

**GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL SOCIETY IN THE WEST  
RIDING OF YORKSHIRE, 1399-1461**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is offered as a contribution to the new interpretation of English politics during the fifteenth century, which reintegrates political and 'constitutional' history. Although primarily a study of government and political society in one area, the West Riding of Yorkshire, a conscious effort has been made to investigate the inter-relationship of local and national power structures. The aim is to explore the political and 'constitutional' ramifications of the Lancastrian accession at a local level. Recent research has demonstrated that the Lancastrian kings experienced varying degrees of difficulty in combining private, Lancastrian lordship with public kingship. It has also been suggested that the Wars of the Roses were brought about by the personal inadequacy of Henry VI. This loss of royal authority, it is argued, was particularly destructive in those regions where the king himself was also a substantial landowner. These hypotheses are tested in this thesis. The West Riding has been chosen as the unit for study because it lay within the heartlands of the Duchy of Lancaster and figured prominently in the political upheavals of the fifteenth century. It will be argued that most of the disorder which plagued the riding throughout much of this period occurred directly as a result of the Lancastrian accession, and the subsequent failure of Lancastrian kingship under Henry VI.

The thesis is divided into two sections. Part I explores the themes of noble lordship, gentry networks, and local administration, in order to establish the balance of power between king, nobility, and gentry in the riding. Of particular concern is whether or not it is possible to demonstrate the existence of a 'county community' in Yorkshire during this period. Since a thematic analysis tends to obscure noble lordship, Part II provides a chronological narrative of political developments in the riding between 1399 and 1461.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BI	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library
Bod. Lib.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
Complete Peerage	Cokayne, G.E., <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , ed. H.V. Gibbs <i>et al.</i> 13 vols. (London, 1910-59).
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSL	Kirby, J.L. (ed.), <i>Calendar of Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V, 1399-1422</i> (London, 1978).
DNB	Stephen, L., and Lee, S. (eds.), <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HAST	<i>Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society</i>
HC, 1386-1421	J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (eds.) <i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421</i> , 4 vols. (Stroud, 1993).
LDA	Leeds District Archives
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office
POPC	Nicolas, N.H. (ed.), <i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council</i> , 7 vols. (London, 1834-7).
Return of the Name	<i>Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of the Parliament of England, 1213-1874</i> , Parliamentary Papers, vol. lxii, pts. i-iii (London, 1878), pt. i, 1213-1702.
Rot. Parl.	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> , 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1767-77).
Rot. Scot.	<i>Rotuli Scotiae</i> , 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1814-19).
SA	Sheffield Archives
Stat. Realm	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i> , 11 vols. (Record Commission, 1810-28).
Test. Ebor.	Raine, J. (ed.), <i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , i-iv, Surtees Society, 4 (1836), 30 (1855), 45 (1864), 53 (1869).
Test. Vetust.	Nicolas, N.H. (ed.), <i>Testamenta Vetusta</i> , i (London, 1826).
TCWAAS	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>
Wedgwood, Biographies	J.C. Wedgwood (ed.), <i>History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509</i> (London, 1936).

WSRO West Sussex Record Office  
WYAS West Yorkshire Archive Service  
YAJ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*  
YAS Yorkshire Archaeological Society  
*Yorks. Deeds* *Yorkshire Deeds*, i-ix, Yorkshire Archaeological Society  
Record Series, 39 (1909), 50 (1914), 63 (1922), 65  
(1924), 69 (1926), 77 (1930), 83 (1932), 102 (1940), 111  
(1948), 120 (1955).

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1) Historiography

Writing over sixty years ago, K.B. McFarlane suggested that a new analytical framework was needed to rescue the political history of the later middle ages from the vestiges of Stubbsian constitutionalism. His most penetrating insight was to dismiss the Victorian preoccupation with institutions and redirect research towards a broader study of political society, since ‘constitutional history’, he argued, ‘is concerned with men’. In other words, ‘it is not something distinct from political history; it *is* political history’.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, he emphasised the importance of the nobility in government, because it was they who bound political society together through lordship and clientage, thereby providing the foundations of power on which the crown ultimately depended.<sup>2</sup> In his view, ‘the real politics’ of late medieval England were inherent in the king’s ‘daily personal relations with his magnates’.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he suggested that ‘the whole structure of political power’ was based on the careful distribution of patronage (‘the granting of places of profit and influence’).<sup>4</sup> McFarlane concluded that ‘it is only by undertaking a large number of local surveys that a just understanding of political history can be obtained’. He predicted that a new political framework would ultimately emerge out of the systematic examination of the nobility, accompanied by a prosopographical survey of all who sat in parliament during this period.<sup>5</sup>

The implementation of the ‘McFarlane agenda’ has been the priority of many medievalists ever since the death of its architect in 1966.<sup>6</sup> McFarlane’s legacy has inspired an ‘historiographical renaissance’ in the study of late medieval England.<sup>7</sup> The last twenty-five years in particular have witnessed a proliferation of research into landed

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<sup>1</sup> K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 279-80.

<sup>2</sup> 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: Papers in Later Medieval History* (Stroud, 1994), p. 1; M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 3. See below, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 296-7.

<sup>6</sup> Powell, ‘After “After McFarlane”’, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> E. Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), p. 2. See also D.J. Guth, ‘Fifteenth-Century England: Recent Scholarship and Future Directions’, *British Studies Monitor*, 7 (1977), 3-50; M.C. Carpenter, ‘Fifteenth-Century English Politics’, *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), 963-7.

society.<sup>8</sup> We now have an increasingly wide range of detailed local studies both of the nobility and the gentry upon which to draw in the search for an overall synthesis.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, a number of historians have challenged particular elements of McFarlane's argument, and questioned the way in which his work has been consolidated. In his influential review article, Richmond highlighted the dangers of reductionism, namely the tendency to reduce politics to patronage.<sup>10</sup> Despite this warning, patronage has continued to be accepted by many historians as the dominant historiographical theme of the late middle ages.<sup>11</sup> Ross, for example, argued that patronage was the political 'cement' of a 'hard, mercenary and shamelessly acquisitive society'.<sup>12</sup> According to Griffiths, it was also 'the surest support of power'. The judicious exercise of patronage 'would ensure orderly government in the state and provide sufficient opportunity to obviate tensions in society'.<sup>13</sup> Imprudent patronage, on the other hand, posed a real threat to social and political stability.<sup>14</sup> Carpenter has suggested that the over-emphasis on patronage represents nothing more than 'bastard

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<sup>8</sup> G.L. Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy*, The Fifteenth Century Series, 1 (Stroud, 1995), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> For the fifteenth century, see E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c. 1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992); C.E. Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 116-38; C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984); M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); M.C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR* 95 (1980), 514-32; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*; M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97; M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth-Century Devonshire', in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 123-44; M. Cherry, 'The Crown and the Political Community in Devonshire, 1377-1461', unpublished PhD thesis (Wales, 1981); J.S. Mackman, 'The Lincolnshire Gentry in the Wars of the Roses', unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 2000); S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); A.J. Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry during the Wars of the Roses', in C.D. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Late Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 37-59; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990); C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978); C. Richmond, *John Hopton: A Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981); I.D. Rowney, 'The Staffordshire Political Community, 1440-1500', unpublished PhD thesis (Keele, 1981); I.D. Rowney, 'Government and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century: Staffordshire, 1439-59', *Midland History*, 8 (1983), 49-69; S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> C. Richmond, 'After McFarlane', *History*, 68 (1983), 59.

<sup>11</sup> R.A. Griffiths, 'The King's Court during the Wars of the Roses: Continuities in an Age of Discontinuities', in R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), p. 11; Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', pp. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> C.D. Ross, introduction to C.D. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), p. 9, quoting McFarlane.

<sup>13</sup> R.A. Griffiths, 'Patronage, Politics and the Principality of Wales, 1413-1461', in Griffiths, *King and Country*, p. 161.

<sup>14</sup> R.A. Griffiths, introduction to Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces*, p. 13.

McFarlanism'.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, McFarlane himself argued that 'patronage and service were the essence of contemporary society'.<sup>16</sup> This misconception highlights the underlying weakness of McFarlane's published work, and much subsequent research, namely the failure to consider the impact of principles and ideology upon political action. The reduction of personal motivation to self-interest ignores the public dimension of fifteenth-century governance. Moreover, it assumes a simplicity of behaviour which is entirely at odds with McFarlane's view of late medieval politics.<sup>17</sup>

As a result of this historiographical trend, we now have a large number of extremely localised studies of private networks and connections from which it has proved almost impossible to draw any general conclusions about the late medieval polity. Although our factual knowledge has increased exponentially, we are no nearer to establishing a conceptual framework.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, a number of historians have called for the restoration of 'constitutional' history and its reintegration with political history in the search for an overall context in which to place the national politics of the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> This does not, of course, imply a return to the Stubbsian tradition of arid institutionalism.<sup>20</sup> Rather, Carpenter has argued that the 'constitution' should be viewed as encompassing 'political and governmental structures, and the beliefs of those who participate in them about how those structures should operate'.<sup>21</sup> What is therefore needed, according to Powell, is an examination of political society, 'complemented by investigation of the conceptual basis of late medieval kingship, and of the administrative resources by which the Crown exercised authority within the shires'.<sup>22</sup> Some recent work has begun to explore the mechanics of the late medieval constitution, especially

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<sup>15</sup> M.C. Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History: Before and After McFarlane', in Britnell and Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy*, p. 191.

<sup>16</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 290; K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 87, 226. See also Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p. 192; Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 280-1, 119-21; Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*, p. 4. Richmond writes that 'men were not Pavlovian dogs, jumping at the chance of a fee, a rent charge, a stewardship here, a parkership there. No more were lords puppet masters manipulating their marionette retainers to dominate the provinces or pack parliaments': Richmond, 'After McFarlane', p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', pp. 190-1; J.L. Watts, *Henry II and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 4. Doubt has even been cast whether a new synthesis is actually attainable: R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard, introduction to Britnell and Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy*, pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>19</sup> Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*, pp. 6-9; Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', pp. 10-13; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 5-13; Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', pp. 195-8; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 5-12. See also R. Horrox, 'Local and National Politics in Fifteenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 391-3, 402.

<sup>20</sup> As Watts has argued, 'law, parliament and the formal offices of government were only a part of the fifteenth-century constitutional framework, not the whole of it': Watts, *Henry II*, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p. 176. See also J.W. McKenna, 'The Myth of Parliamentary Sovereignty in Late Medieval England', *EHR* 94 (1979), 481-506.

<sup>22</sup> Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*, p. 6.

the 'patterns and principles governing public life'.<sup>23</sup> At the heart of this new 'constitutional' history lies the recognition that the interests of the king, nobility and gentry were not normally diametrically opposed. Rather, there existed a 'community of interests', upheld by the private power of the landed classes and underwritten by the universal, public authority of the crown.<sup>24</sup> Although it was the king's responsibility to maintain order within his realm, he lacked the necessary means to enforce royal law. Enjoying neither a permanent bureaucracy nor a standing army, the king required the support of his landed subjects in order to realise his royal authority. The king's universal authority, in turn, protected the rights of all landowners in what was undoubtedly an inherently competitive society.<sup>25</sup> The basis of political power was, therefore, possession of land or, rather, the lordship over men which it conveyed.<sup>26</sup>

Given that public authority was largely upheld by private power structures, it is especially important to explore the means by which the two interacted.<sup>27</sup> However, surveys of local political society have tended to consider the locality largely in isolation from the central workings of the polity.<sup>28</sup> We therefore need to examine how the regions were connected to royal government, since each undoubtedly impacted upon the other.<sup>29</sup> It has widely been acknowledged that the nobility functioned as the principal mediators between the centre and the localities.<sup>30</sup> There were, to be sure, other connections, but these were all, to varying degrees, subject to noble influence.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, our

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<sup>23</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 8. Cf. A.J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 12, 251-3; M.H. Keen, review of Watts, *Henry VI, Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 41 (1997), 192-7; R.A. Griffiths, review of Watts, *Henry VI, EHR* 113 (1998), 685-7.

<sup>24</sup> H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 5-7; Horrox, 'Local and National Politics', p. 402.

<sup>25</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), Chs. 2-3; G.L. Harriss, introduction to K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London, 1981), pp. xxiii-xxv; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 17-31.

<sup>26</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 283-5.

<sup>27</sup> Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p. 193.

<sup>28</sup> Notable exceptions which have shed new light on the operation of the late medieval 'constitution' include Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*; Watts, *Henry VI*; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*.

<sup>29</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 347, 643-4.

<sup>30</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 9, 74-80; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 287-8, 347-54; M.C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 357-9, 364; P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revisited', *Past and Present*, 125 (1989), 27-64; C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp. 11-12, Ch. 2. But cf. J.R. Maddicott, 'Parliament and the Constituencies, 1272-1377', in R.G. Davies and J.H. Denton (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), pp. 61, 86.

<sup>31</sup> Harriss writes that the local nobility 'exercised an important influence' over the choice of sheriffs and justices of the peace. But this did not represent 'the absorption and subversion of local government and justice by seigneurial power'. Rather, the interests of the crown and its landed subjects were interdependent: Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', p. 7. Carpenter argues that the polity should be conceptualised as 'two complementary and mutually reinforcing chains of command, one public and governmental, the other private'. The nobility were responsible for the enforcement of royal authority in



understanding of how the public and private spheres interacted has become dislocated. According to Watts, this is because historians have failed to consider the possibility that the private relationships of royal and noble lordship could perform ‘a recognised public function’.<sup>32</sup> Scholars have also failed to reach agreement as to whether the rule of the localities was normally in the hands of the nobility or independent, gentry communities.<sup>33</sup> Associated with this is the related issue of whether or not it was usual for the crown to supplement its local political resources in the provinces with a ‘royal affinity’. One recent writer, Helen Castor, has argued that the answer to this question has significant ‘constitutional’ implications which affect our interpretation of the political history of the fifteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

The emergence of a ‘royal affinity’ in the localities has been attributed by Given-Wilson to the later fourteenth century. Between 1389 and 1393, Richard II began to recruit a regional royal following amongst the gentry. Leading members of local society were retained by life indenture for domestic service in peacetime. This was the first time that a king had attempted to establish a magnate-style affinity in the localities. The aim was clearly to introduce a more direct form of royal authority at a county level. It has been argued that since Richard’s policy merely exploited existing local power structures, his actions were both prudent and acceptable. This was certainly not the case after 1397, when the king embarked upon a far more controversial strategy. His attention was now focused almost entirely upon the creation of a private lordship in the north-west. Given-Wilson concludes that, after 1397, Richard II alienated the leaders of local society because his retaining policy no longer reflected established structures of local power.<sup>35</sup> However, Castor has suggested that even the less controversial phase of

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the localities. Because of this, they were normally appointed to the commissions of the peace in those counties where their estates lay so that their authority could be harnessed to support the work of their fellow justices: Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, pp. 358-9 and n. 78. See also S. Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413’, *EHR* 108 (1993), 284-6. For a discussion of the connection between lordship and parliament, see P. Jalland, ‘The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections in the North of England, 1450-70’, *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 483-507; Maddicott, ‘Parliament and the Constituencies’, pp. 61-87; McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Ch. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 6, 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>34</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, Ch. 1. See also Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 91-96.

<sup>35</sup> C. Given-Wilson, ‘The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England’, *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 37 (1987), 87-102; C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986), Ch. 4. The chronology and implications of Richard II’s actions are considered at greater length below, Ch. 5.2.

Richard's retaining threatened to compromise the universally representative authority of the crown.<sup>36</sup>

As has been discussed, the king depended upon the support of local landed society for the enforcement of royal authority. The most important element of this co-operative exercise was the king's relationship with the nobility. But it has been suggested that Richard II misunderstood the collaborative nature of government and attempted to 'undermine rather than exploit the power of the nobility'.<sup>37</sup> His response was to construct a partisan political connection. Castor has persuasively argued that the creation of a regional affinity by Richard II was inimical to the proper functioning of the late medieval polity. The universally representative authority of the king 'guaranteed all other forms of authority in the kingdom, and allowed government to function through a national public administration given flesh by the private power of the king's landed subjects'.<sup>38</sup> If, however, the king were to create a private following, then he would also assume the mantle of a regional magnate. But, as Carpenter reminds us, the king was not simply 'the good lord of all good lords'.<sup>39</sup> Since the mutual obligations implicit in noble lordship were incompatible with the responsibilities of national monarchy, the 'constitutional' balance would be jeopardised. Moreover, if the king mismanaged his regional affairs, 'not only was there no superior authority which could intervene to restore order at a local level, but the risk was that regional instability could damage the crown in a national context'.<sup>40</sup>

If we accept such an interpretation, it immediately becomes apparent that the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399 potentially had far more serious implications for the English polity than has traditionally been accepted. Unlike Given-Wilson, Castor concludes that the accession of Henry IV did not mark the culmination of the development of a 'royal affinity'. Whereas Richard II had forfeited the natural support of his subjects by cultivating a private retinue, Henry IV was instead attempting to broaden private lordship into public, universal kingship.<sup>41</sup> However, historians have tended to argue that possession of 'incomparably the greatest of all affinities' was a

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<sup>36</sup> According to Given-Wilson, the king was merely attempting to secure 'a loyal base of support among the gentry of the kingdom in the event of a crisis': Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 223. However, Castor argues that since the king could naturally call upon the loyalty of *all* his subjects, he had no need for a private retinue. If he had alienated that support, 'then the workings of the late medieval constitution were already profoundly dislocated': Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 119; Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History', p. 193.

<sup>40</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

‘special advantage’ which the Lancastrian kings enjoyed.<sup>42</sup> On the contrary, Castor suggests that ‘leadership of such a private connection was a sign not of authoritative kingship but of monarchy in crisis’.<sup>43</sup> These political and ‘constitutional’ implications of the Lancastrian accession have not generally been considered by students investigating the causes of the outbreak of civil war in the fifteenth century.

This thesis is offered as a contribution to the ‘new’ constitutional history outlined above. Inasmuch as it examines political society in one particular region over a specific period, it is a local study. However, the primary purpose is to shed new light on the interaction of local and national politics in a region geographically dominated by the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster, thereby establishing the true causes and effects of the political upheavals which culminated in the Wars of the Roses. The aim is to explore how the Lancastrian crown initially attempted to reconcile private lordship of the Duchy with its newly-acquired public responsibilities, and the subsequent effects upon local power structures. The West Riding of Yorkshire has been chosen as the unit for study because it lay within the heartlands of the Duchy and figured prominently in the political upheavals of the fifteenth century. It will be argued that the disorder which plagued the riding throughout much of the century occurred largely as a result of the Lancastrian accession and the subsequent failure of Lancastrian kingship under Henry VI. Previous research into the political history of the West Riding has been extremely limited. Over fifty years ago, C.D. Ross undertook an examination of the Yorkshire baronage. By his own acknowledgement, his thesis excluded from consideration the dukes of Lancaster and York.<sup>44</sup> More recently, Walker has studied the composition and operation of the commissions of the peace in all three ridings of Yorkshire during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV.<sup>45</sup> Only one historian has specifically investigated the West Riding as a political unit. Arnold’s stated aim was to examine the effects of changes in government, both of dynasty and of policy, upon local society between the official majority of Henry VI in 1437 and the death of Henry VII in 1509.<sup>46</sup> By comparison, the present study is offered as a contribution to our understanding of the

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<sup>42</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 219; A.L. Brown, ‘The Reign of Henry IV: The Establishment of the Lancastrian Regime’, in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross, and R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), p. 19; T.B. Pugh, ‘The Magnates, Knights and Gentry’, in Chrimes, Ross, and Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England*, p. 108.

<sup>43</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> C.D. Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435’, unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), pp. i-viii.

<sup>45</sup> Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, pp. 281-313.

<sup>46</sup> Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, p. ii.

establishment of the Lancastrian regime, its 'constitutional' implications, and the causes of the eventual collapse of Lancastrian kingship.

The thesis is arranged in two sections. Part I explores the themes of noble lordship, gentry networks, and local administration in order to establish the balance of power between king, nobility, and gentry. This is of particular importance since historians have tended to overlook or misinterpret the political role of the Duchy in the localities precisely because its possession by the crown after 1399 has tended to render it invisible.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that a thematic analysis also tends to obscure noble lordship.<sup>48</sup> As a consequence, Part II provides a chronological narrative of political developments in the West Riding. If this approach is relatively new, the methodology employed certainly is not. The thesis relies primarily upon a prosopographical database of political society. It is here that the artificiality of the 'county study' approach is most apparent. Although the West Riding was not a county, it was a recognisable unit of administration. Surviving records relate almost exclusively to these units of local government or noble lordship. However, it has been demonstrated that geography, noble lordships, and gentry networks were not necessarily constrained by administrative boundaries. Instead, historians have started to consider the *pays* - 'an area defined by geography and local economy' instead of county boundaries - as being of more relevance to political society.<sup>49</sup> Although the county approach has been adopted mostly out of convenience, it will be seen that long stretches of the West Riding's political boundaries did indeed reflect geographical reality. Nevertheless, a deliberate decision has been made to be as inclusive as possible. The degree to which gentry perceived themselves as members of one particular county or locality is an important theme of this thesis, and has significant implications for whether or not we can consider there to have been a 'county community' or ultimately even 'communities of ridings' in Yorkshire. 'Foreign' gentry who nevertheless held significant estates in the riding and

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<sup>47</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 361-3; M.C. Carpenter, 'Who Ruled the Midlands in the Later Middle Ages?', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), 10-12; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 19. Cf. Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp. 98-105; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 110, 147-9, 219-20.

<sup>48</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 363.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 354, 364; N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p. 59; C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law, and the Land in Norfolk, c. 1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 80-1; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 10, 296-309; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 6.

played a prominent part in local affairs have therefore been considered equally as members of political society in the following discussions.<sup>50</sup>

## 2) The West Riding in the Fifteenth Century

Yorkshire was the largest county in England and roughly corresponded with the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira. The city of York had been the traditional capital of the north since Roman times and was the seat of a bishopric from 600. In the ninth century, Northumbria was conquered by the Danes and York became the capital of the newly-established Scandinavian kingdom. The county of Yorkshire came into being during the period of Viking rule. At the same time, the shire was divided into three independent administrative units, the North, West, and East Ridings. The word riding is derived from the Scandinavian word *þriðjungr*, or 'third part'.<sup>51</sup> The greatest of these was the West Riding, which was itself larger than any other English county.<sup>52</sup> Each riding was further sub-divided into wapentakes, the Danelaw equivalent of the hundred, of which there were eleven in the West Riding: Abgrigg, the Ainsty, Claro, Barkston Ash, Ewcross, Morley, Osgoldcross, Skyrack, Staincliff, Staincross, and Strafforth.<sup>53</sup> However, the Ainsty was permanently annexed to the city of York in 1449.<sup>54</sup> The East Riding was not divided into wapentakes until 1086.<sup>55</sup> This system was not extended to the north-western district of the West Riding and the western part of the North Riding until the twelfth century. Instead, Staincliff was known as Craven, with which it was subsequently coextensive. Since parts of Agbrigg, Staincliff, and Ewcross lay on the western side of the Pennines and belonged topographically to Lancashire and Westmorland, it has been suggested that the last two wapentakes did not become fully incorporated with the county of Yorkshire until this time. The boundary between Lancashire, Westmorland, and much of Ewcross wapentake remained undetermined at the time of Domesday. Ewcross was in the Westmorland deanery of Kendal in 1291. The north-western township of Sedbergh was added to Yorkshire by Henry I in 1131. Saddleworth in Agbrigg was still in the parish of Rochdale (Lancs.) as late as the

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<sup>50</sup> See below, Chs. 3-4.

