commissions in Surrey, Sussex and Southampton. Commanded the left wing of the English army at Agincourt. Nominated a Knight of the Garter in April 1416.

CHERLETON OF POWIS (Barony by writ – 1313)

Name: John

(GEC III, p.161)

Dates: 25 Apr 1362 – 19 Oct 1401

As Baron: 1374 - 1401

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 9 Aug 1382 – 3 Oct 1400

Marriages: Alice, da. of Richard, earl of Arundel

Other Details: Appointed justice of North Wales on 20 Mar 1388.

CLIFFORD (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: Roger

(GEC III, p.292)

Dates: 10 Jul 1333 – 13 Jul 1389

As Baron: 1345 - 1389

Had Livery: 14 May 1354

Parl Summons: 15 Dec 1357 – 28 Jul 1388

Marriages: Maud, da. of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick

Other Details: Sheriff of Westmorland from 1360. He was 'one of the most distinguished of his race', serving in the wars with Scotland and France. In 1377 he was sheriff of Cumberland and repeatedly commissioned as warden of the East and West Marches, being particularly involved in the defence of the border against the Scots. 12 Oct 1386 he gave evidence in the famous Scrope-Grosvenor controversy.

Name: Thomas

(GEC III, pp.292-3)

Dates: d. 18 Aug 1391

As Baron: 1389 - 1391

Had Livery: 1389

Parl Summons: 6 Dec 1389 – 7 Sept 1391

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Thomas, Lord Ros

Other Details: Also sheriff of Westmorland. A friend of the king and a chamber knight from 1382. Was out of favour with the Appellants and ordered to leave court in 1387, but soon returned and recorded as a chamber knight again in May 1389. Pardoned from his relief in 1389 by royal favour. A warlike and adventurous man who was slain near Spruce in Germany.

Name: John

(GEC III, p.293)

Dates: 1388 – 13 Mar 1422

As Baron: 1391 - 1422

Had Livery: 1411

Parl Summons: 21 Sept 1411 – 26 Feb 1421

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur)

Other Details: Took part in the French wars. Sheriff of Westmorland. Knight of the Garter in 1421.

CLIFTON (Barony by writ – 1376)

Name: John

(GEC III, pp.307-8)

Dates: d. 10 Aug 1388

As Baron: 1376 - 1388

Had Livery: 27 Oct 1374

Parl Summons: 1 Dec 1376 – 28 Jul 1388

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Ralph, Lord Cromwell

Other Details: Inherited large estates through the families of Cailly and Tateshale. Summoned in 1376 whereby he is held to have become Lord Clifton. Died in Rhodes.

Name: Constantine

(GEC III, p.308)

Dates: d. 1395

As Baron: 1388 - 1395

Had Livery: 1393

Parl Summons: 13 Nov 1393 – 20 Nov 1394

Marriages: Margaret, da. of Sir John Howard of Wigenhall

Other Details: -

Name: John

(GEC III, p.308)

Dates: d. 1447

As Baron: -

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: -

Marriages: Joan, da. and coheir of Edmund Thorpe of Ashwellthorpe

Other Details: Aged one at his father's death. Neither he nor his sister's heir's descendants were ever summoned to parl nor did they ever claim any barony.

CLINTON (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: John

(GEC III, pp.314-15)

Dates: d. 6 Sept 1398

As Baron: 1335 - 1398

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 15 Dec 1357 – 5 Nov 1397

Marriages: Idoine, da. of Geoffrey, Lord Say

2ndly (unknown)

Joan (unknown)

Elizabeth, da. and heir of William de la Plaunce

Other Details: Served in 1355 in the French wars and was at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. Fought against the French in 1380. Keeper of the lands of the attainted earl of Warwick in 1390 and constable of Warwick Castle 1390 - Sept 1397.

Name: William (GEC III, p.315)

Dates: d. 30 July or 20 Aug 1431

As Baron: 1398 - 1431

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 19 Aug 1399 – 27 Nov 1430

Marriages: Anne, da of Sir Thomas Trivett

Alice or Anne, da. of William, Lord Botreaux

Mary (unknown)

Other Details: Grandson and heir. Having in 1399 succeeded to some of the lands of the family of Say, in right of his grandmother, he assumed the style of Lord Say.

COBHAM OF KENT (Barony by writ – 1313)

Name: John (GEC III, pp.344-5)

Dates: c. 1320 - 10 Jan 1408

As Baron: 1355 - 1408

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 20 Sep 1355 – 9 Feb 1406

Marriages: Margaret, da. of Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon

Other Details: Served in various French expeditions from 1359 – 1376, being made a banneret in 1370. From June 1379 – February 1380 he was appointed to remain in the household for the safeguard of the king's person. Elected as a baron representative on the first Continual Council in 1377 and important adviser to the young Richard II. As a statesman he was twice appointed to mediate with France and once with the Flemings. In 1386 he was one of the fourteen commissioners who formed a council of regency (appointed by the Wonderful Parl – also Richard Scrope and John Devereux) and one of the lords appointed to examine the state of the king's court. In 1388 he was one of the Lords Appellant who impeached de la Pole, de Vere and others, the king's favourites. He sat as a member of the court of chivalry in 1389 and 1392. Was impeached in Jan 1398 at Shrewsbury for his part in the commission of 1386-8 and condemned to be hanged. He was however only pardoned on condition of his banishment to Jersey, whence he returned within two years of the accession of Henry IV. Heavily engaged in local government in Kent for over 40 years. He died at an advanced age (74 years after his marriage).

CROMWELL (Barony by writ – 1375)

Name: Ralph (GEC III, pp.551-2)

Dates: d. 27 Aug 1398

As Baron: 1375 - 1398

Had Livery: 28 Oct 1364

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 6 Nov 1397

Marriages: Maud, da. of John Bernake of Tattershall

Other Details: Acquired, with his wife, the estate of Tattershall in Lincoln, it having been in the king's hands owing to the death of John Kirketon. Livery granted on these lands on 18 March 1367. Barony created by writ in 1375 whereby he is held to have become Lord Cromwell. In 1386-7 he was a banneret and retained to serve the king in the event of an invasion.

Name: Ralph (GEC III, p.552)

Dates: 1368 - 1417

As Baron: 1398 - 1417

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 19 Aug 1399 – 3 Sep 1417

Marriages: Joan (unknown)

Other Details: -

DACRE (Barony by writ – 1321)

Name: Hugh (GEC IV, pp.5-6)
Dates: d. 24 Dec 1383
As Baron: 1375 - 1383
Had Livery: 10 July 1376
Parl Summons: 1 Dec 1376 – 20 Aug 1383
Marriages: Elizabeth, widow of Sir William Douglas, da. of Sir John Maxwell
Other Details: Brother and heir of previous baron, suspected of having caused his death. Released from the Tower of London where he had been detained on that suspicion on 2 Jul 1376. Appointed a warden of the West March 1379 – 1382.

Name: William (GEC IV, p.6)
Dates: d. 20 Jul 1399
As Baron: 1383 - 1399
Had Livery: 19 Mar 1384
Parl Summons: 3 Mar 1384 – 5 Nov 1397
Marriages: Joan Douglas, illegitimate da. of James, earl of Douglas
Mary (unknown)
Other Details: Summoned for military service on 13 June 1385.

Name: Thomas (GEC IV, p.7)
Dates: 28 Oct 1387 – 5 Jan 1458
As Baron: 1399 - 1458
Had Livery: 10 Nov 1408
Parl Summons: 1 Dec 1412 – 26 May 1455
Marriages: Philippe, da. of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
Other Details: -

(Through Daughter)

DARCY (Barony by writ – 1332)

Name: Philip (GEC IV, pp.61-3)
Dates: 21 May 1352 – 24 Apr 1399
As Baron: 1362 - 1399
Had Livery: 24 Jan 1374
Parl Summons: 4 Aug 1377 – 5 Nov 1397
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Grey
Other Details: Served under duke of Lancaster in his raid into Picardy and Caux Jul – Nov 1369, and under the earl of Buckingham in his raid into Brittany Jul 1380 – Apr 1381. Went on expeditions to Scotland under Gaunt in 1384 and Richard II in 1385. Admiral from the Thames northwards in Feb 1386. In 1389 recorded as a king's knight in the royal household. Oct 1392 was sent to Ireland to recover and defend from Irish rebels his own inheritance and the king's lordships. One of the lords who swore to maintain the statutes of the 1397 parl.

Name: John (GEC IV, pp.63-5)
Dates: d. 9 Dec 1411
As Baron: 1399 - 1411
Had Livery: 12 June 1399
Parl Summons: 19 Aug 1399 – 21 Sep 1411
Marriages: Margaret, da. of Henry, Lord Grey of Wilton
Other Details: One of the lords who sealed the exemplifications of the acts settling the succession of the Crown in 1406.

DEINCOURT (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: William (GEC IV, pp.122-4)
Dates: d. 15/16 Oct 1381
As Baron: 1364 - 1381
Had Livery: 8 Mar 1379
Parl Summons: 26 Aug 1380 – 22 Aug 1381
Marriages: Alice, da. of John, Lord Neville of Raby
Other Details: All three writs to him are directed John Deincourt, but this is certainly a mistake for William. His son Ralph died aged four in 1384. The next brother John had livery on 18 Feb 1405 but died in May 1406 without having been summoned.

DESPENSER (S. Wales) (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: Thomas – earl of Gloucester from 1397 (GEC IV, pp.278-81)
Dates: 22 Sep 1373 – 13 Jan 1400
As Baron: 1375 - 1400
Had Livery: 7 Mar 1394 (though underage)
Parl Summons: 30 Nov 1396 – 30 Sep 1399, as earl of Gloucester on and after 5 Nov 1397
Marriages: Constance, da. of Edmund, earl of Cambridge / duke of York
Other Details: Third but first surviving son. As a royal ward until 1394, he became a personal friend of the king and gained influence at court, though he also had links with Arundel and Gloucester through military expeditions. Accompanied the earl of Arundel, then admiral, in the naval campaign of 1388. One of the eight lords, suborned by the king, who appealed the Lords Appellant in parl on 21 Sep 1397. He was in consequence granted on 28 Sep manors in Worcestershire forfeited by the earl of Warwick, and one in Bucks forfeited by Arundel. The next day on 29 Sep 1397 he was created earl of Gloucester in parl. Subsequently, on petition in the same parl he obtained reversal on the sentence of disinheritance and exile on his ancestors Hugh the elder and Hugh the younger, whereby any baronies, that may be supposed to have been created by the writs of 1295 and 1314, became vested in him. Made a Knight of the Garter in about Apr 1399. Accompanied Richard II to Ireland in May 1399 as one of his chief lieutenants, returning with him in Jul, being one of those for whose safety the king obtained a guarantee. Nevertheless, he was chosen as one of the proxies, representing the dukes and earls, to notify Richard II of his deposition. Sent to the Tower on 20 Oct 1399 and brought thence in custody, and examined in parl before the king and council on 29 Oct, as one of the eight Appellants, concerning his complicity in the murder of the duke of Gloucester. However, he declared he knew nothing about his death that was not common knowledge, and, as to the judgements on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the exile of the present king, and other judgements pronounced in the parl of 1397, they were not by his advice nor counsel, but altogether against his wish and intent. He was, however, adjudged on 3 Nov, to lose and forgo the name of earl and also to forfeit all grants made to him since he became an appellant. Joined the plot to seize Henry IV and on its failure fled, escaping from Cirencester to Cardiff, whence he took ship for the continent, but landed at Bristol where he was seized and beheaded on 13 Jan 1400. In the parl of 1401 of he and his fellow conspirators were declared to be traitors and, as such, to have forfeited all the lands etc., whereby any hereditary baronies that may be supposed to have been created by the writs of 1295, 1314 and 1357 were forfeited. The attainder of this barony in the person of Thomas Despenser in 1400 was reversed in 1461, but the right to it was at that time in abeyance and continued so until 1604.

(Forfeiture)

DESPENSER (Lincs.) (Barony by writ – 1387)

Name: Philip (GEC IV, pp.288-90)
Dates: d. 4 Aug 1401
As Baron: 1387 - 1401
Had Livery: 1 Dec 1363
Parl Summons: 17 Dec 1387 – 3 Oct 1400
Marriages: Elizabeth (unknown)

Other Details: A Lincolnshire family, not related to their more famous South Wales/Gloucestershire namesakes. Accompanied Gaunt to Brittany in 1378. Summoned from 1387 whereby he is held to have become Lord Despenser. However, none of his descendants were ever summoned to parl in respect of this barony. Was one of the lords who swore to uphold the statutes of the 1397 parl.

DEVEREUX (Barony by writ – 1384)

Name: John

(GEC IV, pp.296-9)

Dates: d. 22 Feb 1393

As Baron: 1384 - 1393

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 28 Sep 1384 – 23 Nov 1392

Marriages: Margaret, da. of John de Vere, earl of Oxford

Other Details: Distinguished himself at the battle of Najera Apr 1367 (Froissart). In the service of the Black Prince at Limousin in 1370. In May 1377 the Black Prince gave him 200 marks a year for life, for his services during his journey into Spain and the wars in Guienne. On accession of Richard II he was appointed a member of the first two Continual Councils, as a knight representative, constituted to act during the king's minority. The duke of Brittany granted him 100 marks a year for life in 1379 or 1380, presumably for assisting him in his campaign in 1375. Appointed commissioner to treat with the king of France in May and Dec 1381, and to treat with the count of Flanders in Jun 1383, plus with both these figures again in Nov 1383. Summoned from 1384 whereby he is held to have become Lord Devereux. On other embassies to France and Flanders in 1386, 1388 and 1390. Steward of the household from Feb 1388 till his death. Made a Knight of the Garter in Apr 1389. On 9 Dec 1390 Richard II granted him the castle and manor of Lyonshall, Hereford, lately forfeited by Simon Burley. His heir John died a minor in Nov 1396 whereby the honour passed to his sister Joan, who married Walter Fitzwalter, and subsequently any barony that may have been created by the writ of 1384 was thus united to that of Fitzwalter.

(Through Sister)

FALVESLE OF FAWSLEY / SAY (Barony by writ – 1383 (or 1313 Say barony))

Name: John

(GEC V, pp.250-2)

Dates: d. 1392

As Baron: 1383 - 1392

Had Livery: 26 Sep 1382

Parl Summons: 20 Aug 1383 – 23 Nov 1392

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. and heir of William, Lord Say

Other Details: In Apr 1365 was about to go to Ireland with the duke of Clarence. Accompanied Gaunt to France in Jul 1373 in the retinue of Edward Despenser. On seeking to sue out livery of his wife's lands he was refused, on the ground that if women who held their lands of the king in chief married without the king's licence, their lands should be taken into his hands till they satisfied him by a fine. John, however, petitioned the parl of Oct 1382 and after was given livery, backdated to 26 Sep 1382. Summoned for military service against Scotland in 1385. Summoned to parl in 1382 whereby he is held to have become Lord Falvesle, or rather, Lord Say (the writs of summons did not confer any title on him nor recognise him as possessing any. In his charters he calls himself Lord Say, but no such style is accorded him in any official documents). Retainer (1386-9) and political supporter of the earl of Arundel whom he accompanied on his expeditions to Sluys in Mar 1387 and to the coast of France in Jun 1388. Prominent figure in Sussex, serving on a commission of array there in 1388. Upon his death, any barony that may be supposed to have been created by the writ of 1383 became extinct.

(No Heir)

FERRERS (BOTEKER) OF WEM (Barony by writ – 1308)

Name: Robert

(GEC II, pp.232-3)

Dates: d. 1381

As Baron: 1375 - 1381

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 20 Oct 1379

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. and heir of William, Lord Boteler

Other Details: Lord Boteler died in Aug 1369. His daughter and heir had married Robert Ferrers, younger son of Robert Lord Ferrers, who having possessed himself of her vast estates (which he entailed on failure of the heirs of his body by her, on his own right heirs) was summoned from 1375 by writs directed Robert Ferrers of Wem, whereby he is held to have become Lord Boteler. His widow married John Say and thirdly Thomas Molinton, who was never summoned but styled himself Lord of Wem. On the death of his wife in June 1411 any barony created by the writs of 1308 or 1375 fell into abeyance.

(No Heir)

FERRERS OF GROBY (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: Henry

(GEC V, pp.351-3)

Dates: 1356 – 3 Feb 1388

As Baron: 1371 - 1388

Had Livery: 26 Apr 1377

Parl Summons: 4 Aug 1377 – 17 Dec 1387

Marriages: Joan, da. of Sir Thomas Hoo

Other Details: Took part in expeditions including: 1377 with Buckingham, 1378 with Gaunt, 1380-1 with Buckingham, and 1385 to Scotland in the main body of the army with Richard II. Regularly served on commissions in Leicestershire.

Name: William

(GEC V, pp.554-7)

Dates: 1372 – 18 May 1445

As Baron: 1388 - 1445

Had Livery: 16 May 1394

Parl Summons: 30 Nov 1396 – 13 Jan 1445

Marriages: Philippe, da. of Roger, Lord Clifford

Margaret, da. of John Montagu, earl of Salisbury

Elizabeth, da. of Sir Robert Standishe

Other Details: 1394 attended Richard II to Ireland. Swore on 30 Sept 1397 to maintain statutes of previous parl. Gave assent 23 Oct 1399 to the secret imprisonment of Richard II. Sealed the exemplification of the acts settling the succession to the Crown in 1406. Tended to devote attentions to county administration rather than national politics.

FITZHUGH (Barony by writ – 1321)

Name: Henry

(GEC V, pp.420-1)

Dates: d. 29 Aug 1386

As Baron: 1356 - 1386

Had Livery: 26 May 1353

Parl Summons: 4 Aug 1377 – 8 Aug 1386

Marriages: Joan, da. of Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham

Other Details: Accompanied the king on his expedition to France in Oct 1359, being in the retinue of the earl of Richmond. Dec 1367 had licence to go to Rome. Was with the duke of Lancaster on the raid into Picardy and Caux in Jul 1369.

Name: Henry

(GEC V, pp.421-5)

Dates: c. 1363 - 11 Jan 1425

As Baron: 1386 - 1425

Had Livery: 6 Nov 1386

Parl Summons: 17 Dec 1387 – 1 Sep 1423

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. and heir of Sir Robert Grey

Other Details: Administrator and diplomat. On 3 Nov 1388 Queen Anne leased to him, for 12 years, her castles and lands in Richmondshire, formerly held by John, duke of Brittany, at a rent of 650 marks a year. On 1 Oct 1395, after the queen's death, he surrendered his interests in the premises for the remainder of the term to Ralph, Lord Neville. Was one of the lords who assented to Richard II's imprisonment in Oct 1399. Henry IV, having retained his services for life, granted him 100 marks a year in Nov 1399, for life. Ordered to raise forces to accompany the king against the earl of Northumberland in Jul 1403. Chamberlain to the king under Henry V. In 1415 he was granted all the manors in the franchise of Richmond lately forfeited by Henry Scrope of Masham. Accompanied the king to France in Aug 1415 and fought at Harfleur in Aug and Sept and at Agincourt in Oct. One of the lords who sealed the exemplification of the acts settling the succession to the Crown in 1406. Made a Knight of the Garter in 1409. An executor of the will of Henry V, who appointed him guardian of his infant son. To meet the wishes of the king he offered to surrender to John Scrope the manors in Yorkshire which had been forfeited by his brother. Appointed protector of the realm in Dec 1422.

FITZWALTER (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: Walter (GEC V, pp.477-80)

Dates: 1345 - 26 Sep 1386

As Baron: 1361 - 1386

Had Livery: 20 Oct 1366

Parl Summons: 6 Apr 1369 – 3 Sep 1385

Marriages: Alianore, da. and heir of Thomas, Lord Dagworth
Philippe, da and coheir of Sir John Mohun

Other Details: Notable soldier who accompanied Sir Robert Knolles in his raid into France in July 1370 expedition where he was captured by the French. One of the commanders of the fleet in the unsuccessful expedition of the earl of Buckingham in Nov 1377 to attack the Spanish fleet at Sluys. 17 Jan 1379 had licence to go beyond seas. Marshal of the army of the earl of Buckingham in the raid into Brittany July 1380 – Apr 1381. Most of his Essex manors attacked in 1381. Sum for military service in 1385. Served on many commissions in Essex. Joined Gaunt's expedition to Spain in 1386 and died in Galicia.

Name: Walter (GEC V, pp.480-2)

Dates: 1368 – 16 May 1406

As Baron: 1386 - 1406

Had Livery: 21 Feb 1390

Parl Summons: 12 Sep 1390 – 25 Aug 1404

Marriages: Joan, sis and heir of John, Lord Devereux

Other Details: On the king's service in Ireland with duke of Gloucester in Feb 1395. Swore to maintain statutes made in the 'Revenge Parl'. In Ireland with the earl of March in May 1398. On 18 Oct 1399 he created a scene in parl by accusing the duke of Aumale of being an accessory to the murder of duke of Gloucester and challenging him to trial by battle. Gave assent to the imprisonment of Richard II. In passing by seas from Rome to Naples he was captured by Saracens and taken prisoner to Tunis. Having been ransomed by Genoese merchants, he died at Venice.

FURNIVAL OF SHEFFIELD (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: William (GEC V, pp.587-9)

Dates: 23 Aug 1326 – 12 April 1383

As Baron: 1365 - 1383

Had Livery: 25 May 1365

Parl Summons: 20 Sep 1366 – 7 Jan 1383

Marriages: Thomasine, widow of Sir John Dagworth

Other Details: Nov 1367 had licence to go to Prussia. Joan, his only daughter and heir married Thomas Neville, second son of John Neville of Raby. On 23 June Thomas and Joan had livery of her father's lands. Thomas was summoned from 20 Aug 1383 – 9 Feb 1406 as Thomas Neville of Hallamshire (see below).

(Through Daughter)

GREY OF CODNOR (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: John (GEC VI, pp.125-7)

Dates: d. 14 Dec 1392

As Baron: 1335 - 1392

Had Livery: 26 Mar 1335

Parl Summons: 1 Apr 1335 – 23 Nov 1392

Marriages: Eleanor (unknown)

Alice, da. of Sir Warin Lisle

Other Details: Summoned to various councils and for military service including to Scotland in 1335 and also to Gascony in 1345. Was in the Crecy expedition, joining the king at the siege of Calais in 1346. On 16 Aug 1359 had protection for going abroad with the earl of Richmond. In 1371 he was, on account of old age and bodily infirmities, excused from attendance and parls, councils etc, in consideration of his long service in the wars. Regularly named justice of the peace in Derbyshire.

Name: Richard (GEC VI, pp.127-9)

Dates: 1371 – 1 Aug 1418

As Baron: 1392 - 1418

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 13 Nov 1393 – 3 Sept 1416

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Ralph, Lord Basset

Other Details: Grandson and heir. Jan 1395 was proceeding to Ireland on Richard II's service. Admiral of the fleet from the Thames northward in 1401. Knight of the Garter in 1404. Appointed chamberlain in Aug 1405, plus constable and marshal of England in 1405.

GREY OF RUTHIN (Barony by writ – 1325)

Name: Reginald (GEC VI, pp.154-5)

Dates: 1319 – 28 July or 4 Aug 1388

As Baron: 1353 - 1388

Had Livery: 20 Mar 1353

Parl Summons: 15 Mar 1354 – 20 Mar 1388

Marriages: Alianore, da. of Roger, Lord Strange of Knockyn

Other Details: The Greys of Ruthin were a cadet line of the Greys of Wilton, who were themselves a cadet line of the Greys of Codnor. Accompanied the king on his expeditions to France in Oct 1355 and Oct 1359, being in the king's retinue. Summoned for military service in 1385.

Name: Reginald (GEC VI, pp.155-8)

Dates: c. 1362 - 18 Oct 1440

As Baron: 1388 - 1440

Had Livery: 19 Aug 1388

Parl Summons: 6 Dec 1389 – 26 Sept 1439

Marriages: Margaret, da. of Thomas, Lord Ros

Joan, da. of Sir William Asteley

Other Details: Attended Richard II to Ireland in Sept 1394 and May 1399. Swore 30 Sept 1397 to honour the acts of the 'Revenge Parl', and assented to Richard II's imprisonment on 23 Oct 1399. Was heir general of John Hastings, last earl of Pembroke who died in Dec 1389, thus he became Lord Hastings too. A justice of the peace for Bedfordshire from the 1380s. As a marcher lord he was heavily involved in the Glendower revolt and was captured and ransomed in 1402.

GREY OF WILTON (Barony by writ – 1290 or 1295)

Name: Henry (GEC VI, pp.177-8)

Dates: d. 22 Apr 1396

As Baron: 1370 - 1396

Had Livery: 27 July 1370

Parl Summons: From 1 Dec 1376 as 'of Shirland', and from 4 Aug 1377 as 'of Wilton' – 20 Nov 1394

Marriages: Elizabeth, da of Gilbert, Lord Talbot

Other Details: The Grey of Wilton were a cadet line of the Greys of Codnor. Summoned for military service in 1385.

Name: Richard

(GEC VI, pp.178-9)

Dates: 1393 – 13/20 Aug 1442

As Baron: 1396 - 1442

Had Livery: 8 Jun 1413

Parl Summons: -

Marriages: Blanche, da. and coheir of Sir Philip de la Vache

Margaret, da. of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby

Other Details: Accompanied the king to France in Aug 1415 in the retinue of earl of Dorset.

GREYSTOKE (Barony by writ – 1321)

Name: Ralph

(GEC VI, pp.195-6)

Dates: 1353/4 – 6 Apr 1418

As Baron: 1359 - 1418

Had Livery: 19 May 1374

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 5 Oct 1417

Marriages: Katherine, da. of Roger, Lord Clifford

Other Details: Much of his career he was involved in border politics and warfare, serving in the north of England as a warden of the West and East marches. Summoned for military service on 13 June 1385. Joined Bolingbroke at Doncaster and one of the lords who gave assent in parl of 23 Oct 1399 to Richard II's imprisonment.

HARINGTON OF ALDINGHAM (Barony by writ – 1326)

Name: Robert

(GEC VI, pp.316-7)

Dates: d. 21 May 1406

As Baron: 1363 - 1406

Had Livery: 1377 (English lands) and 1380 (Irish)

Parl Summons: 4 Aug 1377 – 21 Dec 1405

Marriages: Alice, da. of William, Lord Greystoke

Isabel, da. and coheir of Sir Nele Loring

Other Details: Ward of the king. One of the lords temporal who swore to uphold the proceedings of the parl of 1397. In 1398 he was pardoned for adhering to the duke of Gloucester in 1386. By his second marriage considerable estates in Somerset, Devon and Cornwall came to the Haringtons.

HERON / SAY (Barony by writ – 1393 (or 1313 Say barony))

Name: William

(GEC VI, pp.492-3)

Dates: d. 30 Oct 1404

As Baron: 1393 - 1404

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 13 Nov 1393 – 25 Aug 1404

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. and heir of William, Lord Say

Other Details: Knight of the shire for Northumberland in 1382 and 1385. Retainer of the earl of Arundel until 1394, serving at sea with him in March 1387 and also receiving a pardon for adherence to the Appellants. Led a retinue on Arundel's expedition in June 1388 and appeared before the Cambridge Parliament to answer questions about the conduct of the expedition. Also served in the retinues of the earl of Northumberland and the king. Took part in Richard II's expedition to Ireland in 1394. Was on various commissions in the reign of Henry IV, to whom he was steward of the household. He was sent on several embassies to France in 1400 and 1401. He was summoned to parl, presumably in consequence of his marriage from 1393, whereby he is

held to have become Lord Heron or Lord Say (being a tenant of his wife's estates, he was usually styled Lord Say in appointments). He held the lands till his death and acquired portions of them, particularly the manor of Sawbridgeworth, the *caput* of the Say barony. At his death any hereditary barony that may be supposed to have been created by the writ of 1393 became extinct.

(No Heir)

LATIMER OF CORBY (Barony by writ – 1290 or 1299)

Name: William

(GEC VII, pp.470-5)

Dates: 24 Mar 1330 – 28 May 1381

As Baron: 1335 - 1381

Had Livery: 7 Apr 1351

Parl Summons: 24 Feb 1368 – 2 Oct 1379

Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel

Other Details: At battle of Crecy in first division with the Prince of Wales. Frequently abroad: 1359 expedition to Gascony, Brittany in the 1360s, Calais and Portugal in 1373, and Flanders in 1375. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1362. From 1368-70 he was steward of the household and chamberlain from 1371-6. Was in high favour with John of Gaunt and shared his unpopularity with the people, being involved in his temporary loss of power in 1376 and impeached in the Good Parliament. He surrendered, but was released on bail, and, soon regaining favour at court, was fully restored. Nominated one of the executors of Edward III's will and next year was elected as a baron representative on the first Continual Council, appointed to act during Richard II's minority. Was one of the commanders of the fleet which attempted to surprise the Spaniards at Sluys in 1377. In Feb 1378 he was a commissioner for making peace with Scotland and was also appointed to numerous other commissions. Accompanied Thomas Woodstock on expedition to Brittany in July 1380. On his death the barony passed to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband John Neville of Raby and subsequently passed to their son John in 1395. John Neville Lord Latimer achieved majority in 1403 and was summoned from Aug 1404.