<sup>51</sup> A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vii, English Place-Name Society, 36 (1962), pp. 64-5; K. Cameron, *English Place-Names* (London, 1996), p. 60.

<sup>52</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. xiv.

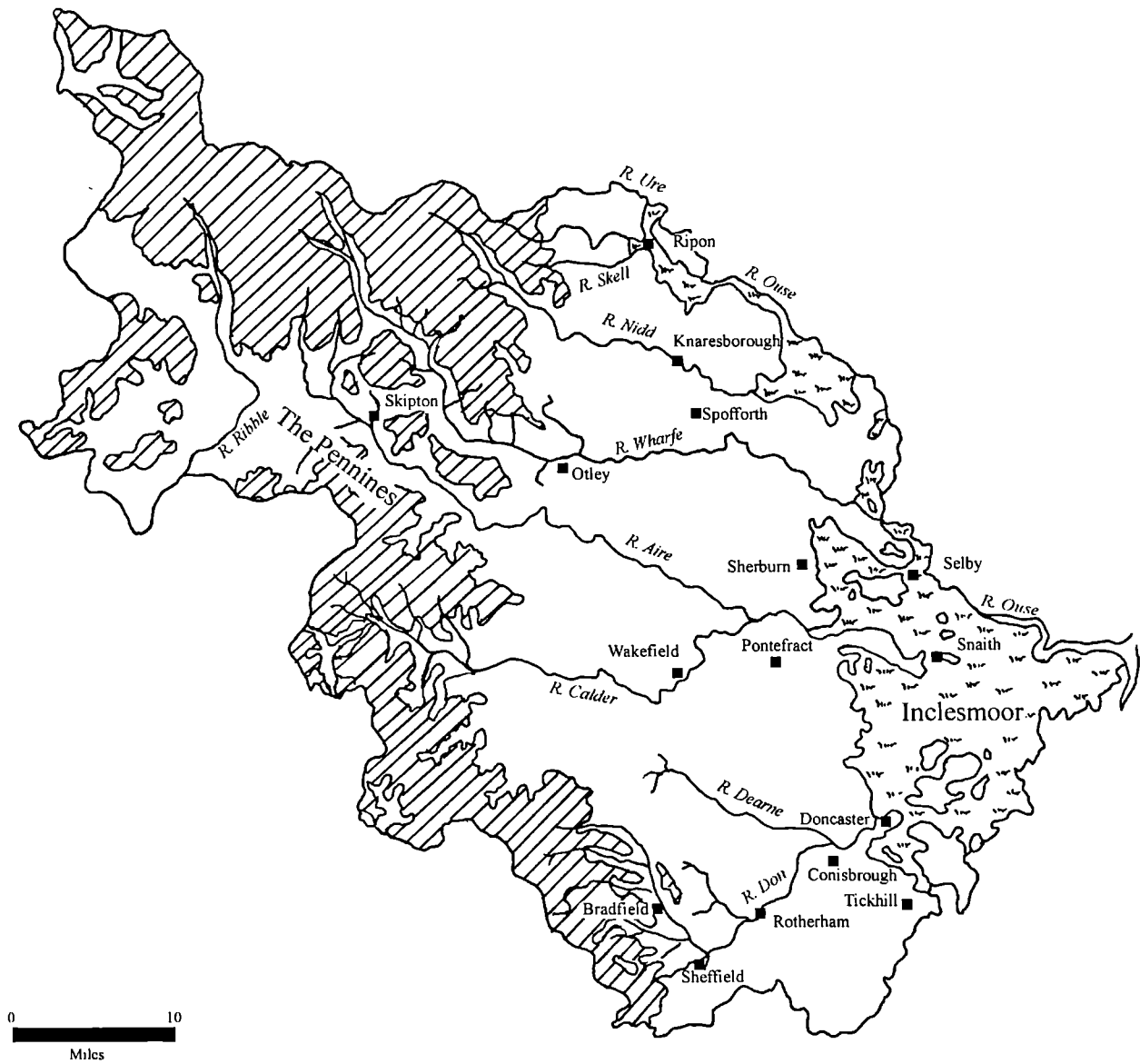
<sup>53</sup> Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 61. See Map 1.

<sup>54</sup> *CPR 1446-52*, p. 221. The association of the Ainsty with York dated back to at least the thirteenth century: Smith, *West Riding Place-Names*, iv, p. 216.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, p. 65.



**Map 1: Administrative Boundaries**



**Map 2: Geography and Topography**

nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Commissions are occasionally known to have been issued jointly for Westmorland and the West Riding in the later middle ages. In 1431, for example, Richard, earl of Salisbury, Sir William Harrington, Sir Thomas Tunstall and others were instructed to muster 200 archers in the wards of Lonsdale and Kendal (Westm.) and the West Riding.<sup>57</sup>

The topography of the West Riding was unusually varied.<sup>58</sup> To the west, the region is confined by the mountainous Pennine uplands which rise to between 800 and 1,900 feet. The central Pennine plateau consists of millstone grit and is characterised by deep valleys and high moorlands. It is terminated by the Aire Gap near Skipton in Staincliff wapentake which affords passage into Lancashire via Ribblesdale. The extreme north-west of the region is formed from carboniferous limestone and is dominated by great fells and dales. In stark contrast, the lowland area in the south-east lies in the drainage basin of the Humber estuary. This marshland was nearly impenetrable during the Middle Ages, although it was subsequently drained by Dutch engineers in the seventeenth century. Between these two districts, the Rivers Aire, Calder, Don, Wharfe, Nidd, and Ure flow easterly into the Ouse. The rivers were difficult to cross and hindered easy communication on the north-south axis, especially further east where the weight of water and the dangerous currents could on occasion turn them into effective topographical barriers. At this time, the hills of south Yorkshire were still well-wooded. They coincided with the rich coal measures from which the West Riding was ultimately to derive most of its prosperity in the Industrial Age.<sup>59</sup>

It has been observed that administrative divisions in England frequently failed to coincide with political, social, and tenurial units. This is particularly true of the midland counties which were an artificial imposition.<sup>60</sup> The West Riding, of course, was not a county in its own right. However, it was enclosed by tangible geographical features along its western and eastern borders, and also in the south-eastern district of the riding. The Yorkshire Pennines barred easy communication with the north-west, although there

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<sup>56</sup> O.S. Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names* (Lund, 1934), pp. xxi-xxiv, 20, 26; Smith, *West Riding Place-Names*, vii, p. 65; vi, p. 217; *VCH Yorks.*, ii, p. 135.

<sup>57</sup> *CPR 1429-36*, p. 131.

<sup>58</sup> See Map 2.

<sup>59</sup> M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Wakefield, 1981), i, Ch. 2; Smith, *West Riding Place-Names*, vii, pp. 1-20. On forestry in the West Riding, see J. McDonnell, 'Pressures on Yorkshire Woodland in the Later Middle Ages', *Northern History*, 28 (1992), 110-125; *VCH Yorks.*, i, pp. 501, 505-11, 517-23.

<sup>60</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 10, 25-7, 345; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 198-9.



were a handful of routes across into Cheshire and Lancashire.<sup>61</sup> Topographical realities in the extreme north-west of the riding also dictated that the inhabitants of south-west Craven were closely connected with those of Lancashire.<sup>62</sup> Although a largely natural boundary (following the course of the River Derwent for a few miles) separated Yorkshire from Derbyshire in the south-west of the riding, the less well-defined border between Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire was susceptible to a rather greater degree of fluctuation. It is here, and along the northern border with the North Riding, that the artificiality of local administrative boundaries is most apparent. The population of south Yorkshire enjoyed strong links with Nottinghamshire. Nevertheless, east of Tickhill, the south-eastern border was virtually impassable. Only the Great North Road managed to negotiate the 240 square miles of marshland known as Inclesmoor which separated Yorkshire from northern Nottinghamshire and the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire. The road ran down the dry narrow belt of Magnesian Limestone to the west of the Vale of York, and then along the sandy ridge south of Doncaster to Bawtry and across into the east midlands.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the River Ouse provided an effective barrier to communications with the East Riding. Despite being navigable along its entire length, the lowest bridging point was at York, approximately 25 miles upriver from the confluence of the Humber estuary.<sup>64</sup>

The internal boundaries of the riding were also influenced by geography. In the north of the riding, Skyrack and Barkston Ash were separated from Claro and the Ainsty by the River Wharfe. Their southern boundaries with Agbrigg, Morley, and Osgoldcross were defined by the River Aire. These two rivers were two of the most significant topographical features in the riding. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that the Aire was navigable at least as far as Leeds, and the Wharfe as far as Tadcaster. Although the course of the River Don has since been much altered, especially in the seventeenth century, it was possible to reach Rotherham, and perhaps even Sheffield, by water in the middle ages. By comparison, the River Calder, which joins the Aire at

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<sup>61</sup> D. Hey, 'Yorkshire's Southern Boundary', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), 31; Smith, *West-Riding Place-Names*, vii, p. 18.

<sup>62</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 14-15.

<sup>63</sup> Hey, 'Yorkshire's Southern Boundary', pp. 31-47; Smith, *West-Riding Place-Names*, i, p. 3; vii, pp. 13-14, 20; M.W. Beresford, 'Inclesmoor, West Riding of Yorkshire', in R.A. Skelton and P.D.A. Harvey (eds.), *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 147-61.

<sup>64</sup> The River Ure and the River Swale, both tributaries of the Ouse, were navigable at least as far north as Boroughbridge and Morton (N. Riding): J.F. Edwards and B.P. Hindle, 'The Transportation System of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17 (1991), 126-7.

Castleford, is not known to have been navigable.<sup>65</sup> As has already been noted, north-south communications were impeded by the major river valleys. However, the most important route through the riding was the Great North Road. It ran from Bawtry in the south to Doncaster and Pontefract before finally arriving at Boroughbridge in the north, in the process crossing the Don at Doncaster, the Went at Wentbridge, the Aire at Castleford and Ferrybridge, the Wharfe at St Helen's Ford, the Nidd at Cattal, and the Ure at Boroughbridge. The road was intersected at Bramham, just south of the Wharfe, by another important route from York which continued west past Ilkley and Skipton, and through the Aire Gap into Lancashire.<sup>66</sup>

The West Riding enclosed approximately 2,771 square miles (46 per cent) of Yorkshire.<sup>67</sup> The county was not as sparsely populated as its five northern neighbours. Population density was similar to that of the midlands.<sup>68</sup> However, Yorkshire was a relatively poor county. The ratio of taxable wealth to acreage was lower in the West Riding than anywhere other than Devon and Cornwall and the four northernmost counties. This poverty largely reflects the prevalence of moorland in the riding. The region was also susceptible to a number of adverse conditions, including bad weather, flooding, bad harvests, murrain, and pestilence. The Great Plague of 1348-9 affected every part of the county, although the death rate was significantly higher in the Vale of York than in the more remote area of Craven. Nearly half of the land in the district of Knaresborough changed hands due to mortality. Most was quickly taken up again, although marginal soils throughout the region went out of cultivation and rent rolls fell markedly. During the fifteenth century, the situation seems to have stabilised. However, there was a general shift from arable to pasture, especially in the lowland areas of Yorkshire, and demesne cultivation ceased altogether. In the late middle ages, large open commons and small, enclosed farms predominated in the Pennine upland region.<sup>69</sup>

The poll tax returns of 1377 provide the most reliable guide to the population of Yorkshire in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and indicate a total taxable population of 131,040 (including the boroughs of York, Beverley, Hull, and

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-8, 131; G.D. Gaunt, 'The Artificial Nature of the River Don North of Thorne, Yorkshire', *YAJ* 47 (1975), 15-21; Hey, 'Yorkshire's Southern Boundary', p. 46.

<sup>66</sup> Smith, *West Riding Place-Names*, vii, pp. 18-20; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 13-14; B.P. Hindle, 'The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2 (1976), 207-221.

<sup>67</sup> J. Bartholomew, *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* (Edinburgh, n.d.), p. 747; R.B. Dobson, *The Peasant's Revolt of 1381* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Basingstoke, 1983), pp. 54, 57.

<sup>68</sup> 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. 129-30.

<sup>69</sup> E. Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii (Cambridge, 1991), p. 42.

Scarborough). Those subject to the tax in the West Riding numbered 48,149, or approximately 36.7 per cent of the total population of Yorkshire.<sup>70</sup> However, such figures exclude children, beggars, mendicants, and tax evaders. According to Russell, to this figure we should add another 5 per cent to compensate for the under-enumeration in the 1377 returns. This would give us a total population of about 50,556 for the West Riding.<sup>71</sup> Alternatively, Smith has calculated that the total population of the riding probably numbered around 75,000 in the later fourteenth century, rising to over 100,000 by the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Despite the acknowledged erraticism of the poll tax figures, they can profitably be employed as a guide to the pattern of population distribution across Yorkshire. It is clear that the West Riding provided not only the largest constituent part of the county geographically, but also supported the largest population. Although the population was not quite as dispersed as in the North Riding, it was, nevertheless, significantly less concentrated than in the East Riding.

The poll tax returns of 1379, while less reliable than those for 1377, provide a useful indication of the major urban centres in the West Riding. In addition, the presence of friaries can be taken as an indicator of the standing of provincial towns.<sup>73</sup> By the fifteenth century, nineteen mendicant communities had been established in Yorkshire.<sup>74</sup> In the West Riding, friaries were located at Doncaster (two), Pontefract, Tickhill, and Knaresborough.<sup>75</sup> According to Dobson, Doncaster, Pontefract, Ripon, Selby, and Tickhill were 'second-tier' Yorkshire towns which all had populations of around 1,000, thus ranking amongst the twelve most populous towns in England.<sup>76</sup> All except Selby were mentioned in an anonymous fourteenth-century list of English towns.<sup>77</sup> The largest town in the West Riding was Pontefract, with a taxable population

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<sup>70</sup> Total area of North Riding = 2,128 square miles (35%), East Riding = 1,172 square miles (19%); 1377 population of North Riding = 33,185 (28%), East Riding = 38,238 (32%); population per square mile based on 1377 assessment = 17 (West Riding), 16 (North Riding), 33 (East Riding). These population figures exclude York (7,248), Beverley (2,663), and Hull (1,557). However, Scarborough (1,393) was taxed with the North Riding in 1377: Bartholomew, *Survey Gazetteer*, p. 747; Dobson, *The Peasant's Revolt*, pp. 54, 57; J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 133, 142-3; R.B. Dobson, 'Yorkshire Towns in the Late Fourteenth Century', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 59 (1983), p. 4, n. 7.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4.

<sup>72</sup> R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-46* (Oxford, 1970), p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 51, 63.

<sup>74</sup> D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (1971), pp. 213-46.

<sup>75</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, iii, pp. 263-99.

<sup>76</sup> Dobson, 'Yorkshire Towns', p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> C. Bonnier, 'List of English Towns in the Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 16 (1901), 501-3.

of 915 in 1377.<sup>78</sup> With its great fortress, it was also the strategic key to central Yorkshire.<sup>79</sup> Pontefract was closely followed by Doncaster (757), Sheffield (529), and Ripon (483). Five other communities had populations in excess of 300: Tickhill (461), Selby (460), Bradfield (397), Rotherham (357), and Wakefield (314).<sup>80</sup> Quarter sessions are known to have taken place at Doncaster, Pontefract, Ripon, Selby, and Wakefield during the fifteenth century. In addition, the commission of the peace also sat at a number of settlements with smaller populations, including Boroughbridge (103), Cawood (164), Knaresborough (132), Leeds (157), Otley (111), Sherburn in Elmet (135), Skipton (127), Tadcaster (143), and Wetherby (98).<sup>81</sup> As we shall see, many of these lesser venues were also centres of noble lordship, suggesting that population size was not the only consideration.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, four communities with taxable populations in excess of 300 are never known to have hosted sessions of the peace: Bradfield, Sheffield, Tickhill, and Rotherham. It will be argued that the centres of noble lordships in the riding provided an alternative focus to the administrative divisions of the county.<sup>83</sup> The choice of venues for peace sessions was also almost certainly affected by geographical considerations. Such conclusions are reinforced by an examination of the circuit of royal proclamations in the riding. Proclamations are known to have been delivered at Doncaster, Leeds, Pontefract, Ripon, Skipton, and Wakefield in 1398 and 1404, and at Skipton, Ripon, and Knaresborough in 1451.<sup>84</sup> These locations coincided with the lordships of the dukes of Lancaster and York, the lords Clifford and Furnival, and the archbishops of York.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, Doncaster is located in the south-east of the riding, Pontefract and Wakefield in the centre of the region, Skipton in the north-west, and Knaresborough and Ripon in the north-east. All parts of the riding, therefore, were represented by this distribution of proclamation venues.

According to the poll tax returns of 1379, the population was largely concentrated east of the Pennine uplands. The least populated district was Ewcross

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<sup>78</sup> The following discussion is based upon 'Rolls of the Collectors in the West Riding of the Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) 2 Richard II', *YAJ* 5 (1879), 1-51, 241-66, 417-32; 6 (1881), 1-44, 129-71, 287-342; 7 (1883), 6-41, 145-86, reprinted in *The Returns for the West Riding of the County of York of the Poll Tax laid in the Second Year of the Reign of King Richard the Second* (London, 1882).

<sup>79</sup> Dobson, 'Yorkshire Towns', p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> The inconsistency of these figures is demonstrated by a comparison with the figures for 1377: Pontefract: 1,085 (-170); Doncaster: 800 (-43); Tickhill: 680 (-219); Sheffield: 585 (-56); Selby (-126); Bradfield: 399 (-2); Rotherham: (+22); Wakefield: (+13): Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 143.

<sup>81</sup> See below, Ch. 4.5.

<sup>82</sup> See below, Ch. 2.

<sup>83</sup> See below, Chs. 2-4.

<sup>84</sup> C255/3/7, m. 21; 3/8, m. 25; 3/9, m. 33; J.A. Doig, 'Political Propaganda and Royal Proclamations in Late Medieval England', *Historical Research*, 71 (1998), 280.

<sup>85</sup> See below, Ch. 2.

wapentake, with only 890 recorded taxpayers, although Staincliff supported a substantially larger population of 4,153. Proportionally, there were fewer residents in the districts of Morley (2,939), Agbrigg (2,575), and Staincross (2,068) than in the neighbouring wapentakes of Skyrack (3,001), Barkston Ash (3,601), and Osgoldcross (5,448) to the east. The largest populations were recorded in Strafforth (9,455) and Claro (6,495). By comparison, the Ainsty was the smallest wapentake and sustained the second lowest population (1,652). However, it was probably the wealthiest district in the riding, with an average charge of 4.3*d.* per person in 1379.<sup>86</sup> Ewcross was the poorest district, with an average charge of only 2.8*d.* per capita. In general, the examination of taxable wealth confirms the suggestion that there was a general increase in wealth from the west to the east of the riding.<sup>87</sup> Although the region was amongst the poorest in the country, the ratio of taxable wealth to acreage was actually equal to or greater than the national average in some parts of the riding. This was especially the case in the south around Doncaster, Sheffield, Tickhill, and Pontefract, and in the north around Ripon. The wealth of these districts can be explained by the expansion of industrial activity.<sup>88</sup>

The West Riding was a major centre of cloth production. The expansion of the cloth industry in the riding led to the growth of Halifax and Wakefield into unchartered towns.<sup>89</sup> Other centres of manufacture in the region included Pontefract, Ripon, Rotherham, and Leeds.<sup>90</sup> By 1470, cloth manufacture had spread westward along the Calder and Aire valleys, and Halifax, Bradford, and Almondbury were challenging the predominance of the traditional centres of production.<sup>91</sup> There is also a wealth of evidence from the thirteenth century concerning industrial activity in the riding. Coal was being mined at Fetherstone in 1323-4. In 1370, Sir John Fitzwilliam of Emley leased a coal pit in the south of the riding. Nine years later, the poll tax returns recorded a concentration of smiths in Sheffield. In 1380, a number of bell pits are recorded at Methley. The lords Clifford were also certainly engaged in mining and smelting in

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<sup>86</sup> The poll tax of 1379, which took the form of a graduated income tax, affords a rare insight into the taxable wealth of the various districts. Knights and distrainees were generally assessed at £1. Esquires and franklins were charged at a rate of 6*s.* 8*d.* By comparison, commoners were assessed at 4*d.* Married couples were charged at a single rate: G.T. Clark, 'The West Riding Poll Tax and Lay Subsidy Rolls, 2 Richard II', *YAJ* 7 (1882), 187.

<sup>87</sup> Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey*, ii, p. 292; Dobson, 'Yorkshire Towns', p. 11.

<sup>88</sup> Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 52.

<sup>89</sup> J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500* (London, 1980), pp. 252, 254.

<sup>90</sup> P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992), p. 75.

<sup>91</sup> Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 52.

Craven from the early fourteenth century. The fuel was valuable enough for Roger Thornton and William Chancellor to be commissioned in 1422 to purchase 100 keels of coal in the north and transport it by sea to London.<sup>92</sup>

Politically, local society in the West Riding was profoundly affected by the enduring influence of extensive feudal honours in the region and there were a number of fortified sites of strategic importance.<sup>93</sup> As noted, the most significant of these was the castle and honour of Pontefract which commanded the Great North Road and served as the centre of the Duchy of Lancaster interests in the riding. However, the Duchy also possessed castles and honours in the south of the riding at Tickhill and in the north-east at Knaresborough. The dukes of York held Sandal Castle and the lordship of Wakefield, and the castle and lordship of Conisbrough in south Yorkshire. Further south, the lords Furnival and earls of Shrewsbury successively held Sheffield Castle and the lordship of Hallamshire. Skipton Castle provided the lords Clifford with a centre of noble power in the north-west of the riding. By contrast, the manor house which the earls of Northumberland constructed at Spofforth was barely defensible and indicates that the riding lay outside the northern military complex.<sup>94</sup>

Part I of this thesis explores the local balance of power between the king, nobility, and gentry. There is currently some debate regarding who was responsible for the rule of the localities in late medieval England. Historians differ about the degree to which the gentry were politically independent of the crown and the nobility. It is important, therefore, to establish the relative importance of gentry networks and noble affinities for political society in the West Riding. However, it is increasingly becoming apparent that horizontal and vertical links, public and private hierarchies, and local and national politics were not mutually exclusive but inextricably interrelated.<sup>95</sup> The following three chapters, therefore, attempt to define a framework within which the political history of the riding may be examined chronologically in Part II.

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<sup>92</sup> Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey*, i, pp. 43 and 45, n. 84; T.W. Hall, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sheffield Manorial Records*, 3 vols. (Sheffield, 1926-34), ii, pp. 196-203; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', p. 72 and n. 3; R.T. Spence, 'Mining and Smelting in Yorkshire by the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, in the Tudor and Early Stuart Period', *YAJ* 64 (1992), 157-8; *CPR 1416-22*, p. 420.

<sup>93</sup> See below, Chs. 2-4.

<sup>94</sup> Storey, 'The North of England', p. 130.

<sup>95</sup> Horrox, 'Local and National Politics', pp. 391-403.

**PART I**

STRUCTURAL

## CHAPTER TWO

### LOCAL LORDSHIP

#### 1) Introduction

Recent historiography has generated a lively debate concerning the nature of local power structures in late medieval England. The degree to which local societies in fifteenth-century England were ordered either by horizontal relationships between members of the gentry or hierarchical systems of power dominated by noble lordship remains uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, given the regional diversity already discovered, it should perhaps be questioned whether any generalisation is possible. Nevertheless, one recent author has criticised the ‘all or nothing’ approach which historians have adopted in consideration of the subject. According to Carpenter, we should not expect to be able to identify all shires as either self-regulating independent ‘county communities’ or areas wholly subject to the influence of noble power.<sup>2</sup> Although gentry relationships certainly played a crucial role in the organisation of local society and the preservation of stability, Carpenter’s work on social networks in fifteenth-century Warwickshire emphasises the degree to which local power structures were receptive to a range of possible influences, including family, neighbourhood, and lordship.<sup>3</sup> In addition, a number of historians have concluded that lordship was based not upon subservience but reciprocity.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, increasingly being recognised that gentry networks could coexist with noble lordship.<sup>5</sup> Usually, lordship was a force for stability. When absent, it is even known to have been artificially constituted by a gentry elite.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> M.C. Carpenter ‘Gentry and Community in Medieval England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 359.

<sup>3</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), Ch. 9.

<sup>4</sup> K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London, 1981), Ch. 2; G.L. Harriss, introduction to McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. xvii-xviii; M.C. Carpenter, ‘The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work’, *EHR* 95 (1980), 525; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 618; R. Horrox, ‘Local and National Politics in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 394-5. Lordship was ‘a private and public agency for the satisfaction of shared interests, in which... a small number of individuals acted for a larger number’: J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996)

<sup>5</sup> A.J. Pollard, ‘The Richmondshire Community of Gentry during the Wars of the Roses’, in C.D. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 37-59; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, Ch. 9. As Watts notes, ‘it is striking that whenever effective lordships became available, the gentry made use of it’: Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> G.L. Harriss, ‘The Dimensions of Politics’, in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, The Fifteenth Century Series, 1 (Stroud, 1995), p. 4; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 5; S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 121-4, 130-5; S.M.



The following chapter provides an introduction to political geography in the West Riding. Its purpose is to consider both the strength of noble lordship in the riding and its interaction with gentry society. Having established the extent of lordship, social and political networks will be examined in Chapter Three. Finally, the public agencies of county administration and the officeholding 'class' will be discussed in Chapter Four. In conclusion, it will be considered whether local power structures in the riding were primarily influenced by hierarchical or horizontal bonds, and whether either system was necessarily mutually exclusive. The relevance of the 'county community' as a framework for local identity in Yorkshire will also be considered. The investigation of the West Riding as an area of noble lordship is especially significant because it lay in a region where the duke of Lancaster was the leading noble.<sup>7</sup> Some recent work has highlighted the peculiarities of local power structures in areas where the king was also a substantial landowner in his own right.<sup>8</sup> It has been suggested that the role of the nobility in the rule of the localities has generally been overlooked by historians who have studied regions where the king was the leading noble.<sup>9</sup> This omission is particularly unfortunate since it is becoming clear that the failure of royal authority had serious repercussions in regions dominated by the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>10</sup> Because the local political role of the Duchy has also tended to be obscured by a thematic approach,<sup>11</sup> the issues of noble lordship and gentry independence will be pursued further in the chronological chapters of this thesis.<sup>12</sup>

It has been convincingly argued that noble influence in Yorkshire was clearly demarcated. In the North Riding, for example, the gentry communities of Richmondshire and Cleveland coincided with areas of distinct noble lordship.<sup>13</sup> A similar, perhaps even more accentuated pattern of noble lordship prevailed in the West

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Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983), pp. 66-8.

<sup>7</sup> See below, Ch. 2.2.

<sup>8</sup> H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000); Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 361-3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 361-2. See, for example, E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c. 1422-c. 1485* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 98-105; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 110, 147-9, 219-20.

<sup>10</sup> H.R. Castor, "'Walter Blount was Gone to Serve Traytours": The Sack of Elvaston and the Politics of the North Midlands in 1454', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), 21-39; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, Chs. 3-8; E. Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), Ch. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> See below, Chs. 5-7.

<sup>13</sup> Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry', p. 52; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990), p. 153.

Riding.<sup>14</sup> At least eight peers held land in the riding. By far the greatest landowners were the dukes of Lancaster, whose extensive estates extended throughout the riding. Four other lay peers held significant estates in the West Riding. Each of these played a prominent role in local affairs. In the north, the Percy earls of Northumberland rubbed shoulders with the dukes of Lancaster and the archbishops of York. The lords Clifford dominated the district of Craven in the north-west. Finally, the estates of the dukes of York and the lords Furnival dominated south Yorkshire. In addition, the archbishops of York also held further land in the central and eastern districts of the riding. As we shall see, gentry networks in the riding were largely restricted to such districts, which have perceptively been described by Pollard as “‘counties” within the county’.<sup>15</sup> In only one district - Knaresborough - did the estates of individual noble lordships lie in particularly close proximity. According to Ross, the political allegiances of local gentry families were understandably more flexible in such circumstances.<sup>16</sup> It is, however, significant that the first serious incidence of disorder in the riding during the reign of Henry VI occurred within this district.<sup>17</sup>

Three other baronial families possessed estates in the riding, but played little or no part in local affairs. The Scopes of Masham maintained a favourite residence at Faxfleet, in the extreme east of the riding, but their interests (both political and territorial) lay elsewhere, in the North and East Ridings. Likewise, the family of Mauley of Mulgrave held the manors of Doncaster, Rossington, and Bramham in south Yorkshire, but were primarily a North Riding family. Moreover, the barony fell into abeyance after 1415.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the Darcys of Notton were a minor Yorkshire baronial family. Because of their political insignificance, they perhaps more rightly deserve to be considered alongside the greater gentry, in terms both of wealth and of influence.<sup>19</sup> The principal residence of the family was at Notton in south Yorkshire, although their main estates lay in the North Riding. They also held the manors of Silkestone, Temple Hirst, and Temple Newsam in the West Riding, as well as further property in the midlands and Northumberland.<sup>20</sup> However, they were particularly poor and their entire estate was

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<sup>14</sup> According to Arnold, the extent of noble estates in the Riding meant that ‘it was an area which found it difficult to remain aloof from the severe political and dynastic conflicts’ of the fifteenth century: C.E. Arnold, ‘The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509’, in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> Pollard, ‘The Richmondshire Community of Gentry’, p. 51. See below, Ch. 3.

<sup>16</sup> C.D. Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435’, unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), p. 407.

<sup>17</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Both families receive full treatment in Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, Chs. 5, 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>20</sup> C139/152/14-15; 161/12; 166/23; 168/30; Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, p. 295.

probably only worth around £320 per annum.<sup>21</sup> Neither Philip Darcy (d. 1418) nor his brother and heir, Sir John Darcy (d. 1458), was summoned to parliament. Upon Philip's death, the estates were divided between his two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, and his brother, who inherited Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam.<sup>22</sup> Two other lesser families deserve to be mentioned briefly. The Hastings of Fenwick were properly members of the greater gentry and held extensive estates both in Yorkshire and East Anglia.<sup>23</sup> Sir Edward Hastings (d. 1438) and his son John Hastings (d. 1477), esquire, were *de iure* lords Hastings but were never summoned to parliament.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the Meltons of Aston inherited the title of Lord Lucy at the end of the fourteenth century, but were never summoned to parliament.<sup>25</sup>

## 2) The King and the Duchy of Lancaster

We have already seen how the Lancastrian Revolution of 1399 should not necessarily be viewed as the culmination of a process by which the 'royal affinity' developed during the course of the fourteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Rather, Henry IV's accession represented a moment when, according to Castor, 'the crown was suddenly in the hands of a king who *also* commanded a lordly affinity'.<sup>27</sup> In general, historians have erroneously assumed that the inheritance of the Lancastrian affinity was an asset which endowed the Lancastrian crown with an invaluable source of manpower, wealth, and patronage.<sup>28</sup> According to Brown, this was a 'special advantage Henry enjoyed'.<sup>29</sup> In addition, Ross has argued that the king enjoyed a double advantage in Yorkshire as 'the greatest territorial lord and as king' because he could afford to pay higher wages than other lords.<sup>30</sup> The Lancastrian affinity undoubtedly played a crucial role in securing and

<sup>21</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 309; H.L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *EHR* 49 (1934), 618.

<sup>22</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 304-6.

<sup>23</sup> C139/30/52; 140/62/43.

<sup>24</sup> *Complete Peerage*, vi, pp. 358-61.

<sup>25</sup> *Complete Peerage*, viii, pp. 250-5.

<sup>26</sup> See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> A.L. Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV: The Establishment of the Lancastrian Regime', in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross, and R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 18-19; T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in Chrimes, Ross, and Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509*, p. 108; C.D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 329-30. For a useful historiographical summary, see Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 19-20, 306.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. v. Ross goes on to suggest that only the greatest magnates could compete with the king. Again, this statement misinterprets the nature of kingship. According to Powell, the crown embodied the interests of the realm: 'it was an office in which the king ministered defence and

maintaining the throne for Henry IV. Nevertheless, the conclusions of historians such as Brown and Ross oversimplify the ‘constitutional’ dilemma facing a king attempting to construct public, national authority upon foundations of private, local lordship. Moreover, as has already been noted, they are based on a fundamental misinterpretation of the nature of late medieval kingship. Recent research has demonstrated that Henry IV ran the risk of compromising the ‘universally representative authority of the crown’ by exploiting his landed estate for the maintenance of a partisan affinity.<sup>31</sup>

During Henry IV’s reign there was little practical difference, by and large, between the membership of the king’s ‘royal’ and ‘Lancastrian’ affinities.<sup>32</sup> For example, four of the eight king’s knights recruited from the West Riding by the king were also in receipt of Lancastrian annuities.<sup>33</sup> A similar pattern can be identified in the careers of Henry IV’s esquires, a number of whom enjoyed Duchy annuities.<sup>34</sup> King’s knights and esquires were also occasionally Duchy tenants.<sup>35</sup> This is hardly surprising since Henry IV’s natural following as duke of Lancaster was in the north of England (although Given-Wilson has shown how the king engaged in both a ‘political’ and ‘geographical balancing act’ by actively retaining members of Richard II’s southern affinity).<sup>36</sup> Henry IV continued to rely upon ‘tenorial dependence’ and ‘territorial proximity’ to the Lancastrian estates for the recruitment of his retainers.<sup>37</sup> Powell notes that ‘the king made lavish grants of retainer to bolster his regime early in the reign, but

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justice to his subjects’. Therefore, as Castor has emphasised, ‘if the king could not call on loyal support from all his landowning subjects, and if his authority were now to rest on partisan force rather than on his leadership of the realm in the co-operative enterprise of government, then the workings of the late medieval constitution were already profoundly dislocated’: Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*, p. 36; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 16. See also A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), p. 18: it was the duty of a king to ‘maintain the law and justice’.

<sup>31</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 16-18 and p. 306 for quotation.

<sup>32</sup> A similar situation evidently prevailed in Lincolnshire under Henry IV and Henry V: J.S. Mackman, ‘The Lincolnshire Gentry in the Wars of the Roses’, unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 2000), p. 77. Henry IV also chose to appoint leading Lancastrian officers to corresponding positions in the royal administration. For a discussion of the implications, see Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 27-8, 30.

<sup>33</sup> DL42/16, fol. 231 (Sir Richard Redman I); DL28/27/5, m. 2 (Sir John Saville); DL 29/738/12099, DL 28/27/3, m. 3 (Sir Roger Swillington); DL42/15, fol. 84v (Sir Richard Tempest I). Sir Richard Redman provides an interesting case because he was the only knight retained by John of Gaunt who was already a member of the ‘royal affinity’: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 109.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., Robert Waterton: DL42/15, fol. 89.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the king’s knight Sir Edward Hastings held the West Riding manors of Fenwick, Norton and Moseley of the honour of Pontefract: DL42/18, fols. 87, 121, 123v; C139 30/52; C140 62 43; C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986), p. 289.

<sup>36</sup> C. Given-Wilson, ‘The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England’, *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 37 (1987), 97. The king therefore did not seek merely to reward his own proven supporters but also attempted ‘to reconcile both his opponents and the uncommitted’: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 26-7. Ross suggests that, in Yorkshire, ‘the sheer complexity of tenorial arrangements prevented there being any link between lords and gentry’: Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, p. 406.

the core of his support came from the Lancastrian following established before 1399'. The royal household was filled with such men, who were 'unusually prominent in all aspects of royal government... before the parliamentary crisis of 1406'.<sup>38</sup>

The West Riding lay within the heartlands of the Lancastrian inheritance, which stretched down from Lancashire and Yorkshire into the north midlands.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the duke of Lancaster was by far the greatest and most influential landowner in Yorkshire.<sup>40</sup> However, although he held the honour of Pickering in the North Riding, the duke's interests were entirely unrepresented in the East Riding, where he held no estates. Consequently, the efficacy of Lancastrian lordship in Yorkshire was largely dependent upon the three Duchy honours in the West Riding.<sup>41</sup> The honours of Knaresborough, Tickhill, and Pontefract dominated the West Riding absolutely, both politically and territorially. As we shall see, any attempt by the Lancastrian connection to assume regional lordship in Yorkshire would depend fundamentally upon the projection of political power from the West Riding estates, as well as on the co-operation of other landed interests.<sup>42</sup> Later in the century, the delegation of the same territory to the earl of Salisbury helped to secure the rule of the region.<sup>43</sup> The Lancastrian estates accounted

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<sup>38</sup> E. Powell, 'Lancastrian England', in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vii (Cambridge, 1998), p. 459; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 30. The reliance upon Lancastrians and their close associates was most pronounced in the composition of Henry Bolingbroke's forces in 1399. According to Castor, 16 of the 40 knights, esquires and gentlemen who received war wages for military service came from the north midlands where the Lancastrian influence was predominant: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 202. A significant number of supporters from the West Riding also received payment. They were the knights Robert Neville, Robert Rockley I, Roger Swillington, and the esquires Thomas Clarell I, Richard Gascoigne, Henry Vavasour, and Robert Waterton I. See below, Ch. 5.2. According to Storey, 'the Lancastrian dynasty was both established and destroyed by private armies drawn largely from this area', i.e., northern England: R.L. Storey, 'The North of England', in Chimes, Ross, and Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England*, p. 129.

<sup>39</sup> Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 97; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 238; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 193.

<sup>40</sup> HC, 1386-1421, i, p. 732; M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 70; P. Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections in the North of England, 1450-70', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 487. According to Ross, the duke of Lancaster also enjoyed 'incomparably the greatest affinity in Yorkshire': 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 426.

<sup>41</sup> A.E. Goodman, 'Responses to Requests in Yorkshire for Military Service under Henry V', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), 246; J.W. Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 8 (1996), p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> See below, Ch. 5. Carpenter has suggested that Henry IV 'used his power as king to extend his dominance beyond what he could have expected as mere duke of Lancaster' in Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Warwickshire: Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 70. Thus, because the estates of the Duchy in Yorkshire were predominantly located in the West Riding, any attempt at regional mastery would have required the co-operation (or abeyance) of the Percy and Neville interests as the two leading comital families in Yorkshire. Such a political balance has been identified in Staffordshire where Henry IV, as duke of Lancaster, co-operated with the earl of Stafford in the government of the shire during the early years of the fifteenth century: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>43</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

for approximately one third of the total area of the West Riding.<sup>44</sup> Overall, the Duchy appointed bailiffs to eight of the eleven wapentakes in the riding.<sup>45</sup>

The castle and honour of Pontefract, which served as the *caput honoris* of the region, was by far the oldest and most valuable of these lands.<sup>46</sup> Surrendered by Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, to the crown in 1292, the honour had been regranted to him in tail with remainder to Henry III's son, Edmund, earl of Lancaster. Upon the earl of Lincoln's death in 1311, Pontefract descended to Edmund's eldest son, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and his wife Alice, Lacy's daughter and heir. The couple also inherited further Lacy estates which had been entailed with remainder to Edmund in 1294, including the manor and soke of Snaith in the West Riding.<sup>47</sup> Administratively, the honour of Pontefract was divided into four bailiwicks, within which were incorporated the six dependent wapentakes: East (Osgoldcross), South (Staincross), West (Agbrigg and Morley), and North (Barkston and Skyrack).<sup>48</sup>

Pontefract remained the only Duchy honour in the riding until John of Gaunt agreed to exchange the honour of Richmond with the crown for the honours of Knaresborough and Tickhill in 1372.<sup>49</sup> The honour of Knaresborough commanded the north-east of the riding and included the bailiwick of Staincliff wapentake, which was regularly let at farm.<sup>50</sup> The honour of Tickhill lay hard by the honour of Pontefract and dominated the wapentake and bailiwick of Strafforth in the south-east of the riding. It also extended beyond the county border into Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire. In these counties, the bailiwicks of Ultra Trentham and Bassetlaw were also usually let at farm.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), i, p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), pp. 520-2, 527, 532.

<sup>46</sup> Lancaster, Pontefract, and Tutbury were the three largest and most valuable Lancastrian honours: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 19, n. 1, 21-22. The honour was subsequently forfeited in 1322 following Earl Thomas's rebellion and execution. In 1327, Pontefract was granted to Queen Isabella for life. The honour was surrendered in 1330 but regranted to Queen Philippa, and not to Thomas's brother and heir Henry, who had been restored to the Lancastrian title (but only partially to the Lancastrian estates) in 1326. The earls of Lancaster therefore leased Pontefract from the queen until 1348 when the honour was resumed by Edward III and restored to Earl Henry. The title to the manor of Cowick and Soke of Snaith remained under dispute in 1348-9; the earls (and later dukes) of Lancaster did not ultimately regain possession until 1363, whereafter the lands in question were consequently leased back to Philippa: *ibid.*, pp. 28, 31-5, 51.

<sup>48</sup> DL30/119/1964; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 520, n. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 527.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 531-2; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 211; Payling, *Political Society*, p. 120; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 199.

Lancastrian influence had previously been projected from the extreme north of Yorkshire towards the northern Marches.<sup>52</sup> However, the duke's increasing need for a military retinue, together with the effects of the Richmond exchange, combined to shift the centre of Lancastrian power into south Yorkshire and the north midlands.<sup>53</sup> Gaunt's territorial position in the region was further enhanced by the acquisition of the Derbyshire honour of the High Peak in 1372.<sup>54</sup> Thereafter, he continued to consolidate his affinity in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the north midlands during the 1380s.<sup>55</sup> In earlier decades, Gaunt had already recruited a number of men from prominent West Riding families, including Hastings of Fenwick, Mauleverer of Wothersome, Morton of Bawtry, Nesfield of Scotton, Rockley of Falthwaite, Saville of Elland, Scargill of Ossett, and Swillington of Swillington.<sup>56</sup> He now retained the services of men drawn from further local families, such as Bosville of Chevet and Fitzwilliam of East Hathelsay.<sup>57</sup>

If Gaunt's retaining strategy during the 1380s had been dictated primarily by military considerations, then the 1390s witnessed a significant shift in his priorities. In the first place, Gaunt had now abandoned his claim to the Castilian throne. More important, however, was the new threat to the Lancastrian affinity posed by Richard II. According to Walker, the creation by the king of a 'royal affinity' in Cheshire was accompanied by a systematic attempt to extend royal recruitment into Lancashire and other areas dominated by the local lordship of the duke of Lancaster.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, Gaunt embarked upon a process of 'political insurance' by which he attempted to reinforce the position of his heir.<sup>59</sup> Whereas he had previously concentrated upon the recruitment of knights from regions such as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, Gaunt now attempted to broaden the Lancastrian affinity. In particular, he began to focus upon

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<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of the ambitions and activities of John of Gaunt in the 'Northern military zone', see R.L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *EHR* 72 (1957), 593-615; J.M.W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959), 213-4; J.A. Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250-1400', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), 1-17; A.E. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), *passim*. Quotation from R.L. Storey, 'The North of England', p. 130. Gaunt had been involved in a competition with the earl of Northumberland for supremacy in the East March during the 1380s: Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility', p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 195; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>55</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 33-4; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 195-6.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 29, n. 86, 31, n. 98, 32, n. 103; S.K. Walker, 'John of Gaunt and his "Affinity": A Prosopographical Approach to Bastard Feudalism', in F. Autrand (ed.), *Prosopographie et genèse de l'État moderne* (Paris, 1986), pp. 27-34.

<sup>57</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 33, n. 111.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 175-7; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>59</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 24, citing S. K. Walker, 'John of Gaunt and his Retainers, 1361-99', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1986), p. 255.

‘quantity rather than social quality’ and retained younger esquires from a wider geographical area.<sup>60</sup> More importantly, the duke also attempted to guarantee the future loyalty of Henry Bolingbroke’s retainers after his own death by granting supplementary fees.<sup>61</sup> Fewer retainers were recruited from Yorkshire during this final period, but a particularly notable exception was the West Riding esquire Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) of Methley, who was in receipt of an annuity from 1392.<sup>62</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the overall effect of such widespread Lancastrian recruitment upon local power structures in Yorkshire was considerable before 1399. Walker has demonstrated that the Duchy exercised the dominant interest in local administration during the second half of the fourteenth century. For example, twenty-one Lancastrian knights were returned to parliament for Yorkshire between 1369 and 1397.<sup>63</sup> This pattern of Lancastrian influence can also be identified within appointments to the shrievalty. Between 1376 and 1399, four retainers served in office for a total of seven-and-a-half years.<sup>64</sup> The Duchy exercised an even greater hold over appointments in the West Riding. According to Walker, the work of the bench was largely executed by Lancastrians between June 1394 and June 1395.<sup>65</sup> Although Walker concludes that ‘even an affinity as large and expensive as John of Gaunt’s was limited to three or four counties in the geographical range of its consistent administrative influence’, it is also clear that Yorkshire, after Lancashire, was the county where the power of the Duchy was most profoundly felt.<sup>66</sup>

Upon his accession, Henry IV immediately declared his commitment to the preservation of the Duchy as a separate entity. This decision had profound implications for the county at large, and local rule in particular. In the short term, the duke of Lancaster suddenly had at his disposal the unparalleled resources of the crown with which to reward the Lancastrian affinity and consolidate his local authority. However, he also needed to reconcile leadership of a private affinity with his public responsibilities as king.<sup>67</sup> In the longer term, it is clear that ineffective kingship would

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<sup>60</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 36. Walker and Castor have both suggested that this strategy was also motivated by the need to recruit men ‘as yet unconnected with the crown’: *ibid.*, pp. 177-8; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 24.

<sup>61</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35, n. 118, 284.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244; S. Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413’, *EHR* 108 (1993), 285-6. Walker goes on to demonstrate that the only active justice without a clear Lancastrian association was Sir John Depeden, an associate of the Nevilles: *ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>66</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 242.

<sup>67</sup> See below, Ch. 5.3.



now be exceptionally destructive in regions such as the West Riding, which would be deprived not only of kingship but also of noble lordship.<sup>68</sup> As we shall see, such a situation was experienced during the reign of Henry VI. The government responded to this challenge by redistributing the local resources of the Duchy amongst the nobility in a bid to preserve local rule. However, the loss of royal direction from the West Riding and the delegation of Duchy office only served to disturb the existing balance of noble rule in the region. The resulting political effects will be addressed in Part Two of this thesis.<sup>69</sup>

### 3) The Dukes of York

The Yorkshire estates of the Duchy of York comprised eighteen manors which were restricted to the south of the West Riding and were largely concentrated around the lordships of Conisbrough and Wakefield.<sup>70</sup> Both of these lordships were dominated by a castle of strategic importance. Conisbrough controlled the road south to Leicester while Sandal commanded the main route north.<sup>71</sup> Further to the west, the dukes of York also held the lordship of Sowerby. Each of these lordships had been held by John Warenne, earl of Surrey, and were granted by Edward III to his son Edmund of Langley (subsequently created first duke of York) upon Surrey's death without legitimate issue in 1347.<sup>72</sup> The territorial position of the dukes of York in the riding should have commanded a significant role in local affairs. But for the most part, historians have questioned the efficacy of their lordship in Yorkshire. Most recently, Arnold found very little evidence connecting the riding's gentry with Duke Richard.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 362-3.