(Through Daughter)

LISLE OF KINGSTON LISLE (Barony by writ – 1357)

Name: Warin

(GEC VIII, pp.51-3)

Dates: 1330 – 28 June 1382

As Baron: 1360 - 1382

Had Livery: Aug 1360

Parl Summons: 6 Apr 1369 – 24 Mar 1382

Marriages: Margaret, da. and coheir of Sir William Pypard

Joan (unknown), widow of John Wynnlow

Other Details: Went to France with Henry, earl of Lancaster in 1359. Commissioner in Berkshire from 1364. Went overseas in the company of the duke of Lancaster in 1369. Engaged in the king's service abroad in 1372 as a banneret. Sent to Ireland in the king's service in 1380. His daughter and heir married Thomas Berkeley who became Lord Lisle.

(Through Daughter)

LOVEL OF TITCHMARSH (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: John

(GEC VIII, pp.219-221)

Dates: c. 1342 - 10 Sept 1408

As Baron: 1361 - 1408

Had Livery: 8 June 1363

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 26 Aug 1407

Marriages: Maud, da. and heir of Robert, Lord Holand

Other Details: Served with the king in Brittany in 1364. Abroad in the king's service with the duke of Clarence in 1368. Gained livery of his wife's inheritance 3 May 1373 and subsequently styled himself 'Lord Lovel and Holland', the first recorded case of a baron using a double title. Served in France in retinue of earl of March and duke of Brittany in 1374. As a banneret he had pardon in 1379, and went to Ireland of the king's service in 1380. 1381 received a commission to issue a proclamation against rebels in Oxfordshire. In Richard II's expedition in 1385 where, with Lords Botreaux and Seymour, he was in command of a detachment of 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers. Attached to royal household between 1385-7. In the revolt of the Appellants in 1387, he was expelled from court as an adherent of the king (Knighton), and in the following year took an oath that he would not enter the king's house until allowed to do so by parliament. Returned to council meetings by September 1389 and was a regular royal adviser and consistent charter witness for the next decade. Served on various commissioners, especially in Oxfordshire and Wiltshire. Formally retained by Richard II in February 1395. Accompanied Richard II to Ireland in April 1399 but in August of the same year he was among the first to join Bolingbroke at Chester (Evesham). Assented to the imprisonment of the deposed Richard II and accepted the accession of Henry IV. Nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1405.

LUMLEY (Barony by writ – 1384)

Name: Ralph

(GEC VIII, pp.269-70)

Dates: 8 Jan 1400

As Baron: 1384 - 1400

Had Livery: 20 Aug 1383

Parl Summons: 28 Sep 1384 – 30 Sep 1399

Marriages: Eleanor, da. of John, Lord Neville of Raby

Other Details: Was in the ward of John, Lord Neville of Raby. Summoned in 1384 whereby he is held to have become Lord Lumley. In Sep 1384 he ransomed some French prisoners he had taken. In Jan 1385 he was in the retinue of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland in Scotland, and in 1387 and 1388 was associated with the earl of Northumberland in the defence of Berwick. In 1388 was commissioner of array in Durham. At the battle of Otterburn in Aug 1388 he was taken prisoner by the Scots, but was at liberty by Oct 1389. Commissioner of the peace in the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1394 and 1397. Swore to uphold the statutes of 1397 and also sat on the first parl of Henry IV where with the other prelates he assented to the imprisonment of Richard II. But, at Christmas 1399, he joined the unsuccessful conspiracy of the earls of Kent and Huntingdon to murder Henry and restore Richard II. He was taken, with the other conspirators, by the townspeople of Cirencester and beheaded in Jan 1400 (Traison et Mort). He was attainted of treason in parl in May 1401 whereby his peerage was forfeited, his possessions having been granted already on 22 Jan 1400 to John, earl of Somerset, brother of Henry IV. His second son John had livery of the lands in 1405, the earl of Somerset having surrendered his patent thereof. Ralph's grandson Thomas was summoned again in 1461.

(Forfeiture)

MAULAY (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: Peter

(GEC VIII, pp.567-9)

Dates: d. 19/20 Mar 1383

As Baron: 1355 - 1383

Had Livery: 23 Mar 1355

Parl Summons: 20 Sep 1355 - 1383

Marriages: Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Darcy and da. of Nicholas, Lord Menille
Constance, da. and coheir of Sir Thomas Sutton

Other Details: Soldier and administrator who fought at Poitiers in 1356. A commissioner of array from 1366. Sep 1367 appointed conservator of the truce of the Scottish Marches. Made one of the wardens of the East March in May 1368. On commissions of the peace in Yorkshire from 1375 onward. Upon his mother's death in 1382 he came into possession of Mulgrave.

Name: Peter (GEC VIII, pp.569-71)
Dates: 1378 – 6 Sep 1415
As Baron: 1383 - 1415
Had Livery: 6 May 1399
Parl Summons: 19 Aug 1399 – 12 Aug 1415
Marriages: Maud, da. of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
Other Details: In ward of the king at grandfather's death. After a long wardship, he re-established his family's profile by his support of Bolingbroke in 1399. Served on various commissions in Yorkshire.

MONTAGU OF MONHERMER (Barony by writ – 1357)

Name: John (GEC IX, pp.86-88)
Dates: d. 25 Feb or 4 Mar 1390
As Baron: 1357 - 1390
Had Livery: 20 Dec 1343 (wife's) and 17 Jun 1344 (some of his father's)
Parl Summons: 15 Dec 1357 – 6 Dec 1389
Marriages: Margaret, da. and heir of Thomas, Lord Monthermer
Other Details: Younger son of William Montagu, earl of Salisbury. Having married the daughter of Thomas Monthermer he had livery of her lands in 1343. Fought in France in 1346-7 in the retinue of his brother the earl of Salisbury, and then in that of the Black Prince. Was at the battle of Crecy in Aug 1346 and the siege of Calais the same year. Was a knight in the Black Prince's household. Served with him again in France in 1356. Summoned to parl from 1357 whereby he is held to have become Lord Montagu. With the Black Prince again in France in 1359. From 1361 on numerous commissions of the peace, of oyer and terminer and of array in Hants and Devon. Nominated on the embassy to treat with the French in Feb 1377. A trier of petitions in parl from 1377. In 1378 retained to serve the king as a banneret and in Jul took part in Gaunt's abortive attack on St Malo (Froissart). Charged with making proclamations against the 1381 Rising in Hants and Wilts. Steward of the household between 1381-7 and in this capacity was one of three members of the household deputed in Dec 1381 to receive Anne of Bohemia on her arrival in England. In 1384 a dispute with his brother the earl of Salisbury was decided against him in the Court of Chivalry. Removed by Richard II from the office of steward of the household in Jan 1387.

Name: John – earl of Salisbury from 1397 (GEC XI, pp.391-3)
Dates: c. 1350 - 5 Jan 1400
As Baron: 1390 - 1400
Had Livery: 25 Feb 1390
Parl Summons: 23 Nov 1392 – 30 Nov 1396 as Lord Montagu, 18 Jul 1397 – 30 Sep 1399 as earl of Salisbury
Marriages: Maud, da. of Adam Francis
Other Details: In 1369 he was knighted by the earl of Cambridge in the field at Bourdeilles. Appointed a king's knight in 1383. Commissioner of array in Hertfordshire in 1385. Accused by Walsingham in 1387 of being a patron of Lollards. In 1392 he went on a crusade to Prussia. On his mother's death in 1395 he is held to have succeeded to her barony of Monthermer. In 1397 he succeeded his uncle as earl of Salisbury. In Jul 1397 was one of the King's supporters against the Appellants. In 1398 appointed marshal of England. Nominated a Knight of the Garter. In May 1399 accompanied Richard II to Ireland but was sent back in advance of Richard II to raise forces to meet Bolingbroke. With the other Appellants of 1397, was committed to the Tower in Oct 1399. Joined the conspiracy of the earls of Kent and Huntingdon to murder Henry IV. Beheaded by the people of Cirencester. Attained of treason in parl in Mar 1401, but this judgement was reversed in 1461. His son Thomas was summoned as earl of Salisbury in 1409.

(Forfeiture)

MORLEY (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: William (GEC IX, pp.214-5)
Dates: 24 June 1319 – 30 Apr 1379
As Baron: 1360 - 1379

Had Livery: July 1341 (mother's) and 1360 (father's)

Parl Summons: 4 Dec 1364 – 16 Feb 1379

Marriages: Cicely, da. of Thomas, Lord Bardolf

Other Details: Succeeded to the barony of Marshal on his mother's death. Served in Gascony in Oct 1354 with the earl of Suffolk and in the expedition of the Black Prince to Carcassonne and Narbonne in 1355. Went on pilgrimage in Nov 1363.

Name: Thomas

(GEC IX, pp.216-7)

Dates: 1354 – 24 Sep 1416

As Baron: 1379 - 1416

Had Livery: 11 May 1380

Parl Summons: 20 Oct 1379 – 3 Sep 1416

Marriages: Joan (unknown)

Anne, da. of Edward, Lord Despenser

Other Details: Served in Brittany in 1375 with the duke of Brittany and the earl of Cambridge. Served in commissions in Norfolk from 1380. Took part in 1380 raid on Calais by earl of Buckingham. In the 1381 Rising in Norfolk he and others of his rank were seized by them to be sent to the king to obtain redress and pardon. But, on the way, captors and captures were met by the bishop of Norwich, and the latter delivered their captors to him and he hanged them, reproaching the knights for their cowardice (Walsingham – Hist Ang). Received permission to go to Prussia in 1391, presumably in the retinue of duke of Gloucester. On 21 Sep 1397, after the condemnation of earl of Arundel, he, as lieutenant of the marshal of England, had charge of his execution that day on Tower Hill. Also swore to observe the statutes made in that parl. Apr 1399 accompanied Richard II to Ireland. Among the magnates who assented to imprison Richard II. Sealed the exemplification of the acts settling the succession of the Crown in 1406. Made a Knight of the Garter in 1411. Set out with Henry V on the expedition which led to Agincourt, though probably did not actually fight in the battle.

NEVILLE OF HALLAMSHIRE / FURNIVAL (Barony by writ – 1383 or 1295)

Name: Thomas

(GEC V, pp.589-91)

Dates: d. 14 Mar 1407

As Baron: 1383 - 1407

Had Livery: 22 Jun 1383

Parl Summons: 20 Aug 1383 – 9 Feb 1406

Marriages: Joan, da. and heir of William, Lord Furnival

Ankaret, widow of Richard, Lord Talbot, da. of John, Lord Strange

Other Details: Younger son of John Neville of Raby. Summoned for military service against the Scots in 1385. Had livery of the Furnival lands of his wife in 1383 and subsequently styled himself Thomas Neville of Hallamshire. Was one of the lords who swore to maintain statutes of the Sep 1397 parl. Gave assent to Richard II's imprisonment. One of the lords who sealed exemplification of the acts settling the succession to the Crown in 1406. Treasurer of England in 1406 until his death. Succeeded by his daughter Maud who married John Talbot who was summoned as Lord Furnival or Lord Hallamshire.

(Through Daughter)

NEVILLE OF RABY (Barony by writ – 1295)

Name: John

(GEC IX, pp.502-3)

Dates: c. 1330 - 17 Oct 1388

As Baron: 1367 - 1388

Had Livery: Oct 1367

Parl Summons: 1367 – 28 Jul 1388

Marriages: Maud, da. of Henry, Lord Percy

Elizabeth, da. and heir of William, Lord Latimer

Other Details: Served in France and Spain from 1345. A captain under his father at Neville's Cross in Oct 1346. Appointed to numerous commissions from Dec 1367. Ambassador to France in 1368. Knight of the

Garter in 1369. Admiral of the North in 1370. Retained by Gaunt in 1370 and one of his most important retainers. Steward of the household from 1372 though removed and impeached by the Good Parliament in 1376. In 1381 he sat on the parl committee to report on the state of the household. In 1381 he acquired most of the Latimer inheritance. For several years in the mid-1370s he was engaged in Scotland and the Marches. In 1381 he was made Warden of the Marches and conservator of the peace. Accompanied Richard II to Scotland in 1385.

Name: Ralph – From 1397 earl of Westmorland (GEC XII – Part II, pp.544-9)

Dates: 1364 – 21 Oct 1425

As Baron: 1388 - 1425

Had Livery: 17 Oct 1388

Parl Summons: 6 Dec 1389 – 30 Nov 1396

Marriages: Margaret, da. of Hugh, earl of Stafford

Joan Beaufort, widow of Sir Robert Ferrers and da. of John of Gaunt

Other Details: Took part in Buckingham's expedition to Brittany in 1380. Joint warden of the West March towards Scotland in 1386 and 1389. On 3 June 1391 he obtained custody of the lands of Gilbert de Umfraville, titular earl of Angus. For his support of the King in 1397 against the Appellants he was created earl of Westmorland. He was however, with the earl of Northumberland, one of the first to join the banished duke of Hereford, his wife's brother, after landing in July 1399 and played a prominent part in procuring Richard II's abdication and the elevation of Henry IV. On 30 Sept 1399 he was made marshal of England for life, though he resigned the office by 1412. Knight of the Garter 1403. He took the field against Northumberland when Henry IV defeated Hotspur and his uncle Worcester in July 1403.

DE LA POLE (Barony by writ – 1366)

Name: Michael (GEC X, p.566; GEC XII – Part 1, pp.437-40)

Dates: 1330 – 5 Sep 1389

As Baron: 1366 - 1388

Had Livery: 21 June 1366

Parl Summons: 20 Jan 1366 – 28 Sep 1384 as Lord de la Pole. From 6 Aug 1385 as earl of Suffolk

Marriages: Katherine, da. and heir of Sir John Wingfield

Other Details: Son of the wealthiest merchant in England and considered a genuine 'new man'. In the retinue of duke of Lancaster in the expedition to aid Charles of Navarre in 1355 and accompanied the Black Prince in that of 1359. One of the Black Prince's retainers and member of his council from 1359. Barony created by writ in 1366 whereby he is held to have become Lord de la Pole. Commissioner of array for East Riding of Yorkshire in Feb 1367. Served in French wars from 1369. Received fees from Gaunt between 1369-82. Admiral of the fleet from the Thames northward between Nov 1376 – Dec 1377. Commissioner to receive Brest Castle from duke of Brittany in April 1378. Accompanied Lancaster in the abortive naval expedition against St Malo in 1378. Chief ambassador to Milan to negotiate a marriage for Richard II in March 1379; also to Rome and to Wenceslas, King of the Romans and of Bohemia. Made prisoner on the latter embassy before Jan 1380 and was ransomed 'at a high price' before March 1381. Joint governor, with the earl of Arundel, of the king in Nov 1381. Made chancellor, famously presiding over the bishop Despenser impeachment in 1383. While accompanying Richard II to Scotland in 1385, he was created earl of Suffolk. Commissioner to treat with France in Jan 1386. His favour with Richard II and his peace policy as chancellor making him unpopular, he was impeached by the Commons and convicted in the parl that met at Westminster in Oct 1386, whereby many of his lands were forfeited, he was heavily fined and committed to Corfe Castle. The king however sent him to Windsor, where he was soon released; and the above proceedings were declared void by the judges at Nottingham on 25 Aug 1387. Was with Richard II and de Vere in Wales and the Midlands during the summer of 1387, and returned to London with them in November. But, being accused by the Lords Appellants, he fled the realm in Dec 1387 and was, in his absence, found guilty of high treason by parl on 13 Feb 1388, whereby all his honours were forfeited. Died in exile in Paris in 1389.

(Forfeiture)

Name: Michael

(GEC X, pp.566-7; GEC XII – Part 1, pp.441-2)

Dates: d. 18 Sep 1415

As Baron: 1397 - 1399

Had Livery: 3 Dec 1389

Parl Summons: -

Marriages: Katherine, da. of Hugh, earl of Stafford

Other Details: Was going to Calais in command of men-at-arms and archers in April 1386. After his father's death, despite the attainder he had livery, as son and heir of his maternal and paternal entailed estates of 1389-92 (but not those acquired by the late earl). Accompanied Gloucester to Prussia in Sep 1391. The proceedings of the 1388 parl was annulled by parl of 1397 and he was restored to his father's dignities, becoming earl of Suffolk and Lord de la Pole. On 19 June 1398 he obtained letters patent for the earldom (though not of the barony). The parl of 1399 annulled the proceedings of 1397 and confirmed those of 1388 and thus he fell again under his father's attainder and his honours were forfeited again. However, he obtained restoration of most of his father's estates and 'in consideration of his services after the king's advent' (Ravenspur was the original home of the de la Poles) was restored on 15 Nov 1399 as the earl of Suffolk (no mention again being made of the barony of de la Pole). Took part in Henry IV's expedition to Scotland in 1400 and Henry V's to France in 1415.

POYNINGS (Barony by writ – 1348)

Name: Richard

(GEC X, pp.662-3)

Dates: 1355 – 25 May 1387

As Baron: 1375 - 1387

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 7 Jan 1383 – 3 Sep 1385

Marriages: Isabel, da. and heir of Robert FitzPayn, younger son of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor

Other Details: Went abroad with John Arundel in 1377. Commissioner of the peace and of array in Sussex 1381-5. 1385 was summoned to serve against the Scots. Accompanied Gaunt to Spain in 1386. Died in Spain in 1387 of an epidemic rife among the English.

Name: Robert

(GEC X, pp.663-4)

Dates: 3 Dec 1382 – 2 Oct 1446

As Baron: 1387 – 1446

Had Livery: 17 Jan 1404

Parl Summons: 25 Aug 1404 – 13 Jan 1445

Marriages: 1stly (unknown)

Margaret, da. of Thomas Squery

Other details: Served on commissions in Sussex and Surrey from 1413.

(Through Daughter)

ROS OF HELMSLEY (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: Thomas

(GEC XI, pp.100-1)

Dates: 13 Jan 1337 – 8 June 1384

As Baron: 1352 - 1384

Had Livery: 31 May 1358

Parl Summons: 1362 – 3 Mar 1384

Marriages: Beatrice, da. of Ralf, earl of Stafford

Other Details: Took part in the king's expedition to Normandy in 1355 and the campaigns of 1356 and 1359-60. Served on commissions in Yorkshire from 1364. Joint warden of the West March of Scotland in 1367 and of the East March in 1371. Served in France in 1369 and 1374. Was a banneret in 1372.

Name: John

(GEC XI, pp.101-2)

Dates: d. 6 Aug 1393

As Baron: 1384 - 1393

Had Livery: 16 Oct 1386

Parl Summons: Aug 1386 - 1393

Marriages: Mary, half sister of Henry, earl of Northumberland, da. of Henry, Lord Percy
Other Details: Served as a banneret in Scotland in 1383 and on the 1385 expedition. Sailed under earl of Arundel against the French in 1387. Joint warden of the West March of Scotland in 1389. Died in Cyprus returning from pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Name: William (GEC XI, pp.102-3)

Dates: d. 1 Sept 1414

As Baron: 1394 - 1414

Had Livery: 11 Feb 1394

Parl Summons: 20 Nov 1394 - 1413

Marriages: Margaret, da. of John, Lord Arundel (d. 1379)

Other Details: Brother and heir. A few days after Bolingbroke's landing in July 1399, he joined him at Berkeley and was present at the interview with Henry in the Tower on 29 Sept at which Richard II signed his abdication. At Henry's first parliament on 23 Oct 1399 and assented to Richard II's imprisonment. Treasurer of England Sept 1403 – Nov 1404. Nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1404.

SCALES (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: Roger (GEC XI, pp.502-3)

Dates: d. 25 Dec 1386

As Baron: 1369 - 1376

Had Livery: 10 Oct 1369

Parl Summons: 28 Dec 1375 – 3 Sep 1385

Marriages: Joan, da. of John Northwood

Other Details: 1367, was going beyond the seas by the king's licence. 1377-86 was often in commissions. One of the knights compelled to march with and wait upon John Lester of Norwich in 1381 (Chron Angl). In 1382 he, Robert Willoughby and Henry Ferrers of Groby, were found to be the next heirs to William Ufford, earl of Suffolk. Summoned to serve in Scotland in 1385. Died in Spain.

Name: Robert (GEC XI, pp.502-3)

Dates: d. 7 Dec 1402

As Baron: 1387 - 1402

Had Livery: 21 Apr 1396

Parl Summons: 30 Nov 1396 – 19 June 1402

Marriages: Elizabeth (unknown)

Other Details: In 1399 he returned from Ireland with Lord Bardolf and joined Richard II at Hereford (Evesham). One of the lords who voted on 23 Oct 1399 for the safe custody of the deposed Richard II. 1400-1 on the expedition to Aquitaine.

SCROPE OF BOLTON (Barony by writ – 1371)

Name: Richard (GEC XI, pp.539-41)

Dates: 1327 – 30 May 1403

As Baron: 1371 - 1403

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 8 Jan 1371 – 14 Aug 1402

Marriages: Blanche, sis. of Michael, earl of Suffolk

Margaret, da of Sir John Montfort

Other Details: Fought at the battles of Crecy in Aug 1346, Neville's Cross Oct 1346, the siege of Calais 1346-7, the sea-fight off Winchelsea Aug 1350, in France Nov 1355, Berwick 1356, and Paris 1359-60. On numerous commissions in Yorkshire from 1352. Used wealth from military service to buy land in the 1360s. In retinue of Gaunt in Black Prince's Spanish campaign, including the battle of Najera in Apr 1367. Formally retained by Gaunt in 1367 and served with him in the raid through Ponthieu 1369. Summoned from 1371 whereby he is held to have become Lord Scrope. Treasurer from Mar 1371 – Sep 1375. Joint warden of the West March Sept 1375. Steward of the household Aug 1377 – Oct 1378. Chancellor Oct 1378 – Jan 1380, and Dec 1381 – Jul 1382. Dismissed as chancellor in 1382 for trying to control Richard II's extravagances.

Served with Gaunt in Scotland in 1384 and 1385. One of the great council to take the oversight of the kingdom in Nov 1386 (Knighton). In Nov 1387 he acted as spokesman for the Appellants in their dealings with the king. His celebrated controversy with Robert Grosvenor as to the right of bearing the arms 'Azure, a bend gold', was finally decided in his favour by the constable (duke of Gloucester) in May 1389, whose judgement was confirmed by the King in May 1390. He received a full pardon as an adherent to the duke of Gloucester on 29 Nov 1397. On the attainder of his first son, William, earl of Wiltshire (beheaded 29 Jul 1399) by the first parl of Henry IV, he implored the king not to disinherit himself or his children, to which the king consented, saying that he had always deemed him a loyal knight, on 19 Nov 1399. Succeeded by Roger his second, but first surviving, son.

SCROPE OF MASHAM (Barony by writ – 1350)

Name: Henry (GEC XI, pp.561-3)

Dates: 29 Sep 1312 – 31 July 1392

As Baron: 1350 - 1392

Had Livery: 31 Mar 1341

Parl Summons: 25 Nov 1350 – 7 Sept 1391

Marriages: Joan or Agnes (unknown)

Other Details: His father was a merchant, judge and royal servant who became greatly enriched and left his son more than a dozen manors. Fought in Scotland in 1333 under the earl of Northampton and in Edward III's invasion in 1335, plus the battle of Sluys in 1340, Neville's Cross in 1346, and at the siege of Calais in 1346-7. Barony created by writ in 1350 whereby he is held to have become Lord Scrope. Served on several commissions of the peace, and of oyer and terminer in Yorkshire. Went on numerous embassies to the continent including to Rome, France and Flanders. Served under Gaunt in France in 1359 and 1369. Appointed warden of the West March in 1370 and steward of the household from Jan 1371 to Nov 1371. One of the committee of lords selected by the Good Parl. After Richard II's accession he was appointed, at the request of parl, as one of the nine resident councillors on the second Continual Council, as a bannneret representative, in Oct 1377. Was appointed commissioner to preserve the peace and put down rebels in Yorkshire on 14 Dec 1381 and 8 March 1382. Served in Scotland under Gaunt in 1383 and Richard II in 1385.

Name: Stephen (GEC XI, p.564)

Dates: 1345 – 25 Jan 1406

As Baron: 1392 - 1406

Had Livery: -

Parl Summons: 23 Nov 1392 – 1 Jan 1406

Marriages: Margery, da. of John, Lord Welles.

Other Details: Served in army before 1360. Joined crusading army raised by the King of Cyprus and knighted by him on the taking of Alexandria in Oct 1365. Served with Gaunt in Guienne in 1373. Appointed to several commissions of the peace and of oyer and terminer in Yorkshire.

SEYMORE / ST MAUR (Barony by writ – 1314)

Name: Richard (GEC XI, pp.360-1)

Dates: d. 15 May 1401

As Baron: 1361/2 - 1401

Had Livery: Sep 1376

Parl Summons: 26 Aug 1380 – 3 Oct 1400

Marriages: Ella, da. and coheir of Sir John Saint Lo

Other Details: Styled himself Lord Saint Maur and Lovel (of Castle Cary). In 1379 made commissioner to guard the ports and coasts of Devon. Raised men for the expedition to Brittany, in command of whom he started, but, owing to serious illness, himself could only follow in Oct 1380. Commissioner of the peace in Somerset in 1381 and in Devon in 1387, plus on sundry local commissions till his death. In 1387 he served in the wars in France, in the retinue of earl of Arundel.

ST AMAND (Barony by writ – 1299 or 1313)

Name: Aymer (GEC XI, pp.299-300)
Dates: 1314 - 11 Sept 1381
As Baron: 1330 - 1381
Had Livery: 16 Mar 1335
Parl Summons: 8 Jan 1371 – 22 Aug 1381
Marriages: Eleanor (unknown)
Other Details: Went overseas in 1337 and 1342 with the King and earl of Salisbury respectively. Went overseas with the earl of Warwick in 1342. Served at Battle of Crecy in Aug 1346 and in the siege of Calais 1346-7. Served on numerous commissions in Berks, Bucks, Oxfordshire and Beds from 1338. 1357 was fighting in Scotland. Justiciar of Ireland between 1357-9.

Name: Aymer (GEC XI, pp.301-2)
Dates: d. 13 June 1402
As Baron: 1381 - 1402
Had Livery: 24 Sept 1381
Parl Summons: 9 Aug 1382 – 2 Dec 1401
Marriages: Ida (unknown)

Eleanor, da. of Richard Lavyngton
Other Details: 1383 bidden to defend Devon against the French. Commissions of array in Bedfordshire in 1386 and 1392, justice of the peace for Oxfordshire in 1386 and for Wiltshire in 1391. On his death the barony fell into abeyance between his two coheirs.

(No Heir)

STAFFORD OF CLIFTON (Barony by writ – 1371)

Name: Richard (No GEC Entry)
Dates: c. 1305 - 1381
As Baron: 1371 - 1381
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: Feb 1371 – 20 Oct 1379
Marriages: Maud, da. and heir of William Camvile of Clifton
Other Details: Head of a cadet branch of the family of the earl of Stafford. Achieved fame as a soldier, diplomat and administrator. Fought with the Black Prince at Crecy and later made steward of his estates and one of his senior retainers throughout the 1350s. He inherited estates from the Camviles of Clifton in Staffordshire through his marriage to Maud, the heiress. Elected onto the first two Continual Councils during the minority of Richard II as a banneret. Left a male heir but he was a priest, later bishop of Exeter, and was never summoned.

STRANGE OF KNOCKYN (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: Roger (GEC XII – Part I, p.354)
Dates: 1326/7 – 23 Aug 1382
As Baron: 1349 - 1382
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 20 Sep 1355 – 9 Aug 1382
Marriages: Aline or Alaine, da. of Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel
Other Details: Served in France in his father's place until 1351. Frequently in commissions for Salop from 1351.

Name: John (GEC XII – Part I, pp.354-5)
Dates: d. 28 Jul 1397
As Baron: 1382 - 1397
Had Livery: 29 Sep 1382

Parl Summons: 7 Jan 1383 – 18 Jul 1397
Marriages: Maud, da. and coheir of John, Lord Mohun
Other Details: Had livery of his mother's lands on 23 Feb 1386.

Name: Richard (GEC XII – Part I, pp.355-6)
Dates: 1 Aug 1381 – 9 Aug 1449
As Baron: 1397 - 1449
Had Livery: 27 Aug 1404
Parl Summons: 25 Aug 1404 – 2 Jan 1449
Marriages: Joan/Constance, da. of Lord Grey
Elizabeth, da. of Reginald, Lord Cobham
Other Details: Upon the death of his mother's sister in 1431 he became sole heir and thus Lord Mohun and subsequently styled himself Lord Knockyn and Mohun. On commissions between 1416-49.

TALBOT (Barony by writ – 1332)

Name: Gilbert (GEC XII – Part I, pp.614-16)
Dates: 1332 – 24 Apr 1387
As Baron: 1356 - 1387
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 14 Aug 1362 – 8 Aug 1386
Marriages: Pernel, da. of James Butler, earl of Ormond
Joan, widow of John, Lord Cherleton of Powis, da. of Ralph, earl of Stafford
Other Details: Served in Gascony with the Prince of Wales and was still there in 1357. On the commission for Herefordshire in 1381. Accompanied Edmund, earl of Cambridge on his expedition to Portugal in 1381-2. Summoned for service against the Scots in 1385. Served from July 1386 in Gaunt's expedition to Spain and Portugal. Died of pestilence whilst in Spain.