<sup>69</sup> See below, Chs. 6-7.

<sup>70</sup> Studies of the dukes of York include T.B. Pugh, 'The Lands and Servants of the Dukes of York to 1415', unpublished BLitt thesis (Oxford, 1948); F.M. Wright, 'The House of York, 1415-1450', unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins, 1959); J.T. Rosenthal, 'Fifteenth-Century Baronial Incomes and Richard, Duke of York', *BIHR* 37 (1964), 233-40; J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard Duke of York, 1411-60', in W.M. Bowsky (ed.), *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, ii (Lincoln, NE, 1965), pp. 115-204; C.D. Ross, review of Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York', *Welsh History Review*, 3 (1967), 299-302; P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411-60* (Oxford, 1988); D.L. Biggs, "'A Wrong Whom Conscience and Kindred Bid Me to Right": A Reassessment of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and the Usurpation of Henry IV', *Albion*, 26 (1994), 253-272. Ross considers both the Neville and Percy families but not the dukes of York: Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', *passim*. Duke Richard's manors are listed in Rosenthal, 'Estates and Finances', pp. 194-6.

<sup>71</sup> Biggs, 'Edmund of Langley', p. 259.

<sup>72</sup> B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971), pp. 242-3; *Complete Peerage*, xii pt. 2, pp. 895-6. Edmund of Langley was promoted to the dukedom of York by his nephew, Richard II, in 1385: Wright, 'The House of York', p. 46.

<sup>73</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 130.

Part of the problem is of a practical nature and concerns the paucity of surviving evidence, particularly relating to the indentured retainers of the dukes of York.<sup>74</sup> However, studies have also emphasised the inadequacies of both Duke Edmund (d. 1402) and Duke Edward (d. 1415), as well as questioning the motives of Richard, duke of York (d. 1460). For example, according to Ross, ‘neither Edmund of Langley nor his son were men of ability’.<sup>75</sup> Walker writes that political considerations permitted Richard II ‘to omit a wealthy but negligible magnate like Edmund, duke of York, from the West Riding commission’,<sup>76</sup> while Brown describes the duke as a ‘weak vessel’.<sup>77</sup> If we are to believe F.M. Wright, Duke Edward’s greatest achievement was to die in battle at Agincourt, by which he ‘redeemed his dubious past’.<sup>78</sup> For Rosenthal, by contrast, Duke Richard represents ‘the greatest of all the over-mighty nobles of the fifteenth century’,<sup>79</sup> while Arnold argues that he should not in any way be considered a ‘resident’ lord.<sup>80</sup> The dukes of York emerge largely as caricatures. It remains to be seen whether the available evidence supports or contradicts such sweeping generalisations.

The dukes of York certainly suffered from a number of practical difficulties, the most immediate being the sheer extent of their properties. These lands were widely dispersed throughout the country, which posed a significant administrative problem. This situation became particularly acute when Duke Richard came of age in 1432. The acquisition of the earldom of March undoubtedly made Richard of York the greatest territorial magnate in England after the king.<sup>81</sup> To compensate for this, his English and Welsh estates were reorganised and assigned to dominant administrative centres.<sup>82</sup> Although the West Riding receiverships were, according to Johnson, ‘among the most coherent’, they were placed under the supervision of the newly-created administrative

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216; Rosenthal, ‘Estates and Finances’, pp. 186, 189. According to Johnson, only one of Duke Richard’s surviving annuity indentures was contracted before 1460. He also draws attention to the problems of reconstructing the ducal council in the 1430s: Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 17, 20. Subsequent research has brought only two more indentures of retainer to light: M.C.E. Jones and S. Walker (eds.), ‘Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476’, *Camden Miscellany* 32, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 3 (1994), 159-62.

<sup>75</sup> Although he goes on to conclude that ‘the Yorkshire connection of the Dukes of York provides telling evidence as to the attractive power of wealth’: Ross, ‘Yorkshire Baronage’, p. 411.

<sup>76</sup> Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, p. 284.

<sup>77</sup> Brown, ‘The Reign of Henry IV’, p. 7.

<sup>78</sup> ‘The career of the second Duke of York, if not always pursued with honour, was at least concluded with some dignity’: Wright, ‘The House of York’, pp. 37, 40.

<sup>79</sup> Rosenthal, ‘Estates and Finances’, p. 117.

<sup>80</sup> Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, p. 22.

<sup>81</sup> Rosenthal, ‘Estates and Finances’, p. 117; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup> See above, p. 18.

centre at Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, together with the duke's estates in the midlands, East Anglia and the south-east.<sup>83</sup>

A parallel problem for the maintenance of financial integrity was the prolonged series of costly dower assignments which burdened the Duchy between 1402 and 1446.<sup>84</sup> Joan Holland, widow of Duke Edmund, held an interest, amongst other things, in Sandal Castle and the manor of Wakefield. The most lucrative part of Joan's settlement was almost certainly her entitlement to a third share of her husband's entailed Exchequer annuities.<sup>85</sup> She subsequently remarried, first to William, Lord Willoughby (d. 1409), and, secondly, to Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, in 1411. Lord Scrope occupied Sandal Castle in right of his wife until his forfeiture and execution in 1415.<sup>86</sup> Thereafter, Joan quickly managed to clear her name, possibly due to a fortuitous political marriage to Sir Henry Brounfele. Having petitioned the crown for restoration, her annuities, the manor of Wakefield and Sandal Castle were all returned to her in 1415.<sup>87</sup> Upon Joan's death in 1434, Duke Richard finally recovered her Yorkshire estates.<sup>88</sup> However, the execution of Richard, earl of Cambridge and the subsequent death of Duke Edward at Agincourt in 1415 placed two further burdens upon the family inheritance.

Maud Clifford, countess of Cambridge, was not entitled to any share of her stepson's future inheritance, although she was at least permitted to reside at Conisbrough Castle until her death in 1446.<sup>89</sup> She was granted an annuity of £100 by the king in 1416.<sup>90</sup> The dower assignment enjoyed by Philippa Mohun, duchess of York, largely took the form of a cash allowance calculated upon the value of her husband's estates, although this necessarily excluded those manors which had already been granted to Joan Holland. Duke Edward's enfeoffment of 1415 for the endowment of his collegiate church at Fotheringhay (which included the West Riding lordships of Hatfield and Conisbrough) was also initially excluded from the assessment. Philippa did eventually recover her rights but they again reverted to Duke Edward's surviving

<sup>83</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 15.

<sup>84</sup> See Wright, 'The House of York', pp. 48-60.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, *CPR 1413-16*, p. 65.

<sup>87</sup> W.P. Baildon (ed.), *Inquisitions Post Mortem relating to Yorkshire during the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 59 (1918), pp. 116-7; *CCR 1413-19*, pp. 226, 245; Wright, 'The House of York', p. 50.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59. Whitaker would seem to be mistaken in his suggestion that she held Conisbrough in dower: T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven in the County of York* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., London, 1878), p. 316n.

<sup>90</sup> *CCR 1413-19*, p. 305.

feoffees upon her death in 1431.<sup>91</sup> In 1416, she was also granted a third part of the annuities which Duke Edward had received from the customs of London, Hull, and the issues of the county of Yorkshire.<sup>92</sup>

These dower assignments represented a considerable burden upon the financial resources of the duchy of York, which were, until the acquisition of the March inheritance, relatively modest.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, the exercise of authority was hindered by a lack of leadership and the fragmentation of estates during Richard of York's protracted minority between 1415 and 1432. Wakefield was administered by Duchess Joan until her death but Conisbrough and the other West Riding properties remained in the hands of Duke Edward's trustees.<sup>94</sup> Such a situation could not have been conducive for either political continuity or the maintenance of effective lordship. Equally, successive dukes of York also faced strong competition to their lordship from the neighbouring Duchy of Lancaster. It has been demonstrated that John of Gaunt managed to attract a number of officials from Edmund of Langley's minority administration. For instance, Thomas Haselden, controller of the Lancastrian household, had served as receiver in Yorkshire for Duke Edmund, while Robert Morton (d. 1396) held local administrative office in Yorkshire under both Langley and Gaunt.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, Ross stresses that the 'territorial strength and moneyed power [of the dukes of York] served to establish for them in south Yorkshire a connection rivalled only by that of the king'.<sup>96</sup> Evidence survives of traditional service to the dukes of York among members of the West Riding gentry dating back to Edmund of Langley.<sup>97</sup> For example, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) of Wadworth can be shown to have been in the service of Edward of York from at least 1397, when he was appointed steward of Burstwick in Holderness.<sup>98</sup> When the Lancastrian honour of Pontefract was regranted by Richard II to Edward (then duke of Aumale) in 1399, Fitzwilliam briefly held office

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<sup>91</sup> Wright, 'The House of York', pp. 52-4.

<sup>92</sup> *CCR 1413-19*, pp. 308-9, 311.

<sup>93</sup> Wright, 'The House of York', p. 60.

<sup>94</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 4-5. Duke Edward enfeoffed all those lands in Yorkshire except Wakefield and Sowerby on 5 August 1415. The trustees were headed by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham.

<sup>95</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 412, citing Pugh, 'The Dukes of York', *passim*; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 30.

<sup>96</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 411. According to Ross, Gaunt could call upon 202 bannerets, knights and esquires, whereas Duke Edmund's retinue included fewer than forty knights and esquires. However, he reiterates that 'few except royal dukes could afford even this number': *ibid.*, p. 394, citing Pugh, 'The Dukes of York', p. 140.

<sup>97</sup> See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>98</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.

as constable.<sup>99</sup> Thereafter, he appears to have entered the service of Duke Edmund, becoming steward of his Yorkshire estates in 1401.<sup>100</sup> Finally, he received a life grant of the office of constable of Conisbrough Castle from Duke Edward in 1410.<sup>101</sup> It was in this capacity that he was responsible for the safe delivery of Richard of York into the wardship of Robert Waterton at Methley in 1416.<sup>102</sup> The office of constable was subsequently filled by both his son, Edmund II (d. 1460), and grandson, Sir Richard (d. 1479).<sup>103</sup>

#### 4) The Earls of Northumberland

During the course of the fourteenth century, the Percys had emerged as one of the greatest landowners in northern England, as well as the leading noble family in Yorkshire after the duke of Lancaster.<sup>104</sup> Bean has demonstrated that this was ‘a period of tremendous expansion’ for the Percys, wherein they also became established as the most influential family in Cumberland and Northumberland.<sup>105</sup> In 1436, the landed income of Henry (d. 1455), second earl of Northumberland, was assessed at £1,190 per annum.<sup>106</sup> This almost certainly represents a conservative estimate. According to Bean, the gross value of Henry (d. 1461), third earl of Northumberland’s estates was approximately £2,825 in 1455. In the early 1440s, the Yorkshire estates of the Percys alone were worth £1,076.<sup>107</sup>

This period of growth can be traced back to the early years of the fourteenth century. In 1309, Henry, Lord Percy (d. 1314), purchased the barony of Alnwick from Antony Bek, bishop of Durham.<sup>108</sup> Thereafter, the Percys pursued a strategy of territorial and political consolidation which culminated in the acquisition of the Lucy

<sup>99</sup> Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, p. 301, n. 1.

<sup>100</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.

<sup>102</sup> Wright, ‘The House of York’, p. 41.

<sup>103</sup> *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 14, 479.

<sup>104</sup> Tuck, ‘The Emergence of a Northern Nobility’, p. 17; J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958), p. 3; Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, p. 96. Pollard emphasises that although the crown held significant Lancastrian estates in Yorkshire, its territorial position further north was ‘singularly weak’: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 100.

<sup>105</sup> Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 5. They had become the predominant magnate family on the Scottish border by 1399: J.M.W. Bean, ‘Henry IV and the Percies’, *History*, 44 (1959), 213.

<sup>106</sup> Gray, ‘Incomes from Land’, p. 615; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 82.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81. By comparison, the border estates in Northumberland and Cumberland were valued at £1,500 in 1455. The Sussex and Lincolnshire lands were worth only £175 and £60 respectively, while the collection of manors in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Leicestershire, together with property in London, were assessed at £90.

<sup>108</sup> J.M.W. Bean, ‘The Percies’ Acquisition of Alnwick’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, 32 (1954), 309-19; *Complete Peerage*, xi, pp. 456-7.

inheritance in Cumberland and Northumberland in 1384.<sup>109</sup> However, the Yorkshire estates of the Percy family had largely been in their possession since the eleventh century.<sup>110</sup>

Before 1300, the estates of the Percys had essentially been confined to the three ridings of Yorkshire.<sup>111</sup> In the North Riding they held the lordship of Topcliffe but their presence was particularly pronounced in the East and West Ridings. They held the lordship of Leconfield to the north-west of Beverley in the East Riding. In the West Riding, the Percys held the barony of Spofforth in lower Wharfedale.<sup>112</sup> The Percys were also the only noble family to have held lands in the central plain of Yorkshire.<sup>113</sup> All of these lordships had been held since the Conquest.<sup>114</sup> The manor of Spofforth had originally been the *caput honoris* of the family in northern England. However, the acquisition of Alnwick reduced all but its local administrative function in Yorkshire.<sup>115</sup> Subsequently, the Percys seem to have favoured other residences. Henry (d. 1408), first earl of Northumberland, appears to have been particularly fond of his castle at Warkworth in Northumberland.<sup>116</sup> The family also stayed at Topcliffe, while Leconfield became a principal residence of the second earl of Northumberland (d. 1455).<sup>117</sup>

It has been argued by Pollard that the gentry community of Knaresborough was dominated during the later fifteenth century by the local lordship of the Percys, which was centred upon their barony of Spofforth.<sup>118</sup> Members of many West Riding families - including Calverley of Calverley, Fairfax of Walton, Mauleverer of Wothersome, Fawkes of Farnley, Paslew of Leeds, Plumpton of Plumpton, Stapleton of Wighill,

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<sup>109</sup> This process of consolidation is usefully summarised in Tuck, 'Emergence of a Northern Nobility', pp. 10-13. See also Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, pp. 3-11. The Percys also held a valuable estate at Petworth in Sussex, as well as less substantial lands in Durham, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Essex, and London: *ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 158-9.

<sup>110</sup> J.A. Tuck, 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century', in A. Goodman and J.A. Tuck (eds.), *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p. 179; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 4; *VCH, East Riding of Yorkshire*, iv, p. 126; *VCH, North Riding of Yorkshire*, ii, pp. 72-3.

<sup>111</sup> Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 212. William Percy was a tenant-in-chief in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire at Domesday. For the early history of the family, see C. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Families*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 135 (1973), p. 71.

<sup>112</sup> Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections', p. 487.

<sup>113</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 96.

<sup>114</sup> E.J. Fisher, 'Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies, 1450-1650', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Leeds, 1955), i, Ch. 1, p. 7.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. 2, pp. 12, 54.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. Tuck emphasises the continued importance to the Percys of their Yorkshire estates, not least in the formation and maintenance of a gentry following.

<sup>117</sup> Fisher, 'Estates of the Percies', Ch. 1, p. 10; Ch. 2, p. 10. A number of the second earl of Northumberland's letters patent were dated at Leconfield: WSRO PHA D9/6.

<sup>118</sup> Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry', p. 52; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 126-7.

Tempest of Bracewell, and Warde of Givendale - were retained by the earls of Northumberland in the 1440s and 1450s.<sup>119</sup> Foremost amongst them was Sir William Plumpton II, steward of Northumberland's Yorkshire lordships and a life annuitant.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, there were a number of setbacks to Percy hegemony during the first half of the century which have led historians to question the traditional interpretation of Percy supremacy throughout the north of England, particularly following the family's rebellions in 1403 and 1405.<sup>121</sup> First, the lordship of Spofforth adjoined the Lancastrian honour of Knaresborough.<sup>122</sup> This geographical coincidence potentially offered the local gentry a rival source of noble lordship which could threaten Percy authority in the area. The earl of Northumberland had been Henry IV's principal supporter in 1399 and the phenomenon of switched allegiances was largely academic while the king could call upon his support.<sup>123</sup> Shared loyalties only posed a significant problem when the political ambitions of one's lords diverged – as did those of Henry IV and the Percys between 1403 and 1408. When such a choice had to be made, many members of the Knaresborough gentry ultimately found it impossible to take up arms with the earl of Northumberland against the king.<sup>124</sup> Needless to say, the implications for the effectiveness of Percy lordship in the district of Knaresborough were profound.<sup>125</sup>

Between 1405 and 1416, the local lordship of the Percys was also in abeyance. After the attainder of the earl of Northumberland in 1405, the forfeited family estates were divided amongst the victors. Prince John was ultimately entrusted with the keeping of the bulk of the Percy lands in Yorkshire. He received possession of Warkworth and the three Yorkshire lordships of Spofforth, Topcliffe, and Leconfield in 1405.<sup>126</sup> When

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<sup>119</sup> See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>120</sup> Those in receipt of fees in 1442-3 were: Sir William Plumpton II (£10), John Stapleton (£6 13s. 4d.), Sir John Tempest (£6 13s. 4d.), Guy Fairfax (£6 13s. 4d.), Walter Calverley (£5 6s. 8d.), John Paslew (£5 6s. 8d.), Robert Mauleverer I (£5), Richard Tempest I (£5), and Nicholas Warde (£5). Life annuities were granted to Sir William Plumpton II on 19 February 1442 (£10), and Guy Fairfax on 30 April 1451 (£10). Fairfax was Plumpton's deputy-steward by 1451. Plumpton's annuity was subsequently increased to £20 on 1 November 1447: WSRO PHA D9/3, 6; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92 and nn. 1-2; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 22-3; Kirby, *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 251-2.

<sup>121</sup> See M. Weiss, 'A Power in the North? The Percies in the Fifteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 501-9.

<sup>122</sup> Their estates at Tadcaster and Bolton Percy also lay in close proximity to the honour of Pontefract: Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 96.

<sup>123</sup> Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 215; Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', p. 8; Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections', p. 487

<sup>124</sup> For the activities in 1403-5 of members of the Yorkshire gentry retained both by Henry IV and the Percys, see Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 228-9.

<sup>125</sup> See below, Ch. 5.

<sup>126</sup> The original grant to John of Lancaster on 27 June 1405 included all lands formerly held by the earls of Worcester and Northumberland except the lordships of Cockermouth, Spofforth, Warkworth, Wressle, and the manor of Healaugh, which had been granted to Ralph, earl of Westmorland: *CPR 1405-8*, p. 40; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 378. See below, Ch. 5.

the second earl of Northumberland was restored to his title and the bulk of his estates in 1416, he consequently had to contend with the effects of eleven years of Lancastrian lordship during which Prince John had built up strong links with the leading gentry in the Knaresborough neighbourhood which were to last for the rest of his life.<sup>127</sup> The Percys also had to contend with the increasing influence of the Nevilles of Middleham.<sup>128</sup> Ralph (d. 1425), first earl of Westmorland, and his heir, Sir Richard Neville (d. 1460), had exploited the interregnum to extend their political influence throughout the north of England. According to Weiss, they had secured ‘an overwhelming advantage over the Percys’.<sup>129</sup> The attempts by the Nevilles to recruit a gentry following in areas of traditional Percy lordship will be considered in the chronological chapters below.<sup>130</sup>

#### 5) The Lords Clifford

The estates of the Clifford lords of Skipton dominated the wapentakes of Staincliff and Ewcross in the extreme north-west of the Riding. Together, they formed the district of Craven.<sup>131</sup> The honour of Skipton had originally been centred upon Bolton-in-Craven but the Romille family subsequently established a military stronghold and administrative centre at Skipton in the twelfth century. Ultimately, the honour passed to the crown and was acquired by the Clifford family in 1310, after which it became their principal seat.<sup>132</sup> The lords Clifford were not especially wealthy, with the estates of Thomas (d. 1455), Lord Clifford, being assessed at only £250 in 1436.<sup>133</sup> In 1437, the lordship of Skipton was valued at £113 6s. 8d.<sup>134</sup>

The Cliffords were, nevertheless, the dominant family in their home county of Westmorland.<sup>135</sup> They held the castles and manors of Appleby, Brough and Brougham, and enjoyed a hereditary claim to the shrievalty.<sup>136</sup> In many ways, the political interests

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<sup>127</sup> See below, pp. 139-40.

<sup>128</sup> Weiss, ‘The Percies in the Fifteenth Century’, p. 502.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 246.

<sup>130</sup> See below, Chs. 6-7.

<sup>131</sup> Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of Craven*, pp. 1-13.

<sup>132</sup> D. Williams, *Medieval Skipton* (Skipton, 1981), pp. 9-11.

<sup>133</sup> Gray, ‘Incomes from Land’, p. 618. This figure excluded the dower assignment of Elizabeth Percy (d. 1436), widow of John (d. 1422), Lord Clifford which was valued at £75 per annum. Moreover, Elizabeth also had livery of the lordship of Harter, Northumberland, which she had held jointly with her husband: T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, ‘The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436’, *BIHR* 26 (1953), p. 26.

<sup>134</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, p. 319.

<sup>135</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 228-9.

<sup>136</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 320; *1391-6*, p. 196; *CFR 1422-30*, p. 75; *Complete Peerage*, i, pp. 291-4; R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), pp. 106-8.



of the Cliffords were directed away from Yorkshire. The real value of their castle at Skipton lay in its strategic importance to the family since it controlled the route across the Pennines via the Aire Gap to Lancashire and the north-west.<sup>137</sup> Such an emphasis is reflected in the choice of feoffees appointed by John (d. 1422), Lord Clifford, shortly before his departure on the French campaign of 1415. Although the trustees included the influential West Riding lawyer Richard Gascoigne (d. 1423) of Hunslet and a local esquire, William Garth of Skipton, the most prominent figures were Sir William Harrington (d. 1440) of Brierley, whose principal seat was at Hornby in Lancashire, and Sir Christopher Moresby of Westmorland.<sup>138</sup>

There is some evidence that the Cliffords did expect to maintain a degree of political influence in West Riding affairs. For example, Thomas (d. 1455), Lord Clifford, secured a joint grant of the Duchy of Lancaster bailiwick of Staincliff with Henry Vavasour II (d. 1453) of Hazlewood in 1447.<sup>139</sup> Unusually, he was customarily appointed with the knights of the shire as a commissioner to distribute allowances on taxes in the West Riding throughout the adult reign of Henry VI.<sup>140</sup> He is also known to have attended a session of the peace at Skipton.<sup>141</sup> However, the family was plagued by a series of minorities and long-lived dowagers which must have considerably restricted their political influence. Thomas (d. 1391), Lord Clifford, was succeeded by his two-year-old son John, whose minority of nineteen years lasted until 1411.<sup>142</sup> Disaster struck when John, Lord Clifford, fell at the siege of Meaux in 1422.<sup>143</sup> His own son, Thomas, did not come of age until 1435. Thomas, Lord Clifford, proved a committed supporter of his uncle Henry, earl of Northumberland, until his own death at the battle of St. Albans in 1455.<sup>144</sup> Thereafter the barony descended to John, Lord Clifford, who was slain in a skirmish on the day before the battle of Towton in 1461. John Clifford was

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<sup>137</sup> A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vii, English Place-Name Society, 36 (1962), p. 18; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 28.