Name: Richard (GEC XII – Part I, pp.616-17)
Dates: 1361 – 8/9 Sept 1396
As Baron: 1387 - 1396
Had Livery: 24 Apr 1387
Parl Summons: As Richard Talbot of Blackmere 3 Mar 1384 – 17 Dec 1387. As Richard Talbot of Goodrich having succeeded his father 17 Dec 1387 – 13 Nov 1393. Was summoned twice by mistake in Dec 1387.
Marriages: Ankaret, da. and heir of John, Lord Strange of Blackmere
Other Details: In Ireland with earl of March in Jan 1381. Summoned to parl in consequence of his marriage to the heiress of Strange of Blackmere. Summoned with his father to campaign in Scotland in 1385. Commissioner of array in Salop in 1392. Was in Ireland on the King's service in Feb 1395.

Name: Gilbert (GEC XII – Part I, pp.617-20)
Dates: 1383 – 19 Oct 1418
As Baron: 1396 - 1418
Had Livery: 9 Sep 1403
Parl Summons: 25 Aug 1404 – 5 Oct 1417
Marriages: Joan, da. and coheir of Thomas, duke of Gloucester
Beatrice, Portuguese, perhaps of the family of Pinto
Other Details: Ward of the king until 1403 when granted livery of his lands. Made a Knight of the Garter in 1408. Served frequently on the Welsh border and against the French, including with Henry V in France in 1415 and at the siege of Caen in Aug 1417. Led attacks on France in 1417 and 1418.

(Through Daughter)

THORPE (Barony by writ – 1381)

Name: William (GEC XII – Part I, pp.727-9)
Dates: d. 9 – 19 Apr 1391
As Baron: 1381 - 1391
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 16 Jul 1381 – 12 Sep 1390
Marriages: Grace (unknown)
Other Details: Justice of oyer and terminer in Northants 1374–90 and other commissions in Northants, Lincs and Cambs. Summoned from 1381 whereby he is held to have become Lord Thorpe. In Mar 1388 he was appointed, with the sheriff of Northants to take the oaths which the people of the country were to swear in support of the Lord Appellants. Died in 1391 when any peerage created by the writ of 1381 became extinct.

(No Heir)

DE LA WARR (or WARE) (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: John (GEC IV, pp.147-50)
Dates: c. 1345 - 27 July 1398
As Baron: 1370 - 1398
Had Livery: 26 Nov 1370
Parl Summons: 8 Jan 1371 – 5 Nov 1397
Marriages: Elizabeth (unknown)
Elizabeth, da. and heir of Sir Gilbert de Neville of Grimsthorpe
Other Details: In Gascony with Prince of Wales in Feb 1369. Accompanied king to France in Sept 1372 and distinguished himself in the raid under the earl of Buckingham into Brittany July 1380 to Apr 1381 (Froissart). Summoned for military service 13 June 1385. Was exempt from attending parl from 5 Nov 1382 due to the weakness of his eyes.

Name: Thomas (GEC IV, pp.150-1)
Dates: d. 7 May 1437
As Baron: 1398 - 1427
Had Livery: 2 Sept 1398
Parl Summons: 19 Aug 1399 – 7 Jan 1426
Marriages: -
Other Details: Brother and heir. 30 Aug 1363 had papal disposition that he might be ordained priest and hold a benefice on attaining his 20th year. Possessed lots of clerical posts. His homage as a priest was respited, and he gained livery of his brother's lands.

WELLES (Barony by writ – 1299)

Name: John (GEC XII – Part II, pp.441-2)
Dates: 20 Apr 1352 – 26 Aug 1421
As Baron: 1361 - 1421
Had Livery: 6 May 1373
Parl Summons: 20 Jan 1376 – 26 Feb 1401
Marriages: Eleanor, sis. of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, da. of John, Lord Mowbray
Other Details: Was retained to stay with duke of Lancaster for life on 12 Feb 1372, and accompanied him on his march from Calais to Bordeaux, Aug – Dec 1373. Served on many commissions of the peace, of array etc in Lincolnshire from 1374. Was frequently abroad or serving in the French wars in 1377, 1379-83, and 1387-8. Took part in Richard II's expedition to Scotland in 1385. Was present at Lowestoft in Oct 1398 on the embarkation of his brother-in-law, the duke of Norfolk, who had been banished.

WILLOUGHBY OF ERESBY (Barony by writ – 1313)

Name: Robert
Dates: 1349 – 9 Aug 1396
As Baron: 1372 - 1396
Had Livery: 9 May 1372
Parl Summons: 20 Jan 1376 – 20 Nov 1394
Marriages: Alice, da. of Sir William Skipwith

(GEC XII – Part II, pp.660-1)

Margery, da of William, Lord Zouche
Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Neville of Raby, da. and heir of William, Lord Latimer

Other Details: Took part in Lancaster's march from Calais to Bordeaux from Aug – Dec 1373. Among those appointed in parl to confer with the Commons in Nov 1381. Found to be a coheir of William Ufford, earl of Suffolk in 1382. Accompanied Richard II on expedition to Scotland in 1385. Served under Lancaster in Spain in 1386-7.

Name: William
Dates: 1370 – 4 Dec 1409
As Baron: 1396 - 1409
Had Livery: 27 Sep 1396
Parl Summons: 30 Nov 1396 – 26 Oct 1409
Marriages: Lucy, da. of Roger, Lord Strange

(GEC XII – Part II, pp.661-3)

Joan, widow of Edmund Langley duke of York, da. of Thomas Holand, earl of Kent

Other Details: One of the peers who swore to observe the statutes made by parl on 30 Sep 1397. Joined Bolingbroke in Yorkshire in July 1399, shortly after his landing at Ravenspur (Traison et Mort). Was present at the Tower on 29 Sep 1399 at the abdication of Richard II, to whose imprisonment he agreed. Took part in Henry's expedition to Scotland in Aug 1400. Nominated to the Order of the Garter in 1401. Remained loyal during the Percy rebellion of 1403.

WINDSOR (Barony by writ – 1381)

Name: William
Dates: 1322/8 – 15 Sep 1384
As Baron: 1381 - 1384
Had Livery: -
Parl Summons: 16 Jul 1381 – 3 Mar 1384

(GEC XII – Part II, pp.877-80)

Marriages: Alice Perrers, the notorious court beauty and mistress of Edward III
Other Details: Served in France 1360-1, Ireland 1362-6 under Lionel duke of Clarence, receiving for his long service pardon of all debts due to the king in Feb 1367. Made Joint warden of the West March towards Scotland in Feb 1367. Sheriff of Cumberland from May 1367 – Nov 1368. King's lieutenant in Ireland 3 Mar 1369 – Mar 1372 and 20 Sep 1373 – Jul 1376. Summoned on 16 Feb 1376 to appear before the king and give counsel on Irish affairs. Subsequently an enquiry was ordered concerning accusation of corruption and extortion which had been levied against him, as a result of which he and many of his officials were dismissed from office in Jul/Aug, and he himself was imprisoned in the Tower between 16-20 Aug 1376, after which he was released on bail. When parl banished his wife, Alice Perrers, and confiscated her property in Dec 1377, he did not suffer personally but protested to parl in following year. On 14 Dec 1379 he was pardoned for having sheltered Alice, who had not left the realm, and she had licence to remain, though no concession was granted for her property. However, in Mar 1380 he was placed in possession of all the revisions which Alice had held before Dec 1377, which grant was made conditional on his going to Brittany with the earl of Buckingham. On his return he was employed in putting down the Revolt of 1381 and punishing rebels in Cambs and Hunt. Summoned from 1381, whereby he is held to have become Lord Windsor. Described as a banneret in Mar 1383 in a patent writ. On his death without issue, any barony that may be held to have been created by the writ of 1381 became extinct.

(No Heir)

ZOUCHE OF HARRINGWORTH (Barony by writ – 1308)

Name: William (GEC XII – Part II, pp.941-2)
Dates: c. 1321 - 23 Apr 1382
As Baron: 1348/1352 - 1382
Had Livery: 27 Mar 1352
Parl Summons: 20 Nov 1348 – 15 Nov 1351 as ‘juniori’, and without this word from 20 Jul 1352 – 24 Mar 1381
Marriages: Elizabeth, da. of William, Lord Ros
Other Details: Went on an embassy with the Bishop of Lincoln in Germany in 1337. Served with the earl of Derby in Gascony in 1344 and 1345, and under him as earl of Lancaster at the siege of Calais in 1347. In his grandfather’s lifetime he was also summoned to parl. Campaigned in Edward III’s expedition to France in 1359-60. Went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1362. Was one of the commissioners appointed by parl in Nov 1381 to confer with the Commons and to enquire into the state of the king’s household.

Name: William (GEC XII – Part II, pp.942-3)
Dates: c. 1340 - 13 May 1396
As Baron: 1382 - 1396
Had Livery: 20 June 1382
Parl Summons: 9 Aug 1382 – 20 Nov 1394
Marriages: Agnes, da. of Sir Henry Green
Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Arundel (d. 1390), da. of Edward, Lord Despenser
Other Details: Was accused before parl of inventing an accusation against the duke of Lancaster in 1384, but was acquitted. Accompanied Richard II to Scotland in 1385. Was one of those removed from court by the victorious Lords Appellant early in 1388 due to his close association with the king.

Name: William (GEC XII – Part II, pp.943-4)
Dates: d. 3 Nov 1415
As Baron: 1396 - 1415
Had Livery: 3 July 1396
Parl Summons: 30 Nov 1396 - 1415
Marriages: Elizabeth (unknown)
Other Details: Sealed the exemplification of the acts entailing the Crown in 1406. Made a Knight of the Garter in 1415. A member of Henry IV’s council.

APPENDIX 3: LANDHOLDING

The following tables record the number of ‘manors’ each baron held according to the inquisitions post mortems conducted on their death, grouped by counties. This broad use of the word ‘manor’ includes all manors, towns, boroughs, castles, hundreds and wapentakes – essentially a single administrative unit – that were recorded. It does not include lordships, messuages, reversions, moieties, parts of manors, knights’ fees or other landed interests.

The individuals recorded are those defined as barons according to the parameters of this study during the reign of Richard II. To enhance the value of the survey and to ensure each family has at least one landed assessment made of it, they have been collated for every death of a baron from these 66 families from 1377 up to 1425. This does not include any barons newly created between 1399-1425.

There are no inquisitions post mortem surviving for two barons in this sample, William, Lord Thorpe and John, Lord Falvese. Their entries have therefore been compiled from other sources, primarily the inquisitions post mortem of those whose lands they inherited. Six barons suffered forfeitures during this period: Thomas, Lord Bardolf, Michael, Lord de la Pole (d.1388), John, Lord Montagu (d.1400), Ralph, Lord Lumley, John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster (d.1388) and Thomas, Lord Despenser. In these cases records have been instead taken from, or supplemented by, the inquisitions miscellaneous.

Occasionally inquisitions post mortem are incomplete or have sections that are ineligible. There is also inconsistency in the style and detail of the inquisitions. A caveat therefore needs to be made that the figures collected are not exact and as such they can only be used to make relative approximations.

In a handful of cases when a baron’s death was shortly followed by his wife’s or a younger son’s, the inquisition process appears to have been recalibrated and some of the findings transferred. These cases have been considered and adjusted accordingly.

To limit duplication, where a family has inquisitions post mortem for more than one generation during this period, their total number of manors has been averaged to produce the total figure for each county. To keep the task manageable, this however does not take into account where lands have passed from one baronial family to another, either by sale or inheritance through an heiress. Such activity is however documented in the detailed case studies in Chapters 6 and 7.

Where lands in the Welsh March adjacent to the four bordering counties (Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire) have been included in the county record this has been indicated.

Those individuals raised to comital station have been emboldened.

Name	Bed	Berk	Buck	Camb	Ches	Corn	Cumb	Derb	Dev	Dors	Dur	Ess
William Aldeburgh d.1388												
William Aldeburgh d.1391												
John Arundel d.1379									10			
John Arundel d.1390												
John Arundel d.1421				1					10			
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386						1			20			
Nicholas Audley of Heleigh d.1391									3			
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386												
Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay d.1407/8												
Ralph Bassett of Drayton d.1390	1	4							1			
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411												7
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380	2									1		
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388												
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1420	2									1		
John Beaumont d.1396												
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	4	1				4			6			
John Botetourt d.1385		1										
William Botreaux d.1391		1				12			5			
William Botreaux d.1395						7			2			
John Bourchier d.1400												3
Guy Brian d.1390									3	1		
Nicholas Burnel d.1383												
Hugh Burnel d.1420	2	4										8
Thomas Camoys d.1421												
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401												
Roger Clifford d.1389												
Thomas Clifford d.1391												
John Clifford d.1422								3				
John Clifton d.1388												
Constance Clifton d.1395												1
John Clinton d.1398												
John Cobham of Kent d.1408												
Ralph Cromwell d.1398									1			
Ralph Cromwell d.1417									1			
Hugh Dacre d.1383								10				
William Dacre d.1399								9				
Philip Darcy d.1399									1			
John Darcy d.1411									1			
William Deincourt d.1381		1							2			
Thomas Despenser (S. Wales) d.1400	1	1	4						2			1
Philip Despenser (Lincs.) d.1401												1
John Devereux d.1393		1										
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392												
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381												
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388	1			1								5
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386												
Henry Fitzhugh d.1425												
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386												13
Walter Fitzwalter d.1406												10
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383									4			3
John Grey of Codnor d.1392												
Richard Grey of Codnor d.1418									2			
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388	6		5									

Name	Bed	Berk	Buck	Camb	Ches	Corn	Cumb	Derb	Dev	Dors	Dur	Ess
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396			3					2				5
Ralph Greystoke d.1418							1					
Robert of Harington d.1406						1			2			
William Heron (Say) d.1404												
William Latimer of Corby d.1381	1						1					
Warin Lisle d.1382		3	1			2			3			
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408			1							1		
Ralph Lumley d.1400												7
Peter Maulay d.1383												
Peter Maulay d.1415												
John Montagu d.1390						1			4			1
John Montagu d.1400		1			4	1			10	3		
William Morley d.1379												1
Thomas Morley d.1416												1
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire d.1407			1									
John Neville of Raby d.1388	8		3				2					1
Ralph Neville of Raby d.1425				1			8					2
Michael de la Pole d.1389			1									3
Michael de la Pole d.1415												1
Richard Poynings d.1387												
Thomas Ros d.1384			1									1
John Ros d.1393								1				
William Ros d.1414												
Roger Scales d.1386					1							
Robert Scales d.1402												
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403			1									
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392												2
Stephen Scrope of Masham d.1406												1
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401									1	1		
Aymer St Amand d.1381	3	2								1		
Aymer St Amand d.1402	6	5	2						1	1		
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381								1				
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382					1							
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397		1		1								
Gilbert Talbot d.1387												
Richard Talbot d.1396												3
Gilbert Talbot d.1418		1										
William Thorpe d.1391					3							
John de la Warr d.1398												
John Welles d.1421												3
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396	2		1	1								
William Willoughby of Eresby d.1409					1							
William Windsor d.1384										2		1
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1382	4		1					1	2			
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	3							1	2			
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1415	4		4					1	2			
Total Manors in County (Averaging Families)	25.2	14.8	30	9.33	2	18	17.5	13.8	46.3	11.3	7	52.8
					M							

Bold = Became an earl

M = Includes Welsh March lands

Name	Glos	Hant	Here	Hert	Hunt	Kent	Lanc	Leic	Linc	Midd	Norf	N'ant
William Aldeburgh d.1388												
William Aldeburgh d.1391												
John Arundel d.1379						1						1
John Arundel d.1390	2											
John Arundel d.1421	5				1	1					2	
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386												
Nicholas Audley of Heleigh d.1391			5									
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386										4		6
Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay d.1407/8				1					1	1		
Ralph Basset of Drayton d.1390									3	1		1 4
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411	1		3									
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380												
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388												
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1420												
John Beaumont d.1396						1		1	9	1		
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	11											2
John Botetourt d.1385												
William Botreaux d.1391		1		1								
William Botreaux d.1395		1										
John Bourchier d.1400												
Guy Brian d.1390												
Nicholas Burnel d.1383						7						
Hugh Burnel d.1420	1							1				1
Thomas Camoys d.1421					1						1	
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401												
Roger Clifford d.1389			1									
Thomas Clifford d.1391			1									
John Clifford d.1422												
John Clifton d.1388											5	
Constance Clifton d.1395											2	
John Clinton d.1398						5						
John Cobham of Kent d.1408						7						
Ralph Cromwell d.1398									5			
Ralph Cromwell d.1417									3		1	
Hugh Dacre d.1383							1					
William Dacre d.1399										2		
Philip Darcy d.1399										2		
John Darcy d.1411										2		
William Deincourt d.1381										2		
Thomas Despenser (S. Wales) d.1400	26	4							1			
Philip Despenser (Lincs.) d.1401									1			
John Devereux d.1393												
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392					1	4						1
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381									1			
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388									2			1
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386												
Henry Fitzhugh d.1425												
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386											2	
Walter Fitzwalter d.1406			2									
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383								1				
John Grey of Codnor d.1392									1			
Richard Grey of Codnor d.1418										2		1
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388				1	1							1

Name	Glos	Hant	Here	Hert	Hunt	Kent	Lanc	Leic	Linc	Midd	Norf	N'ant
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396			<u>2</u>		2					1	1	
Ralph Greystoke d.1418												
Robert of Harington d.1406							2					
William Heron (Say) d.1404				1		4						
William Latimer of Corby d.1381										2		1
Warin Lisle d.1382												1
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408								1			1	6
Ralph Lumley d.1400												
Peter Maulay d.1383												
Peter Maulay d.1415												
John Montagu d.1390		2										
John Montagu d.1400	8	<u>2</u>	2			1				1		
William Morley d.1379				1							5	
Thomas Morley d.1416				1							8	
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire d.1407	7		1									
John Neville of Raby d.1388									2		1	1
Ralph Neville of Raby d.1425				1					3		3	
Michael de la Pole d.1389									6			2
Michael de la Pole d.1415									3		2	
Richard Poynings d.1387					10							
Thomas Ros d.1384				1		3		1	5		3	2
John Ros d.1393								1	6		1	
William Ros d.1414								1	3			
Roger Scales d.1386											3	
Robert Scales d.1402											4	
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403							2					
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392				1		1		1	3			
Stephen Scrope of Masham d.1406				1		1		1	3			
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401	4											
Aymer St Amand d.1381	1											
Aymer St Amand d.1402	2											
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381	3											1
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382									1	1		
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397									1	3		1
Gilbert Talbot d.1387	2		2									
Richard Talbot d.1396	7		5									
Gilbert Talbot d.1418	3		4									
William Thorpe d.1391					1				2			7
John de la Warr d.1398	1						2		10			5
John Welles d.1421									9			1
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396									2		1	4
William Willoughby of Eresby d.1409											6	1
William Windsor d.1384		<u>2</u>	1									
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1382	1					2		2	3		1	4
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396				2					3		1	3
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1415								2	1		1	5
Total Manors in County (Averaging Families)	61	10	17	9.5	5.33	38.3	4.5	15.8	66.5	4.5	30.5	41.5
	<u>M</u>		<u>M</u>									

Bold = Became an earl

M = Includes Welsh March lands

Name	N'umb	Nott	Ox	Rut	Salop	Som	Staff	Suff	Sur	Sus	Warw	West
William Aldeburgh d.1388												
William Aldeburgh d.1391												
John Arundel d.1379	7					4			2	1	1	
John Arundel d.1390									3			
John Arundel d.1421					10				2	25		
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386						4	11	7				
Nicholas Audley of Heleigh d.1391						6	7	7				
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386	1									1		
Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay d.1407/8	1	1						1		2		
Ralph Bassett of Drayton d.1390								2			2	
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411			1		1		1	1	1		3	
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380				1								
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388					3						3	
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1420											4	
John Beaumont d.1396	4											
Thomas Berkeley d.1417				3		4						
John Botetourt d.1385								4			1	
William Botreaux d.1391				1		3						
William Botreaux d.1395												
John Bourchier d.1400												
Guy Brian d.1390												
Nicholas Burnel d.1383				1		5		1			2	
Hugh Burnel d.1420				1		32	1	1		2		2
Thomas Camoys d.1421					2					9		
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401						11						
Roger Clifford d.1389	1										50	
Thomas Clifford d.1391	1										52	
John Clifford d.1422	1										51	
John Clifton d.1388												
Constance Clifton d.1395												
John Clinton d.1398											5	
John Cobham of Kent d.1408												
Ralph Cromwell d.1398			1									
Ralph Cromwell d.1417			1									
Hugh Dacre d.1383											2	
William Dacre d.1399												
Philip Darcy d.1399	1	1										
John Darcy d.1411	1	2										
William Deincourt d.1381		1										
Thomas Despenser (S. Wales) d.1400	1	3	1					1	1	2		
Philip Despenser (Lincs.) d.1401												
John Devereux d.1393												
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392										2		
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381						3		1			2	
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388						2		1				
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386		2										
Henry Fitzhugh d.1425		2										
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386									2			
Walter Fitzwalter d.1406												
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383		5							1			
John Grey of Codnor d.1392												
Richard Grey of Codnor d.1418												
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388						1						

Name	N'umb	Nott	Ox	Rut	Salop	Som	Staff	Suff	Sur	Sus	Warw	West
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396												
Ralph Greystoke d.1418	11											1
Robert of Harington d.1406						1						
William Heron (Say) d.1404	2									3		
William Latimer of Corby d.1381												
Warin Lisle d.1382			3									
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408			4	1		2	1					
Ralph Lumley d.1400	2											
Peter Maulay d.1383												
Peter Maulay d.1415												
John Montagu d.1390	1											
John Montagu d.1400			1			10		1				
William Morley d.1379												
Thomas Morley d.1416												
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire d.1407					2		1					
John Neville of Raby d.1388	3											
Ralph Neville of Raby d.1425	2											
Michael de la Pole d.1389	3	1						10				
Michael de la Pole d.1415		1						5				
Richard Poynings d.1387								1		8		
Thomas Ros d.1384		4			1			2		1		
John Ros d.1393		2							1			
William Ros d.1414		3										
Roger Scales d.1386												
Robert Scales d.1402												
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403												
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392	1	1						1	1			
Stephen Scrope of Masham d.1406	2	1										
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401						9						
Aymer St Amand d.1381			2									
Aymer St Amand d.1402			5									
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381	6				1		4					
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382			2		4		1					
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397			2		4		1					
Gilbert Talbot d.1387												
Richard Talbot d.1396			1		3							
Gilbert Talbot d.1418			1		3							
William Thorpe d.1391												
John de la Warr d.1398						1				4		
John Welles d.1421	1											
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396												
William Willoughby of Eresby d.1409								4				
William Windsor d.1384						4						
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1382	1		1	1				1		1		
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	1		1	1		1						
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1415	1		1		3					2		
Total Manors in County (Averaging Families)	36.3	18.5	27.2	3	54.5	39.7	24.5	17.3	4.33	37.5	21.8	53
					M							

Bold = Became an earl

M = Includes Welsh March lands

Name	Wilts	Worc	York		Total	Total Cos.		Ave Total	Ave Cos.
William Aldeburgh d.1388			1		1	1			
William Aldeburgh d.1391			1		1	1		1	1
John Arundel d.1379	8				35	9			
John Arundel d.1390					5	2			
John Arundel d.1421	6				63	10		34.33	7
James Audley of Heleigh d.1386					43	5			
Nicholas Audley of Heleigh d.1391					28	5		35.5	5
William Bardolf of Wormegay d.1386					12	4			
Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay d.1407/8					8	7		10	5.5
Ralph Bassett of Drayton d.1390					19	9		19	9
William Beauchamp of Abergavenny d.1411		10			29	10		29	10
Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe d.1380	1				5	4		5	4
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1388		3			9	3			
John Beauchamp of Kidderminster d.1420		1			8	4		8.5	3.5
John Beaumont d.1396					16	5		16	5
Thomas Berkeley d.1417	4				39	9		39	9
John Botetourt d.1385		4			10	4		10	4
William Botreaux d.1391					24	7			
William Botreaux d.1395	1				11	4		17.5	5.5
John Bourchier d.1400					3	1		3	1
Guy Brian d.1390					4	2		4	2
Nicholas Burnel d.1383	1	1			18	7			
Hugh Burnel d.1420	1	4			61	14		39.5	10.5
Thomas Camoys d.1421					13	4		13	4
John Cherleton of Powis d.1401					11	1		11	1
Roger Clifford d.1389		1	3		56	5			
Thomas Clifford d.1391		3	2		59	5			
John Clifford d.1422		1	2		58	5		57.67	5
John Clifton d.1388					5	1			
Constance Clifton d.1395					3	2		4	1.5
John Clinton d.1398					10	2		10	2
John Cobham of Kent d.1408					7	1		7	1
Ralph Cromwell d.1398					7	3			
Ralph Cromwell d.1417					6	4		6.5	3.5
Hugh Dacre d.1383					13	3			
William Dacre d.1399					9	1		11	2
Philip Darcy d.1399		6			11	5			
John Darcy d.1411		6			12	5		11.5	5
William Deincourt d.1381					6	4		6	4
Thomas Despenser (S. Wales) d.1400	3	4	2		58	17		58	17
Philip Despenser (Lincs.) d.1401			1		3	1		3	1
John Devereux d.1393					1	1		1	1
John Falvesle (Say) d.1392					8	4		8	4
Robert Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem d.1381					7	4		7	4
Henry Ferrers of Groby d.1388					13	7		13	7
Henry Fitzhugh d.1386		10			12	2			
Henry Fitzhugh d.1425		17			19	2		15.5	2
Walter Fitzwalter d.1386					17	3			
Walter Fitzwalter d.1406					12	2		14.5	2.5
William Furnival of Sheffield d.1383	2		4		20	7		20	7
John Grey of Codnor d.1392					1	1			
Richard Grey of Codnor d.1418					5	3		3	2
Reginald Grey of Ruthin d.1388					15	6		15	6

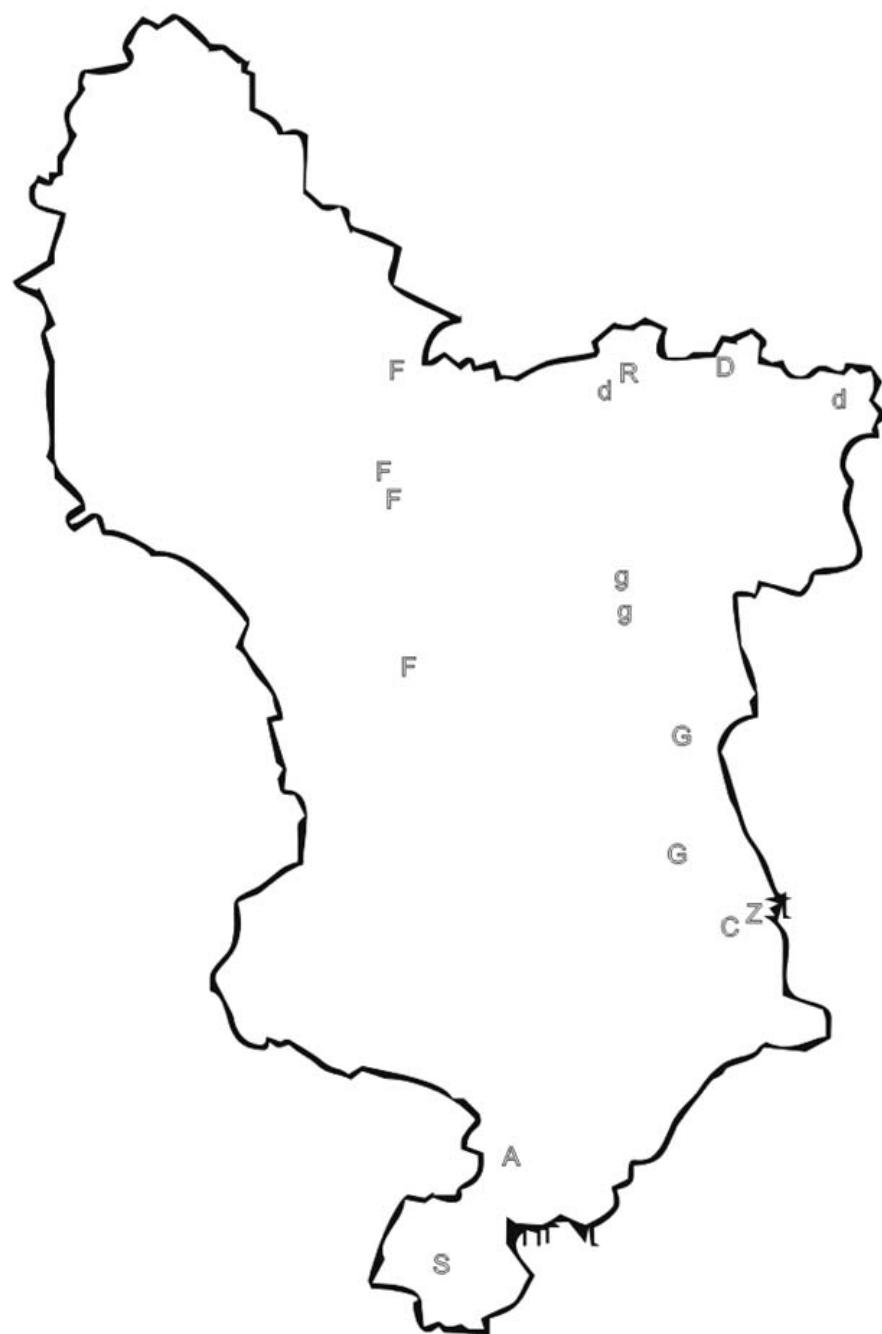
Name	Wilts	Worc	York		Total	Total Cos.		Ave Total	Ave Cos.
Henry Grey of Wilton d.1396					16	7		16	7
Ralph Greystoke d.1418			7		20	4		20	4
Robert of Harington d.1406			1		7	5		7	5
William Heron (Say) d.1404					10	4		10	4
William Latimer of Corby d.1381			9		14	5		14	5
Warin Lisle d.1382	1				14	7		14	7
John Lovel of Titchmarsh d.1408	10				28	10		28	10
Ralph Lumley d.1400			4		13	3		13	3
Peter Maulay d.1383			7		7	1			
Peter Maulay d.1415			11		11	1		9	1
John Montagu d.1390	1				10	6			
John Montagu d.1400	4				49	14		29.5	10
William Morley d.1379					7	3			
Thomas Morley d.1416					10	3		8.5	3
Thomas Neville of Hallamshire d.1407			3		15	6		15	6
John Neville of Raby d.1388			21		42	9			
Ralph Neville of Raby d.1425			51		71	8		56.5	8.5
Michael de la Pole d.1389			9		35	8			
Michael de la Pole d.1415			1		13	6		24	7
Richard Poynings d.1387					19	3		19	3
Thomas Ros d.1384			11		36	13			
John Ros d.1393			2		14	7			
William Ros d.1414			7		14	4		21.33	8
Roger Scales d.1386					4	2			
Robert Scales d.1402					4	1		4	1.5
Richard Scrope of Bolton d.1403			13		16	3		16	3
Henry Scrope of Masham d.1392			18		30	10			
Stephen Scrope of Masham d.1406			17		27	8		28.5	9
Richard Seymour/Saint Maur d.1401	2				17	5		17	5
Aymer St Amand d.1381	1				10	6			
Aymer St Amand d.1402	2				24	8		17	7
Richard Stafford of Clifton d.1381					16	6		16	6
Roger Strange of Knockyn d.1382					10	6			
John Strange of Knockyn d.1397					14	8		12	7
Gilbert Talbot d.1387	1				5	2			
Richard Talbot d.1396					19	5			
Gilbert Talbot d.1418					12	5		12	4
William Thorpe d.1391					13	4		13	4
John de la Warr d.1398	2				25	7		25	7
John Welles d.1421					14	4		14	4
Robert Willoughby of Eresby d.1396			4		15	7			
William Willoughby of Eresby d.1409					12	4		13.5	5.5
William Windsor d.1384					10	5		10	5
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1382	3				29	16			
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1396	1				19	11			
William Zouche of Harringworth d.1415	2				29	13		25.67	13.33
Total Manors in County (Averaging Families)	37.5	24.2	143	1095.45				1095.5	337.33
				±39				÷66	÷66
				28.09				16.6	5.11