<sup>138</sup> C139/159/33; Bod. Lib. Dodsworth MS 83, fols. 38, 54v; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 320; *1422-9*, p. 68; *CFR 1422-30*, pp. 29-30, 75; *CCR 1422-9*, p. 5; Baildon (ed.), *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 183-4; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 284-6. According to Ross, the Clifford affinity did not include a single knight or esquire from Yorkshire after 1399: *ibid.*, p. 423.

<sup>139</sup> DL37/15/33; Whitaker, *History of Craven*, p. 317. The wapentake of Staincliff was parcel of the honour of Knaresborough and was frequently let at farm: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 527.

<sup>140</sup> *CFR 1437-45*, pp. 141, 216, 326; *1445-52*, pp. 33, 122; *1452-61*, p. 43; Arnold, 'West Riding' i, pp. 128-9.

<sup>141</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 120.

<sup>142</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 276-82.

<sup>143</sup> *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 293; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 284.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9.

posthumously attainted by Edward IV and, in 1465, the forfeited honour of Skipton was regranted in tail to the Lancashire knight, Sir William Stanley.<sup>145</sup>

The financial resources of the family were also strained by the survival of two dowagers. Elizabeth Roos, widow of Thomas (d. 1391), Lord Clifford, lived until 1424, while Elizabeth Percy, her daughter-in-law and the widow of John Clifford (d. 1422), died in 1436.<sup>146</sup> However, geographical reality is perhaps of more significance in an analysis of the political influence of the family. The limited population of the district was concentrated in south-west Craven and there were no resident gentry families in the wapentake of Ewcross or in the north-east of Staincliff wapentake.<sup>147</sup> Besides those already mentioned, only a handful of Clifford associates can be identified.<sup>148</sup> In 1444, Thomas, Lord Clifford, conveyed the castle and lordship of Skipton to a group of feeoffees, including his uncle, Henry, earl of Northumberland, Sir John Neville of Raby, Sir John Tempest (d. 1464) of Bracewell, Thomas Harrington (d. 1460) of Brierley, Thomas Garth of Skipton, and William Gargrave.<sup>149</sup> Another associate, Thomas Hawksworth of Hawksworth, received the reversion of a Cumberland manor from John (d. 1461), Lord Clifford, in 1460, in return for future service.<sup>150</sup> The prominent West Riding lawyer John Thwaites (d. 1469) of Lofthouse is known to have served as one of Lord Clifford's councillors in 1447, and perhaps also in 1442.<sup>151</sup> Finally, Robert Bollyng of Bowling is known to have fought with Clifford at Towton, although he subsequently alleged that he had been coerced.<sup>152</sup>

Nevertheless, Henry IV's treatment of Sir William Clifford (d. 1418) clearly demonstrates contemporary perceptions of the family's strategic importance in the region.<sup>153</sup> Sir William was the acting head of the family from the death of his brother, Thomas, Lord Clifford, in 1391 until the majority of his nephew, John Clifford, in 1411. Despite being a former servant of Richard II, he immediately reconciled himself with the Lancastrian regime and was retained by Henry IV as a king's knight in 1399.<sup>154</sup> A

<sup>145</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, pp. 320-1.

<sup>146</sup> *CFR 1422-30*, p. 51; *1430-7*, pp. 298, 306; *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 293; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 286-8.

<sup>147</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 13, 90, 93-4. Arnold identifies only 5 resident knightly families and 9 lesser gentry families in the district.

<sup>148</sup> See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>149</sup> C139/159/33; Bod. Lib. Dodsworth MS 83, fol. 39; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 324; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 129.

<sup>150</sup> WYAS YAS DD46/18/1; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 148.

<sup>151</sup> Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of Craven*, p. 107; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 107; ii, p. 13.

<sup>152</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, vi, p. 20; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 154.

<sup>153</sup> For the following discussion, see Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 277-9; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 228-9.

<sup>154</sup> *CPR 1396-9*, p. 269; *1399-1401*, p. 53.

variety of favours followed, including a royal grant of the manor of Ganlowe in Flintshire, culminating in his appointment as captain of Berwick Castle. However, Clifford appears to have quickly become associated with the earl of Northumberland and subsequently became something of an habitual offender. He joined the rebellions of 1403, 1405 and 1408 but was repeatedly pardoned by Henry IV. He remained a king's knight and subsequently held a number of offices under Henry V. Such extraordinary leniency suggests that the regional lordship of the Cliffords was indispensable to the crown.

#### 6) The Lords Furnival of Hallamshire

The Furnival inheritance comprised a compact block of estates centred upon the lordship of Sheffield and the manors of Treeton and Whiston in the south-west of the Riding where the family had settled during the reign of King John.<sup>155</sup> Their influence was further augmented by the overlordship of the wapentake of Strafforth.<sup>156</sup> In addition, Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, received a grant of the bailiwick of Strafforth wapentake on 10 August 1405.<sup>157</sup> However, these estates were associated with a number of other manors in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. They included Eyam, Bamford, and Middleton in Derbyshire, as well as the important Nottinghamshire manor of Worksop.<sup>158</sup> As a consequence, the attention of the Furnivals was naturally directed south into the north midlands. These lands descended to Joan (d. 1395), daughter and heiress of William (d. 1383), fifth Lord Furnival, in the later fourteenth century. She had married Thomas Neville (d. 1407), second son of John, Lord Neville of Raby, and younger brother of the future earl of Westmorland, by 1379.<sup>159</sup> The couple had livery of her father's estates on 22 June 1383 and Thomas was summoned to parliament in her right as Lord Furnival from 20 August.<sup>160</sup> After the usurpation, Neville proved his worth as a staunch Lancastrian supporter. He was an important member of the 'royal affinity' in Yorkshire and was appointed to a number of important commissions in the West

<sup>155</sup> *CCR 1381-83*, pp. 526-7; Baildon (ed.), *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 62, 76. For the early history of Hallamshire under the family of Luvetot and its descent to the Furnival family in 1203, see Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 53-6.

<sup>156</sup> J. Hunter, *Hallamshire* (London, 1869), pp. 40-44; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 71.

<sup>157</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 164. After his death, the office was regranted to Reginald Wombwell: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 532.

<sup>158</sup> *CIPM 1377-84*, pp. 307-12; *1405-13*, p. 193; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 71-2. The Lords Furnival were buried at Worksop: *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 40; Baildon (ed.), *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 62; Payling, *Political Society*, p. 98.

<sup>159</sup> *Complete Peerage*, v, p. 589.

<sup>160</sup> *Complete Peerage*, v, p. 589.

Riding and throughout the north of England.<sup>161</sup> Indeed, he is the only peer known to have attended a quarter session in the West Riding between 1389 and 1413.<sup>162</sup> However, most of his energies were divided between the prosecution of the war effort in Wales and defence against the rebellions of 1402 and 1405.

In 1401, Thomas married Ankaret, the widow of Richard, Lord Talbot.<sup>163</sup> She brought him both her Talbot dowry and the Shropshire inheritance of her father, John, Lord Straunge. As a consequence, Neville had a vested interest in directing his attention to the Welsh March.<sup>164</sup> He probably fought at Shrewsbury against Sir Henry Percy and the earl of Worcester in 1402. Thereafter, Neville's career flourished as he rapidly became one of the most trusted and active supporters of the Lancastrian regime.<sup>165</sup> He was appointed as captain of the key Welsh border castles of Bishop's Castle, Caus and Montgomery in 1404.<sup>166</sup> In the same year, he joined the Council and became a war treasurer.<sup>167</sup> By Christmas, he had been promoted to Treasurer of England and regularly attended court during the last years of his life.<sup>168</sup> Upon his death in 1407, he was immediately succeeded by John Talbot (d. 1453), a younger son of Richard, Lord Talbot, and Ankaret Straunge.<sup>169</sup> Unlike other noble families in the West Riding, therefore, there was no protracted minority during which time the local lordship of the lords Furnival could fall into abeyance. Nevertheless, the fact that the inheritance passed to a Shropshire family did have serious implications.

John Talbot gained the Furnival inheritance through his marriage to Maud, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Neville and Joan Furnival, and they were granted seisin of the bulk of their estates on 3 May 1407.<sup>170</sup> Although Talbot was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland in 1414, it has been suggested that he did initially take an interest

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<sup>161</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 213; *1401-5*, pp. 129, 284, 289; *1405-8*, pp. 155, 201, 238; Given Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228. Neville also received appointment to the peace commissions in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Northumberland, the West Riding and Shropshire: *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 490, 495-7, 500. See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>162</sup> E137/49/2B, rot. 9; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 285. He attended a single session at Doncaster on 24 January 1402.

<sup>163</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 512.

<sup>164</sup> A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', unpublished DPhil thesis (Bristol, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>165</sup> Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', pp. 12-13.

<sup>166</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 36; Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', pp. 13-16.

<sup>167</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, p. 530; *CPR 1405-8*, p. 351.

<sup>168</sup> *CPR 1399-1405*, p. 281; *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 203, 205, 214, 274-5; Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', pp. 13-14; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 74.

<sup>169</sup> *CPR 1408-13*, p. 167; *Complete Peerage*, i, pp. 340-1; v, pp. 590-1

<sup>170</sup> *CFR 1405-13*, p. 74. Ankaret's estates passed to them upon her death in 1413 *ibid.*, p. 124

in Yorkshire affairs.<sup>171</sup> For example, his first recorded visit to Sheffield was in November 1410.<sup>172</sup> However, he ultimately succeeded his brother Gilbert (d. 1419) as Lord Talbot in 1421 and was created first earl of Shrewsbury in 1442.<sup>173</sup> The lordship of Sheffield thus became an inconsequential part of a much larger inheritance which was focused upon Shropshire and the Welsh March.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, Talbot's eldest sons, Sir John and Sir Christopher Talbot, joined the West Riding commission of the peace from 1442.<sup>175</sup> Their appointments must have augmented the family's political position, especially since they were the only justices resident in the south-west of the riding.<sup>176</sup> In the same year, Sir Christopher's local influence was enhanced with a grant of the office of bailiff of the neighbouring Duchy of Lancaster wapentake of Staincross.<sup>177</sup> When Sir Christopher died in 1444, the family seems to have ensured his replacement on the commission by a member of the Talbot affinity.<sup>178</sup> It has been suggested that both brothers were probably expected to live at Sheffield.<sup>179</sup> Sir John Talbot certainly maintained a guest house at Sheffield Castle by 1446. It can be demonstrated that he was in residence in September 1446 and November 1451.<sup>180</sup> He also attended at least one session of the peace between October 1452 and August 1453.<sup>181</sup> But the extent of the family's political influence in the Riding must have been severely curtailed by the lack of resident gentry families in south-west Yorkshire.<sup>182</sup> Nevertheless, a number of the riding's gentry (almost all from south Yorkshire) can be connected with the lords

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<sup>171</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 164; *Complete Peerage*, xi, p. 699; Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', p. 20; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 76.

<sup>172</sup> Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', p. 18.

<sup>173</sup> *Complete Peerage*, xi, pp. 699, 701; xii pt. 1, p. 620.

<sup>174</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 76. According to Pollard, the family's attention was primarily directed upon the Welsh March between 1399 and 1485: Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', p. 3. The lordship of Sheffield was the most valuable of Talbot's estates. Its value was rather conservatively estimated at a little under £300 in 1442-3: *ibid.*, p. 315. The total value of the Talbot inheritance was assessed at £1,205 in 1436: Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p. 614.

<sup>175</sup> See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>176</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 120.

<sup>177</sup> DL37/10/5. John and Christopher Talbot had also previously been granted the north midlands Furnival manors of Bubnell, Glossop and Worksop in 1436. Upon his succession to the earldom of Shrewsbury, John Talbot also embarked upon a process of consolidation in the vicinity of Sheffield. He acquired five Derbyshire manors, including Windfield and Crich which he purchased from the executors of Ralph, Lord Cromwell in 1459: Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', pp. 65, 315.

<sup>178</sup> John Stafford joined the West Riding commission on 23 November: see below, Appendix 4a. He was probably related to Robert Stafford of Treeton, a retainer of Sir John Talbot, and Henry Stafford, rector of Treeton, receiver of Sheffield during the 1440s: SA ACM/S 112; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 120.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>180</sup> Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot', p. 34; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 352; *CPR 1446-52*, p. 560.

<sup>181</sup> E372/299, rot. 22; E101/598/42, m. 4. See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>182</sup> Only five gentry families lived within the lordship of Sheffield: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 97.

Furnival and earls of Shrewsbury.<sup>183</sup> In 1407, Robert Pudsey of Bolton was appointed an executor by Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival.<sup>184</sup> Sir Edmund Sandford of Thorpe Salvin and Edmund Fitzwilliam I are known to have witnessed the conveyance of the manor of Worksop by John Talbot in 1413.<sup>185</sup> Robert Stafford of Treeton was a retainer of the first earl of Shrewsbury and his kinsman, Henry Stafford, served as receiver of Sheffield during the 1440s.<sup>186</sup> Another esquire, Thomas Everingham of Sprotborough, was an annuitant, and acted as steward of the court of Sheffield in 1442-3.<sup>187</sup> Sir Thomas Harrington of Brierley, John Hastings of Fenwick, Nicholas Wortley I (d. 1448) of Wortley, Thurstan Banaster of Wakefield, Henry Stafford and Thomas Clarell II (d. 1450) of Aldwark served as feoffees for Sir John Talbot during the 1440s.<sup>188</sup> Sir Thomas Harrington was also named an executor of the will of the second earl of Shrewsbury.<sup>189</sup>

#### 7) The Archbishops of York

North of the river Aire, the archbishops of York held the lordships of Ripon, Otley, and Sherburn-in-Elmet.<sup>190</sup> Successive archbishops had exercised the privilege of return of writs within the liberty of Ripon since the thirteenth century. In 1442, this franchise was extended to encompass all archiepiscopal estates in Yorkshire.<sup>191</sup> The archbishop of York also reserved the right to appoint a separate commission of the peace in Ripon.<sup>192</sup> It cannot be demonstrated that the archiepiscopal estates were regularly exploited for political purposes until the translation of John Kemp from London to York in 1425.<sup>193</sup> Thereafter, Kemp's heavy-handed attempts to forcibly exercise his local rights and

<sup>183</sup> See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>184</sup> N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, i (London, 1826), p. 168-9.

<sup>185</sup> SA ACM/WD 572.

<sup>186</sup> See above, n. 178.

<sup>187</sup> A.H. Thomas, 'Comptus of the Foresters of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury', *HAST* 2 (1924), p. 74; A.H. Thomas, 'Account of William Swyfte, Deputy of Roger Stedeman, Receiver of Hallamshire', *HAST* 2 (1924), p. 245.

<sup>188</sup> C139/179/58. In addition, Thurstan Banaster served with Sir Christopher Talbot as a mainpernor for Sir John Talbot in 1442. Sir Christopher Talbot, Banaster, and John Hastings entered into a recognisance with Geoffrey Louthur in 1441 for the farm of the manors of Handsworth, Bramley and Attercliff, and the office of bailiff of Staincross wapentake: *CFR 1437-45*, p. 252; *CCR 1441-7*, p. 60.

<sup>189</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 252-4.

<sup>190</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 25.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 99; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 111. The grant was confirmed in 1444: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 26.

<sup>192</sup> See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>193</sup> E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., London, 1986), p. 282.

privileges led to widespread resentment in the West Riding.<sup>194</sup> The confrontation which arose between Archbishop Kemp and the Percys in the Knaresborough district between 1440 and 1448 represented the culmination of this process of political ambition and deserves rather more political analysis than it has previously received.<sup>195</sup> The geographical proximity of both Kemp's lordship of Ripon and the adjacent Percy barony of Spofforth to the Lancastrian honour of Knaresborough suggests that, in origin, the dispute may have derived from the loss of authoritative royal leadership of the Duchy in this region during the reign of Henry VI. The political vacuum caused by the lack of royal direction within the honour led to increased noble competition for local rule, thereby disturbing the established pattern of lordship in the riding. This interpretation will be explored in Part Two of this thesis.<sup>196</sup>

#### 8) Conclusion

Two general conclusions may be drawn from a survey of noble affinities in the West Riding. In the first place, neighbourhood was of key importance to the formation and maintenance of links between nobility and gentry. Walker's study of the Lancastrian affinity has emphasised that the role played by territorial proximity in the creation of local power structures had largely replaced that of tenurial dependence by the late fourteenth century.<sup>197</sup> However, he suggests that tenure still had an important part to play in Lancashire, where 'the duke's unchallenged territorial preponderance... allowed him to preserve a closer correlation between tenure and service than most other magnates could maintain'.<sup>198</sup> Given the overwhelming territorial predominance of the Duchy in the West Riding, together with Walker's evidence that the Duchy exercised the dominant influence in local administration, it seems likely that the tenurial connection remained of some importance to the Lancastrian affinity in Yorkshire during the last years of the fourteenth century.<sup>199</sup> Such associations continued to be of

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<sup>194</sup> R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Stroud, 1998), pp. 577-9; Pollard, *North Eastern England*, p. 247.

<sup>195</sup> According to Griffiths, the dispute represented merely a cocktail of anticlericalism and a tussle between two powerful Yorkshire landowners': Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 577.

<sup>196</sup> See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>197</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 26.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>199</sup> See above, p. 10.

significance during the reign of Henry IV.<sup>200</sup> However, this was not necessarily the case for lesser magnates.

According to Ross, tenurial complexity largely prevented the creation of such links in Yorkshire. Consequently, ‘many men tended to take service under the greatest lord of the neighbourhood’.<sup>201</sup> Links between nobility and gentry were generally intensely local affairs which owed more to proximity than tenure.<sup>202</sup> Perhaps the most obvious example is that provided by the dukes of York. Pugh has demonstrated that the Yorkshire following of Duke Edmund and Duke Edward was entirely restricted to the south of the West Riding.<sup>203</sup> A lord could be of no benefit to the local gentry in areas where he held no estates.<sup>204</sup> Therefore, the dukes of York sought to recruit their affinity exclusively in south Yorkshire where their good lordship would be most attractive to the gentry. The localised strength of their lordship is most identifiable in the vicinity of Conisbrough. Between 1415 and 1446 Countess Maud’s household formed the focus for a social network despite the absence of the dukes of York. The predominant families in this network were the Clarells of Aldwark, the Fitzwilliams of Wadworth, and the Wentworths of West Bretton. Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) held manors of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Talbots and the archbishop of York, but he was also an annuitant of Duke Edward.<sup>205</sup> As has already been mentioned, Edmund Fitzwilliam I had enjoyed a long career in the service of the dukes of York. Both he and his son held office as steward of Conisbrough Castle.<sup>206</sup> Indeed, Edmund Fitzwilliam II (d. 1465) married one of Countess Maud’s ladies-in-waiting after the death of his first wife. Richard Wentworth I (d.c. 1449) was also almost certainly a retainer.<sup>207</sup> Both men were naturally named in the commission appointed in 1425 to establish whether Duke Edward held any lands in chief not recorded in the inquisitions following his death.<sup>208</sup>

The second general conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that magnates did not normally have the financial resources to undertake the comprehensive recruitment of all resident gentry within the districts where their estates lay.<sup>209</sup> Nor, indeed, could they automatically attract the services of the greater gentry families. The

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<sup>200</sup> See below, Ch. 5.

<sup>201</sup> Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, p. 406.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407, citing Pugh, ‘The Dukes of York’, pp. 140-90.

<sup>204</sup> Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, p. 358.

<sup>205</sup> C139/110/42; Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, p. 189; *CCR 1429-35*, p. 260.

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>207</sup> See below, Ch. 3.

<sup>208</sup> *CPR 1422-9*, p. 278.

<sup>209</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 105-8.



size of the Lancastrian affinity was unparalleled. Between 1379 and 1383, John of Gaunt recruited a national following of 202 retainers. By contrast, even Edmund of Langley could only call upon the services of about forty retainers. Between 1403 and 1405, the earl of Northumberland's affinity included twenty knights and esquires, while the lords Clifford are not known to have been able to call upon the services of a single knight or esquire in Yorkshire after 1399.<sup>210</sup> Therefore, it was much more practical for the nobility selectively to recruit members of the gentry.

The nobility could maximise their financial resources and political benefits by securing the services of key individuals. By retaining members of the greater gentry, they could exploit the web of existing relationships and extend their authority into local society.<sup>211</sup> Supporting evidence can be supplied from the West Riding. The Savilles of Thornhill remained committed supporters of the dukes of York during the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>212</sup> The family connection dated back to the late fourteenth century, when Sir John Saville (d. 1405) of Elland had been appointed master forester of the lordship of Sowerby and Holmfirth, by Duke Edmund, for life. This grant was subsequently confirmed on 20 November 1399.<sup>213</sup> Sir John was also a staunch Lancastrian while his younger brother, Henry Saville (d. 1412) of Thornhill, had been granted an annuity by Bolingbroke in 1398.<sup>214</sup> The Elland estates eventually descended to Sir John's nephew, Sir Thomas Saville (d. 1449) of Thornhill, who succeeded his uncle as master forester of Sowerby in 1414.<sup>215</sup> His own son, Sir John Saville (d. 1482), accompanied Duke Richard to Normandy in 1441.<sup>216</sup> He seems to have held office as steward of Wakefield and Sowerby, as well as constable of Sandal Castle, from 1442 until 1459.<sup>217</sup> He was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire during the duke's protectorate in 1454 and was restored to all of his offices by Edward IV in 1461. In the same year, he was again appointed to serve as sheriff.<sup>218</sup> In conclusion, it seems likely that gentry stewards drawn from leading local families such as the Savilles and the Fitzwilliams provided for their respective lords what Carpenter has described as 'a means of access

<sup>210</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 394-5, 423, citing Pugh, 'The Dukes of York', p. 140.

<sup>211</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 360.

<sup>212</sup> See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>213</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 15.

<sup>214</sup> W.P. Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree and the Butlers of Skelbrook and Kirk Sandal', *YAJ* 28 (1926), p. 412.

<sup>215</sup> SC8/23/11411; *CPR 1416-22*, p. 38; Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree', pp. 413-4.

<sup>216</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 64.

<sup>217</sup> KB9/289 m. 44; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 238; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 532; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 43.

<sup>218</sup> W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1066-2000* (Barnsley, 2000), p. 90; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 743.

to local society'.<sup>219</sup> A similar service was undoubtedly provided for the earl of Northumberland by Sir William Plumpton during the 1440s and 1450s.<sup>220</sup>

It is clear that the old noble honours were still of particular relevance to the West Riding gentry. As we shall see, the local administration of the county and the ridings were ill-equipped to provide a focus for political society.<sup>221</sup> Instead, it is clear that gentry networks throughout the country largely coincided with individual zones of noble lordship.<sup>222</sup> By far the greatest interest was that of the Duchy of Lancaster. However, the death of Henry V in 1422 resulted in a catastrophic loss of royal direction within the region. For decades, local power structures had been shaped by patterns of lordship and local rule had been dependent upon the Duchy connection. The absence of effective kingship led to a power vacuum in the riding. The government attempted to replace the local responsibilities of the crown by redistributing the territorial resources of the Duchy amongst the nobility. In the West Riding, the greatest beneficiary was the earl of Salisbury. However, it is questionable whether he enjoyed an adequate power base to assume the rule of the region. Moreover, there was increased noble competition for local rule in those areas which now lacked an effective lord. As a result, local power structures were destabilised and previously discrete zones of noble lordship were brought into direct confrontation. The rivalries and violence which ensued will be examined in Part Two.<sup>223</sup> Before beginning a chronological analysis, however, we must consider the nature of social and political networks, and the structure of royal administration in the West Riding.

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<sup>219</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 360.

<sup>220</sup> See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>221</sup> See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>222</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 153. See below, Ch. 3.

<sup>223</sup> See below, Chs. 6-7.

## CHAPTER THREE

### GENTRY SOCIETY

#### 1) Introduction

It has already been established that the West Riding, in common with other parts of Yorkshire, was dominated by the estates of the nobility.<sup>1</sup> We must now consider gentry society in order to complete our portrait of local power structures in the riding. The gentry have come to be regarded as ‘the real heart of late medieval political society’.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, a number of historians have gone one stage further. Richmond, for example, has argued that the gentry had gained political independence from the nobility by the middle of the fifteenth century. In his influential review article, he urged the redirection of research into provincial society.<sup>3</sup> In response to Richmond’s call to arms, a generation of historians have focused closely upon the lives, aspirations, and political independence of the gentry.<sup>4</sup>

Some recent work has begun to question the exclusivity of this approach. In particular, Horrox has cautioned that we must consider *all* of local political society, including the lesser gentry, the greater gentry, and the nobility, in order ‘to acquire a truer sense of the late-medieval balance of power’.<sup>5</sup> This principal is inherent in Pollard’s work on north-eastern England during the Wars of the Roses and in Carpenter’s study of fifteenth-century Warwickshire. It is, however, missing from Acheson’s survey of the Leicestershire gentry and from Payling’s study of the gentry elite in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire.<sup>6</sup> These last examples reflect the current tendency amongst historians to concentrate on the careers of the greater gentry at the expense of

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Ch. 2.

<sup>2</sup> W.M. Ormrod, *Political Life in England, 1300-1450* (London, 1995), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> C. Richmond, ‘After McFarlane’, *History*, 68 (1983), 57-60.

<sup>4</sup> Notable contributions to our understanding of fifteenth-century gentry society include C. Richmond, *John Hopton: A Fifteenth-Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981); C. Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1990-2002); S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983); A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990); S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c. 1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992); C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law, and Land in Norfolk, c. 1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992); M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> R.E. Horrox, ‘Local and National Politics in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 395, 402. For the same conclusion, see A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. vii; M.C. Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community in Medieval England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 340-80.

<sup>6</sup> See above, n. 4.

other members of political society. One important consideration noted by Moreton is that the county approach itself tends to exaggerate the exclusivity of the greater gentry.<sup>7</sup>

Other doubts have been raised about the direction that historiography has taken in the last twenty years. A number of historians have challenged the common misconception that self-interest was the defining characteristic of late medieval politics.<sup>8</sup> The investigation of ‘county communities’ as independent political units in isolation from wider political structures has also been criticised.<sup>9</sup> According to Castor, the focus on local power structures and private interests has meant that ‘the nature and functions of royal authority have been only marginal elements in the account of political society constructed by much of this research’. Moreover, the ‘constitutional’ peculiarities of the Duchy of Lancaster discussed above have typically gone unremarked, while its political role in the localities has been rendered largely invisible.<sup>10</sup>

The following chapter, therefore, attempts to provide a balanced survey of the West Riding gentry. Throughout the following discussion, a deliberate attempt has been made to establish their place in the wider polity. The central themes which will be explored are the relevance of the administrative units of Yorkshire and the West Riding to the gentry population - specifically the existence of or lack of any sense of ‘county community’ - and the nature of local power structures. Much of this analysis relies upon a prosopographical database of political society and employs the time-honoured methodology of network analysis.<sup>11</sup> As already discussed, Part I of this thesis aims to reconstruct a portrait of political society in one specific locality before proceeding to examine its interaction with national politics in Part II. Since we are dealing with an especially large geographical area and population over a protracted period of time, practicality dictates that this portrait must necessarily be rather generalised.<sup>12</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>7</sup> C.E. Moreton, ‘A Social Gulf? The Upper and Lesser Gentry of Later Medieval England’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 255.

<sup>8</sup> See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 7, 19. See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, Ch. 9; Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, pp. 365-75; M.C. Carpenter, ‘The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century’, in R.E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995), pp. 175-200; P.C. Maddern, ‘“Best Trusted Friends”: Concepts and Practices of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry’, in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 3 (Stamford, 1994), pp. 100-117.

<sup>12</sup> See J.S. Mackman, ‘The Lincolnshire Gentry in the Wars of the Roses’, unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 2000), p. 46.

the nature of surviving evidence largely restricts such a survey to the upper ranks of the gentry.<sup>13</sup> Who exactly these people were will be considered in the next section.

The gentry occupied the lower stratum of landed society immediately beneath the nobility. Together, the gentry and the nobility comprised the aristocracy. The gentry had first emerged as a political force in the thirteenth century. They owed their importance to the growth of national taxation. By the fourteenth century, the crown had accepted that it needed to gain the consent of the parliamentary Commons for royal taxation. As royal government continued to expand, the gentry also became increasingly active in provincial administration.<sup>14</sup> However, their power was ultimately derived from possession of land and the lordship over men which it conferred.<sup>15</sup> It has been calculated by Payling that the corporate wealth of the gentry exceeded that of the nobility by more than two to one.<sup>16</sup> They held between 45 and 75 per cent of the land in any given county.<sup>17</sup> By comparison, the proportion of the landed values held by the peerage did not exceed 30 per cent in any of the seventeen counties for which returns survive for the income tax of 1412.<sup>18</sup> But this does not necessarily imply, as has sometimes been argued, that 'simple mathematics' can demonstrate the independence of the gentry from the nobility.<sup>19</sup> 'What was important', Carpenter writes, 'was that in most counties there was at least one nobleman who was *individually* substantially more powerful than any of the gentry in the county'.<sup>20</sup> The concept of gentry subservience also clearly needs to be discarded. Instead, advocates of noble rule have increasingly emphasised the reciprocal nature of hierarchical relationships.<sup>21</sup> As Horrox concludes, 'any increase in gentry power relative to that of the aristocracy [*i.e.* the nobility] must be measured not

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<sup>13</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 87; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>14</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 44-6. See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 283-5. See above, Ch. 1.1.

<sup>16</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 1-3; H.L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *EHR* 49 (1934), 607-39. Cf. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', *BIHR* 26 (1953), 1-28; 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. 97-101.

<sup>17</sup> N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), p. 5; M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 81; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 86; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 36.

<sup>18</sup> The proportion of the landed values held by the peerage only exceeded 25 per cent in Berkshire, Essex, Huntingdonshire, and Sussex: E. Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii (Cambridge, 1991), p. 530.

<sup>19</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, Ch. 1 and p. 105.

<sup>20</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 360.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360-1; Horrox, 'Local and National Politics', p. 394.

by gentry refusal to enter relationships with the nobility, but by the degree of independence which they enjoyed within such relationships'.<sup>22</sup>

The social and economic divisions within the gentry have frequently been considered by historians and need only briefly be rehearsed here. By definition, members of the gentry required sufficient unearned income from land to sustain a gentle lifestyle. The minimum qualification of gentility has generally been equated with an annual income of between 10 marks and £10.<sup>23</sup> Around 1300, the gentry comprised the knights and the esquires.<sup>24</sup> The expansion of royal government and justice, however, resulted in the eventual stratification of the gentry into three ranks. This process was accelerated by the social upheavals during the second half of the fourteenth century. The social effects of the Black Death resulted in increased rank-consciousness amongst the lowest levels of landed society. By 1413, a hierarchy had emerged composed of knights, esquires, and gentlemen.<sup>25</sup> It has been estimated that there were anywhere between 6,000 and 10,000 gentry families in late medieval England.<sup>26</sup> In recent years, it has become fashionable for historians to separate this broad social group into two strata based upon wealth and influence. The greater or 'county gentry' included all knights and the richer esquires whose status was virtually indistinguishable from that of the knights. By comparison, the lesser or 'parish gentry' comprised the poorer esquires and the mere gentlemen.<sup>27</sup>

At the top of the social spectrum of gentry were the knights. Knighthood was originally a military rank which distinguished the bearer from lesser landowners such as franklins and husbandmen, whose titles were derived from tenure rather than from service.<sup>28</sup> It was commonly recognised that knights required a minimum annual income of £40 to support their rank. This was the statutory level of distraint of knighthood and the theoretical qualification for a county's parliamentary representatives. However, it has been calculated that the greater knights enjoyed substantially larger incomes - frequently in excess of £100 per annum.<sup>29</sup> Gray's comprehensive analysis of the income tax returns of 1436 led him to conclude that there were approximately 183 knights or

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395. See also S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 256.

<sup>23</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 86.

<sup>24</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> D.A.L. Morgan, 'The Individual Style of the English Gentleman', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), p. 16; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 44-6; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>26</sup> Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', p. 97; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-3.

<sup>28</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 39-44.

<sup>29</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 89.

potential knights with average incomes of £208 per annum. Below were a further 750 knights or esquires of knightly status who enjoyed annual incomes of between £40 and £100.<sup>30</sup> Together, the knights and richer esquires comprised the greater gentry. Characteristically, those with incomes above £40 were far more likely to hold land outside a single county than the poorer esquires and gentlemen.<sup>31</sup>

Immediately beneath the greater gentry were the poorer esquires. The rank of esquire was another military designation, originally employed around 1300, to distinguish the group of landowners immediately beneath the knights who nevertheless 'saw themselves as partaking of the knightly culture'.<sup>32</sup> They were defined especially by active service in local administration. By 1350, such men shared with the knights the entitlement to bear coats of arms.<sup>33</sup> Esquires enjoyed incomes of at least £20 per annum, which was also the minimum requirement for appointment to the three principal offices of local administration: sheriff, escheator, and justice of the peace.<sup>34</sup> Gray has calculated that there were approximately 1,200 English esquires with annual incomes of between £20 and £39 in 1436.<sup>35</sup> But esquires were rarely designated as such in non-legal royal documents until the 1440s.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, those at the very bottom of the 'class' of esquires were virtually indistinguishable from the gentlemen with whom they constituted the lesser gentry.<sup>37</sup>

The gentlemen were at the bottom level of gentry society. They were men who probably enjoyed an annual income of at least £10. Although the term 'gentleman' was first introduced in the late fourteenth century, it did not enter widespread usage until after the Statute of Additions of 1413. Even then it took considerably longer for the term to become universally established as descriptive of the lowest rank of gentry. In the fifteenth century, the titles 'franklin', 'yeoman', and 'gentleman' were still used interchangeably to denote lesser landowners. Furthermore, Carpenter notes that gentlemen remained almost invariably undesignated in non-legal royal documents until the 1460s.<sup>38</sup> Since the boundary between gentry and lesser landowners remained so fluid and imprecise, it is particularly hard to establish even approximate numbers of gentlemen. Gray estimated that there were about 1,600 men with incomes of between

<sup>30</sup> Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p. 630.

<sup>31</sup> Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p. 533.

<sup>32</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p. 627. See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p. 630.

<sup>36</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 46-7.

<sup>37</sup> Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 70-1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 45-7; Morgan, 'English Gentleman', pp. 16-17.

£10 and £19 per annum in 1436 who would, on economic grounds, be categorised as gentlemen. Beneath them were another 3,400 whose annual income of between £5 and £9 placed them on the margin of gentility.<sup>39</sup> Generally, it has been suggested that the lesser gentry constituted approximately three-quarters of all gentry families.<sup>40</sup>

Many studies of regional society have concluded that there existed an economic, social, and political gulf between the greater and lesser gentry.<sup>41</sup> This is implicit in Payling's contention that political society in Nottinghamshire was restricted to 'the dozen or so wealthiest county families'.<sup>42</sup> This assumption, however, has been questioned by Moreton. In his view, the narrow horizons of even the wealthiest East Anglian gentry families precluded the development of a wide social gulf. It was, therefore, virtually impossible for the greater gentry to avoid entering into significant relationships with their lesser neighbours.<sup>43</sup> In the light of this evidence, Moreton rejects the concept of the 'county community' as a horizontally-organised, integrated gentry society. Since the greater gentry 'were rarely a coherent social group in county terms', he concludes that it is much more likely that there existed a 'county of communities'.<sup>44</sup> According to Gross, we should not assume that the county was the focus for those with more limited horizons, since their interests 'were normally restricted to a region far smaller than the county as a whole'.<sup>45</sup> Carpenter has also questioned the validity of viewing the county as a meaningful political unit, but for quite the opposite reason. She argues that it was the broader political interests of the greater gentry which prevented the county from becoming the focus of their identity.<sup>46</sup> In her view, 'the case for a county community in late medieval England based on the local elite is not yet proven'.<sup>47</sup> Whether or not there existed a real or artificial gulf between the greater and lesser gentry is an issue which also remains unresolved. Most recently, Mackman has suggested that such a subjective distinction places too much reliance on purely

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<sup>39</sup> Gray, 'Incomes from Land', p. 630.

<sup>40</sup> Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 72.

<sup>41</sup> Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 6; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 73.

<sup>42</sup> See Payling, *Political Society*, p. vii and Ch. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Moreton, 'A Social Gulf?', pp. 255-62.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>45</sup> A. Gross, 'Regionalism and Revision', in P. Fleming, A. Gross, and J.R. Lander (eds.), *Regionalism and Revision: The Crown and its Provinces in England, 1200-1650* (London, 1998), p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> According to Carpenter, 'it is quite easy to show the existence of a 'county community' once one has excluded all landowners with major interests elsewhere': Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 37. See also Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 345-6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.



economic factors.<sup>48</sup> Despite these reservations, it is probably safe to divide the late medieval gentry into two groups, based on income, whilst acknowledging that ‘the richest men were not necessarily the elite, and the social leaders were not necessarily the wealthiest’.<sup>49</sup> Let us now turn to examine the West Riding gentry.

## 2) The West Riding Gentry in the Fifteenth Century

Some idea of the overall size and structure of gentry society in the West Riding in the late fourteenth century can be gained from an examination of the returns of the graduated poll tax of 1379. These show that forty-one knights, or widows of knights, and twenty richer esquires assessed at the knightly rate of 20s., held land in the riding. In addition, thirty-nine poorer esquires and franklins paid between 3s. 4d. and 6s. 8d., while a further fifty individuals of various styles, including serjeants, merchants and tradesmen, were charged on average 5s. 3d.<sup>50</sup> Sadly, the detailed fifteenth-century tax returns which have enabled historians to reconstruct the composition of the gentry in other counties do not survive for Yorkshire.<sup>51</sup> This survey, therefore, depends primarily upon the occurrence of titles in contemporary documents. However, we do possess a rather abbreviated list of influential local landowners selected in 1434 to swear the oath not to maintain peacebreakers.<sup>52</sup> In addition, the records of distraint of knighthood survive for 1410, 1439, 1457, 1458, and 1465.<sup>53</sup> Although a handful of families may have escaped both knighthood and distraint,<sup>54</sup> it seems reasonable to conclude that such evidence, supplemented by information regarding manorial lordship obtained from deeds and inquisitions *post mortem*, may provide a fairly accurate representation of the greater gentry.

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<sup>48</sup> Mackman, ‘The Lincolnshire Gentry’, pp. 17-18, 55-6. For the difficulties of differentiating elite families, see also Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, pp. 350-1; Gross, ‘Regionalism and Revision’, pp. 4-5.

<sup>49</sup> Mackman, ‘The Lincolnshire Gentry’, p. 55.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Rolls of the Collectors in the West Riding of the Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) 2 Richard II’, *YAJ* 5 (1879), 1-51, 241-66, 417-32; 6 (1881), 1-44, 129-71, 287-342; 7 (1883), 6-41, 145-86. See also Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 251-2.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp. 36-43; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 36, 50; Mackman, ‘Lincolnshire Gentry’, Ch. 2; Payling, *Political Society*, Ch. 1; Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>52</sup> *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 378-9; *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 456. See also Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> E198/4/16, m. 1; 4/24, mm. 1-1d; 4/34, mm. 1-1d; 4/39, m. 35; E370/2/22, rots. 1-2; C.E. Arnold, ‘A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509’, unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), i, pp. 71-4. See below, Appendix 7.

<sup>54</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 88-9.

From these sources, it has proved possible to identify forty-four families with significant estates in the riding who provided at least one knight between 1399 and 1461. Members of an additional thirty-four families were distrained between 1410 and 1465.<sup>55</sup> There were, therefore, about seventy-eight knightly families in the riding in the fifteenth century. The exact number of lesser gentry families is much harder to determine. Indeed, it is difficult to establish the minimum criteria for gentility, although Carpenter has concluded that manorial lordship over men provided the key to political society in this period.<sup>56</sup> As already noted, it is often impossible to distinguish between gentlemen and lesser landowners. Gentlemen themselves do not begin to be designated with any frequency even in private documents until the 1440s.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, paucity of evidence renders impossible the identification or enumeration of the submanorial gentry.<sup>58</sup> However, Arnold has calculated that at least 205 gentry families maintained a principal residence in the riding between 1437 and 1509.<sup>59</sup> All those identifiable as members of the West Riding gentry are listed in Appendix 1. In order to be as inclusive as possible, all those who possessed a significant landed estate in the riding which was clearly not peripheral to their family interests have been considered members of local society. For example, the ancestral seat of the Redmans was at Levens in Westmorland. Sir Richard Redman I (d. 1426) served six terms as sheriff of Cumberland between 1399 and 1412. However, he inherited a moiety of the Aldburgh estates at Harewood in the 1390s and subsequently became a prominent member of political society in the West Riding. He sat in parliament for Yorkshire on five occasions, served twice as sheriff and once as escheator, and was appointed to the West Riding commission of the peace from 1405 until his death in 1426.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, although the principal residence of Sir Robert Neville (d. 1413) was Hornby Castle in Lancashire, he also held widespread estates in the West Riding. He was returned to parliament for Yorkshire on no fewer than twelve occasions between 1377 and 1399 and served on a wide variety of local commissions including the West Riding bench.<sup>61</sup> By comparison, it is doubtful whether families such

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<sup>55</sup> See below, Appendix 7.

<sup>56</sup> Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 72; Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 353.

<sup>57</sup> Morgan, 'English Gentleman', p. 33; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 48.

<sup>58</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 87.

<sup>59</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding of Yorkshire', i, p. 41.

<sup>60</sup> See *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 183-7.

<sup>61</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 821-4.

as the Ingoldesthorpes of Swinton or the Stapletons of Askham Bryan played a prominent role in the riding's affairs and they have, therefore, been excluded.<sup>62</sup>

Fortunately, an analysis of the personnel of local government suggests that political society in Yorkshire was largely restricted to the upper levels of the aristocracy. Unlike other regions, all knights of the shire and virtually every sheriff of Yorkshire during this period were knights. Furthermore, the majority of escheators drawn from the West Riding also came from knightly families. Those not of knightly status generally appear to have been selected because of their legal or administrative expertise.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, most non-knightly escheators from the riding also received appointment to the local commission of the peace during their careers.<sup>64</sup> However, almost all of those appointed to the West Riding bench seem to have possessed a clear annual income of at least £20.<sup>65</sup>

It is clear from Maps 3, 4 and 5 that the estates of the gentry were distributed throughout most of the riding, but were especially concentrated in the central districts, and in the more fertile eastern lowlands. The north-west of the riding was the least populated area. There were no resident gentry families in Ewcross wapentake and the population of Staincliff wapentake was largely restricted to the south. In common with Leicestershire, topographical realities influenced the distribution of gentry estates. Many were located along the major river valleys in Nidderdale, Wharfedale, Airedale, and Calderdale.<sup>66</sup> There were very few gentry residences either in the Pennine uplands or in the marshland in the south-east. The single largest concentration of gentry estates lay between the Rivers Wharfe and Aire in the central district.<sup>67</sup> In addition, there were particularly dense clusters of knightly residences in the districts of Ripon and Knaresborough.

Unsurprisingly, the estates of the greater gentry were the most geographically dispersed. According to inquisitions *post mortem*, at least twenty-three families held

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<sup>62</sup> The principal residence of the Ingoldesthorpes was Burgh (Cambs.), which they inherited from John Burgh in 1411: J.W. Walker, 'The Burghs of Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire and the Watertons of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire', *YAJ* 30 (1930-1), 343. Similarly, the principal residence of the Stapletons was Ingham (Norf.), and they were heavily involved in the local administration of East Anglia. Their Yorkshire estates appear to have been peripheral to their interests: Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 804-5.

<sup>63</sup> See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>64</sup> See below, Appendices 3b and 4a.

<sup>65</sup> C.E. Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 117.

<sup>66</sup> See Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, p. 45.

<sup>67</sup> Arnold calculates that 53% of all gentry residences were confined to this district, which accounted for only 20% of the total area of the West Riding: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 88-90.



**Map 3: Principal Residences of Knights**



**Map 4: Principal Residences of Distrainees**



**Map 5: Principal Residences of Lesser Gentry**

land in more than one county. Of these, seventeen held land in two or three counties,<sup>68</sup> and four held land in four or five counties.<sup>69</sup> Only two families held land in more than five counties. Sir Roger Swillington (d. 1417) of Swillington and his eventual heir, John Hopton (d. 1478), possessed estates in seven counties besides Yorkshire.<sup>70</sup> Swillington's estimated annual income of 2,000 marks from thirty-five manors was clearly exceptional.<sup>71</sup> However, all except Fitzwilliam of Adwick le Street were knightly families with incomes of at least £40 per annum and many also maintained a tradition of knighthood throughout the period. Only four of these families failed to provide at least one knight between 1399 and 1461 and their 'foreign' estates were confined to one other neighbouring county.<sup>72</sup>

Many members of these families were actively involved in the local administration of other counties. For example, no fewer than seven knights and esquires served as sheriff of Lincolnshire: Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) of Methley and his brother John Waterton, Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark, Sir William Ryther II (d. 1440) of Ryther and his son Sir William III (d. 1475), Sir Brian Stapleton II (d. 1466) of Carlton, and Sir John Tempest (d. 1464) of Bracewell.<sup>73</sup> John Hopton was appointed sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Sir William Plumpton II (d. 1480) of Plumpton served as sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and represented the former county in parliament.<sup>74</sup> His father, Sir Robert Plumpton II (d. 1421) of Steeton, and Nicholas Fitzwilliam (d. 1460) of Adwick le Street were also returned to parliament

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<sup>68</sup> Clarell of Aldwark (Lincs.): C139/110/42; Fitzwilliam of Adwick le Street (Notts.): Payling, *Political Society*, p. 165, n. 33; Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough (Notts., Derby): C138/34/40; C139/5/41; C140/54/53; Gascoigne of Gawthorpe (Som.): C139/7/56; Harrington of Brierley (Lancs.): *CFR 1422-30*, pp. 264-5; *Yorks. Deeds*, x, pp. 61-2; C139/143/24; Langton of Farnley (Lincs., Lancs.): *Yorks. Deeds*, x, pp. 61-2; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 562; Melton of Aston (Hants., Midd.): C139/157/22; C140/49/27; Morton of Bawtry (Notts.): *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 790; Neville of Farnley (Lancs., Lincs.): *CIPM 1413-18*, p. 9; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 821-4; Redman of Harewood (Westm.): C139/28/28; C140/55/20; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 183-7; Ryther of Ryther (Lincs.): C139/103/29; Stapleton of Carlton (Westm., Lincs.): *CIPM 1413-18*, p. 225; C140/20/28; Talbot of Bashall (Lancs., Kent): *CCR 1413-19*, pp. 413-4, 424; Tempest of Studley (Northumb.): C139/115/29; Vavasour of Hazlewood (Lincs.): *CIPM 1413-18*, pp. 7-8, 144-5; C139/150/29; Waterton of Methley (Lincs., Notts.): C140/54/45; WYAS LDA MX 851/7; Wentworth of West Bretton: Payling, *Political Society*, p. 77, n. 45.