APPENDIX 4: LANDHOLDING MAPS

The East Midlands



Derbyshire



R = Ros - Dronfield

S = Stafford - Chilcote

G = Grey of Codnor - Codnor, Horston (Coxbench)

g = Grey of Wilton - Shirland, Stretton

Z = Zouche - Ilkeston

A = St Amand - Catton (Swadlincote)

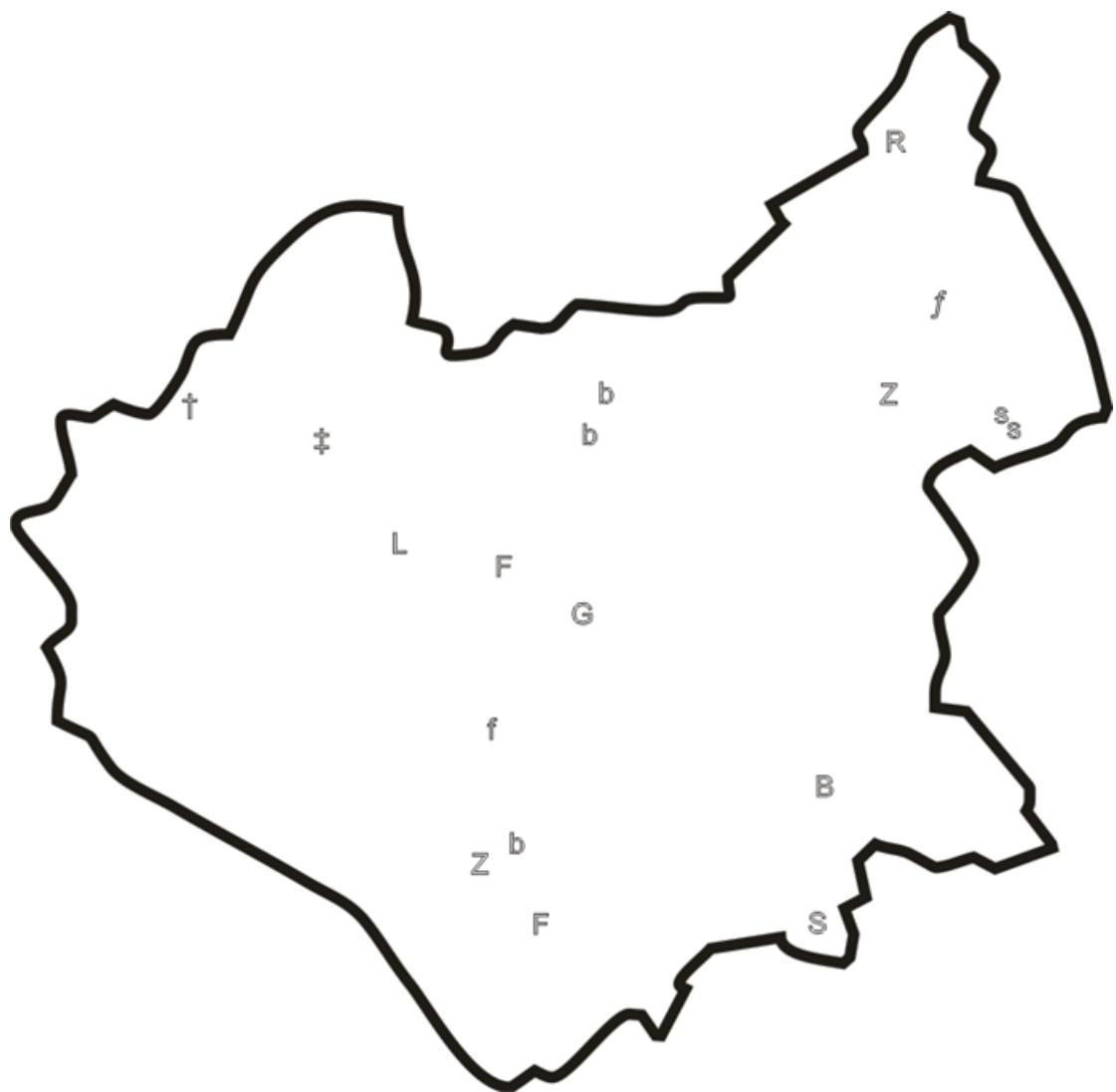
C = Cromwell - West Hallam

F = Furnival - Eyam, Stoney Middleton, Bamford, Brassington

D = Darcy - Eckington

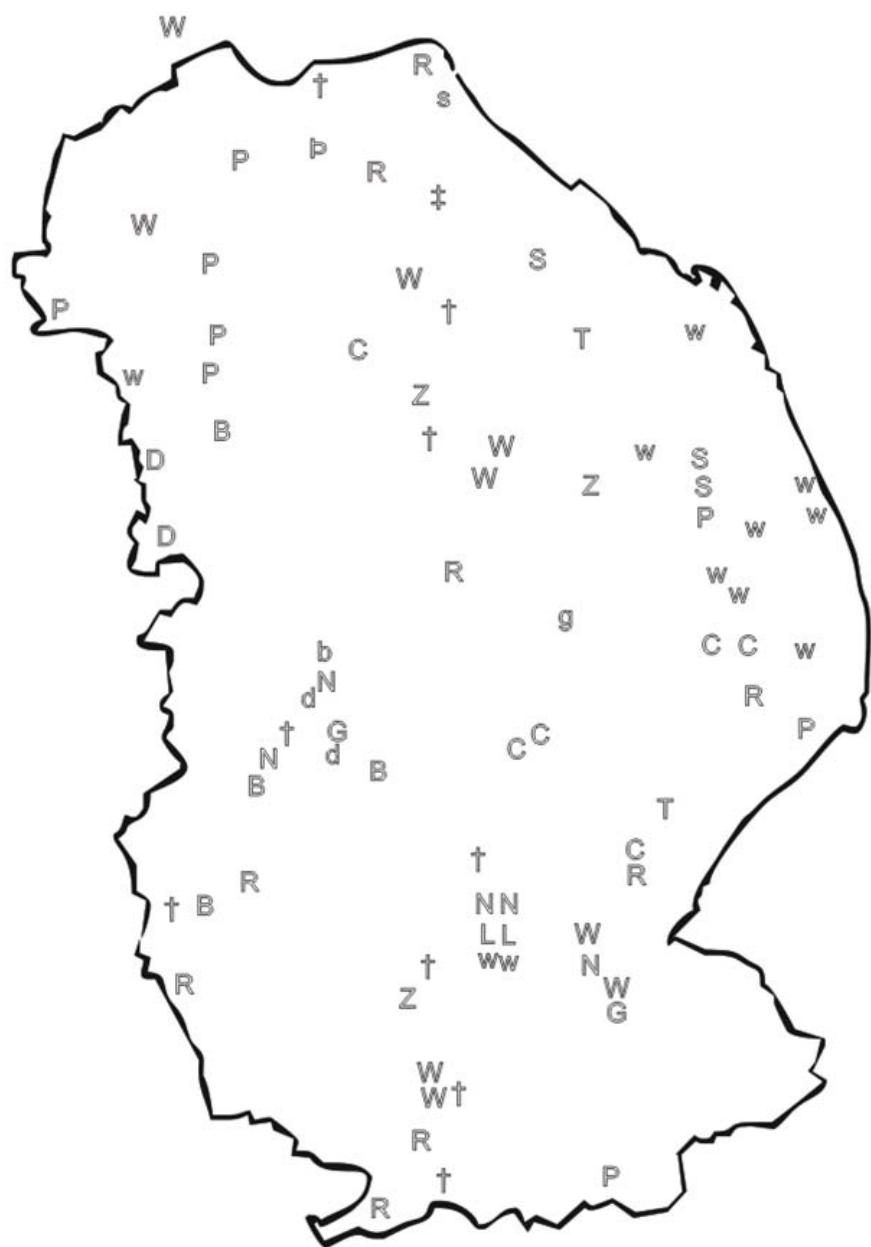
d = Deincourt - Holmesfield, Elmton

Leicestershire



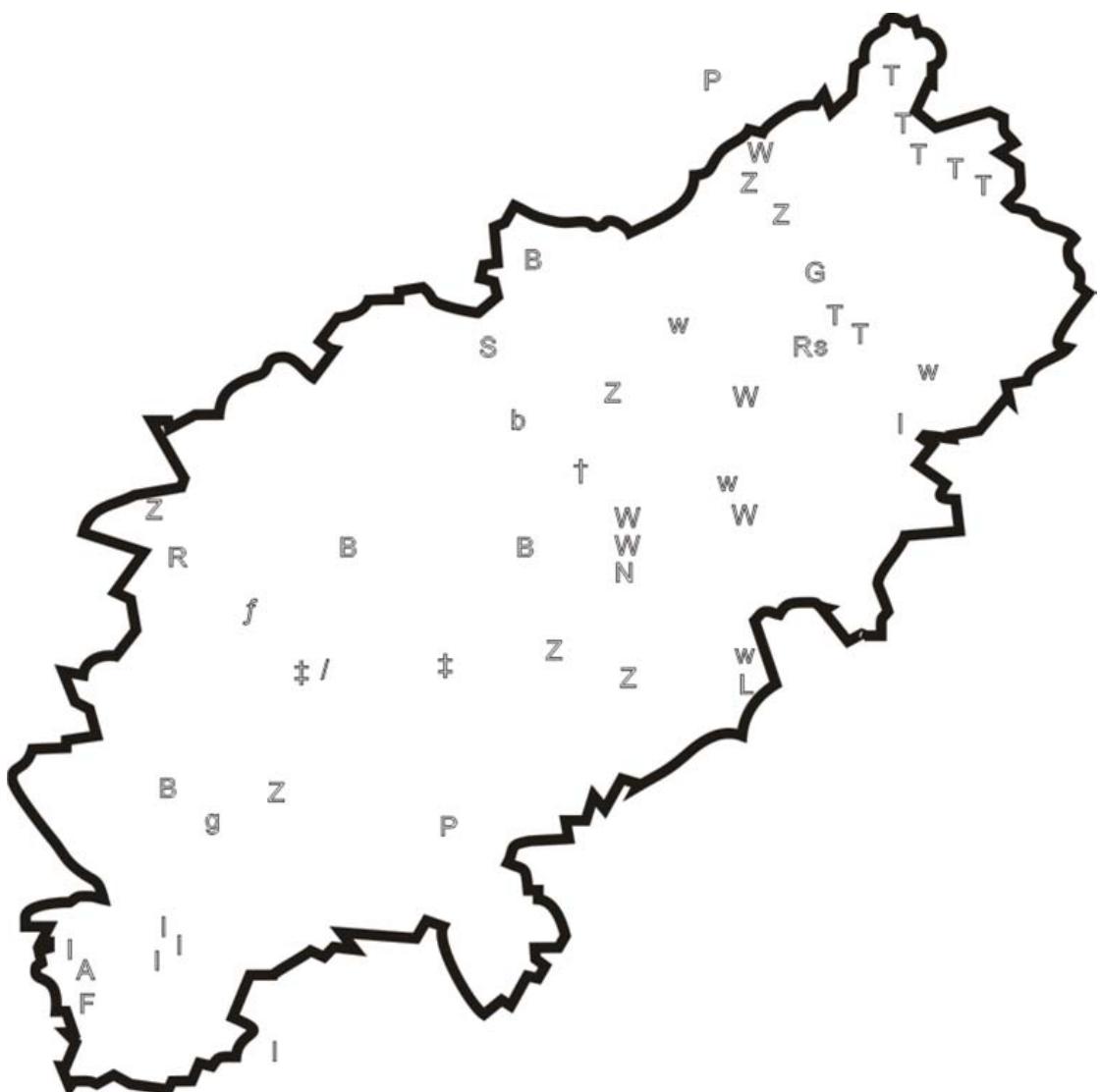
B = Bardolf - Hallaton
b = Basset - Ragdale, Ratcliffe on the Wreake, Dunton Bassett
S = Scrope of Masham – Great Bowden and Harborough
F = Ferrers of Groby - Groby, Lutterworth
R = Ros - Bottesford
G = Grey of Codnor - Evington
† = Burnel - Ashby de la Zouch
Z = Zouche Thorpe Arnold, Claybrooke Magna
L = Lovel - Bagworth
f = Ferrers of Wem - Narborough
f = Furnival - Bescaby
s = Scrope of Bolton - Edmondthorpe, Wymondham
‡ = Beaumont – Whitwick

Lincolnshire



L = Latimer - Helpringham, Scredington
B = Bardolf - Caythorpe, Westborough, Ruskington, Fillingham
b = Basset - Greetwell (Washingborough)
W = de la Warr - Swineshead, Gosberton, Grimsthorpe, Southorp (Edenham), Althorpe, Sixhills, Nettleton, Scalby, Hainton
S = Scrope of Masham - Carlton, Barnoldby le Beck, Castle Carlton (South Reston)
N = Neville of Raby - Helpringham, Scredington, Donington Wykes, Leadenham and Fulbeck, Washingborough
R = Ros - Uffington, Wragby, Freiston, Boston, Goxhill, Belvoir, Melton Ross, Dalby (Spilsby), Toft
G = Grey of Codnor - Gosberton Cheal, Metheringham
g = Grey of Wilton - Hemingby
Z = Zouche - Withcall, Leaton, Kingthorpe (Market Rasen)
C = Cromwell - Tattershall, Kirkby, Tumby, Driby, Brinkhill, Boston
P = de la Pole - Firsby, South Reston, Messingham, Appleby, Harpswell, Blyborough, Westwoodside, Eye (Crowland)
w = Willoughby - Helpringham, Scredington, Belleau, Aby, Grainsby, Conisholme, Cumberworth, Sutton on Sea, Trusthorpe, Ludney (Louth), Withern
s = Strange - East Halton
D = Darcy - Torksey, Knaith
d = Deincourt - Blankney, Branston
T = Thorpe - Ludborough, Hilldyke
† = Beaumont - Barton upon Humber, Thoresway, Linwood, Welbourn, Folkingham, Edenham, Baston, Heckington, Staunton (Long Bennington)
‡ = Despenser (Lincs.) - Great Limber
P = Despenser (S. Wales) - Bonby

Northamptonshire



L = Latimer - Bozeat

B = Basset - Moulton, Long Buckby, Woodford by Byfield (Woodford Halse), Thorpe Lubenham (Lubenham)
W = de la Warr - Grafton by Geddington (Grafton Underwood), Finedon, Great Harrowden, Little Harrowden, Wakerley

N = Neville of Raby - Wilby

F = Ferrers of Groby - Newbottle (Banbury)

R = Ros - Stoke Daubeny (Wadenhoe), Braunston

S = Stafford - Sibbertoft

G = Grey of Codnor - Benefield (Oundle)

g = Grey of Ruthin - Canons Ashby

b = Burnel - Haselbech

Z = Zouche - Harringworth, Bulwick and Fairhall, Rothwell, Barby, Blakesley, Brafield on the Green, Little Houghton

I = Lovel - Titchmarsh, Hinton in the Hedges, Edgecott, Brackley, Halse, King's Sutton

P = de la Pole - Little Burley (Burley), Grafton (Grafton Regis)

w = Willoughby - Lilford (Wigsthorpe), Corby, Bozeat, Burton by Thingden (Burton Latimer)

† = Welles - Faxton (Old)

s = Strange - Wadenhoe

‡ = Berkeley - Kinslingbury, Stowe Nine Churches (Church Stowe)

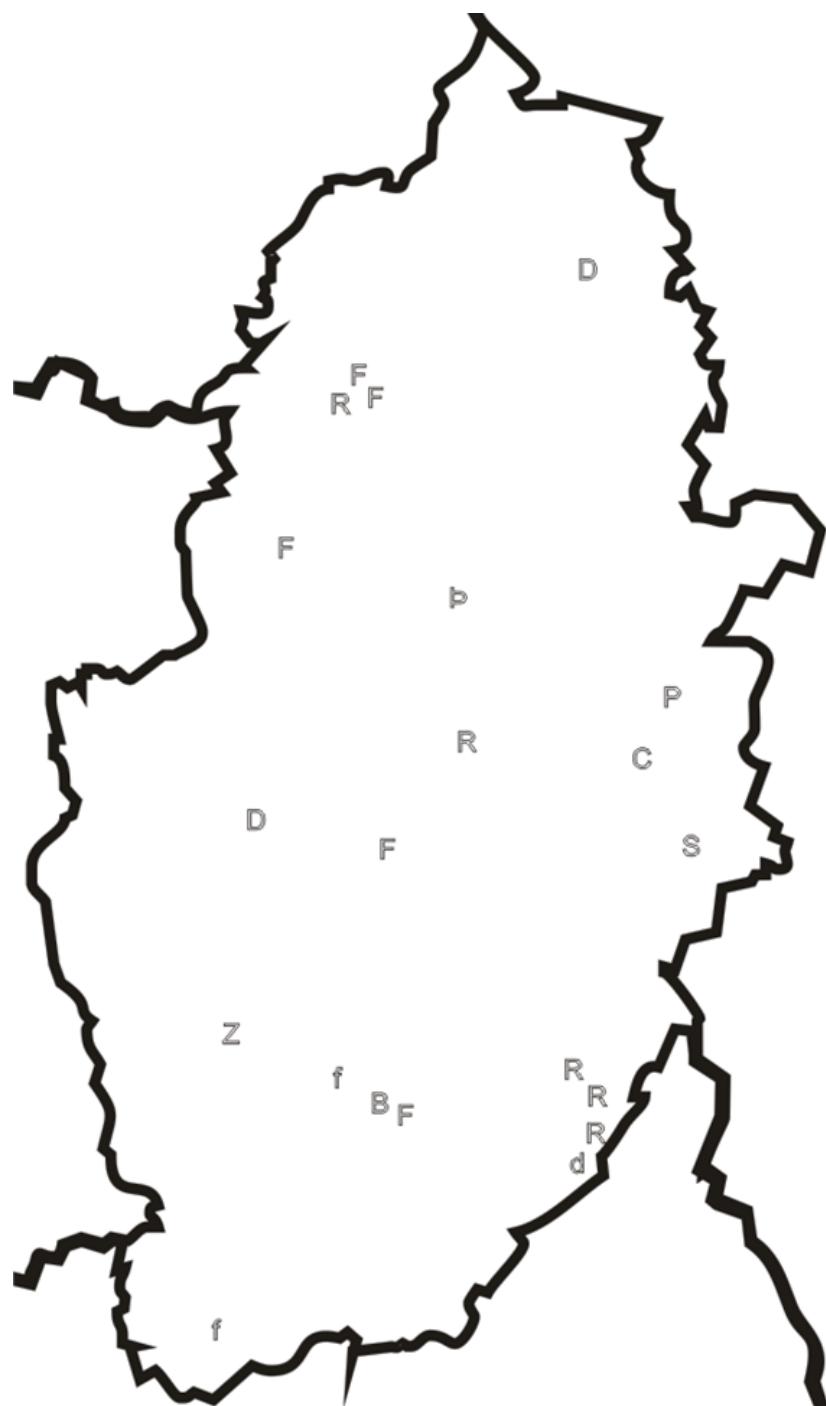
A = Arundel - Aynho (Banbury)

/ = Lisle - Church Stowe

T = Thorpe - Longthorpe, Marholm, Maxey, Milton, Helpston, Pilton, Stoke Doyle

f = Falvesle - Fawsley (Daventry)

Nottinghamshire



B = Bardolf - Shelford and Stoke Bardolph

S = Scrope of Masham - South Muskham (Newark on Trent)

R = Ros - Sutton, Screveton, Worksop, Orston, Eakring

Z = Zouche - Greasley

C = Cromwell - Cromwell

P = de la Pole - Grassthorpe

F = Furnival - Worksop, Holbeck Woodhouse (Holbeck), Oxton, Saxondale, Gateford (Worksop)

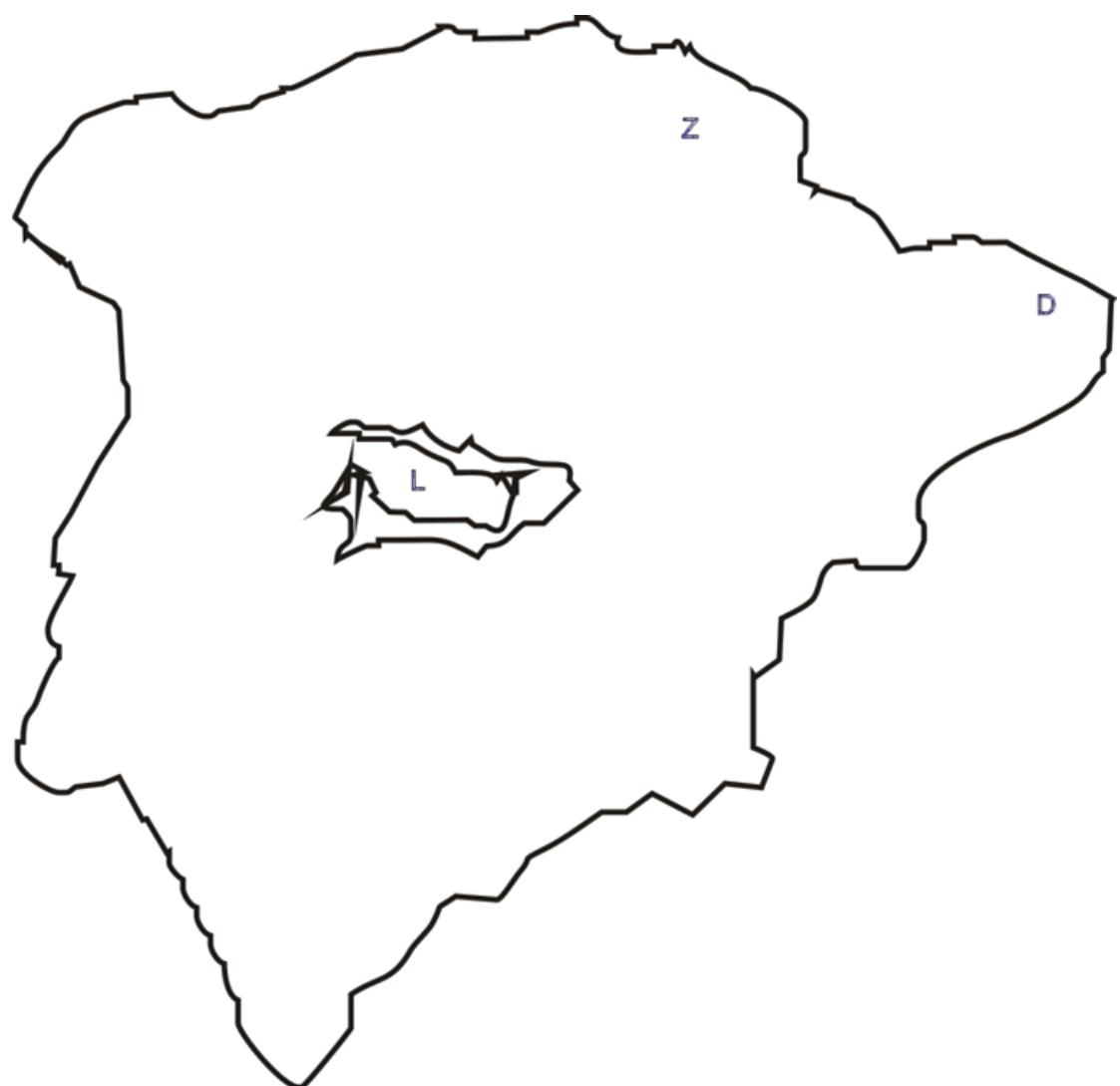
f = Fitzhugh - Carlton, Kingston on Soar

D = Darcy - Kirkby in Ashfield, Sturton le Steeple

d = Deincourt - Granby

P = Despenser (S. Wales) - Perlethorpe

Rutland

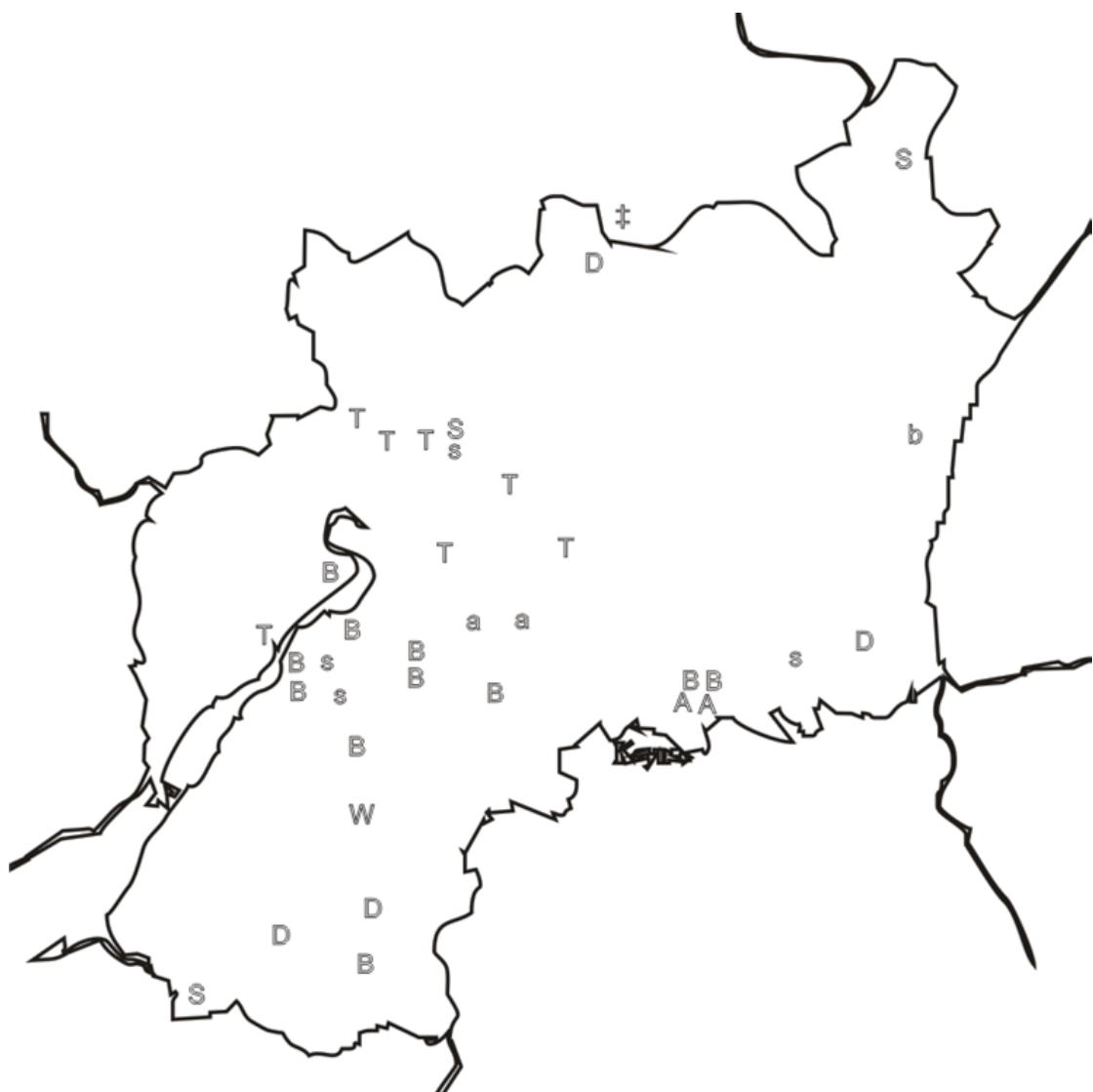


Z = Zouche - Clipsham

L = Lovel - Great Hambleton (Upper Hambleton)