<sup>69</sup> Hastings of Fenwick (Suff., Norf., Essex., Notts.): C139/30/52; C140/62/43; Ingilby of Ripley (Lincs., Essex, Dur.): C139/90/9; 163/11; DURH3/2, fols. 163-163v, 173; Plumpton of Plumpton (Notts., Warw., Derby, Staffs.): C139/57/5; J.W. Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 8 (1996), pp. 250-3; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 90-2; Stapleton of Wighill (Suff., Lincs., Cumb.): *CIPM 1399-1405*, pp. 37-9.

<sup>70</sup> Sir Roger Swillington and his son, Sir John Swillington (d. 1418), possessed estates in Lincolnshire, Kent, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, and Suffolk: *CIPM 1413-18*, pp. 245-7; C138/31/24.

<sup>71</sup> Richmond, *John Hopton*, p. 5.

<sup>72</sup> They were Clarell, Fitzwilliam of Adwick le Street, Morton, and Wentworth.

<sup>73</sup> *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 79.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 103; *Return of the Name*, p. 330.

for Nottinghamshire, while Richard Wentworth I (d.c. 1449) of West Bretton was appointed to the *quorum* in that county.<sup>75</sup> Sir William Harrington (d. 1440) of Brierley was appointed to the commission of the peace in Lancashire.<sup>76</sup> His son and grandson continued the family tradition and represented the palatinate in parliament.<sup>77</sup> In conclusion, land and offices were clearly most commonly held in neighbouring counties, particularly Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Lancashire. The extent of gentry involvement in other shires also suggests that many, if not the majority of, West Riding knightly families would not necessarily have identified themselves exclusively as members of any particular ‘county community’.

In his study of the Lincolnshire gentry, Mackman found that the greater ‘county gentry’ were usually those families whose lands were supplemented from holdings elsewhere. As a consequence, many families who provided at least one knight in the period actually possessed less land in Lincolnshire than their poorer neighbours, thereby reducing their political influence.<sup>78</sup> This seems unlikely to have been the case in the West Riding since many of the knightly families held a particularly large number of manors in the riding. For example, Sir John Langton I (d. 1459) of Farnley is known to have eventually inherited at least fourteen manors in the region from his grandfather, Sir Robert Neville.<sup>79</sup> Many other greater knightly families, including Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough, Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, Plumpton of Plumpton, Saville of Thornhill, Swillington of Swillington, Tempest of Studley, Vavasour of Hazlewood, and Waterton of Methley, held four or more manors in the riding.<sup>80</sup> By comparison, esquires such as Anthony Beeston (d. 1417) of Beeston, James Cresacre (d. 1417) of Barnburgh, William Dayville (d. 1432) of Bilton, John Lacy (d. 1474) of Cromwell Bottom, Robert Thornour (d. 1430) of Eccleshill, and Oliver Woodrove (d. 1430) of Woolley died seised of only one manor.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Return of the Name*, pp. 282, 336; Payling, *Political Society*, p. 177.

<sup>76</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), p. 492.

<sup>77</sup> *Return of the Name*, pp. 333, 336, 339, 358.

<sup>78</sup> Mackman, ‘The Lincolnshire Gentry’, p. 63.

<sup>79</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 561.

<sup>80</sup> See C139/5/41; C139/7/56; Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 252-3; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 313-4; C. Clay, ‘The Savile Family’, *YAJ* 25 (1920), 6-7; W.P. Baildon (ed.), *Inquisitions Post Mortem relating to Yorkshire during the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 59 (1918), pp. 138-9; C139/115/29; C139/150/29; C140/54 45. According to Pollard, the county elite was usually formed from greater knightly families ‘who possessed estates worth more than £100 per annum, usually drawn from four or more manors’: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 89.

<sup>81</sup> Baildon (ed.), *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 131, 139-40; C139/57/15; C140 55 21; C139 49 31; C139/54/28.



In common with other regions, there was a general decline in the number of knights during the Lancastrian period.<sup>82</sup> Whereas there were at least twenty-four resident knights alive in 1400, there were only twelve in 1430. A few knightly families died out in the male line during the period, including Depeden of Healaugh (1402), Dronsfield of West Bretton (1406), Neville of Farnley (1413), and Swillington of Swillington (1420). The heads of an additional five great houses were killed whilst on campaign in France between 1417 and 1422, leaving only infant heirs.<sup>83</sup> For others, the tradition of knighthood simply appears to have lapsed. For example, the heirs of Sir Walter Calverley (d. 1404) of Calverley, Sir Richard Goldsburgh II (d.c. 1439) of Goldsbrough, Sir Nicholas Middleton (d.c. 1416) of Stockeld, Sir Henry Vavasour I (d. 1413) of Hazlewood, Sir John Fitzwilliam I (d. 1417) of Sprotbrough, and Sir Edward Hastings (d. 1438) of Fenwick avoided knighthood, preferring instead to pay fines of distraint. Only a handful of the most influential families maintained a continuous tradition of knighthood throughout the fifteenth century, for example the Gascoignes, Harringtons, Meltons, Plumptons, Rythers, Savilles, and Stapletons. By comparison, a few upwardly mobile families previously headed by esquires assumed the dignity of knighthood during the same period, including Hopton of Armley, Waterton of Methley, and Mauleverer of Wothersome. New knights such as Sir Robert Waterton II (d. 1476) and Sir William Mauleverer I (d.c. 1461) came from families which had built their fortunes upon service and undoubtedly viewed knighthood as a source of honour. Other knightly families such as Clarell, Cresacre, Fitzwilliam of Wadworth, and Wombwell of Wombwell were content to eschew knighthood for several generations.<sup>84</sup> This unwillingness to assume knighthood potentially had serious implications for the crown since it was frequently accompanied by a lack of interest in local administration.<sup>85</sup> Only three esquires who were the heirs of knights but did not themselves undertake knighthood held local office in the period. John Vavasour (d. 1452) became escheator of Yorkshire in 1440, John Hastings (d. 1477) received appointment to the West Riding commission from 1448, and Walter Calverley (d. 1467) served as escheator in 1453.<sup>86</sup> By 1461, however, there were approximately twenty knights in the riding. The military campaigns of the later 1450s and early 1460s seem to have contributed to the revival of

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<sup>82</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 82-6; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 74-7; Mackman, 'Lincolnshire Gentry', pp. 52-3.

<sup>83</sup> See below, Ch. 5.6.

<sup>84</sup> See below, Appendix 7.

<sup>85</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 85.

<sup>86</sup> See below, Appendices 3b and 4a.

knighthood.<sup>87</sup> In particular, several esquires from the riding received knighthood after the battle of Wakefield in 1460.<sup>88</sup>

Did the greater gentry perceive themselves as belonging to one particular society? This question has obvious implications for whether or not we should talk about a 'county community' in the fifteenth century. The West Riding evidence supports the conclusion that the wider horizons of the more substantial gentry families may have impeded such a development. It is hard to imagine, for example, that Sir Roger Swillington would have felt less at home on his Suffolk estates, where he took up residence shortly after 1403 for political reasons,<sup>89</sup> than in Yorkshire. Equally, the principal residence of Robert Waterton I was at Methley. In 1412, however, he was assessed as possessing a landed income of £30 in Nottinghamshire and, as already noted, he also served a term as sheriff of Lincolnshire.<sup>90</sup> In the same year, Thomas Clarell I is listed in the distraint returns for both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.<sup>91</sup> As we shall see, gentry networks were confined not by administrative boundaries but rather by topography.<sup>92</sup> In addition, noble estates, which greatly influenced the location of networks, seldom respected county borders.<sup>93</sup>

The social horizons of the lesser gentry were very much narrower, often restricted to contacts with those in their own districts.<sup>94</sup> However, the majority of gentry families were probably preoccupied with localised affairs.<sup>95</sup> In light of these facts, it is probably more appropriate to conceive of provincial society as consisting of a multitude of interconnecting local worlds influenced variably by topography, lordship, kinship, and neighbourhood. Although the greater gentry have frequently been depicted corporately as providing cohesion for a 'political community of the shire' through local

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<sup>87</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 51-3.

<sup>88</sup> Richard Aldburgh II (d. 1475) of Aldborough, William Gascoigne IV (d.c. 1461), of Gawthorpe, and probably Robert Mauleverer II (d.c. 1461) of Wothersome, were knighted by the earl of Northumberland, while Richard Tempest (d. 1472) of Bracewell was knighted by Lord Clifford. It is likely that John Pudsey (d. 1492) of Bolton was also knighted about this time: BL Add. MSS. 46354, fol. 2v.; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 45-7. See below, p. 205.

<sup>89</sup> Richmond, *John Hopton*, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 225.

<sup>91</sup> E198/4/39, mm. 23, 35.

<sup>92</sup> See below, Ch. 3.3.

<sup>93</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 364; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 30-2. See above, Ch. 2, and below, Ch. 3.3.

<sup>94</sup> J.R. Lander, 'The Significance of the County in English Government', in Fleming, Gross, and Lander (eds.), *Regionalism and Revision*, p. 26.

<sup>95</sup> Mackman, 'Lincolnshire Gentry', p. 20; Moreton, 'A Social Gulf?', pp. 255-62.

administration and representation,<sup>96</sup> it is also clear that they themselves inhabited many such worlds. The nature of those worlds will be explored in the following section.

### 3) Social and Political Networks

Gentry society in the West Riding was organised around five local networks which were located in the districts of Craven, Knaresborough, Pontefract, Wakefield, and Conisbrough. As we have seen, each was also a centre of noble lordship.<sup>97</sup> By contrast, Sheffield seems to have been of less relevance to the gentry because of the lack of resident families in the extreme south of the riding.<sup>98</sup> None of the networks were confined by administrative boundaries and, as other local studies have indicated,<sup>99</sup> topography was of considerably greater local significance. Several gentry connections followed the course of a major river valley, reflecting the distinctive distribution of gentry estates in the riding which has already been noted.<sup>100</sup> For example, the Knaresborough network comprised three distinguishable but inter-connected groups, located principally in Wharfedale and Nidderdale. Further to the south, the Wakefield network was centred upon Airedale and Calderdale. The largest network in the riding was focused upon the lordship of Conisbrough. It encompassed most of Strafforth wapentake and extended north into Osgoldcross wapentake. The open countryside and lack of topographical barriers in south Yorkshire partly accounts for the sheer size of this connection. In addition, the Great North Road afforded excellent communications to the north and the south, enabling the network to penetrate into Nottinghamshire.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note a similar example in fifteenth-century Warwickshire, where Carpenter found that open rolling country and the presence of a major route also coincided to produce the largest gentry network in the shire.<sup>102</sup> In the West Riding, two other networks crossed administrative boundaries. The gentry of Craven seem to have enjoyed stronger ties with their neighbours in Lancashire than with gentry in other parts of the West Riding, which is reflected in local marriage patterns.<sup>103</sup> There was, therefore, very little interaction between the gentry of Craven and families resident in

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<sup>96</sup> Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp. 73-8.

<sup>97</sup> See above, Ch. 2.

<sup>98</sup> See above, Ch. 2.6.

<sup>99</sup> Gross, 'Regionalism and Revision', p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> See above, Ch. 3.2.

<sup>101</sup> For connections with the Nottinghamshire gentry, see Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 84-5.

<sup>102</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 300.

<sup>103</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 14-15.

the honour of Knaresborough to the east. Similarly, despite being members of the Knaresborough network, the knightly families around Ripon enjoyed particularly close relations with the gentry of Richmondshire, whereas their associates a few miles further south in Nidderdale had virtually no contact with the North Riding.<sup>104</sup> By contrast, the River Ouse provided a particularly effective topographical barrier to communications between the populations of the West and East Ridings. Connections with Lincolnshire were also hampered by the impenetrable marshland of Inclesmoor.<sup>105</sup> Finally, the sparsity of gentry estates in the south-west of the riding and in the uplands of north-west Derbyshire prevented the development of significant relations with the Derbyshire gentry.<sup>106</sup>

Let us briefly consider each network in greater detail. The following discussion draws primarily upon evidence of association obtained from an extensive survey of wills, deeds, inquisitions *post mortem*, and a wide range of other royal records including feet of fines.<sup>107</sup> We shall begin in the north-west of the riding. The gentry of Craven belonged to the most geographically isolated network in the riding. They were few in number, including only a handful of knightly families: Hamerton of Hamerton, Malham of Malham, Nesfield of Flasby, Pudsey of Bolton, Rilleston of Rilston, Talbot of Bashall, and Tempest of Bracewell. Their lesser neighbours included Caterall of Rathmell and Radcliff of Bradley.<sup>108</sup> Most were closely related by intermarriage. As already noted, the gentry in this part of the riding enjoyed strong links with Lancashire. Many were also associates either of the Percys or their relatives, the Cliffords.<sup>109</sup>

By comparison, the north-east of the riding was the only district with three competing sources of noble lordship. The Percy earls of Northumberland held the barony of Spofforth, the Duchy of Lancaster controlled the honour of Knaresborough, and the archbishops of York possessed the liberty of Ripon.<sup>110</sup> As we shall see, the proximity of noble estates in this area, together with the collapse of Duchy authority in the riding, ultimately led to a power struggle between the archbishop of York and the earl of Northumberland in the 1440s.<sup>111</sup> It has already been observed that there was an

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<sup>104</sup> A.J. Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry during the Wars of the Roses', in C.D. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power* (Gloucester, 1979), p. 51.

<sup>105</sup> See above, Ch. 1.2 and Map 1.

<sup>106</sup> Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 14; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 89.

<sup>107</sup> On the problems of interpreting deed evidence, see Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 291-2.

<sup>108</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 93-4. See above, Maps 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>109</sup> See above, Ch. 2., and below, Appendix 8.

<sup>110</sup> See above, Ch. 2.

<sup>111</sup> See below, Ch. 6.3.

unusually large concentration of greater gentry families in this district.<sup>112</sup> A disproportionate number were also members of the county's elite who had flourished in the service of the houses of Lancaster or Percy.<sup>113</sup> The Knaresborough network comprised four distinguishable but highly interconnected gentry groupings. The first was centred upon the lordship of Ripon and consisted primarily of knightly families, including Ingilby of Ripley, Markenfield of Markenfield, Pygot of Clotherholme, Tempest of Studley, and Warde of Givendale. In the fifteenth century, however, these families largely eschewed local office and generally played little part in politics.<sup>114</sup> Although extensively interconnected with the gentry of Nidderdale,<sup>115</sup> they were also extremely active in the North Riding.<sup>116</sup> The second group, in Nidderdale, was focused upon the lordships of Spofforth and Knaresborough, and was again dominated by knightly families, including Aldburgh of Aldborough, Beckwith of Clint, Goldsbrough of Goldsbrough, Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer, Middleton of Stockeld, Plumpton of Plumpton, Roos of Ingmanthorpe, Stapleton of Wighill, Vavasour of Hazlewood, and Vavasour of Weston. But it also included a number of middling and lesser families, such as Brennand of Knaresborough, Chamber of Brame, Fawkes of Farnley, Lindley of Lindley, and Pulleyn of Scotton. Many of these families held office either in the Lancastrian honour of Knaresborough or the Percy barony of Spofforth.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, most were linked to one another not only by neighbourhood and lordship, but also by ties of kinship and friendship.<sup>118</sup> The family papers of the Plumptons of Plumpton,<sup>119</sup> by far the best documented family, provide a convenient means of access to this close-knit world.<sup>120</sup> The third group encompassed those families resident in the Ainsty, especially Dayville of Bilton, Depeden of Healaugh, Fairfax of Steeton and Walton, Roucliff of Cowthorpe, and Thwaites of Marston. All except the knightly family of Depeden were middling families, and many members of these families pursued careers in local administration or the law. Sir John Depeden (d. 1402), for instance, became sheriff of

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<sup>112</sup> See above, p. 55.

<sup>113</sup> There is again some similarity with Warwickshire, in which shire an outsize proportion of the county's elite lived near the *caput honoris* of the earls of Warwick: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 303-4.

<sup>114</sup> See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>115</sup> J.W. Kirby, 'A Northern Knightly Family in the Waning Middle Ages', *Northern History*, 31 (1995), 87. For example, Sir Thomas Markenfield and Sir Roger Warde witnessed Sir Robert Plumpton's enfeoffment of his manors of Plumpton, Idle, Steeton in Airedale, and Nesfield in 1420: Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 249.

<sup>116</sup> See above, n. 104.

<sup>117</sup> See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>118</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>119</sup> For an introduction to this important collection, see J. Taylor, 'The Plumpton Letters, 1416-1552', *Northern History*, 10 (1977), 72-87.

<sup>120</sup> See below, p. 70.

Yorkshire in 1399. Guy Fairfax (d. 1446) of Walton was consistently appointed to the West Riding commission of the peace from 1431 until his death. His nephew, Guy Fairfax (d. 1495) of Steeton, served as a JP for the West Riding between 1456 and 1493. Guy Roucliff (d. 1460) was appointed to the riding's commission in 1414 and served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1426. His son, Brian, was a justice of the West Riding *quorum* between 1452 and 1470.<sup>121</sup> Many were also actively involved in the affairs of the nearby city of York. Guy Roucliff, for example, served as recorder of York, a position subsequently held by Sir William Fairfax (d. 1515) of Steeton.<sup>122</sup> The relationship between the Ainsty and York was so close that the wapentake was permanently annexed to the city in 1449.<sup>123</sup> Finally, the Wharfedale connection comprised some of the riding's most influential families, including Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, Redman of Harewood, Ryther of Ryther, and Stapleton of Carlton, and also embraced lesser families such as Dayville of Bilton and Thwaites of Lofthouse. This connection extended south and drew in a number of families also identified with the Wakefield and Pontefract networks, including Calverley of Calverley, Manston of Manston, Mauleverer of Wothersome, Scargill of Lead, and Waterton of Methley. As we shall see, the Wharfedale connection was founded upon dynastic ambitions which were cemented by loyalty to the house of Lancaster.<sup>124</sup>

Moving south, the third social network extended throughout the wapentakes of Abgrigg, Morley and Staincross, in the shadow of the Pennine uplands. It had as its focus the lordships of Wakefield and Sowerby. The pre-eminent family in this district was Saville of Elland and Thornhill, who were local officers of the Duchy of York throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>125</sup> A number of other knightly families also belonged to the network, including Beaumont of Whitley, Bollyng of Bowling, Burdett of Batley, Calverley of Calverley, Gargrave of Wakefield, Hopton of Armley, Hopton of Swillington, Lacy of Cromwell Bottom, Langton of Farnley, Legh of Middleton, Mirfield of Mirfield, Neville of Liversedge, and Paslew of Riddlesden. Other middling families were also active, including Amyas of Shitlington, Peck of Southowram, Scott of Newton, Sothill of Dewsbury, Thornhill of Fixby, and Woodrove of Woolley. The evidence suggests that there were, in fact, at least two highly interconnected groups

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<sup>121</sup> See below, Appendices 3a, 3b and 4a. See also Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 313-4, 335; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 5, 7, 10, 12.

<sup>122</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 238n.

<sup>123</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>124</sup> See below, p. 68.

<sup>125</sup> See above, Ch. 2.8, and below, Appendix 9.

operating in this district, the first in Calderdale and the second in Airedale, which are difficult to distinguish. Many members of these groups were also actively involved in the affairs of neighbouring networks, especially in the wapentakes of Strafforth, Osgoldcross, and Skyrack.

The Pontefract connection was sandwiched between the Knaresborough and Wakefield networks. During the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the rule of the Duchy of Lancaster established a high degree of cohesion within this network which was lost after the death of the steward, Robert Waterton of Methley, in 1425. Thereafter, control of the honour passed to Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, who proved either unwilling or perhaps unable to maintain effective lordship in the district.<sup>126</sup> Two separate groups can be distinguished in this district. The first extended south-east from Wharfedale and followed the course of the Great North Road into Osgoldcross. The principal families in this connection were of knightly or middling rank, including Darcy of Notton, Dauney of Cowick, Greenfield of Barnbow, Manston of Manston, Mauleverer of Wothersome, Scargill of Lead, Swillington of Swillington, Waterton of Methley, and Wombwell of Wombwell. By contrast, the second connection was far more insular. It was located in the soke of Snaith, which was surrounded by marshland. The only family of note here was Dauney of Cowick, and the majority of their associates were probably substantial yeomen. In conclusion, the Pontefract network was the least distinct network in the riding, particularly after 1425, and many families in the area were actively involved with the gentry of neighbouring districts, especially Wharfedale, Calderdale, and Airedale.

The final network, which was focused upon the lordship of Conisbrough and the Lancastrian honour of Tickhill, extended throughout most of Strafforth wapentake. It was dominated by the three branches of the Fitzwilliam family seated at Sprotbrough, Wadworth and Adwick le Street, and a number of other knightly families resident in south Yorkshire, including Bosville of Ardsley, Clarell of Aldwark, Cresacre of Barnburgh, Melton of Aston, Morton of Bawtry, Rockley of Falthwaite, Sandford of Thorpe Salvin, Wentworth of North Elmsall, Wentworth of West Bretton, and Wombwell of Wombwell. A number of these families had strong links with Nottinghamshire and the network seems to have crossed the county boundary.<sup>127</sup> In 1428, for example, Thomas Clarell I, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) and Richard Wentworth I were appointed with two Nottinghamshire knights, Sir Richard Stanhope

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<sup>126</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

<sup>127</sup> See above, n. 68.

(d. 1436) of Rampton and Sir Henry Pierpoint (d. 1452) of Holme Pierrepont, as arbitrators to settle a dispute between Blythe Abbey and William Wright.<sup>128</sup> Nine years later, Sir John Zouche of Kirklington employed a number of West Riding gentry as feoffees, including Sir William Harrington of Brierley, Sir Robert Roos (d. 1451) of Ingmanthorpe, William Fitzwilliam (d. 1474) of Sprotbrough, Thomas Wombwell I (d. 1452) of Wombwell, Nicholas Fitzwilliam of Adwick le Street, and Thomas Wentworth of Doncaster.<sup>129</sup> There was also a traditional loyalty amongst the gentry of south Yorkshire to the dukes of York which was consolidated by the presence at Conisbrough of Maud, countess of Cambridge, from 1415 until her death in 1446.<sup>130</sup>

From this introductory survey, it is clear that proximity played a significant role in the formation and consolidation of social networks. Kinship also helped to maintain cohesion within a network. Almost every gentry family in Wharfedale, for example, was related by marriage.<sup>131</sup> The key to understanding the development of this group is the death of William, Lord Aldburgh in 1391. He died seised of the castle and manor of Harewood, a prize shared between his sisters and their husbands.<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth Aldburgh (d. 1417) had married Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1391) of Carlton. She subsequently married Sir Richard Redman I in about 1393.<sup>133</sup> Her younger sister, Sybil (d. 1439), was married to Sir William Ryther I (d.c. 1426) of Ryther. These marriages bound the families of Stapleton, Redman, and Ryther into a closely-knit kinship group which was consolidated by the three sons born to Elizabeth and Sybil: Sir Brian Stapleton I (d. 1417), Matthew Redman, and Sir William Ryther II. Two other neighbouring families were also drawn into this connection. John Thwaites (d. 1469) of Lofthouse married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ryther I and Sybil Aldburgh. Sir William Gascoigne II (d. 1422) of Gawthorpe arranged a marriage between his daughter, Isabel, and Sir William Ryther III (d. 1475), the grandson of Sybil Aldburgh. Significantly, Gascoigne's other daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Richard Redman II (d. 1476), the grandson of Lord Aldburgh's other sister.<sup>134</sup> Sir William Gascoigne may have expected either of his sons-in-law ultimately to gain possession of the entire Aldburgh inheritance. A similar gamble was taken by Sir Thomas Saville (d. 1449) of Thornhill in

<sup>128</sup> *CCR 1422-9*, p. 409.