D = Despenser (S. Wales) – Essendine

Gloucestershire



B = Berkeley - Alkington (Berkeley), Cam, Coaley, Ham, Hinton, Symond's Hall (Kingscote), Slimbridge, Wotton-under-Edge, Awre, South Cerney, Cerney Wick

T = Talbot - Longhope, Huntley, Lea, Lydney, Painswick, Moreton Valence, Whaddon

D = Despenser (S. Wales) - Tewkesbury, Chipping Sodbury, Fairford, Stoke Gifford

s = Seymour - Meysey Hampton, Breadstone, Bulley (Churcham), Stinchcombe

S = Stafford - Ashton under Edge (Long Ashton), Charingworth, Linton (Highnam)

A = St Amand - South Cerney, Cerney Wick

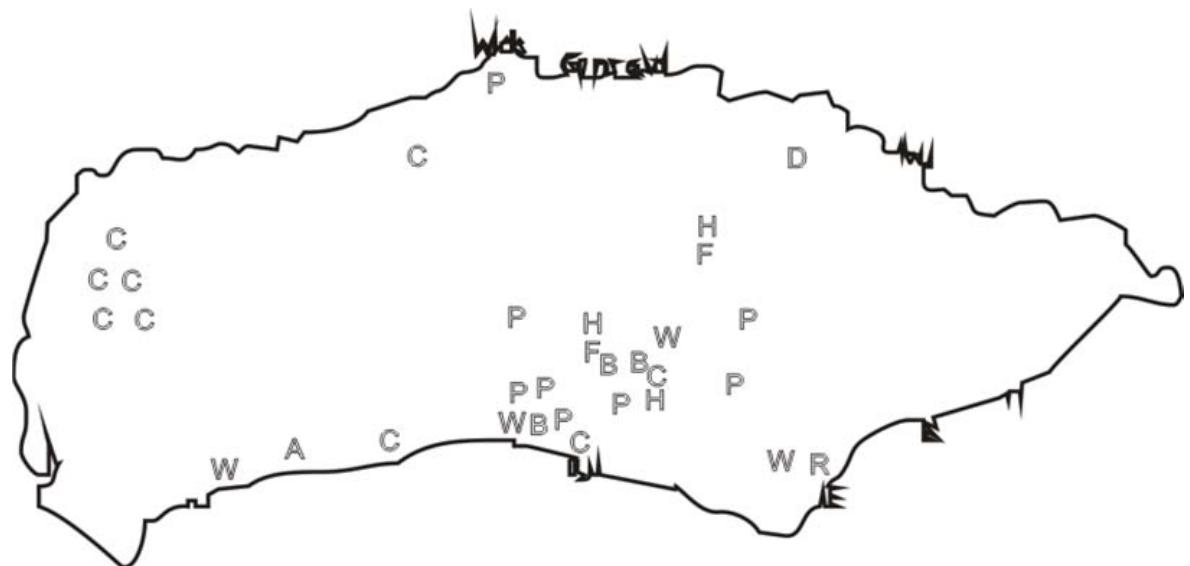
a = Arundel - King's Stanley, Woodchester

W = de la Warr - Wickwar

b = Burnel - Little Rissington

† = Beauchamp of Abergavenny - Kemerton

Sussex



C = Camoys - Broadwater, Hawkesbourne (Horsham), Barcombe, Bevendean (Brighton), Trotton, Didling, Elsted, Dumpford (Trotton), Fyning

P = Poynings - Chiddingly, Waldron, Poynings, Hangleton, Ashcombe (Lewes), Twineham, Little Perching (Fulking), Ifield

W = de la Warr - Middleton on Sea, Isfield, Folkington, Portslade

H = Heron - Hamsey, Buxted, Streat

F = Falvesle - Buxted, Streat

B = Bardolf - Portslade, Barcombe, Plumpton

R = Ros - Bourne (Eastbourne)

D = Despenser (S. Wales) - Rotherfield

A = Arundel - Cudlow (Rushington)

APPENDIX 5: ROYAL AND TITLED NOBLE RETAINING OF THE BARONAGE

Richard II:¹

William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny (1377, chamber; acting chamberlain 1378-80)
John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster (1385, chamber; steward 1387-8)
Guy, Lord Brian (1377, chamber; acting chamberlain 1377-8)
Thomas, Lord Clifford (1382, chamber)
John, Lord Devereux (1377, KK; 1388, chamber; steward 1388-93)
John, Lord Montagu snr. (1381, chamber; steward 1381-7)
Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton (1377, chamber; steward 1377-8)

John, Lord Arundel (1378, KK; life retainer)
Sir John Arundel (1386, KK)
John, Lord Beaumont (1393, KK; life retainer)
John, Lord Cobham (1378, KK)
Philip, Lord Darcy (1389, KK)
Michael, Lord de la Pole jnr (1386, KK)
John, Lord Devereux (1377, KK; 1388, chamber; steward 1388-93)
John, Lord Lovel (1386, KK; life retainer)
John, Lord Montagu jnr. (1383, KK)
Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby (1395, KK; life retainer)
Gilbert, Lord Talbot snr. (1384, KK)
Gilbert, Lord Talbot jnr. (1392, KK)
William, Lord Thorpe (1386, KK)
William, Lord Windsor (1379, KK)

Duke of Lancaster:²

William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny (1371-4, 100 marks)³
Hugh, Lord Dacre (1372-82)⁴
John, Lord Neville of Raby (1366-82, 100 marks)⁵
Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby (1397-9, 500 marks)⁶
Michael, Lord de la Pole (1369-82)⁷
Thomas, Lord Ros (1370-82, £40)⁸
Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton (1367-99, £40)⁹
Gilbert, Lord Talbot (1383-7, 20 marks)¹⁰
John, Lord Welles (1372, £20)¹¹

¹ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), pp.282-6. The date is that which the baron involved is first recorded as being attached to the king. 'chamber' indicates knights of the chamber and lay officers of the household. 'KK' indicates a king's knight.

² S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp.262-84; S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1904), pp.440-6; *John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-76 (Reg. I)*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, xx-xxi, 1911); *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83 (Reg. II)*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, 2 vols. (Camden Soc, 3rd series, lvi-lvii, 1937). The dates are the earliest and latest dates they can be shown to have been in receipt of Gaunt's fees. The amounts are the highest peacetime fee they enjoyed as a retainer.

³ *Reg. I*, nos.832, 883, 1548.

⁴ *Reg. I*, no.934; *Reg. II*, p.7.

⁵ *Reg. II*, p.7; N. B. Lewis (ed.), 'Indentures of Retinue with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Enrolled in Chancery, 1367-1399', *Camden Miscellany xxii* (Camden Soc, 4th series, i, 1964), no.3.

⁶ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1396-1399 (CPR)* (London, 1909), p.548.

⁷ *Reg. I*, no.1107; *Reg. II*, p.7.

⁸ *Reg. I*, no.945; *Reg. II*, p.7.

⁹ *Reg. I*, no.600; *Reg. II*, p.7.

¹⁰ DL 29/738/12104 m.; C 81/960 (35), both cited in Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.282n.

¹¹ *Reg. I*, no.788.

Duke of Gloucester:

Thomas, Lord Bardolf¹²
John, Lord Bourchier¹³
Walter, Lord Fitzwalter (d.1386)¹⁴
Walter, Lord Fitzwalter (d.1406)¹⁵
Thomas, Lord Morley¹⁶
Robert, Lord Scales¹⁷

Earl of Arundel:

John, Lord Falvesle¹⁸
William, Lord Heron¹⁹

Earl of Northumberland:

William, Lord Heron²⁰
Ralph, Lord Lumley²¹

¹² A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), pp.101-2. Bardolf is described as an influential East Anglian friend.

¹³ Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.57, 124. Bardolf was an Essex neighbour and a campaigning companion from 1380-1.

¹⁴ Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124. Fitzwalter was an Essex neighbour and a campaigning companion from 1377-8 and 1380-1.

¹⁵ T. Walsingham, ‘Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrci Quarti, Regum Angliae’, *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrci de Blaneforde, Chronica et Annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1866), pp.309-10, 313-4. Fitzwalter and Lord Morley bitterly denounced Gloucester’s betrayal and death in Henry IV’s first parliament and challenged to battle those complicit in it. This specific episode does not appear in the version of Walsingham’s chronicle used by Preest and Clark: T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.313-14.

¹⁶ Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.101-2, 124. Morley is described as an influential East Anglian friend. He was also a campaigning companion from 1380-1. Walsingham, ‘Annales Ricardi Secundi’, pp.309-10, 313-4. Morley and Lord Fitzwalter bitterly denounced Gloucester’s betrayal and death in Henry IV’s first parliament and challenged to battle those complicit in it. This specific episode does not appear in the version of Walsingham’s chronicle used by Preest and Clark: Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.313-14.

¹⁷ Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.102. Scales is described as an influential East Anglian friend.

¹⁸ E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i; French Rolls 10 Ric. II, mm.10, 12, cited in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v (London, 1926), p.252; E 101/41/5 m.1; French Rolls 11 Ric. II, m.7, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18.

¹⁹ N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i (London, 1826), p.163; E 101/40/33 m.12d; E 101/41/5 m.10; *CPR 1385-1389* (London, 1900), p.449; 1398: C 67/30 m.3; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, pp.117-18.

²⁰ Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i, p.163.

²¹ Rotuli Scotiae in turri Londinensi et in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensis asservati, 9 Ric. II, m.6, cited in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. viii (London, 1932), p.269.

APPENDIX 6: BARONIAL CONNECTIONS WITH MPs

The following lists are derived from the MP biographies in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (4 Volumes, 1992). Connections have been deemed to exist where references are found to: indentured retainers, annuities, liveries, feoffees, trustees, sureties, executors, legal advisers/representative, military service, tenants or family relations. While some MPs were engaged for service in an administrative, legal or martial capacity, many of these connections refer more to the broader circle of the peacetime associates – the friends, neighbours and ‘well-wishers’, particularly from the local societies within the orbit of concentrations of the lords’ lands. These lists in no way attempt to recreate baronial affinities. Instead they endeavour to highlight some of power structures that were in place, particularly looking at the relationships between barons and members of the upper gentry, who tended to be those returned as MPs. These connections underpinned local society and also, to some limited extent, suggest potential noble influences in the lower chamber of parliament.

Although the period covered by this secondary work is slightly misaligned with the period of this study, the invaluable nature of the research and the absence of any comparable material for the first nine years of the reign mean that the skew toward the end of the reign and beyond has been accepted. Some of the implications of this will be considered in the analysis.

Those names italicised were only ever burgesses, rather than shire knights. Those that represented both boroughs and counties have been underlined.

Aldeburgh (5)

Sir Robert Constable (York)
Sir William Gascoigne (York)
Sir Richard Redmayne (York)

Sir Brian Stapleton (York)
Sir Peter Tilliol (Cumb)

Arundel (10)

Thomas Arundell (Corn)
Sir John Berkeley I (Glos, Som, Wilt, Hant)
Bartholomew Brokesby (Leic)
John Frampton (Dors)
John Persons (Wilt)

Thomas Russell II (Chichester, Midhurst, Reigate, East Grinstead)
William Ryman (Sus)
Sir Thomas Stawell (Som)
William Stourton (Som, Wilt, Dors)
Walter Urry (Horsham, Reigate, Sus)

Audley (14)

Sir Hugh Browe (Rut)
William Burley (Salop)
Sir Roger Corbet (Salop)
John Curson (Derb)
Sir John Dabrichecourt (Derb)
Robert Dingley (Wilt)
Hugh Erdeswyk (Staff, Derb)

Thomas Foljambe (Derb)
John Kimberley (Colchester)
William Lee II (Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs)
William Pakeman (Derb)
John Sydenham (Bridgwater)
Thomas Thickness (Newcastle-under-Lyme)
John Wybbury (Corn)

Bardolf (3)

Roger Hunt (Hunt, Bed)

Sir John Leek (Nott)

Sir William Phelip (Suff)

Basset (6)

Sir Thomas Aston (Staff)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke I (Bed)
Sir Henry Neville (Leic)

Sir John Neville (Leic)
Sir Hugh Shirley (Leic)
Sir Ralph Shirley (Leic)

Beauchamp of Abergavenny (21)

Sir William Bagot (Warw)
John Brace (Worc)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke I (Bed)
Henry Bruyn (Worc)
Sir Thomas Burdet (Warw)
Sir Thomas Butler (Glos)
Geoffrey Chaucer (Kent)
Kynard de la Bere (Here)
Nicholas Gerard (Shrewsbury)
Sir Henry Green (Hunt, N'ant, Wilt)
Sir John Grendore (Here)

John Harewell (Warw)
William Leek (Nott)
Sir William Lucy (Warw)
John Shorditch (Midd)
John Skydemore (Here)
John Styuecle (Hunt)
Thomas Walwyn I (Here)
Thomas Walwyn II (Here)
William Wenlock (Bed)
William Wilcotes (Ox)

Beauchamp of Bletsoe (2)

Sir Roger Beauchamp (Bed)

Sir William Beauchamp (Worc)

Beauchamp of Kidderminster (11)

Alexander Besford (Worc)
Sir Thomas Butler (Glos)
Henry Bruyn (Worc)
John Catesby (Warw)
John Cole II (Worc)
Robert Dingley (Wilt)

Richard Ruyhale (Worc)
Sir Laurence Sebrooke (Glos)
Richard Thurgrim (Worc)
Robert Walden (Warw)
John Wood I (Worcester, Worc)

Beaumont (8)

Bartholomew Brokesby (Leic)
Sir Thomas Burton (Rut)
Sir John Bussy (Linc, Rut)
Sir John Calveley (Linc, Rut)

John Halle I (Dover)
John Hobildod (Camb)
Thomas Holme (York)
Sir Thomas Maureward (Leic)

Berkeley (24)

John Banbury I (Gloucester)
Richard Baret (Gloucester)
Sir John Berkeley I (Glos, Som, Wilt, Hant)
Sir John Berkeley II (Leic)
Sir Maurice Berkeley (Glos)
William Brampton (London)
William Coventre (Melcombe Regis)
Sir Walter de la Pole (Camb)
Sir Gilbert Denys (Glos)
Sir Thomas Fitznichol (Glos)
John Greville (Glos)
Robert Grendore (Glos)

Robert Ireland (Derby)
John Joice I (Maldon)
Thomas Knolles (London)
Sir William Marney (Ess)
Sir John Pauncefoot (Glos)
Robert Poyntz (Glos)
Richard Ruyhale (Worc)
Sir John St. John (N'ant)
Sir Walter Sandys (Hant)
Sir Laurence Sebrooke (Glos)
Sir Humphrey Stafford II (Staff, Dors)
Sir Thomas Swinburne (Ess)

Botetourt (3)

Sir Maurice Berkeley (Glos)

Sir Thomas Blount (Wilt)

Sir Adam Peshale (Salop, Staff)

Botreaux (21)

John Beville (Corn)
Richard Bosom (Exeter)
Sir Ralph Botreaux (Corn)
John Fursdon (Liskeard)
Sir John Godard (York)
Sir John Herle (Corn)
Robert Hill (Som)
Sir Thomas Hungerford (Wilt, Som)
John Lisle (Hant)
Sir Hugh Luttrell (Som, Dev)
Thomas Raymond (Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Plympton, Exeter)

William Richard (Helston, Truro)
John Spriggy (N'ant)
Sir Humphrey Stafford II (Staff, Dors)
John Stourton I (Som)
Richard Styuecle (Sus)
William Thomer (Bridgwater)
John Tremayne (Truro)
Adam Vivian (Helston)
John Whalesborough (Corn)
William Yerde (Sur)

Bourchier (10)

Sir William Bourgchier (Ess)
Edmund Brokesbourne (Ess)
John Burgess (Ess)
Thomas Coggeshall (Ess)
John Hockham (Maldon)

Robert Newport (Hert)
John Page (Maldon)
Sir John Peckbridge (Midd, Hunt)
Robert Tey (Ess)
Sir William Wingfield (Suff)

Brian (13)

Sir William Bonville I (Som, Dev)
Sir John Chandos (Here)
Sir William Elmham (Suff)
Edmund Ford (Bath)
Robert French (Totnes)
Sir John Greyndore (Here)
John Head (Gloucester)

William Heyberer (Gloucester, Glos)
Robert Lovell (Dors)
Nicholas Potyn (Kent)
John Prescott (Exeter, Totnes, Dev)
Sir Richard Waldegrave (Suff)
Robert Whittington (Glos)

Burnel (11)

Edward Acton (Salop)
John Burley I (Salop)
William Burley (Salop)
Richard Fox (Salop)
David Holbache (Salop, Shrewsbury)
Sir Richard Lacon (Salop)

Thomas Lee I (Salop)
William Lee I (Salop)
Sir John Radcliffe (Norf)
Thomas Skinner (Salop)
John Stapleton II (Salop)

Camoys (5)

Sir William Bardwell (Suff)
Thomas Fauconer (London)
John Gravesend (Sur)

Ralph Rademyde (Sus)
Richard Styuecle (Sus)

Cherleton (4)

Sir Gilbert Denys (Glos)
David Holbache (Salop, Shrewsbury)

William Lee I (Salop)
Sir John Tiptoft (Hunt, Som)

Clifford (18)

Sir Thomas Blenkinsop (Cumb, West)
Hugh Burgh (Salop)
Robert Cliburn (West)

John Crackenthorpe (West)
Robert Crackenthorpe (West, Appleby)
Christopher Curwen (Appleby, Cumb)

Sir William Curwen (Cumb, West)
Sir John Derwentwater (West, Cumb)
Sir Ralph Euer (N'umb, York)
Thomas Mandeville (Leic)
Christopher Moresby (Cumb, West)
Sir Thomas Musgrave (West)

Sir James Pickering (West, Cumb, York)
Hugh Salkeld I (West)
Hugh Salkeld II (West)
Robert Sandford I (West)
Thomas Strickland I (West)
Thomas Warcop (West)

Clifton (9)

Sir William Bardwell (Suff)
Thomas Derham (Bishop's Lynn)
Ralph Green (N'ant)
Sir Stephen Hales (Norf)
Robert Hethe (Ipswich)

Sir John Howard (Ess, Camb, Suff)
Sir John Knyvet (N'ant)
Roger Rawlin (Bishop's Lynn)
Sir Edmund Thorpe (Norf)

Clinton (10)

Sir William Bagot (Warw)
John Clipsham (Sur)
Sir Thomas Clinton (Warw, Kent)
Richard Clitheroe I (Kent)
John Hody (Shaftesbury, Dors, Som)

William Mountfort (Warw)
Sir Adam Peshale (Salop, Staff)
Sir Thomas Swinburne (Ess)
John William II (Southwark)
John Wintershall (Sur)

Cobham (15)

Sir Gerard Braybrooke I (Bed)
Sir Reynold Braybrooke (Kent)
John Cobham (Sus, Sur, Kent)
Sir Thomas Cobham (Kent)
Sir William Coggeshall (Ess)
Sir Edmund de la Pole (Buck, Camb)
Sir Philip de la Vache (Buck)
John Doreward (Ess)

John Freningham (Kent)
John Hathersham I (Sur)
Sir Nicholas Haute (Kent)
Sir Nicholas Lilling (N'ant, Worc)
James Peckham (Kent)
Nicholas Potyn (Kent)
Sir Arnold Savage I (Kent)

Cromwell (28)

William Adderley (Derb)
William Allington (Camb)
Nicholas Aysshton (Liskeard, Helston, Launceston, Corn)
Sir William Bonville I (Som, Dev)
Henry Booth (Derb)
Bartholomew Brokesby (Leic)
Richard Brown (Derby)
Sir John Byron (Lanc, Linc)
Sir Thomas Chaworth (Nott, Derb)
Robert Chiselden (N'ant)
Sir John Cockayne (Derb, Warw)
Peter de la Pole (Derb)
William Flete (Hert)
Richard Fox (Salop)

John Fry (Hert)
Roger Grainsby (Grimsby)
Ralph Green (N'ant)
Robert Hethe (Ipswich)
Sir Walter Hungerford (Wilt, Som)
Sir William Phelip (Suff)
Sir Robert Rockley (York)
Sir Richard Stanhope (Nott)
John Stourton II (Wilt, Dors)
John Throckmorton (Worc)
Sir John Tiptoft (Hunt, Som)
John Tyrell (Ess, Hert)
Sir Richard Vernon (Staff, Derb)
Thomas Walsingham (Wareham, Lyme Regis)

Dacre (9)

William Blenkinsop (West)
Sir John Derwentwater (West, Cumb)
Sir Roger Fiennes (Sus)
Robert Lancaster (Carlisle)
Christopher Moresby (Cumb, West)

Thomas Santon (York)
Sir Clement Skelton (Cumb)
Sir Walter Strickland (West)
Sir Peter Tilliol (Cumb)

Darcy (9)

Sir Richard Adderbury II (Berk)
Sir John Assheton II (Lanc)
Sir John Copledyke (Linc)
Sir John Dabrichecourt (Derb)
John Gateford (Nott)

Sir Thomas Gray (N'umb)
Sir Henry Retford (Linc)
Gerard Sothill (Linc)
Sir Robert Swinburne (Ess)

Deincourt (2)

Sir John Cheyne I (Glos)

John Ninezergh (Appleby)

Despenser (S. Wales) (25)

Sir Thomas Arthur (Som)
Sir Thomas Boteler (Lanc)
John Browning (Glos)
Sir William Burcester (Kent)
Sir Edward Dallingridge (Sus)
Sir John Dauntsey (Wilt)
Thomas Fauconer (London)
John Frome (Buck, Dors)
Robert Hill (Som)
Hugh Mortimer (Glos)
Sir Robert Neville (York)
Sir Philip Okeover (Derb)
Sir Fulk Pembridge (Salop)

Sir John Peyto (Warw)
Robert Poyntz (Glos)
Richard Ruyhale (Worc)
Sir Thomas Sackville (Sus)
William Selman I (Plympton Erle)
Sir John St. John (N'ant)
Henry Thorpe (Wilt)
Thomas Throckmorton (Worc)
Robert Whittington (Glos)
John Wilcotes (Ox, Kent)
William Wilcotes (Ox)
Thomas Zouche (Bed)

Despenser (Lincs.) (1)

Sir Philip de la Vache (Buck)

Devereux (6)

Thomas Brockhill (Kent)
Sir Walter Devereux (Here)
Philip Holgot (Here)

Sir John Peyto (Warw)
Nicholas Potyn (Kent)
Sir John Sandys (Hant)

Falvesle (0)**Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem (0)****Ferrers of Groby (7)**

Thomas Ashby (Leic)
Sir John Beauchamp (Worc)
Sir John Burdet (Leic)
Thomas Okeover (Derb)

William Rokesburgh (Hert)
Robert Whitgreve (Staff)
Sir Thomas Worting (Hant)

Fitzhugh (8)

Sir John Berkeley I (Glos, Som, Wilt, Hant)
William Birmingham (Warw)
Sir Ralph Euer (N'umb, York)
Sir Halnath Mauleverer (York)

William Mountfort (Warw)
Sir Robert Plumpton (York, Nott)
Sir Richard Redmayne (York)
Sir John le Scrope (York)

Fitzwalter (25)

William Allington (Camb)
Robert Ashcombe (London)

Richard Baynard (Ess)
Sir William Bourgchier (Ess)

John Chideock (Dors)
Sir William Coggeshall (Ess)
Robert Darcy (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ess, Maldon)
John Doreward (Ess)
Richard Fox (Salop)
John Fray (Hert)
John Giffard (Buck)
Sir John Gildesburgh (Ess)
Oliver Groos (Norf)
Sir Stephen Hales (Norf)

John Lewis (Wallingford, Taunton, Hant, Ess)
Sir Walter Lee (Hert, Ess)
Sir John Radcliffe (Norf)
Sir Thomas Rempston I (Nott)
William Rookwood (Suff)
Sir Ralph Shelton (Norf)
Sir Robert Swinburne (Ess)
Robert Tey (Ess)
John Tyrell (Ess, Hert)
Sir Alexander Walden (Ess)
Richard Welby (Leic)

Furnival (0)

Grey of Codnor (18)

Sir John Bagot (Staff)
Henry Booth (Derb)
John Brugge (Here)
Thomas Clanvowe (Here)
Sir John Cockayne (Derb, Warw)
John Curson (Derb)
William Damiet (Dartmouth)
Peter de la Pole (Derb)
Sir William Elys (York)

Sir John Etton (York)
Sir John Greydore (Here)
Thomas Holgot (Here)
Richard Hotoff (Leic)
Ralph Mackerell (Nott)
John Merbury (Here)
Sir John Oldcastle (Here)
Sir Henry Pierrepont (Nott)
Sir Richard Vernon (Staff, Derb)

Grey of Ruthin (33)

Sir William Argentine (Suff)
Sir John Bagot (Staff)
Sir Roger Beauchamp (Bed)
Sir William Bonville I (Som, Dev)
John Botiller (Hunt)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke I (Bed)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke II (Bed, Ess)
John Broughton (Buck)
Henry Cockayne (Bed)
Sir John Cockayne (Derb, Warw)
John Enderby (Bed)
Ralph Fitzrichard (Bed)
John Goldington II (Bed)
John Hervy (Bed)
Roger Hunt (Hunt, Bed)
Thomas Hunt II (Bedford)
William Hunt II (Bedford)

John Lancaster II (Suff, Norf)
John Longford (Salop)
Thomas Lucy (Warw)
Richard Maidstone (Midd)
Richard Marston (Bedford)
Robert Mordaunt (Bed)
John Mortimer (N'ant)
Sir Philip Okeover (Derb)
Ralph Parles (N'umb)
Reynold Ragon (Bed)
Thomas Roxton (Bed)
Sir Baldwin St. George (Camb)
Thomas Strange (N'ant)
John Styuecle (Hunt)
Sir Gilbert Talbot (Bed)
Thomas Waweton (Hunt, Bed)

Grey of Wilton (9)

John Abrahall (Hereford, Here)
John Barton II (Buck)
John Botiller (Hunt)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke II (Bed, Ess)
Edmund Brudenell (Buck)

William Burley (Salop)
Robert Darcy (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ess, Maldon)
William Hanningfield (Suff)
Roger Hunt (Hunt, Bed)

Greystoke (8)

Sir John Derwentwater (West, Cumb)
Sir Ralph Euer (N'umb, York)
Sir Edmund Hastings (N'umb, York)
John Hutton (West)

Sir Richard Redmayne (York)
Hugh Salkeld I (West)
Hugh Salkeld II (West)
Roger Thornton (Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

Harington (11)

Sir William Bonville II (Som, Dev)
Sir Robert Hakebeche (Hant)
Robert Hill (Som)
Sir Henry Hoghton (Lanc)
Robert Laurence (Lanc)
Mark le Faire (Winchester)

John Luttrell (Barnstaple)
John Ninezergh (Appleby)
Sir Alan Pennington (West)
John Russell II (Here)
Thomas Strickland II (West)

Heron (Say) (5)

Sir Thomas Brewes (Sur)
Sir Thomas Butler (Glos)
Sir John Dallingridge (Sus)

Sir Gerard Heron (N'umb)
Sir Roger Fiennes (Sus)

Latimer (16)

Sir Gerard Braybrooke I (Bed)
Sir Gerard Braybrooke II (Bed, Ess)
Sir Nicholas Dabrichecourt (Hant)
Sir Philip de la Vache (Buck)
Sir John Etton (York)
Sir Ralph Euer (N'umb, York)
John Halle I (Dover)
Sir Edmund Hastings (N'umb, York)

John Henry (Bed)
Sir William Pecche (Kent)
Sir William Percy (Sus)
Baldwin Pigot (Bed)
John Shadworth (London)
John Stotesbury (Northampton)
John Warwick I (N'ant)
Sir Thomas Willoughby (Linc)

Lisle (0)

Lovel (23)

Sir Richard Adderbury I (Ox)
William Alexander (Wilt, Salisbury)
Thomas Bonham (Wilt)
John Brut (Downton)
Sir John Bussy (Linc, Rut)
Thomas Calston (Marlborough, Wilt)
Sir John Chetwode (Buck)
Sir Thomas de la Poyle (Ox)
Laurence Drew (Berk)
John Gawen (Wilt)
Sir Henry Green (Hunt, N'ant, Wilt)
Sir John Hamely (Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Truro, Cornwall, Launceston, Helston, Bodmin, Dorset)

Sir Walter Hungerford (Wilt, Som)
Sir William Langford (Berk)
Robert Lovell (Dors)
Sir Giles Mallory (N'ant)
John Mulsho (N'ant)
William Oudeby (Rut)
Sir Thomas Paynell (Ox)
Sir William Trussell (Leic)
John Wilcotes (Ox, Kent)
Thomas Wydeville (N'ant)
Sir John Zouche (Nott)

Lumley (2)

Sir Thomas Aylesbury (Buck)

John Bertram (N'umb)

Mauley (3)

Sir John Godard (York)
Sir Edmund Hastings (N'umb, York)

Sir Thomas Rokeby (York)

Montagu (31)

Sir Richard Arches (Buck)
John Bailey (Calne, Cricklade)
Sir Walter Beauchamp (Wilt)

John Bosom I (Dartmouth, Totnes)
Sir Thomas Butler (Glos)
Thomas Chaucer (Ox)

Giles Daubene (Bed)
Robert de la Mare (Berk)
Sir Philip de la Vache (Buck)
Sir John Drayton (Ox, Glos)
Sir Adam Francis (Midd)
John Frome (Buck, Dors)
John Golafre (Ox, Berk)
Richard Gould (Winchester)
Richard Horne (Wilt)
Sir Thomas Hungerford (Wilt, Som)
Sir Walter Hungerford (Wilt, Som)
Lewis John (Wallingford, Taunton, Hant, Ess)
John Julkin (Tavistock, Plympton Erle)

Sir Philip Leche (Derb)
Sir Hugh Luttrell (Som, Dev)
Thomas Manningham (Appleby, Carlisle, Bed)
John Prescott (Exeter, Totnes, Dev)
Sir John Roches (Wilt)
Sir John Sandys (Hant)
Andrew Sperlyng (Chipping Wymcombe, Buck)
Sir Brian Stapleton (York)
William Stourton (Som, Wilt, Dors)
John Sutton II (London)
John Waterton (Sur)
Sir Thomas Worting (Hant)

Morley (20)

John Alderford (Norwich)
Richard Baynard (Ess)
Edmund Bibbesworth (Midd)
Edmund Brokesbourne (Ess)
William Chichele (London)
Thomas Coggeshall (Ess)
Sir John Curson (Norf)
Hugh Fastolf (Great Yarmouth, London, Norf)
Sir Thomas Gerberge (Norf)
Sir Stephen Hales (Norf)

Thomas Hethe (Suff)
Sir Edmund Noon (Norf)
Edmund Oldhall (Norf)
Sir William Papworth (Camb, Hunt)
William Rees (Norf)
William Rookwood (Suff)
John Ruggewyn (Hert)
William Weston IV (London)
Edmund Wynter (Norf)
John Wynter (Norf)

Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) (22)

John Abrahall (Hereford, Here)
John Brugge (Here)
John Bruyn (Bridgnorth)
Hugh Burgh (Salop)
William Burley (Salop)
Sir John Burton I (Nott)
Richard Clitheroe I (Kent)
Roger Corbet (Shrewsbury, Salop)
John Darell (Kent)
Sir Thomas de la Barre (Here)
John Gateford (Nott)

Sir Richard Hansard (Linc)
George Hawkestone (Salop)
Sir Thomas Hawley (Linc)
Sir Robert Neville (York)
John Pelham (Sus)
Sir John Phelip (Worc)
Thomas Santon (York City)
John Skydmore (Here)
John Stapleton II (Salop)
Sir Philip Tilney (Linc)
Sir Robert Whitney II (Here)

Neville of Raby (36)

Sir John Chalers (Camb)
Richard Clitheroe I (Kent)
Sir Thomas Colville (York)
Robert Crackenthorpe (West, Appleby)
John Darell (Kent)
Sir William Elys (York)
Sir John Etton (York)
Sir Ralph Euer (N'umb, York)
Hugh Fastolf (Great Yarmouth, London, Norf)
Sir Thomas Gray (N'umb)
Sir Edmund Hastings (N'umb, York)
John Lancaster I (West, Cumb)
Sir John le Scrope (York)
Sir William Lisle (Ox)
Robert Lowther I (Cumb)
William Lowther I (Cumb)
Sir Oliver Mauleverer (Rut)

Sir Bertram Monbourcher (N'umb)
Christopher Moresby (Cumb, West)
John Morton II (York City)
Sir Thomas Musgrave (West)
Sir William Neville (Nott)
John Norbury (Hert)
William Osmundlaw (Carlisle, Cumb)
Sir John Roches (Wilt)
Sir Thomas Rokeby (York)
Sir John Sandys (Hant)
Robert Scott (Hunt, Bed)
Sir John Skelton (Cumb)
Sir Richard Tempest (York)
John Thirlwall (Cumb)
Sir Peter Tilliol (Cumb)
Sir Thomas Umfraville (N'umb)
Sir Richard Vernon (Staff, Derb)

William Walsall (Staff)

Sir Thomas Willoughby (Linc)

de la Pole (25)

James Andrew (Ipswich, Suff)
Sir William Argentine (Suff)
Sir William Burgate (Suff)
Sir William Bardwell (Suff)
Sir John Braham (Suff)
Robert Buxton (Suff)
Sir John Bussy (Linc, Rut)
Sir Edmund de la Pole (Buck, Camb)
Thomas Derham (Bishop's Lynn)
Sir Roger Drury (Suff)
Richard Duckett (West)
Sir William Elmham (Suff)
John Golafre (Ox, Berk)

Simon Grimsby I (Kingston-upon-Hull)
Oliver Groos (Norf)
Robert James (Berk, Buck)
John Leversegge (Kingston-upon-Hull)
Sir Robert Marney (Ess)
Sir Robert Neville (York)
Sir William Neville (Nott)
Sir Edmund Noon (Norf)
Gerard Sothill (Linc)
Sir Thomas Swinburne (Ess)
Sir Gerard Usflete (York)
Sir William Wingfield (Suff)

Poynings (21)

Richard Bannebury (Sus)
Henry Barton (London)
Sir John Berkeley I (Glos, Som, Wilt, Hant)
Sir James Berners (Sur)
Sir William Bonville II (Som, Dev)
Thomas Cammell (Dorchester, Shaftsbury)
Thomas Ellis (Kent)
William Goss (Bridgwater)
John Halle II (Sus)
Thomas Ickham (Canterbury)
Thomas Kynnersley (Sur)

John Newdigate (Sur)
John Pelham (Sus)
Sir William Percy (Sus)
Hugh Quecche (Sur, Sus)
Ralph Rademylde (Sus)
Robert Tauk (Sus)
Richard Wakehurst (Sus)
Richard Wayville (Sus)
Nicholas Wilcombe (Sus)
Sir Thomas Worting (Hant)

Ros (14)

Sir John Bozoun (Linc)
Sir Thomas Chaworth (Nott, Derb)
Sir John Leek (Nott)
Simon Leek (Nott)
William Leek (Nott)
Sir Henry Neville (Leic)
Sir John Neville (Leic)

Geoffrey Paynell (Rut, Linc)
John Prentice I (Derby)
Sir Thomas Rempston I (Nott)
John Spriggy (Northampton)
Sir John Tiptoft (Hunt, Som)
Sir Thomas Willoughby (Linc)
Thomas Zouche (Bed)

Scales (8)

Walter Gawtron (London, Midd)
William Goodred (Camb)
Sir John Howard (Ess, Camb, Suff)
Sir John Knyvet (N'ant)

Sir Arnold Savage I (Kent)
Sir Arnold Savage II (Kent)
Sir Edmund Thorpe (Norf)
John Whalesborough (Corn)

Scrope of Bolton (10)

Sir John Cheyne I (Glos)
Sir Edmund de la Pole (Buck, Camb)
Sir Walter Lee (Hert, Ess)
Sir John le Scrope (York)
Sir Robert Neville (York)

Sir William Neville (Nott)
John Ninezergh (Appleby)
Sir James Pickering (West, Cumb, York)
Nicholas Strelley (Nott)
Richard Thurgrin (Worc)

Scrope of Masham (10)

John Burgh II (Sur)

Sam Burgh (Camb)

Sir Thomas Chaworth (Nott, Derb)
John Darell (Kent)
John Hadley (London)
Sir John le Scrope (York)

Sir Halnath Mauleverer (York)
Sir Bertram Monbourcher (N'umb)
Hugh Mortimer (Glos)
Sir Robert Plumpton (York, Nott)

Seymour/Saint Maur (2)

John Bathe (Dors)

John Norbury (Hert)

St Amand (3)

Sir Gerard Braybrooke II (Bed, Ess)
Robert Darcy (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ess, Maldon)

Sir Edmund de la Pole (Buck, Camb)

Stafford of Clifton (4)

Sir William Burcester (Kent)
Sir Thomas Fogg (Kent)

Sir Nicholas Stafford (Staff)
Thomas Stafford (Warw)

Strange of Knockyn (9)

William Burley (Salop)
Thomas Frowyk (Midd)
Sir William Hugford (Salop)
Richard Lacon (Salop)
Sir William Moleyns (Wilt)

John Spencer (Suff)
Sir John Strange (Norf, Suff)
Sir Roger Strange (Midd)
Thomas Strange (N'ant)

Talbot (23)

John Abrahall (Hereford, Here)
Sir William Beauchamp (Worc)
Sir Ralph Botreaux (Corn)
Sir Hugh Browe (Rut)
John Brugge (Here)
Hugh Burgh (Salop)
John Burley I (Salop)
William Burley (Salop)
John Darras (Salop)
Sir John Greydore (Here)
Thomas Haseley (Lyme Regis, Barnstaple)
Philip Holgot (Here)

Richard Lacon (Salop)
Thomas Mille (Glos)
John Skydemore (Here)
Edward Sprenghose (Salop)
John Stapleton II (Salop)
John Throckmorton (Worc)
Thomas Walwyn II (Here)
Sir Robert Whitney II (Here)
Robert Whittington (Glos)
John Wych (Here)
Thomas Young I (Salop)

Thorpe (7)

John Hertyngton (Hunt)
John Mulsho (N'ant)
John Styuecle (Hunt)
Thomas Thorpe (Rut)

Sir Philip Tilney (Linc)
John Tyndale (Linc)
John Wittlebury (Rut)

de la Warr (4)

Sir John Bussy (Linc, Rut)
Sir John Byron (Lanc, Linc)

Roger Flore (Rut)
Sir Hugh Hussey (Nott)

Welles (4)

Robert Cumberworth (Linc)
Thomas Cumberworth (Linc)

Roger Grainsby (Grimsby)
Sir Godfrey Hilton (Linc)

Willoughby (22)

Sir William Bardwell (Suff)
John Bell (Linc)
Richard Bell (Lincoln)
William Compton (Nott)
Sir John Copledyke (Linc)
Robert Cumberworth (Linc)
Thomas Cumberworth (Linc)
Roger Grainsby (Grimsby)
Sir Thomas Hawley (Linc)
Sir Hugh Hussey (Nott)
John Lancaster II (Suff, Norf)

Sir Philip Leche (Derb)
William Mountfort (Warw)
Baldwin Pigot (Bed)
Robert Preston (West)
Thomas Raleigh (Warw)
John Skipwith (Linc)
Sir Walter Tailboys (Linc)
William Tirwhit (Linc)
Thomas Waweton (Hunt, Bed)
Sir Thomas Willoughby (Linc)
Sir John Wroth (Midd)

Windsor (15)

Sir John Assheton I (Lanc)
Richard Duckett (West)
John Freningham (Kent)
Sir Nicholas Haryngton (Lanc)
Thomas Hodyngton (Worc)
Sir William Melton (York)
John Norbury (Hert)
Sir John Peckbridge (Midd, Hunt)

Sir Adam Peshale (Salop, Staff)
Sir James Pickering (West, Cumb, York)
Henry Popham (Hert)
Sir John Russell (Worc)
Robert Skerne (Sur)
Sir Walter Strickland (West)
Thomas Throckmorton (Worc)

Zouche (22)

Thomas Ashby (Leic)
Sir John Cheyne I (Glos)
Thomas Cumberworth (Linc)
Roger Flore (Rut)
Robert French (Totnes)
Sir Henry Green (Hunt, N'ant, Wilt)
Ralph Green (N'ant)
John Harper (Stafford, Staff)
Sir Oliver Mauleverer (Rut)
John Mulsho (N'ant)
John Newbold (Rut)

Sir Thomas Oudeby (Rut)
Sir Henry Pleasington (Rut)
Sir Thomas Rempston I (Nott)
William Tirwhit (Linc)
John Tyndale (N'ant, Camb)
Sir Thomas Willoughby (Linc)
John Wittlebury (Rut)
John Wydeville (N'ant)
Thomas Wydeville (N'ant)
Sir John Zouche (Nott)
Thomas Zouche (Bed)

Ordered:

Neville of Raby (36)
Grey of Ruthin (33)
Montagu (31)
Cromwell (28)
de la Pole (25)
Despenser (S. Wales) (25)
Fitzwalter (25)
Berkeley (24)
Lovel (23)
Talbot (23)
Neville of Hallamshire (Furnival) (22)
Willoughby (22)
Zouche (22)
Beauchamp of Abergavenny (21)
Botreaux (21)
Poynings (21)
Morley (20)
Clifford (18)

Grey of Codnor (18)
Latimer (16)
Cobham (15)
Windsor (15)
Audley (14)
Ros (14)
Brian (13)
Beauchamp of Kidderminster (11)
Burnel (11)
Harington (11)
Arundel (10)
Bourchier (10)
Clinton (10)
Scrope of Bolton (10)
Scrope of Masham (10)
Dacre (9)
Darcy (9)
Clifton (9)

Grey of Wilton (9)	Stafford of Clifton (4)
Strange of Knockyn (9)	Welles (4)
Beaumont (8)	Bardolf (3)
Fitzhugh (8)	Botetourt (3)
Greystoke (8)	Mauley (3)
Scales (8)	St Amand (3)
Ferrers of Groby (7)	Beauchamp of Bletsoe (2)
Thorpe (7)	Deincourt (2)
Basset (6)	Lumley (2)
Devereux (6)	Seymour/Saint Maur (2)
Aldeburgh (5)	Despenser (Lincs.) (1)
Camoys (5)	Falvesle (0)
Heron (Say) (5)	Ferrers (Boteler) of Wem (0)
Cherleton (4)	Furnival (0)
de la Warr (4)	Lisle (0)

Total connections = 783

Connections with shire knights = 672

Connections with MPs who represented counties and boroughs = 33

Connections with burgesses = 78

Total number of MPs with links to barons = 524

Total number of shire knights with links to barons = 430

Total number of MPs who represented counties and boroughs with links to barons = 25

Total number of burgesses with links to barons = 69

APPENDIX 7: BARONS ON MAJOR MILITARY EXPEDITIONS, 1377-1399

The following information has been collated from the surviving Muster Rolls, Indentures of War, Letters of Protection that were enrolled on the Patent Rolls and chronicle evidence. The original Indentures of War manuscripts were consulted, while the Muster Roll information was taken from the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* database: www.medievalsoldier.org. In addition to those sources, the details of the 1394 expedition were largely compiled from the Wardrobe book for that campaign.¹ The 1380, 1385, 1399 information has been supplemented by the work on the Issue Rolls by Sherborne, Lewis and Biggs respectively.² Letters of Protection and Powers of Attorney granted and recorded on the Treaty (or French) Rolls have not been incorporated unless service, rather than intention to serve, was corroborated elsewhere. These though are listed beneath the campaign-by-campaign records and were also compiled using the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* database.

Where two figures are given for the retinue size, the emboldened is the accounted figure, while the other is the contracted figure. The accounted figure has been deemed to be the more accurate and so has been used in the calculations in Chapter 5. Where there are two figures for the retinue size given and neither is emboldened, this means there were two slightly differing Muster Rolls. Here the figures have been averaged when used in the calculations in Chapter 5.

The lists of barons and retinue sizes are not absolutely definite, but have been compiled with care and using a range of the most important sources available.

Year	Destination	Commander	Men
1) 1377-8	Naval Expedition	Earl of Buckingham	4000 ³
	Relief of Brest		

• Earl of Buckingham⁴

• Duke of Brittany (Earl of Richmond)⁵

• Earl of Devon⁶

• William, Lord Latimer⁷

¹ Details of E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v were kindly provided by Dr David Simpkin from as yet unpublished research for the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* project.

² J. Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London, 1994), p.15; N. B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385', *English Historical Review*, lxxiii (1958), pp.17-21; D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain* (Leiden, 2006), p.63.

³ Figures for whole army size taken from A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.10. The Sir Gilbert Talbot who led a retinue on this campaign was Sir Gilbert Talbot of Richard's Castle, not Gilbert, Lord Talbot of Goodrich/Archenfield/Irchenfield: J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, (eds.), *The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, vol. iv (Stroud, 1992), pp.560-3.

⁴ E 101/36/25-9; E 101/37/10; E 101/37/28; E 101/42/13

⁵ E 101/42/13 mm.1-3; E 101/68/7/149. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

⁶ E 364/12; E 403/465; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.36.

⁷ T. Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. i, ed. J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), p.171; T. Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. D. Preest and J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p.48; V. H.

• Walter, Lord Fitzwalter ⁸				
• Michael, Lord de la Pole ⁹				281/280
• John, Lord Arundel ¹⁰				400
• John, Lord Cobham ¹¹				227
• Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby (de la Pole's retinue) ¹²				
• Thomas, Lord Berkeley ¹³				
• John, Lord Welles ¹⁴				
• Roger, Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe (de la Pole's retinue) ¹⁵				
• Sir Thomas Camoys (Latimer's retinue) ¹⁶				
• John, Lord Clifton (Brittany's retinue) ¹⁷				
• Richard, Lord Poynings (John, Lord Arundel's retinue) ¹⁸				
2) 1378 Naval Expedition		Duke of Lancaster/Earl of Arundel		5000
Spain (Navarre) and attack on St Malo				
• Duke of Lancaster ¹⁹				
• Earl of Arundel ²⁰				370
• Earl of Salisbury ²¹				64/300
• Earl of Buckingham ²²				142
• Earl of Warwick ²³				400
• Earl of Oxford ²⁴				269/160
• Earl of Cambridge ²⁵				
• Earl of Stafford ²⁶				
• Earl of Suffolk ²⁷				
• Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby ²⁸				

Galbraith (ed), *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333-1381* (Manchester, 1927), p.116; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G. B. Stow (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp.48-9; A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy* (London, 1971), p.122.

⁸ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.171, 212; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.48, 61; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.122.

⁹ E 101/36/31; E 101/37/10 m.1; E 101/68/7/153. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹⁰ E 101/36/31; E 101/68/7/150; Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle*, p.116.

¹¹ E 101/36/31; E 101/36/29 m.3.

¹² E 101/37/10 m.1 (where mistakenly called Robert); French Rolls 1 Ric. II, p.1, m.21, cited in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v (London, 1926), p.352.

¹³ J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618*, vol. ii, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1882), p.7.

¹⁴ G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii (London, 1959), p.442.

¹⁵ E 101/37/10 m.1.

¹⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii (London, 1886), p.306.

¹⁷ E 101/42/13 m.3.

¹⁸ G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. x (London, 1945), p.663.

¹⁹ E 101/36/34; E 101/36/38; E 101/36/39.

²⁰ E 101/36/32 mm.3-6.

²¹ E 101/36/32 m.12; E 101/68/7/163. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

²² E 101/38/2 mm.1, 1d.

²³ E 101/68/7/159; E 364/12; E 402/468; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.36.

²⁴ E.101/36/39 mm.5-8; E 101/68/7/162. Oxford and Devereux were jointly contracted to provide 200 men, of which Devereux was separately indentured to provide 40. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

²⁵ E 364/12; E 402/468; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.36.

²⁶ E 364/12; E 402/468; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.36.

²⁷ E 364/12; E 402/468; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.36.

²⁸ French Rolls 1 Ric. II, p.2, m.22, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.352.

• John, Lord Neville of Raby ²⁹				
• Thomas, Lord Berkeley ³⁰				120
• John, Lord Montagu ³¹				111
• Guy, Lord Brian (Captain under the command of Arundel) ³²				438
• John, Lord Arundel ³³				115/100
• William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny ³⁴				152
• Warin, Lord Lisle (Captain under the command of Arundel) ³⁵				11
• John, Lord Welles (John, Lord Arundel's retinue) ³⁶				40
• Ralph, Lord Basset ³⁷				40
• Sir John Falvesle (Arundel's retinue) ³⁸				11
• John, Lord Devereux (joint retinue with Oxford) ³⁹				40
• Sir Philip Despenser (Gaunt's retinue) ⁴⁰				40
• Thomas, Lord Ros (Arundel's retinue) ⁴¹				40
• Michael, Lord de la Pole (Gaunt's retinue) ⁴²				40
• (Sir John Strange (Arundel's retinue) (Roger, Lord Strange's son)) ⁴³				40
3) 1379	Brittany	Duke of Brittany		1300
• Duke of Brittany (Earl of Richmond) ⁴⁴				
• John, Lord Arundel ⁴⁵				
• John, Lord Bourchier ⁴⁶				
• Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby ⁴⁷				
• Ralph, Lord Basset ⁴⁸				
• John, Lord Welles ⁴⁹				

²⁹ J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. ii (London, 1815), pp.225-9.

³⁰ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.7.

³¹ E 101/68/7/174; G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. ix (London, 1936), p.87. John, Lord Montagu and his brother the earl of Salisbury were also acting together defending the port of Poole a few months before: Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.161.

³² E 101/36/32 m.2.

³³ E 101/36/39 mm.5-12.

³⁴ E 101/36/39 mm.1, 2; E 101/68/7/166. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

³⁵ E 101/36/32 mm.1, 4, 6, 9.

³⁶ E 101/36/39 m.10d.

³⁷ E 101/36/32 m.10.

³⁸ E 101/36/32 m.3.

³⁹ E 101/36/39 m.5; E 101/68/7/162; E 101/68/7/167.

⁴⁰ French Rolls 1 Ric. II, p.2, m.4, cited in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iv (London, 1916), p.289.

⁴¹ E 101/36/32 m.3.

⁴² G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part i (London, 1953), p.438.

⁴³ E 101/36/32 m.3. As John was at this point a baron's son, rather than a baron, this has not been counted in the calculations for this section.

⁴⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.325-39; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.57-8; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305.

⁴⁵ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, pp.325-39; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, pp.57-8; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, pp.57-8; A. Usk, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), p.17.

⁴⁶ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305.

⁴⁷ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305.

⁴⁸ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.305.

⁴⁹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii, p.442.

4) 1380-1	Brittany	Earl of Buckingham	5191
	• Earl of Buckingham ⁵⁰		2554
	• Earl of Devon (Buckingham's retinue) ⁵¹		
	• Earl of Oxford (Buckingham's retinue) ⁵²		
	• Ralph, Lord Basset ⁵³		393
	• John, Lord Bourchier ⁵⁴		
	• Walter, Lord Fitzwalter ⁵⁵		
	• William, Lord Latimer ⁵⁶		469
	• Thomas, Lord Morley ⁵⁷		
	• Sir William Windsor ⁵⁸		412/411
	• John, Lord de la Warr ⁵⁹		
	• Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby ⁶⁰		
	• Sir Thomas Camoys (Latimer's retinue) ⁶¹		
	• Philip, Lord Darcy ⁶²		
	• Richard, Lord Seymour ⁶³		
	• Thomas, Lord Berkeley ⁶⁴		
	• John, Lord Welles ⁶⁵		
	• John, Lord Clinton (Windsor's retinue) ⁶⁶		
	• Richard, Lord Poynings ⁶⁷		160
	• John, Lord Lovel ⁶⁸		
	• (Sir Ralph Neville of Raby (son of John, Lord Neville of Raby)) ⁶⁹		

⁵⁰ E 364/15 m.41d.

⁵¹ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323.

⁵² Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323.

⁵³ E 364/15 m.41; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.365; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.107; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.15; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124.

⁵⁴ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124.

⁵⁵ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124.

⁵⁶ E 403/478 m.22; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, pp.350, 375; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.15; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124.

⁵⁷ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.124.

⁵⁸ E 101/39/7 m3; E 101/39/7 m.4; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.365; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.107; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle*, p.302; Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p.15. Windsor's involvement in this campaign was a condition for him recovering his wife Alice Perrers' forfeited lands: *CPR 1377-1381* (London, 1895), p.503. The first figure is for the first Muster Roll, the second for the second. The figures have been averaged for calculations. Sherborne gives a figure of 399 using Indentures of War, Issue Rolls and accounts, rather than the Muster Rolls.

⁵⁹ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, pp.323, 328.

⁶⁰ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; French Rolls 3 Ric. II, m.3, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.352.

⁶¹ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.325; *CPR 1377-1381* (London, 1895), p.569.

⁶² Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323.

⁶³ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.323; *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1377-1381 (CCR)* (London, 1914), p.399.

⁶⁴ Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p.8.

⁶⁵ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii, p.442.

⁶⁶ E 101/39/7 m.4; G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. iii (London, 1913), p.314.

⁶⁷ E 101/68/8/187.

⁶⁸ N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, vol. i (London, 1832), p.190; N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, vol. ii (London, 1832), p.450.

⁶⁹ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.325. As Ralph was at this point a baron's son, rather than a baron, this has not been counted in the calculations for this section.

5) 1381	Portugal	Earl of Cambridge	3000
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earl of Cambridge⁷⁰ • William, Lord Botreaux⁷¹ • William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny⁷² • Gilbert, Lord Talbot⁷³ 	
6) 1383	Flanders	Bishop Despenser	5000
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John, Lord Beaumont⁷⁴ • John, Lord Welles⁷⁵ • (William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny)⁷⁶ 	
7) 1385	Scotland	Richard II	13,764
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duke of Lancaster⁷⁷ • Earl of Cambridge • Earl of Arundel • Earl of Warwick • Earl of Devon • Earl of Nottingham • Earl of Stafford • Earl of Salisbury • Earl of Buckingham • John, Lord Arundel • John, Lord Beaumont • Thomas, Lord Berkeley • Roger, Lord Clifford • John, Lord Clinton • Ralph, Lord Cromwell • John, Lord Devereux • Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby • Robert, Lord Harington • John, Lord Montagu • John, Lord Neville of Raby • Michael, Lord de la Pole • John, Lord Ros • Aymer, Lord St Amand • John, Lord Strange⁷⁸ 	3000 600 249 280 220 249 299 149 1200 5 69 53 139 62 69 115 79 69 232 140 50 40 3

⁷⁰ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.409; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.120.

⁷¹ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.409; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.120.

⁷² E 101/70/2/615; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.409; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.120; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, p.61. The number of men Beauchamp was contracted for is illegible on the indenture.

⁷³ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, p.447.

⁷⁴ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.697; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.207; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, pp.582, 612.

⁷⁵ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii, p.442.

⁷⁶ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.685; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.203; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. ii, pp.583-4. Beauchamp was hired to campaign but did not cross as he had not been paid, leaving many of those he was supposed to be commanding waiting for him. As Beauchamp demonstratively did not serve, he has not been counted in the calculation for this section.

⁷⁷ Leaders and contingents receiving wages recorded on the Issue Rolls: Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons', pp.17-21.

⁷⁸ Listed as Roger Strange, but Roger had died in 1382 so is likely a mistake for his son John.

•	Gilbert, Lord Talbot	17
•	Richard, Lord Talbot ⁷⁹	27
•	William, Lord Thorpe	15
•	John, Lord Welles	79
•	Robert, Lord Willoughby	89
•	William, Lord Zouche	60
•	William, Lord Botreaux ⁸⁰)
•	John, Lord Lovel)
•	Richard, Lord Seymour)
8) 1386	Castile	Duke of Lancaster
		3600
•	Duke of Lancaster	
•	Walter, Lord Fitzwalter ⁸¹	
•	Gilbert, Lord Talbot ⁸²	
•	Richard, Lord Poynings ⁸³	
•	Roger, Lord Scales ⁸⁴	
•	Robert, Lord Willoughby ⁸⁵	
•	Ralph, Lord Basset ⁸⁶	
•	William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny ⁸⁷	
•	Thomas, Lord Camoys ⁸⁸	
•	(William, Lord Windsor) ⁸⁹	
9) 1387	Naval Expedition	Earl of Arundel
Sluys and Brest		E 101/40/33+ E 101/40/34
•	Earl of Arundel ⁹⁰	406/286
•	Earl of Devon ⁹¹	253/253

⁷⁹ Although Richard Talbot is the son of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, he has been included in calculations, unlike Ralph Neville in 1380-1, as he had been summoned to parliament in his own right alongside his father since 1384, in consequence of his marriage to the heiress of Strange of Blackmere.

⁸⁰ Additional names recorded in the Order of Battle: S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1904), pp.437-9.

⁸¹ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. i, p.789; Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora*, p.238; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, p.95; L. Hector and B. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), p.101; J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. iii (London, 1815), p.428.

⁸² Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, pp.267, 440.

⁸³ Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.341; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.101.

⁸⁴ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.101.

⁸⁵ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267.

⁸⁶ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267.

⁸⁷ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267.

⁸⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, p.306.

⁸⁹ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.267. Likely a mistake as Windsor had died in 1384. for this reason Windsor has not been counted in calculations for this section.

⁹⁰ E 101/40/33 mm.1, 1d., 2, 2d; E 101/40/34 mm.2i, 2ii, 2iii; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.56. The first figure is for the first Muster Roll, the second for the second. The figures have been averaged for calculations. Bell gives a figure of 382. Bell's calculations subtract those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls. Although these figures are more accurate, the full number of names have been used in calculations as these are consistent with the other Muster Roll figures from 1377-8, 1378, 1380-1.

⁹¹ E 101/40/33 mm.3, 3d; E 101/40/34 mm.1i, 1ii, 1iid; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.56. The first figure is for the first Muster Roll, the second for the second. The figures have been averaged for

• Earl of Nottingham (Arundel's retinue) ⁹²			
• John, Lord Beaumont ⁹³	210/203		
• John, Lord Arundel ⁹⁴	72/73		
• John, Lord Ros (Sir Thomas Poyning's retinue) ⁹⁵			
• Richard, Lord Seymour (Arundel's retinue) ⁹⁶			
• John, Lord Falvesle (Arundel's retinue) ⁹⁷			
• Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin (Arundel's retinue) ⁹⁸			
• Richard, Lord Talbot (Arundel's retinue) ⁹⁹			
• Sir William Heron (Sir Nicholas Clifton's retinue) ¹⁰⁰			
• John, Lord Welles ¹⁰¹			
• John, Lord Clinton (Devon's retinue) ¹⁰²			
10) 1388 Naval Expedition	Earl of Arundel		3592
Brittany-Normandy coast and La Rochelle	<i>E 101/41/5</i>		
• Earl of Arundel ¹⁰³	409 /400		
• Earl of Nottingham ¹⁰⁴	237		
• Earl of Devon ¹⁰⁵	287		
• John, Lord Arundel ¹⁰⁶	92		
• Sir William Heron ¹⁰⁷	95		
• John, Lord Falvesle (Arundel's retinue) ¹⁰⁸			
• Thomas, Lord Despenser (Arundel's retinue) ¹⁰⁹			

calculations. Bell gives a figure of 231 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

⁹² E 101/40/33 m.1.

⁹³ E 101/40/33 m.4; E 101/40/34 m.16; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.56; Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, p.128. The first figure is for the first Muster Rolls, the second for the second. The figures have been averaged for calculations. Bell gives a figure of 196 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

⁹⁴ E 101/40/33 m.5; E 101/40/34 m.14; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.56. The first figure is for the first Muster Roll, the second for the second. The figures have been averaged for calculations. Bell gives a figure of 70 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

⁹⁵ E 101/40/33 m.8; E 101/40/34 m.23; Treaty Rolls 11 Ric. II, m.5, cited in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xi (London, 1949), p.101.

⁹⁶ E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i.

⁹⁷ E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i; French Rolls 10 Ric. II, mm.10, 12, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252.

⁹⁸ E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i.

⁹⁹ E 101/40/33 m.1; E 101/40/34 m.2i.

¹⁰⁰ E 101/40/33 m.12d.

¹⁰¹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii, p.442.

¹⁰² E 101/40/33 m.3; E 101/40/34 m.1i.

¹⁰³ E 101/41/5 mm.1. 1d, 2, 2d; E 101/68/11/257; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64. Bell gives a figure of 363 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹⁰⁴ E 101/41/5 mm.3, 3d; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64. Bell gives a figure of 232 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹⁰⁵ E 101/41/5 mm.5, 5d, 6; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64. Bell gives a figure of 279 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹⁰⁶ E 101/41/5 m.6; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64. Bell gives a figure of 90 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹⁰⁷ E 101/41/5 m.10; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.449. Bell gives a figure of 94 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹⁰⁸ E 101/41/5 m.1; French Rolls 11 Ric. II, m.7, cited in Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. v, p.252.

• Roger, Lord Clifford ¹¹⁰				135
• Thomas, Lord Camoys ¹¹¹				
• John, Lord Beaumont ¹¹²				75
• John, Lord Welles ¹¹³				
• Thomas, Lord Bardolf (Nottingham's retinue) ¹¹⁴				
• Michael, Lord de la Pole (Arundel's retinue) ¹¹⁵				
• John, Lord Lovel (Welles' retinue) ¹¹⁶				
• + William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny ¹¹⁷				
11) 1394	Ireland	Richard II		7000
• Duke of Gloucester ¹¹⁸			400/400	
• Earl of March ¹¹⁹			699/300	
• Earl of Rutland ¹²⁰			200	
• Earl of Nottingham ¹²¹			240	
• Earl of Huntingdon ¹²²			54	
• John, Lord Beaumont ¹²³			80	
• Thomas, Lord Despenser ¹²⁴			174	
• Thomas, Lord Bardolf ¹²⁵			31	
• William, Lord Ferrers of Groby ¹²⁶			14	
• William, Lord Heron ¹²⁷				

¹⁰⁹ E 101/41/5 m.1; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, p.353; *CPR 1385-1389*, p.416.

¹¹⁰ Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.581.

¹¹¹ E 101/41/5 m.7; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64; Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles*, vol. iii, p.581. Bell gives a figure of 135 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹¹² J. Froissart, *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries, Translated from the Original French at the command of King Henry the Eighth by John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, vol. iv (London, 1816).

¹¹³ E 101/41/5 m.4; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.64; Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. xii, part ii, p.442. Bell gives a figure of 73 having subtracted those names that have been crossed off the Muster Rolls.

¹¹⁴ E 101/41/5 m.3.

¹¹⁵ E 101/41/5 m.1

¹¹⁶ E 101/41/5 m.4.

¹¹⁷ Hector and Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle*, pp.353-5; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, p.389. Beauchamp offered support to the expedition as Captain of Calais.

¹¹⁸ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; E 101/69/1/289; *CPR 1391-1396* (London, 1905), pp.490, 493, 525, 537, 550, 587; N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p.279. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹¹⁹ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; E 101/68/10/236; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.481, 496, 523, 536, 562, 602, 619, 634, 638, 667, 688, 710; Saul, *Richard II*, p.279. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹²⁰ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.477, 534, 557, 559, 562-4, 595; Saul, *Richard II*, p.279.

¹²¹ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.453, 486, 487, 496, 506, 531, 536; Saul, *Richard II*, p.279.

¹²² E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.535, 566, 587; Saul, *Richard II*, p.279.

¹²³ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.493, 506; J. L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: King of Battles?', in J. L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), p.149.

¹²⁴ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.483, 507; Gillespie, 'Richard II: King of Battles?', p.151.

¹²⁵ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.493; E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5* (Oxford, 1927), p.123.

¹²⁶ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.476, 482.

¹²⁷ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.483; Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland*, p.123.

• Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin ¹²⁸				
• Richard, Lord Talbot ¹²⁹				79
• John, Lord Lovel ¹³⁰				
• Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby ¹³¹				
• Walter, Lord Fitzwalter ¹³²				
• Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor ¹³³				18
• Robert, Lord Scales ¹³⁴				8
• Sir Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe ¹³⁵				
12) 1399	Ireland	Richard II	4500	
• Duke of Albemarle ¹³⁶			940/940	
• Duke of Exeter ¹³⁷			640 /516	
• Duke of Surrey ¹³⁸			950	
• Earl of Gloucester (Thomas, Lord Despenser) ¹³⁹			135/135	
• Earl of Worcester ¹⁴⁰			136 /140	
• Earl of Salisbury (John, Lord Montagu) ¹⁴¹				
• Thomas, Lord Bardolf ¹⁴²				
• Robert, Lord Scales ¹⁴³				
• John, Lord Lovel ¹⁴⁴				
• Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin ¹⁴⁵			55	
• Thomas, Lord Morley ¹⁴⁶				
• William, Lord Clinton ¹⁴⁷				
• Sir John Beauchamp of Kidderminster ¹⁴⁸				

¹²⁸ *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.474-5.

¹²⁹ *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.489, 499, 507, 536.

¹³⁰ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, pp.486, 488-9, 493.

¹³¹ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.509.

¹³² *CPR 1391-1396*, p.537.

¹³³ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v; *CPR 1391-1396*, p.525.

¹³⁴ E 101/402/20, fos. 32r-33v.

¹³⁵ *CPR 1391-1396*, p.506.

¹³⁶ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; E 101/69/1/301; *CPR 1396-1399* (London, 1909), pp.519, 523, 539, 552, 563, 587, 590; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63; Saul, *Richard II*, p.289. The first figure is the accounted number, the second the contracted.

¹³⁷ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; E 101/69/1/300; *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.520, 540, 573; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63; Saul, *Richard II*, p.289. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹³⁸ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.390, 406, 409, 415, 429, 438, 462, 476, 500; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63; Saul, *Richard II*, p.289.

¹³⁹ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; E 101/69/1/299; *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.520, 524, 526; Gillespie, 'Richard II: King of Battles?', p.157; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63. The first figure is the accounted number, the second the contracted.

¹⁴⁰ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; E 101/69/1/296; E 101/69/1/297; *CPR 1396-1399*, p.531; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63; Saul, *Richard II*, p.289. The accounted (emboldened) rather than the contracted figure has been used in calculations.

¹⁴¹ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.519, 522, 525; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.64; Gillespie, 'Richard II: King of Battles?', p.157.

¹⁴² *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.531, 538; Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, p.155.

¹⁴³ Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae*, p.155.

¹⁴⁴ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.541, 545, 552.

¹⁴⁵ E 403/651, 13 May; E 403/562 mm.3, 4, 10; *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.524, 554; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.63.

¹⁴⁶ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.525, 538, 545-6, 555; Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p.68.

¹⁴⁷ *CPR 1396-1399*, pp.523, 552.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1396-1399*, p.525.

Letters of Protection and Powers of Attorney Granted and Recorded on the Treaty (or French) Rolls¹⁴⁹

The emboldened campaigns below are those where actual service has been corroborated elsewhere (see above). Those not corroborated have been summarised at the bottom of this section. For these one or more of the following applies: there is no surviving proof that the men in question turned their intention to serve into actual service; there is no confirmation that they went on the particular expedition in question, as opposed to other military or diplomatic overseas service; or the identity of the man in question cannot be confirmed and so it may be a namesake. In campaigns such as 1379, 1381, 1383 and 1386, where records are otherwise poor, it is likely that many of these men did actually serve, though it cannot be said with any certainty how many and which.

Letters of Protection

Personal Grants

John, Lord Arundel – **1377-8, 1378, 1379**¹⁵⁰
Thomas, Lord Bardolf - **1399**¹⁵¹
Ralph, Lord Basset – **1378-9, 1380-1**¹⁵²
William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny – **1378, 1381**¹⁵³
John, Lord Beaumont – **1383, 1387**¹⁵⁴
Thomas, Lord Berkeley - **1381**¹⁵⁵
William Lord Botreaux - **1381**¹⁵⁶
John, Lord Bourchier – 1377-8, **1380-1**¹⁵⁷
Guy, Lord Brian - **1378**¹⁵⁸
Thomas, Lord Camoys – **1377-8, 1380-1, 1386, 1388**¹⁵⁹
John, Lord Cherleton – 1386¹⁶⁰
John, Lord Clifton – **1377-8**, 1378, 1379, 1380-1¹⁶¹
John, Lord Cobham – **1377-8**¹⁶²
Philip, Lord Darcy – **1380-1**, 1383, 1386¹⁶³
John, Lord Devereux – **1378**, 1379¹⁶⁴
John, Lord Falvesle – **1387, 1388**¹⁶⁵
Robert, Lord Ferrers of Wem – 1380-1¹⁶⁶
Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby – **1377-8, 1378, 1379, 1380-1**, 1383¹⁶⁷

¹⁴⁹ C 76/59–C 76/84.

¹⁵⁰ C 76/61 m.21; C 76/62 m.14; C 76/64 m.20.

¹⁵¹ C 76/82 m.4.

¹⁵² C 76/62 m.12; C 76/65 m.28.

¹⁵³ C 76/62 m.12; C 76/65 m.7.

¹⁵⁴ C 76/67 m.1; C 76/71 m.12.

¹⁵⁵ C 76/65 m.13.

¹⁵⁶ C 76/65 m.13.

¹⁵⁷ C 76/60 m.7; C 76/64 m.4.

¹⁵⁸ C 76/63 m.15.

¹⁵⁹ C 76/61 m.27; C 76/64 m.4; C 76/70 m.20; C 76/72 m.6.

¹⁶⁰ C 76/60 m.7.

¹⁶¹ C 76/61 m.26; C 76/62 m.19; C 76/64 m.23; C 76/63 m.6; C 76/64 m.5; C 76/65 m.28.

¹⁶² C 76/61 m.23.

¹⁶³ C 76/64 m.4; C 76/67 m.5; C 76/70 m.11.

¹⁶⁴ C 76/61 m.7; C 76/64 m.19.

¹⁶⁵ C 76/71 m.12; C 76/72 m.7.

¹⁶⁶ C 76/64 m.5.

¹⁶⁷ C 76/61 m.27; C 76/61 m.24; C 76/62 m.22; C 76/62 m.19; C 76/64 m.22; C 76/64 m.5; C 76/60 m.7; C 76/67 m.17.

Walter, Lord Fitzwalter – **1380-1**¹⁶⁸
 William, Lord Latimer – **1377-8, 1380-1**¹⁶⁹
 John, Lord Lovel – 1383¹⁷⁰
 John, Lord Neville of Raby – **1378**, 1379¹⁷¹
 Michael, Lord de la Pole – **1377-8, 1378**¹⁷²
 Richard, Lord Poynings – **1377-8, 1386**¹⁷³
 Thomas, Lord Ros – **1378**; John, Lord Ros - 1388¹⁷⁴
 Roger, Lord Scales – **1386**¹⁷⁵
 Richard, Lord Seymour – 1377-8, **1380-1, 1387**¹⁷⁶
 Roger, Lord Strange – 1380-1; John, Lord Strange - 1386¹⁷⁷
 Gilbert, Lord Talbot – 1380-1¹⁷⁸
 John, Lord Welles – **1378, 1387, 1388**¹⁷⁹
 William, Lord Windsor – **1380-1**¹⁸⁰
 William, Lord Zouche - 1383¹⁸¹

Captains (granted for men in their services)

John, Lord Arundel – **1377-8, 1378, 1379**¹⁸²
 Thomas, Lord Bardolf - **1399**¹⁸³
 Ralph, Lord Basset – **1378, 1380-1**, 1383¹⁸⁴
 William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny – **1378, 1381**¹⁸⁵
 John, Lord Beaumont - **1383**¹⁸⁶
 Thomas, Lord Berkeley - **1381**¹⁸⁷
 William, Lord Botreaux - **1381**¹⁸⁸
 John, Lord Bourchier – **1380-1**¹⁸⁹
 John, Lord Clifton - 1383¹⁹⁰
 John, Lord Cobham – **1377-8**¹⁹¹
 Philip, Lord Darcy – **1380-1**, 1383, 1386¹⁹²
 John, Lord Devereux – **1378**, 1379¹⁹³
 Walter, Lord Fitzwalter – **1380-1, 1386**¹⁹⁴
 William Lord Latimer – **1377-8, 1380-1**¹⁹⁵

¹⁶⁸ C 76/64 m.4.

¹⁶⁹ C 76/61 m.20; C 76/61 m.21; C 76/64 m.4.

¹⁷⁰ C 76/67 m.2.

¹⁷¹ C 76/62 m.12; C 76/64 m.22.

¹⁷² C 76/61 m.20; C 76/62 m.18.

¹⁷³ C 76/61 m.22; C 76/70 m.20.

¹⁷⁴ C 76/62 m.1; C 76/62 m.24; C 76/72 m.5; C 76/72 m.6.

¹⁷⁵ C 76/70 m.11.

¹⁷⁶ C 76/61 m.26; C 76/65 m.26; C 76/71 m.14.

¹⁷⁷ C 76/65 m.28; C 76/70 m.11.

¹⁷⁸ C 76/63 m.28. C 76/61 m.27 is for Sir Gilbert Talbot of Richard's Castle.

¹⁷⁹ C 76/63 m.13; C 76/71 m.14; C 76/72 m.7.

¹⁸⁰ C 76/64 m.10.

¹⁸¹ C 76/68 m.21.

¹⁸² C 76/61 mm.2, 22; C 76/62, mm.14, 19; C 76/63 m.12; C 76/64 mm.20, 22.

¹⁸³ C 76/82 mm.1, 2, 3, 5.

¹⁸⁴ C 76/62 m.12; C 76/64 m.5; C 76/65 mm.22, 29; C 76/68 m. 21, 24.

¹⁸⁵ C 76/62 m.19; C 76/65 mm.16, 17.

¹⁸⁶ C 76/67 mm.2, 4, 5, 6.

¹⁸⁷ C 76/65 m.17.

¹⁸⁸ C 76/65 m.11.

¹⁸⁹ C 76/65 m.24.

¹⁹⁰ C 76/67 m.8.

¹⁹¹ C 76/61 mm.24, 28.

¹⁹² C 76/65 m.22; C 76/67 m.2; C 76/70 m.13, 14, 17, 26; C 76/71 m.24.

¹⁹³ C 76/61 m.7; C 76/62 m.22; C 76/64 m. 22.

¹⁹⁴ C 76/64 m.4; C 76/65 mm. 24, 25; C 76/70 m.10.

¹⁹⁵ C 76/61 mm.27, 28; C 76/64 m.4; C 76/65 mm.19, 22, 23, 28.

John, Lord Lovel - **1385**¹⁹⁶
Thomas, Lord Morley – **1380-1**¹⁹⁷
Michael, Lord de la Pole – **1377-8, 1378**¹⁹⁸
Richard, Lord Poynings – **1381, 1386**¹⁹⁹
Thomas, Lord Ros - **1378**²⁰⁰
William, Lord Windsor – 1379, **1380-1**, 1383²⁰¹
William, Lord Zouche - 1383²⁰²

Powers of Attorney

Personal Grants

John, Lord Arundel – **1377-8, 1379, 1387, 1388**²⁰³
Ralph, Lord Basset – **1378, 1380-1**²⁰⁴
William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny – **1378, 1381**²⁰⁵
John, Lord Beaumont – **1383, 1387**²⁰⁶
Thomas, Lord Berkeley – **1378, 1381**²⁰⁷
William, Lord Botreaux – **1381**²⁰⁸
John, Lord Bourchier – 1377-8, 1383²⁰⁹
Thomas, Lord Camoys – **1377-8, 1380-1, 1386**²¹⁰
John, Lord Clifton – **1377-8**, 1378, 1383, **1387**²¹¹
John, Lord Cobham – **1377-8, 1378**²¹²
Philip, Lord Darcy – **1380-1**, 1383, 1386²¹³
Philip, Lord Despenser (Lincs.) – **1378**²¹⁴
John, Lord Devereux – **1378**, 1380-1²¹⁵
John, Lord Falvlesle - **1387, 1388**²¹⁶
Robert, Lord Ferrers of Wem – 1378, 1380-1²¹⁷
Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby – **1377-8, 1378, 1379, 1380-1, 1381**, 1383²¹⁸
Henry, Lord Fitzhugh – 1387²¹⁹
Walter, Lord Fitzwalter – **1377-8, 1378**, 1379, **1380-1, 1386**²²⁰
William, Lord Latimer – **1377-8, 1380-1**²²¹
John, Lord Lovel – 1383²²²

¹⁹⁶ C 76/69 m.2.

¹⁹⁷ C 76/64 m.1.

¹⁹⁸ C 76/61 mm.24, 27; C 76/62 mm.6, 9; C 76/63 m.19.

¹⁹⁹ C 76/65 m.17; C 76/70 m.3, 7, 8, 13, 17.

²⁰⁰ C 76/62 m.1.

²⁰¹ C 76/64 m.19; C 76/64 m.6; C 76/65 m.26; C 76/65 m.15; C 76/68 mm.21, 22.

²⁰² C 76/68 mm.19, 21.

²⁰³ C 76/61 mm.14, 21; C 76/64 m.18; C 76/71 m.6; C 76/73 m.15.

²⁰⁴ C 76/62 m.20; C 76/65 mm.23, 26.

²⁰⁵ C 76/62 mm.14, 17; C 76/65 m.7.

²⁰⁶ C 76/67 m.1; C 76/71 m.10.

²⁰⁷ C 76/63 m.19; C 76/65 m.15.

²⁰⁸ C 76/65 m.1.

²⁰⁹ C 76/60 m.5; C 76/61 mm.20, 21; C 76/68 m.19.

²¹⁰ C 76/61 m.16; C 76/64 m.2; C 76/70 m.17.

²¹¹ C 76/61 m.22; C 76/62 m.17; C 76/67 m.7; C 76/29 m.19.

²¹² C 76/61 m.23; C 76/62 m.6.

²¹³ C 76/64 m.3; C 76/67 m.1; C 76/70 mm.10, 14.

²¹⁴ C 76/62 m.4.

²¹⁵ C 76/61 m.2; C 76/64 m.16.

²¹⁶ C 76/71 m.10; C 76/72 m.8.

²¹⁷ C 76/63 m.17; C 76/64 m.8.

²¹⁸ C 76/61 mm.19, 21; C 76/61 m.1; C 76/62 m.1, C 76/63 m.19; C 76/64 m.19; C 76/64 m.3; C 76/65 m.18; C 76/67 m.10.

²¹⁹ C 76/72 m.23.

²²⁰ C 76/61 m.22; C 76/63 m.20; C 76/63 m.9; C 76/64 m.3; C 76/70 m.12.

²²¹ C 76/61 m.21; C 76/64 m.3.

Michael, Lord de la Pole – **1377-8, 1378**²²³
 Richard, Lord Poynings – **1381, 1386**²²⁴
 Thomas, Lord Ros – **1378**²²⁵
 Roger, Lord Scales – **1386**²²⁶
 Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton – 1381, 1383, 1386²²⁷
 Richard, Lord Seymour – 1377-8, **1380-1, 1387**²²⁸
 Gilbert, Lord Talbot – 1380-1; Richard, Lord Talbot - **1387**²²⁹
 John, Lord Welles – **1378, 1379, 1381, 1388**²³⁰
 William, Lord Windsor – **1380-1**²³¹

Captains (granted for men in their service)

John, Lord Arundel – **1377-8, 1378, 1379**²³²
 Ralph, Lord Basset – **1378, 1380-1**²³³
 William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny – **1378, 1381**²³⁴
 John, Lord Bourchier – **1380-1**²³⁵
 Guy, Lord Brian – **1378**²³⁶
 Philip, Lord Darcy – 1383, 1386²³⁷
 John, Lord Devereux – 1379²³⁸
 William, Lord Latimer – **1377-8, 1380-1**²³⁹
 Michael, Lord de la Pole – **1377-8**²⁴⁰
 Thomas, Lord Ros - **1378**²⁴¹
 William, Lord Windsor – **1380-1**²⁴²

No Corroboratory Evidence of Actual Service/Identity

1377-8 – Bourchier, Seymour
 1378 – Clifton, Ferrers of Wem
 1379 – Clifton, Devereux, Fitzwalter, Neville of Raby, Windsor
 1380-1 – Clifton, Devereux, Ferrers of Wem, Strange, Talbot
 1381 – Scrope of Bolton
 1383 – Basset, Bourchier, Clifton, Darcy, Ferrers of Groby, Lovel, Scrope of Bolton, Windsor, Zouche
 1386 – Cherleton, Darcy, Scrope of Bolton, Strange
 1387 - Fitzhugh
 1388 - Ros

²²² C 76/67 m.7.

²²³ C 76/61 m.20; C 76/62 m.2.

²²⁴ C 76/65 m.12; C 76/70 m.17.

²²⁵ C 76/62 m.4, 15.

²²⁶ C 76/70 m.12.

²²⁷ C 76/66 m.14; C 76/68 m.19; C 76/70 m.23.

²²⁸ C 76/61 m.14; C 76/65 m.23; C 76/71 m.14.

²²⁹ C 76/61 m.27; C 76/71 m.10.

²³⁰ C 76/62 m.17; C 76/64 m.17; C 76/65 m.15; C 76/72 m.8.

²³¹ C 76/65 m.27.

²³² C 76/61 mm.14, 19, 20; C 76/62 m.6; C 76/64 mm.18, 19, 24.

²³³ C 76/62 m.11; C 76/64 mm.3, 7; C 76/65 mm.23, 26, 27.

²³⁴ C 76/62 m.13; C 76/65 m.4.

²³⁵ C 76/65 m.23.

²³⁶ C 76/62 m.18.

²³⁷ C 76/67 m.3; C 76/71 m.24.

²³⁸ C 76/64 mm.19, 21.

²³⁹ C 76/61 mm.14, 16, 22; C 76/64 mm.2, 3; C 76/65 mm.26, 27.

²⁴⁰ C 76/61 mm.19, 21, 23.

²⁴¹ C 76/63 m.20.

²⁴² C 76/64 m.3; C 76/65 mm.26, 27.

APPENDIX 8: BARONIAL RETINUES ON MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

The following 14 retinues are those detailed on the Muster Rolls from the reign, which have survived, at least in part, from the 1377-8, 1378, 1380-1, 1387 and 1388 campaigns. Two similar, although not identical, Muster Rolls exist for the 1387 expedition (E 101/40/33 and E 101/40/34). Both versions of the two baronial retinues on these have been listed. There are also two versions of Sir William Windsor's retinue from 1380-1 (E 101/39/7 m.3 and E 101/39/7 m.4). Both of these have also been listed. These lists have all been compiled using the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* database: www.medievalsoldier.org.

Beneath the 14 retinues are three examples of the lists of men who were granted Letters of Protection to serve abroad with a baron. The three examples are for Thomas, Lord Berkeley for 1381 and Richard, Lord Poynings for 1381 and 1386. These will be discussed in the case study Chapters 6 and 7. A full list of the barons who are recorded as captaining men in such a records (including Letter of Attorney records) can be found in Appendix 7. These protection records come from the Treaty Rolls and have also been compiled using the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* database.

1) Michael, Lord de la Pole (1377-8) E 101/37/10 m.1

281 Men 140 Archers 141 Men-at-Arms:

Wasel[...]	(C)hambre	Thomas Cill(ot)?	William Illeklay
[illegible]	[..]we[...]birk	John de Clapham	William Jonessone
[illegible]	[illegible]	Robert Clerk	Wulfram Jonessone
Hans [illegible]		John Cliderowe	John Kemp
Her[...]	[illegible]	Hankyn Cole	Piers Landescrone
James?	[Illegible]	Robert Conway	John de Ledes
Thomas [Illegible]		Robert de Coton	Thomas de Ledes
Robert?	Alisaundre	Reginald Curtays	William Levenance
John Anderton		Thomas Cusyn	John Lewenay
Nicholas Arche		Richard Dardes	Robert Leyc[....]
Richard Arches		John Deneys	Wadun Mafeu?
Richard Arwill		John Derby	John Malm[....]
John Baudewyne		Robert Donnyngs	Randekyn Mere
Roger Beauchamp		Piers Duxhom	Raulyn Normanvyll
William Bermyn		John Engleys	[illegible] Okebury
Thomas Berold		John Fande[....]	John Orghes
William Bokel		Robert de Ferers	John Orwell
Anthony Bokenale		John Fitz Wauter	William Oteryngham
John Bradbury		Richard Frost	Adam Ottesler?
John Braham		John Fyncheham	Frese Owit
Roger Braunceby		John Gamson	Walter Parys
Henry de Bristowe		Thomas Gobet	John Paynell
Robert Brisyngham		William Gramory	Robert de Pitton
John Broun		Ralph de Grantham	William Plumsted
Richard Broune		John de Gruter	Michael de la Pole
Robert Burgh		Stephen de Gunter	Thomas Priour
John Car[...]		William Hardemede	Robert Prymmerose
Thomas Chamceaux		John Henrikkessone	Robert de Recheford
John del Chaumbre		William Hoo	Giles Russell
William Chestre		[illegible]Hoo	Hansk Ry[..]
Thomas Choltervng		Thomas Hykelvng	Thomas Rvdvng

Robert de Ryggelay	Richard Sprot	Thomas W[....]
John de Ryngeden	John Stapol	John Waleys
John de Salb[..]?	[illegible]Sti(g)e[.]a[.]	Henry de Walpool
William de Salesbury	Henry Stos[..]	John de Walpool
Robert? Salman?	William Straunge	Robert de Walsyngham
John de Santon	Rocard Stress?	William de Watton
Thomas? Saundre	Richard Swaldale	William de Weston
William Savage	John Swan	Maurice Westyate
John de Scardeburgh	Thomas Swan	John Whappelode
John Scott	Thomas Swofe	John White
Nicholas Serell	Thomas Symenel	Stephen White?
Piers Smeche	John Temple	John atte Wode
Thomas Sneresham?	Geoffrey de Thorp	William Wodehous
Robert Snoweblauch	John Tilnay	William Wrotham
Thomas Sorell	John de Totenham	John de Wyghton
William de Southagh	Robert Vynte	Robert de York

2) John, Lord Cobham (1377-8) **E 101/36/29 m.2**

227 Men 112 Archers 115 Men-at-Arms:

John Arches	Thomas Dylkes	Roger Manston
Ralph Bard	John Elham	John Mareys
Thomas Baret	John Esbury	John Morys
William Barry	William de Ete	John Mouyn
John Bartelmew	John Evebrok	William Mouyn
Thomas Beket	Robert Ferour	Robert Nel
John Bere	William Fishyde	Laurence Newton
Richard Bernard	John Forster	Nicholas Orwell
William Boleyn	Thomas Foston	John Pakyn
Richard Bolour	John Frankelein	Thomas Paterdale
Andrew Boltesbury	[illegible] Geddyng	John Petworth
Thomas Braillez	Reginald Geddyng	John Petyt
Henry Bray	Simon Gore	Walter Prentys
Piers Briane	Nicholas Grymbald	Robert Pryston
Philip Brompton	Robert Hadde	Thomas Roos
Hugh Brone	Andrew Hagine	John Rybylton
Stephen Burley	William Halle	Thomas Rybylton
John Bykles	Thomas Hankyn	John Saundrecok
Geoffrey Bylnay	Richard Hanslap	John Scharudeun
Maurice Campeden	Robert Hardys	William Schelnyng
Roger Caton	John Hatfeld	Arnold Seint Leger
John Chisilden	Richard Hatton	Nicholas Spicer
Hugh Claypol	Hugh Haywode	[illegible]Stapylton
Cornel de Clune	Thomas Haywode	Robert Stratford
William Clyf	William Hunt	Gibon Totysham
Reginald de Cobeham	Robert Hyndschawe	John Twyford
Ralph de Cobeham	William Ifeld	Alan Twytham
Ralph de Cobeham	Simon Jakyn	Thomas Tyrywhyt
John de Cobeham	Pers Kat	William Uncle
John Cokyl	John Kendale	John Usborne
Walter Colpeper	Nicholas Kent	Stacy Verdoun
Hugh Couplond	Adam Kyng	Matthew Walscheman
John Cusak	John Lanketon	Roger Walsham
John Daunteseie	Thomas Lenham	William Ware
Thomas Dene	Thomas Loueryk	John Warson
John Dikysle	John Lyntoft	Roger Wodeham
John Duston	Oliver Maleverer	William Wygyndenn
Thomas Dylham	Edmund Manston	Richard Yarnemouth

Gibon of Yvs

3) Guy, Lord Brian (1378)

E 101/36/32 m.2

111 Men

60 Archers

51 Men-at-Arms:

William Armerer
William Assch
William Bere
William Bigebury
Richard Bokelond
Richard Boson
Jankyn Bradeweye
Richard Bray
Guy de Briene
William de Briene
William Brom
Laurence Bromhulle
Elis Button
Raulyn Buysch
Hugh Chabbenour
John Chaundos
William Daikyn

William Davy
Robert Durant
John Erle
John Ferour
William Fort
Morgan Gogh
Roger Greote
Edmund Grey
John Holeweye
John Hounde
Richard Howell
John Hulle
William Huyst
John Joce
Nicholas Kirkehame
Richard Langenow
Stephen Laurence

Jankyn Luddesoppe
Thomas Mewy
Robert Obsale
Thomas Page
Thomas Pagenhame
Richard Pocok
Reginald Pocok
Nicholas Pymour
Robert Scharsehulle
John de Seint Katerine
John Stalworth
Jankyn Stephene
William Streke
Watekyn Tupe
Jankyn Veiser
John Warde
Richard Wygean

4) John, Lord Arundel (1378)

E 101/36/39 mm.7d-12d

438 Men

234 Archers

204 Men-at-Arms:

Tebaud [illegible]
[illegible][?].churche?
John Abbotesbury
Thomas Aderbury
Harry Akeden
John Akeden
Thomas Akeden
William Akstede
John de Aldon
Thomas Aleyn
W Alfrey
Perot Archer
Thomas Arthur
Janekyn Asshburnham
Robert Assheloth
John Auray
Janekyn Bache
Nicholas Bache
William Barrok
John de Beamond
Hugh Beauchamp
Baldwin Berford
Philip Berwyk
Richard Betle
Thomas Blount
Stephen Botiler
Ralph Brasebrigg
William Brekston
Ralph Brid
John Brikenden

Thomas Brillour
John Brokhull
Thomas Brokhull
William Brokhull
John Bron
Thomas Burdon
Janekyn Burle
Janekyn Catour
Robert Cave
Benet Celny
William Chalke
John Chathe
Richard Cherleton
Janekyn Chideok
Richard Chidiok
John Chidyoke
Richard Chiffeneye
Richard Clare
John Claton
Richard Clierc
Richard Clopton
William Clynton
Nicholas Cokfeld
Robert Convoy
John Coumbe
John Coupeland
Nicholas Cryell
John Cusyngton
Godfrey Dalingrig
Edward Dalingrigge

Watekyn Dalyngrug
John Darundell
Thomas Denyok
John Derby
Stephen Derby
John Deveros
John Drake
Richard Drayton
Thomas Dymok
Robert Echyngham
John Evebroke
Piers Fauelore
Hopkyn Fitz Rauf
Youn Fitz Waryn
William Folvile
John Forester
Richard Frende
Janekyn Frome
Richard Frome
Baldwin Frynell
Piers Gest
John Gobion
Matthew Goldyne
John Goldyngton
Raulyn Gonys
Thomas Grede
Roger Griffithe
Humphrey Halfton
William atte Hall
William Halle

William Hayite	John Newman	James Strete
John Hesilden	Frank Nichol	Harry Sullane
Harry Homwod	Janekyn Northwell	Robert Swyneshed
J Hontebourne	John Old	John Tamworth
Harry Hore	John Osbourne	Adam Thornholm
John Huburcolt	John Paen	Bernard Thorp
Richard Ideun	W Passelewe	Thomas Tighler
Robert Jolif	Walter Paule	Robert Tobeyle
William Kirke	Edward Payn	Janekyn Trenchard
Richard Kony	William Perot	[illegible]Trenerbyn
William Lakyngheye	Thomas Pikworth	William Ussher
Old Launde	Robert Pilby	Robin Veel
John Laundell	Robert Porter	William Wacfeld
John Loundonoy	Alan Poulsolt	Thomas Walche
John Lovet	Thomas Preston	John Wales
John Lugwardyn	John Proude	Thomas Warbelton
Philip Lymbery	John Roches	Janekyn Warburton
John Lyns	John Roger	Richard Warner
Gerard de Lysle	John Roos	Wilkok Warner
John Maissy	Robert Rous	Richard Waryn
Baldwin Malet	John Russell	Edmond Watringue
Laurence Marseye	Thomas Rymston	Janekyn Wauters
Reginald Martyn	John Sakevyle	Janekyn Wedon
John Michell	Thomas Sakevyle	John de Welles
Simon Michell	Thomas Sandford	Philip Welyngton
Edmund Missyngden	William Scramby	John Werengue
Nicholas Moros	Robin See	Thomas West
John Morwell	Alan Seint Just	Thomas White
Janekyn Mosard	John Seivyle	Watkyn Whiteburgh
Thomas Motfort	Janekyn Seyncler	Roger atte Wode
Baldwin Mountford	Thomas Shank	Thomas Wodelok
John Mouyn	Laurence Shebrok	John Wynder
William Mouyn	Richard Somerfort	John Wyndesowr
John Muddesle	Raulyn Stathum	John Wynford
Edward Musard	Robert Stell	Henry Yenelcombe
John Neuburgh	William Stone	John Yewan
William Nevyle	William Stradelinge	Janekyn Yorke
John Newerk	Janekyn Stradelyngs	Giles Younge

5) William, Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny (1378) **E 101/36/39 mm.1, 2**

115 Men 62 Archers 53 Men-at-Arms:

[illegible] Abraham	Lewis de Clifford	John Isleham
John Auncell	[illegible] Cyfrewaste	Thomas Latymer
William Auncell	John Cyfrewaste	Roger Longe
Thomas Barre	Walter Davy	[illegible] Lutleton
William Beauchamp	John Dodyngton	Anthony Malore
Baldwin de Berford	[illegible] Dyne	[illegible] Martyn
Harry Bernard	[illegible] Farleye	[illegible] Mewes
[illegible] Bluet	[illegible] Flambard	[illegible] Norton
[illegible] Bonde	[illegible] Geddyng	Richard Olyver
John Bryan	[illegible] Grenacre	[illegible] Pauley
[illegible] Burghull	Richard de Hampton	[illegible] Peverell
[illegible] Catesby	[illegible] Hans	[illegible] Roynon
[illegible] Chaundos	[illegible] Henry	John de Salesbury
John Cheyne	[illegible] Hikworth	[illegible] Skidmore
John de Clare	John de Holand	[illegible] Stoppesleye
[illegible] Clifford		[illegible] Takell

[illegible] Tamworth
Ralph Treford

[illegible] Waldegrave
[illegible] Wasteneys

[illegible] Wenlok

6) Warin, Lord Lisle (1378)

E 101/36/32 mm.4, 6, 7, 9

152 Men

101 Archers

51 Men-at-Arms:

William Abynton
Robert Assenden
John Beauuchampe
William Bosseyt
John Braunseach
George Burneby
Richard Champernon
John Chaunbre
William Cokerham
Walter Cork
Thomas Cotefford
Roger Coteford
Thomas Dayron
Richard Englise
John Englisse
Nicholas Falley
John Geet

John Gerventer
John Godmeye
Thomas Hastingusby
John Hauterryve
John Hikons
John Hulle
Hugh Husy
Warin del Isle
John Lesly
Robert Morle
John Neirnoet
Richard Neirnoet
Thomas Neirnoet
Robert Oxenford
William Park
John Passmere
John Pene

Thomas Prumford
Robert Rede
John Rorham
John Ryngstod
Peter Salkeford
John Saundres
Robert Simeon
Robert Snowblauntch
Thomas Sternde
Walter Thorp
Bartholomew Thorpe
John Twynyng
John Walingford
Richard Wh(i)tefeld
John Wisbich
John de Worth
David Wychampton

7) Ralph, Lord Basset (1378)

E 101/36/32 m.10

11 Men

11 Archers

0 Men-at-Arms

8a) Sir William Windsor (1380-1) **E 101/39/7 m.3**

412 Men

207 Archers

205 Men-at-Arms:

Simon Acton
Robert Alburwyk
Thomas Aumberley
Adam Bamtyng
Richard Barfort
William Barre
John Barton
John Barton
John Basset
Thomas Basset
Henry Baudrip
Martin Bawdry
William Baynton
James Bedell
Thomas Belingham
Richard Bemond
John Bemynton
Laurence Bereford
Simon Bergrave
William Bernhull
Thomas Billewe
Robert Blakbourne
John Blount
Arthur de Bolliston

John Boteler
Hamond de Bourstourt
John Bradeford
John Brews
John de Brian
Thomas Brodok
Bernard Brokas
John Bromton
John Bron
William Burham
William Burhull
Walter Cameky
Thomas Carhell
Robert Cartere
Thomas Chambre
William Chekyn
John Chidecroft
William Chircheman
William Cholmendeley
Walter Clement
Thomas de Clene
William Clerc
Thomas Coghull
John junior Cok

John senior Cok
William Cok
Simon Collo
Walter Combe
John Congulton
Walter Conyngton
John Cosinton
Simon Coton
William Couell
Thomas Cowden
Peres Cressingham
Adam Crophull
Nicholas Dacuale
Richard Dauncestre
William David
John Denton
William Deykyn
Richard Donecastre
John Dorkyng
John Duket
William de Egerton
John Everard
Laurence Everard
Piers Falmere

Richard Ferkley	Thomas Lakford	Robert Regges
Alan Fitz Pieres	John Lancastre	John Roos
John Flechier	Robert Ledes	William Ropley
William Flete	Walter de Lee	Geoffrey Sale
Thomas Fletton	Thomas Liteldon	William Sedyngton
John Fostier	Alexander Lound	Thomas Seint Martin
Nicholas Foxwist	John Luk	Norman Sharnells
William Foxwist	William Mallyng	Thomas Sholl
Robert Frank	Thomas Mareward	Richard Skemyngton
John Freman	Thomas Margenton	William Skwers
Ralph Fresshville	William Marschall	Hugh Souch
Richard Gascoigne	John Massi	Raulyn de Stathon
Nicholas Gawsell	Peres Mawle	William Sterky
Thomas Gersington	Henry de Medelton	Nicholas Stodle
John Glendal	John de Medelton	John Stokes
Robert Gloucestre	John Melton	Thomas Strikland
Thomas Godhall	John de Merston	Gibon Sutton
Robert Gousell	William Milton	John Swell
Walter Grant	Simon Moleneux	John Taboley
Thomas Grant	Robert Monesin	Thomas Talbot
Henry Haghton	Henry Moryng	Henry de Thorp
John Hakeit	John Mounsews	Roger Tukkesford
John Halsale	Thomas Mounteney	William Tumoill
John Hamond	John Newham	John Twayth
Richard Hampton	John Newman	Nicholas Vernon
Raulyn Hannesley	Thomas Northwode	John Walssh
Thomas Hardeby	Richard Norton	John Warbulton
Richard Hase	John Nowell	William Ware
John Hawkyn	William Nowell	Stephen Warforth
John Hencley	Philip de Okre	Geoffrey Warner
James Hevere	John Orsere	John Wassinton
Thomas Hincley	Richard Passelowe	William Welbam
John Hobeldod	Hugh Peper	Roger atte Wode
Thomas Hodington	John Peper	John de Wolsley
Nicholas Horell	Robert Peper	Roger de Wolwyn
Richard Horriz	Simon Posselyng	John Wybbe
Simkyn Houston	John Potington	John Wyght
Thomas Hyng	Nicholas Prage	John Wyndesore
Gilbert de Jus	John Preston	Robert Wyndesore
Simon Kalow	Roger de Preston	Roger Wyndesore
John de Kelgley	Robert Quetoley	William Wyndesore
Richard de Kelkeley	John Ravenchawe	William Wyndesore
Adam Kent	Thomas Ravenchawe	John Ypstones
William Kingeston	John Redell	
Richard Kirketon	John Regges	

8b) Sir William Windsor (1380-1) **E 101/39/7 m.4**

411 Men 206 Archers 205 Men-at-Arms:

[illegible] [illegible]	William Arches	Henry Bawdrik
[illegible] [illegible]	Roger Aspeden	Roger Beddeford
[illegible] [illegible]	William Aunsil	Simon Belgrave
[illegible] [illegible]	Bartholomew Baldeby	John Belton
Hugh [illegible]	Richard Barfote	Richard Bemond
[illegible] [illegible]	William Barre	William Berdwell
Robert Alburwyke	John Barton	Laurence Berkford
Raulyn Allesle	John Basset	Donald Besote
Clays Andwerp	Thomas Basset	Reginald Bewere

Geoffrey Bewmeners	Nicholas Fowlere	Thomas Mounseny
Robert de Bewry	William Foxcote	John Mounsews
John Blount	Robert Franke	John Nevyle
William Bokesworth	Raulyn Frechevyle	John Newman
John Bolton	John Freman	Richard Newynton
William de Borton	Henry Garstang	John Northfolk
John Boteler	Richard Gascoyne	John Nowell
Thomas Botell	Nicholas Gelyot	Hugh Peper
William Botell	John Glendale	Robert Peper
Nicholas Bowce	Nicholas Gounsilie	John Perillous
John Boynton	Robert Gounsilie	Piers Phelip
John Bradford	Thomas Graunt	John Power
Thomas Braytoft	Walter Graunt	Nicholas Prake
Robert Breggam	Philipot Greuer	Thomas Prescote
John Brian	Connce Groner	Roger Preston
Bernard Brokas	John Haket	John le Roos
Piers Broune	John Halsale	John Roos
John Brouton	John Hamond	John Roos
John Brows	Thomas Hardeby	Thomas Sanston
William Brows	John Harsfeld	John Schepsted
William Burnham	Richard Hasildon	Esmond Scorton
Simon Calowe	John Hawkyn	Richard Skenyngton
William Carlill	Thomas Hawkyn	John Skewres
Thomas Carlill	William Heth	Alan Souch
Thomas Carsington	James Heuere	Hugh la Souche
Robert Carter	John Heuwale	John Southreye
John Chambre	John Hobeldod	Nicholas Stodle
John Chatreys	John Hodyngton	John Swell
Robert Chelman	Thomas Hodyngton	Norman Swynford
Richard Clayton	William de Holand	Baudric Taburham
Walter Clement	John Holden	Thomas Talbot
Richard Cleyderhowe	Thomas Hongerford	[.]le[.] de Th[.]lb[.]k
John Clynton	Raulyn Hontyndon	John Thewytee
John Conestable	Richard Hope	Thomas Thorgmarton
John Cook	Simon Howych	Henry Thorp
John junior) Cook	John Hunte	Roger Tokesford
William de Cosyngton	Richard Kerketon	Alan Tyler
Simon Coton	Thomas Kerne	Nicholas Walcote
Thomas Crabbe	Richard Kerreis	Philip Walsch
Piers Cressingham	John de Kneytlay	John de Walton
Robert Cristofre	John Kueton	Stephen Wannesworth
William Dauken	Adam Kyrkeman	William Ware
William Davy	Thomas Lacheford	John Waschington
John Denton	Geoffrey Lamesden	John Weden
John Depyng	John Lancastre	John White
John Doket	Robert Ledes	John Whitethouk
Richard Dounstorp	John Litelton	Roger atte Wode
Harry Dyke	Hugh Lyme	John Wollere
John (junior) Everard	Thomas Lyttelton	William de Wy
William Everard	Henry Lyveremere	John Wybbe
Laurence Everard	William Machy	John Wyndesore
Richard Fairclow	John Marke	Robert Wyndesore
Alan Fitz Piers	Robert Marschall	Roger Wyndesore
William Flete	Thomas Melbourne	William Wyndesore
Thomas Fletton	William de Melton	William Wyndesore
Robert Foljambe	John Melton	John Wynter
John Forneys	John Merston	Harry Wyscleye
John Forster	William Midderwyk	Thomas Ynge
Robert Forster	John Milton	
William Forster	Henry Moryng	

9a) John, Lord Beaumont (1387) **E 101/40/33 mm.4, 4d**

210 Men 117 Archers 93 Men-at-Arms:

Thomas Adirbury	George de Ewyngham	John Ouresby
Robert Aldre	William atte Fenne	Robert Parke
Robert Aldre	Richard Fenwyk	John Paule
Thomas Arnold	John Ferour	John Pilton
Thomas Barett	Robert Flynthagh	Robert Porter
John Bartlot	John Gate	John Preffenne
John de Beaumont	Stonet de Gimmys	Nicholas Rede
John Bele	William Gimmys	Nicholas Reresby
William Bentley	William Grimston	Thomas Roof
John Berkley	Thomas Grymston	John Rowde
Harry Bewmer	Thomas Hardby	John Seward
Fouvestrowe	Harry Hasty	Cadogan Seys
John Blaklowe	William Hay	Piers Stantore
Simon Breton	Thomas Heham	Nicholas Stapilford
Roland Breus	Richard Herteshorn	Thomas Stapilton
John Butill	Nicholas Hiklyng	Roger Sterky
William Bye	Nicholas Hilles	William Stevensone
Richard Cardemew	John Holt	Robert Thoresby
John Chapell	John Hounde	Thomas de Thorp
Benet Chestre	John Hulot	William Tifford
John Chynnok	Alexander Laund	Richard Trussell
John Clavir	William Longe	Harry Wake
John Clifton	John Loryng	John Waleys
Oliver Cobuldyke	Andrew Loterell	John Walssch
John Cole	Harry Lound	William Were
Thomas Colvyle	Thomas Malesores	John Whetewonge
John Coupelond	Handokyn Merbury	Nicholas Whytfeld
Henry Denham	John Messager	John atte Wode
John Derby	Richard Mosage	John Wymmesley
Richard Dorem	Harry Neville	Roger Wyndesoue
Adam Durraunt	John Neville	
Thomas Elys	Fernando Odyam	

9b) John, Lord Beaumont (1387) **E 101/40/34 mm.16, 16d**

203 Men 115 Archers 88 Men-at-Arms:

Thomas Adirbury	John Chapell	Richard Fenwyk
Robert Aldre	Benet Chestre	John Ferour
Robert Alrd	John Chynnok	Robert Flynthagh
Henry Asty	John Clavyr	John Gate
Thomas Barett	John Clyfton	Thomas Grymston
John de Beaumont	Oliver Cobuldyke	William Grymston
John Bele	John Cole	Stonet de Gunnys
William Bentley	Thomas Colvyle	William Gunnys
John Berkley	John Coupelond	Thomas Hardby
Henry Bewmer	Henry Denham	William Hay
Fouvestrowe	John Derby	Thomas Heham
John Blaklowe	Richard Dorem	Richard Hertyshorn
John Bowde	Adam Durraunt	Nicholas Hilles
Simon Breton	Thomas Elys	John Holt
Roland Breus	George de Everyngham	John Hounde
Richard Cardemew	William atte Fenne	John Hwlot

Nicholas Hyklyng	John Paule	Robert Thoresby
Henry Laund	Robert Porter	Thomas de Thorp
William Long	John Preffenne	Richard Trussell
John Loryng	Nicholas Rede	William Tyfford
Andrew Loterell	Nicholas Reresby	Henry Wake
Alexander Lound	Thomas Roof	John Waleys
Thomas Malesores	William Rye	John Wals
Handokyn Merbury	John Seward	John Watewange
Richard Mosage	Cadogan Seys	William Weere
John Nevill	Piers Stantore	Nicholas Whytefeld
Harry Nevill	Thomas Stapilton	John atte Wode
Fernando Odiam	Nicholas Stappylorde	Roger Wyndesoue
John Ouresby	Roger Sterky	John Wyrmesley
Robert Parke	William Stevensone	

10a) John, Lord Arundel (1387) **E 101/40/33 m.5**

72 Men 40 Archers 32 Men-at-Arms:

Thomas Adekyn	John Darundell	Thomas Schepewe
William Atton	Robert Doungate	Hamo Smythwyk
Thomas Baron	John Froscherle	John Standych
Richard Bavel	William Godrych	John Stodeye
John Bawde	John Herte	Robert Stokle
Walter Bawde	Nicholas Jurdan	William Stokle
John Bryan	Guy de Kemperle	Richard Stratford
Richard Clare	Thomas Loke	John Tayliard
Geoffrey Combe	John Merlowe	John Wakerle
Bernard Copyn	John Parker	Stephen Wyard
Robert Curson	Thomas Roos	

10b) John, Lord Arundel (1387) **E 101/40/34 m.14**

73 Men 41 Archers 32 Men-at-Arms:

William Acton	John Darundell	Thomas Schepewe
Thomas Addekyne	Robert Doungate	Hamo Smethewyke
Thomas Baron	John Froscherle	John Standych
Richard Bavel	William Godrych	John Stodeye
John Bawde	John Herte	Robert Stokle
Walter Bawde	Nicholas Jurdan	William Stokle
John Bryan	Guy de Kemperle	Richard Stratforde
Richard Clare	Thomas Loke	John Tayliard
Geoffrey Combe	John Merlowe	John Wakerle
Bernard Copyn	John Parker	Stephen Wyard
Robert Coursun	Thomas Roos	

11) John, Lord Arundel (1388) **E 101/41/5 mm.6, 6d**

92 Men 52 Archers 40 Men-at-Arms:

Richard Armouer	Walter Bytterley	Amery de la Fosse
Thomas Baron	Bernard Copyn	John Hardyng
Guilliam Basco	John Darundell	Nicholas Jordan
Conews Blank	Jacob van Develd	Christian Kylmare
Thomas Bolston	Robert Doungate	Roulot van Let
Esmund Busy	John Dyne	Thomas Loke

John Meyre
Lionel Otyrbourne
Robert Pakynton
James Pape
John Parker
John Penbroke
John Piers
Nicholas Pykton

Thomas Salle
Peter Shaldré
Thomas Shepoy
Richard Snowdan
John Standych
Herman Stokfisch
Raelyn Tuder
Decell Usele

William Ware
Richard Wellya
Matthewo the Weyn
Stephen Wyard
Jacob van Wyk
Reginald Wyldebef

12) Sir William Heron (1388) **E 101/41/5 m.10**

95 Men

54 Archers

41 Men-at-Arms:

John Alan
John Bassynbourn
William Berbron
John Beverley
John Burton
Raelyn Cokkyng
Walter Comandre
John Dalingrugg
John Darell
John Elmeshale
Roger Forest
Thomas Framesden
John Frisseley
Robert Grymesby

John Heir
William Heron
Henry Hilbrand
Raelyn Huse
Hugh Husy
Richard Hydelston
Andrew Lutterell
John Lynton
Robert Marcley
William Mareschall
Richard Myddelton
John Pillesworth
William Plumstede
John Roos

John Scott
John Sergeant
Walter Spaldyng
John Stanop
Thomas Thorley
John Thuresby
Robert Thuresby
John Uresby
Thomas Willebas
John Witelsham
John Wygemore
John Wystowe
Thomas Wyton

13) Thomas, Lord Camoys (1388) **E 101/41/5 m.7**

135 Men

77 Archers

58 Men-at-Arms:

John Algode
William Asshelyn
John Barton
John Bawdewyn
Thomas Bekeryng
William Berdewell
Richard Boyton
Thomas Brailes
Henry Brayles
Henry Breton
William Bretvill
Thomas Brewes
Michael Brokesby
William Calthorp
John Cammes
Thomas Camoys
Richard Cary
William Castelan
John Clyfford
John Colsull

John Cornewaill
John Davy
Howel Day
Robert Denny
John Doutprest
Henry Engleys
Richard Frampton
Robert Gelham
Thomas Goys
William Grymston
John Harlyng
Thomas Hylkecsale
William Kendale
John Mareschall
Janekyn Mychegrove
John Nernute
Henry Norreys
Richard Pavlee
Raelyn Perot
Henry Piers

John Pulton
Thomas Pykard
William Ryale
John Ryslep
Nicholas Sambourne
Baldwin Seint George
John Seint George
John Semer
Thomas Serne
William Serne
John Talmache
John Tendryng
Thomas Tryverak
Richard Twyte
Robert Twyte
John Tykhill
John Vesqy
Benet Wallesburgh

14) John, Lord Welles (1388)

E 101/41/5 m.4

75 Men

44 Archers

31 Men-at-Arms:

John Arundell
William Atton
William Boloyne
John de Bolyngton
Robert de Bolyngton
John Chaumberleyn
John Combworth
John Crauford
Richard Dorham
Nicholas Dymmok
John Fitz Wauter

Richard de Grene
Alan Halyday
Richard Howell
John Lovell
William Malete
Richard de Ormesby
Howel Richard
John Roos
John Roos
John Roos
John Salveyn

Thomas Scotland
Robert atte See
Robert Sleigh
John Stretton
Henry de Walesby
William Westot
Richard Wodhall
Thomas de Wylby
William de Wylloughby

Examples of Men Granted Letters of Protection to Serve with Barons

1) Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1380-1) **C 76/65 m.17**

20 Men:

Adam Basyng	Laurence Dyne	Adam Preston
Robert Baudry	Robert Flete	John Trie
Walter Blaumpayn	Robert Godewyne	Richard Upton
John Brys	John Horsyngdon	John Venour
Thomas Byngham	Walter Hulton	Richard de Yenelton
John Chapell	Thomas Mareschall	Peter de Yenelton
John Cornwall	John Mordon	

2) Richard, Lord Poynings (1380-1) **C 76/65 m.17**

20 Men:

Henry de Aumery	Robert Fulbourne	Richard Redebrigg
Richard Clare	Roger Gunsy	John Rodyng
Ralph Codyngton	Henry Hamwode	Thomas Salman
John Colmer	Thomas Kirkeby	John Stakepole
Richard Crickelade	Thomas de Kynardesle	Stephen Waleys
William Dawneye	John Londoneys	John Walyngton
Alan Edlyngton	John Molyner	

3) Richard, Lord Poynings (1386) **C 76/70 mm.3, 7, 8, 13, 17**

6 Men:

John Fitz Rauf	John Maryot	Thomas Salman
Nicholas de Haute	Thomas Queche	Arnold Seintlegger

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C 53	Charter Rolls
C 54	Close Rolls
C 60	Fine Rolls
C 61	Gascon Rolls
C 66	Patent Rolls
C 67	Supplementary Patent Rolls
C 76	Treaty Rolls
C 81	Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I
C 131	Extents for Debts, Series I
C 135-8	Inquisitions Post Mortem (Edward III–Henry V)
C 145	Inquisitions Miscellaneous
C 146	Ancient Deeds, Series C
C 241	Certificates of Statute Merchant and Statute Staple
DL 29	Duchy of Lancaster: Accounts of Auditors, Receivers, Feodaries and Ministers
E 101	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts
E 159	Exchequer Memoranda Rolls
E 163	King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea of the Exchequer
E 179	Lay Subsidy Rolls
E 359	Pipe Office, Accounts Rolls of Subsidies and Aids
E 364	Pipe Office, Foreign Accounts Rolls
E 402	Exchequer of Receipt, Original Receipts
E 403	Exchequer of Receipt, Issue Rolls and Registers
Just 1	Assize Rolls
Just 3	Gaol Delivery Rolls
KB 27	King's Bench Rolls, Crown Side Records
KB 145	King's Bench Rolls, Plea Side Records
SC 1	Ancient Correspondence
SC 6	Ministers' Accounts
SC 8	Ancient Petitions
SC 11	Rentals and Surveys, Rolls
SC 12	Rentals and Surveys, Portfolios

Berkeley Castle Muniments, Berkeley, Gloucestershire

BC GAR	General Account Rolls
BC GC	General Charters
BC GCR	General Court Rolls
BC GMR	General Miscellaneous Rolls
BC GRR	General Rental Rolls
BC GSUB	General Series Unbound Books
BC SB	Select Books
BC SC	Select Charters
BC SR	Select Rolls. Wills

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SAS	MS Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society
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