<sup>129</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 84. Sir Robert Roos, Edmund Fitzwilliam I, and Nicholas Fitzwilliam had all previously served as trustees for Sir John Zouche in 1422: CP25/1/280/154, m. 43.

<sup>130</sup> C.D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), pp. 407, 411. See above, Ch. 2.3 and below, p. 73.

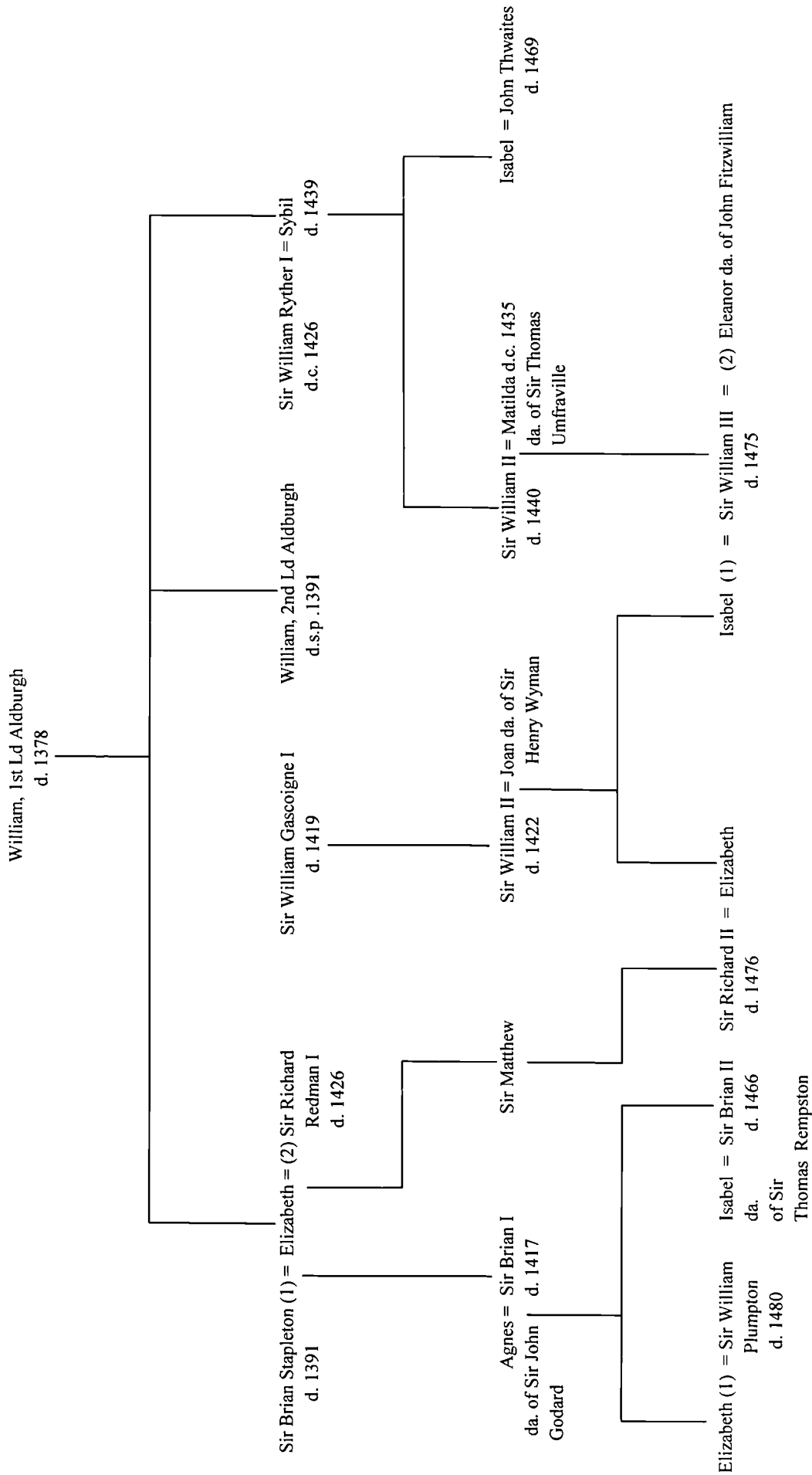
<sup>131</sup> See genealogical table, p. 69.

<sup>132</sup> *CIPM 1391-99*, p. 443.

<sup>133</sup> P.E.S. Routh and R. Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood* (Wakefield, 1983), p. 19.

<sup>134</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 161. See below, p. 68.





Genealogical Table: The Wharfedale Kinship Group

1427, when he agreed to the marriage of his daughter Margaret to John Hopton, nephew of Sir Roger Swillington. Remarkably, both of Sir Roger's sons and his daughter died childless and John Hopton eventually inherited the vast Swillington patrimony.<sup>135</sup> The daughters of Sir William Gascoigne were less fortunate and Harewood continued to be shared amicably by the Redmans and Rythers for many generations. However, the remarkable collection of medieval monuments in the parish church of All Saints, Harewood, bears witness to the exclusivity of the Wharfedale kinship group.<sup>136</sup>

There was also a high degree of intermarriage amongst the gentry of Nidderdale, although, as in Richmondshire, elder sons were more likely to marry outside the district.<sup>137</sup> Sir Robert Plumpton II, for example, married Alice, daughter and heir of Sir Godfrey Foljambe of Kinoulton (Notts.). His son, Sir William II, was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Brian Stapleton I. Sir William's heir apparent, Robert (d. 1450), married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford. However, his youngest son and daughters married into the neighbouring families of Aldburgh of Aldborough, Beckwith of Clint, Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, Goldsburgh of Goldsbrough, and Middleton of Stockeld.<sup>138</sup> Other marriage alliances were forged between the Plumptons and lesser local families, including Greene of Newby and Slingsby of Scriven.<sup>139</sup> In a world in which political power and influence were ultimately derived from the possession of land, the gentry had to take great care when selecting marriage partners or associates to whom they handed over control of their estates.<sup>140</sup> The Plumptons naturally called upon members of this immediate circle of family and friends to act as feoffees, and to witness title deeds. Shortly before his death in 1407, Sir Robert I entrusted Sir Nicholas Middleton and the vicars of Ripley and Kirk Deighton with the manor of Plumpton.<sup>141</sup> They subsequently transferred their charge to Sir Robert's widow, Isabel Plumpton, and a group of trustees headed by two prominent Lancastrians, Sir William Gascoigne I and his brother, Richard Gascoigne (d. 1423) of Hunslet. They were joined by such local men as John Brennand of Knaresborough and Henry Chamber of Brame, but also by the stewards of the Duchy honours of Knaresborough and

<sup>135</sup> Richmond, *John Hopton*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>136</sup> See Routh and Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*.

<sup>137</sup> Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry', p. 47.

<sup>138</sup> Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 2-4.

<sup>139</sup> T. Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Society, old series, 4 (1839), pp. xlvi, xlix-l.

<sup>140</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 292-3; Maddern, 'Concepts and Practices of Friendship', pp. 100-117, esp. p. 108.

<sup>141</sup> Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, p. xxvi.

Pontefract, Sir Peter Buckton (d. 1414) of Buckton and Robert Waterton I.<sup>142</sup> In 1416, Sir Robert Plumpton's grandson, Robert II, asked John Brennand and John Greene of Newby to act as trustees. The enfeoffment was witnessed by Isabel Plumpton's new husband, Sir Nicholas Middleton, William Beckwith, and John Pulleyn.<sup>143</sup> Four years later, Sir Robert II again selected John Greene, his future son-in-law, to serve in this capacity and the deed was witnessed by virtually every notable in the district.<sup>144</sup> His own son, Sir William Plumpton II, occasionally called upon the services of friends from other local families to perform a similar function, including Fawkes of Farnley, Pygot of Clotherholme, Redman of Harewood, Stapleton of Carlton, Thwaites of Lofthouse, and Vavasour of Weston.<sup>145</sup> The gentry as a group also looked to their neighbours to help resolve conflict. In 1435, for example, Sir William Plumpton II and William Beckwith were chosen as arbitrators to settle a dispute between the Vavasours of Weston and William Ingilby (d. 1438) of Ripley concerning rights of common pasture in Ripley.<sup>146</sup>

A similar pattern repeats itself throughout the riding. The Gascoignes of Gawthorp, for example, always turned to a close-knit circle of family and friends to act as executors and feoffees.<sup>147</sup> In 1414, Robert Waterton I entrusted his lands to a combination of relatives, neighbours, and fellow Lancastrians. His feoffees included his brother, John, and his brother-in-law, Richard Flemyng. However, he also appointed John Leventhorp, receiver-general of the Duchy, and William Kinwolmarsh, treasurer of England. The enfeoffment was witnessed by local Lancastrian retainers, including Sir William Harrington, Sir Robert Rockley (d.c. 1415) of Falthwaite, and Sir Roger Swillington. In addition, John Daune y I (d. 1426) of Cowick, deputy steward of the honour of Tickhill, acted as an attorney to deliver seisin.<sup>148</sup> When Waterton drew up his will in 1424, he again turned to Lancastrians. His executors included Sir Robert Babthorp, steward of the honour of Leicester, and Thomas Wombwell I, who may already have been deputy steward of the honour of Pontefract. He designated his father-in-law, Thomas Clarell I, and Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, to act as his supervisors. On this occasion, John Daune y served as a witness.<sup>149</sup> The identity of Robert Waterton's associates emphasises not only the trust placed in kinsmen but also

<sup>142</sup> WYAS LDA Acc. 1731/3, no. 337.

<sup>143</sup> Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 247-8.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250-2.

<sup>146</sup> WYAS LDA WH165.

<sup>147</sup> See, for example, *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 390-5, 402-3; C139/7/56; CP25/1/279/152, m. 9; 280/153, m. 46; 280/154, m. 39; WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, pp. 15-16a.

<sup>148</sup> WYAS LDA MX851/7; MX98/2.

<sup>149</sup> WYAS LDA MX851/12; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 563, 513.

the continued importance of the Lancastrian affinity in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

According to Ross, the territorial power of the Duchy of York enabled Duke Edmund (d. 1402) to establish in south Yorkshire a connection rivalled only by the Lancastrian affinity.<sup>150</sup> However, the house of York was in eclipse between the death of Duke Edward in 1415 and the majority of his nephew, Richard, in 1432. Duke Richard himself quickly became preoccupied with affairs in France and is not known to have visited his northern estates before 1454.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the lordship of Conisbrough continued to serve as a natural focus for the gentry of south Yorkshire during the interregnum.

In many respects, the Conisbrough network was again a 'natural' neighbourhood group. Geographical proximity clearly assisted in the construction of a complex kinship group in this district. Three generations of daughters of Clarell of Aldwark, for instance, married into the senior branches of the Fitzwilliam family,<sup>152</sup> while the sisters and co-heirs of Sir William Dronsfield (d. 1406) of West Bretton married eldest sons of Bosville of Ardsley and Wentworth of North Elmsall. As would be expected, there are numerous cases of relatives and neighbours serving one another as trustees, mainpernors, executors, and witnesses. James Cresacre, for example, is known to have acted as a feoffee both for his brother-in-law, John Bosville, and Thomas Clarell I.<sup>153</sup> The trustees of John Fitzwilliam II (d. 1421) included his younger brother, Edmund I, his father-in-law, Thomas Clarell I, Richard Wentworth I, and John Melton.<sup>154</sup> Those associates entrusted as feoffees by Richard Wentworth I included Nicholas and William Fitzwilliam.<sup>155</sup> In addition, Nicholas Fitzwilliam was also named an executor of his will.<sup>156</sup> Richard Wentworth himself is known to have served as a mainpernor for two of his Dronsfield relatives.<sup>157</sup> Evidence from a slightly later date highlights the response of the network to confrontation. In 1471, William Fitzwilliam and Percival Cresacre were appointed as arbitrators to settle a dispute between John Clarell and Sir Richard Fitzwilliam concerning ownership of the manor of Waterhall.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 411. See above, p. 32.

<sup>151</sup> J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York, 1411-1460', in W.M. Bowsky (ed.), *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, ii (Lincoln, NE, 1965), p. 199.

<sup>152</sup> See, for example, SA CD2.

<sup>153</sup> CP25/1/280/157, mm. 39-40; 280/158, m. 39; NA DDFJ1/194/17; C139/110/42.

<sup>154</sup> SA WWM D/77; C139/5/41; *CCR 1422-9*, pp. 2-3, 40.

<sup>155</sup> CP25/1/281/160, m. 15.

<sup>156</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 137-8.

<sup>157</sup> *CFR 1422-30*, p. 178.

<sup>158</sup> NA DDFJ4/38/3.

Almost all of these families enjoyed some connection with the house of York and, particularly, with Maud, countess of Cambridge. Perhaps the most significant local figure was Edmund Fitzwilliam I, who was appointed constable of Conisbrough Castle in 1410.<sup>159</sup> Although the office did not become the hereditary preserve of the Fitzwilliam family, both his son, Edmund II (d. 1460), and grandson, Sir Richard (d. 1479), subsequently served as constable.<sup>160</sup> Edmund Fitzwilliam II may have been raised at Conisbrough. After the death of his first wife, he married Katherine Welles (d. 1477), one of the countess of Cambridge's ladies-in-waiting.<sup>161</sup> Another local figure, Richard Wentworth I, was almost certainly a servant of the countess, and may even have succeeded Edmund Fitzwilliam I as constable.<sup>162</sup> He acted as a mainpernor for Countess Maud on numerous occasions in the 1430s and 1440s.<sup>163</sup> His brother, Thomas Wentworth (d.c. 1449) of Doncaster, acted as Maud's attorney in the county court and was named as an executor of her will with William Scargill I in 1446.<sup>164</sup> Maud herself is known to have served as a feoffee both for Richard Wentworth I and his brother-in-law, John Bosville, and also as the supervisor of Bosville's will.<sup>165</sup> Other members of the network with connections to the house of York included Robert Morton (d. 1424) of Bawtry, who was confirmed as bailiff and master forester of Hatfield lordship in 1416,<sup>166</sup> and Thomas Clarell I, an annuitant of Duke Edward.<sup>167</sup> Although Clarell subsequently flourished in the royal household,<sup>168</sup> he was still associated with the house of York in c. 1422, when he was named together with Edmund Fitzwilliam I and Countess Maud in a parliamentary petition.<sup>169</sup> In conclusion, it is clear that the lordship of Conisbrough continued to serve as an alternative focus to the county for landed society in south Yorkshire. Members of the Fitzwilliam family, for example, are only known to have attested parliamentary elections in 1435, 1442 and 1449, while neither the Clarells nor the Wentworths ever seem to have attended.<sup>170</sup> The majority of lesser gentry families from south Yorkshire only appear to have attended the contested

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<sup>159</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.

<sup>160</sup> *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 14, 479. See above, pp. 32-3.

<sup>161</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 227.

<sup>162</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 137-8.

<sup>163</sup> *CFR 1430-37*, pp. 40, 81, 115, 174, 226, 249; *1437-45*, p. 203.

<sup>164</sup> C219/15/1, m. 33; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 118-24; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ed. A. Gatty, 2 vols. (1828-31, repr. Wakefield, 1974), ii, p. 453.

<sup>165</sup> *Yorks. Deeds*, vi, pp. 15-18; viii, p. 20; CP25/1/280/157, mm. 39-40; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, p. 113.

<sup>166</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 388; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 790.

<sup>167</sup> *CCR 1429-35*, p. 260.

<sup>168</sup> See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>169</sup> SC8/27/1330.

<sup>170</sup> C219/14/5, m. 29; 15/2, m. 23; 15/7, m. 26.

election in 1442, which returned Sir Thomas Saville, an associate of the dukes of York.<sup>171</sup>

#### 4) Conclusion

Gentry society was focused upon five districts in the West Riding which were also centres of noble lordship. In her study of the Warwickshire gentry, Carpenter concluded that the greatest families in the county usually provided the links between individual networks, because of their wider interests. Such families were also more likely to marry, and therefore acquire estates, outside their immediate locality. Although lesser families occasionally dealt with families from other parts of the shire, they usually did so because a local transaction was involved. It was left to certain key families, usually drawn from the higher ranks of gentry society, to act as ‘brokers’ between different networks.<sup>172</sup> Such families also provided the nobility with a means of harnessing local power structures by a process of selective recruitment.<sup>173</sup> A similar situation prevailed in the West Riding. The Plumptions, for example, enjoyed connections in Craven, Richmondshire, the vale of York, the East Riding, and Derbyshire.<sup>174</sup> Successive generations of Calverley married into such disparate families as Baildon of Baildon, Bolling of Bowling, Clapham of Beamsley, Legh of Middleton, Markenfield of Markenfield, Paslew of Riddlesden, Scargill of Lead, Slingsby of Scriven, Tempest of Bracewell, and Wentworth of North Elmsall.<sup>175</sup> On the whole, however, we are dealing with small localised worlds variously influenced by proximity, kinship, and especially lordship. As with the neighbouring Derbyshire gentry, most friends and marriage partners were chosen from families who held land close to their own, rendering the county and its boundaries virtually irrelevant.<sup>176</sup> It was, therefore, natural for the gentry to view the local lordship as a focus for their community. This would account for the prominence of noble stewards and constables in local networks, especially Sir William Plumpton II in the honour of Knaresborough, Robert Waterton I in the honour of Pontefract, Sir John Saville (d. 1482) in the lordship of Wakefield, and the Fitzwilliams

<sup>171</sup> See above, p. 45, and below, pp. 83, 90.

<sup>172</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 305-6.

<sup>173</sup> Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, p. 360; M. Cherry, ‘The Crown and the Political Community in Devonshire, 1377-1461’, unpublished DPhil thesis (Wales, 1981), pp. 215-6. See above, Ch. 2.8.

<sup>174</sup> Kirby, ‘A Northern Knightly Family’, p. 87.

<sup>175</sup> BL Add. Chs. 16878, 16880, 16900, 16924, 16928, 16930-1, 16933, 16939-40; W.P. Baildon (ed.), *The Calverley Charters*, i, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 6 (1904), pp. 218-20, 234-5, 248-9, 251-6, 259-63; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 280-1.

<sup>176</sup> Gross, ‘Regionalism and Revision’, p. 2.

at Conisbrough.<sup>177</sup> Since Yorkshire existed at an administrative level, it remains to consider whether the principal institutions of local government assisted in the development of a community of the shire. This is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>177</sup> See above, pp. 45-6.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE OFFICERS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

#### 1) Introduction

There has recently been a revival of interest in the nature and operation of the late medieval 'constitution'.<sup>1</sup> A number of historians have begun to explore the public transmission of power and its interaction with private power structures in order to establish the balance of power in late medieval England.<sup>2</sup> Those in search of a new 'constitutional' framework have questioned the old assumption that private relationships did not perform a recognised public function, and also that the interests of the king, nobility, and gentry were actually opposed.<sup>3</sup> According to Watts, the nobility were the principal mediators between centre and locality through their informal dealings with the king.<sup>4</sup> We have already considered the importance of lordship in the West Riding.<sup>5</sup> The following chapter sets out to explore the formal framework of royal administration. It also examines how private power structures interacted with local government. A key theme of the following discussion is whether or not local institutions provided a focus for county solidarity. Was the county a meaningful political unit as well as a basic unit of administration?<sup>6</sup> Advocates of the 'county community' have tended to emphasise the role of local government in cultivating regional identity.<sup>7</sup> Increased gentry involvement in administration has been seen as evidence of a significant shift in the balance of power in favour of 'independent gentry establishments' at the expense of both crown and nobility.<sup>8</sup> However, Carpenter has argued that the greater gentry did not yet expect to

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Ch. 1.1.

<sup>2</sup> See 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*, The Fifteenth Century Series, 1 (Stroud, 1995), p. 193; M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 9; H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p. 21; J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 9; R.E. Horrox, 'Local and National Politics in Fifteenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 393; E. Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 9; Horrox, 'Local and National Politics', p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 9, 91-101.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Chs. 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp. 74-5.

<sup>7</sup> M.C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 344-7.

<sup>8</sup> N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 260-1; S. Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413', *EHR* 108 (1993), 281-2; C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 37 (1987), 87-102.



serve as officers and were not exclusively appointed to the major local offices.<sup>9</sup> Officeholding certainly conferred enormous prestige upon the holder and confirmed the status of the leading families. In Yorkshire, unlike most other counties, two of the major local offices were already the preserve of the greater gentry.<sup>10</sup> But, as we shall see, the sheer size of the county and its division into ridings created a strong centrifugal force which hindered the development of county solidarity.<sup>11</sup>

Local government provided the formal, public agencies by which the king's commands were enforced. The responsibilities of local officers of the crown ranged from the collection of taxes and the holding of a wide variety of inquisitions to the preservation of local law and order.<sup>12</sup> The offices of county government can be divided into major and minor appointments. The major offices were sheriff, parliamentary knight of the shire, escheator, and justice of the peace. Those who filled these offices usually also received appointment to the most significant local commissions, including those for array, arrest, loans, and special inquiry.<sup>13</sup> Minor offices included under-sheriff, coroner, tax collector, and bailiff. While the major offices were predominantly granted to members of the gentry, the minor officers were usually drawn from the lowest ranks of landowning society.<sup>14</sup> Since the evidence necessary for a prosopographical survey is wanting for very minor gentry and sub-gentry families, the following discussion is largely restricted to a consideration of the major officeholders.<sup>15</sup>

Yorkshire was a royal shrievalty, of which there were twenty-eight in England, covering thirty-seven counties.<sup>16</sup> It was administered as a county by the sheriff and

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<sup>9</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 345.

<sup>10</sup> See below, Ch. 4.2 and 4.3. Cf. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 345.

<sup>11</sup> See below, Ch. 4.6.

<sup>12</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), Chs. 2-3; E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c. 1422-c. 1485* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 265; C.E. Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 116. See, for example, *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 155, 201; *1408-13*, p. 379; *1413-16*, pp. 220-1, 292, 348; *1416-22*, pp. 82, 212, 250, 384-5, 389, 423; *1422-9*, pp. 275, 278-9, 356, 494; *1429-36*, pp. 50, 126, 139, 200, 301, 354, 528, 530; *1436-41*, pp. 250, 410, 505; *1441-6*, pp. 62, 369, 430; *1446-52*, pp. 88, 139; *1452-61*, pp. 53, 518, 557, 607-8, 610, 651. For commissions of array, see below, n. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp. 111-6; S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 109; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 263-5.

<sup>15</sup> Evidence does not survive for a comprehensive analysis of the office of under-sheriff. It has only proved possible to identify two under-sheriffs in the period. See below, Ch. 4.2.

<sup>16</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986), p. 249.

escheator.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the sheriff presided over the return of two parliamentary knights of the shire to every parliament. Since Yorkshire was by far the largest county in England, it was subdivided into three administrative units or ridings and the city of York. A separate commission of the peace was issued for each riding.<sup>18</sup> Coroners, tax collectors, and commissioners of array were also appointed individually for each riding.<sup>19</sup> However, royal officers and justices were excluded from numerous private liberties and franchises in the county where baronial stewards and bailiffs exercised the return of writs. In addition, two separate commissions of the peace were issued within the archbishop of York's lordships of Ripon in the West Riding and Beverley in the East Riding.<sup>20</sup>

The following discussion considers the exclusivity of officeholding in Yorkshire, with particular reference to the West Riding. A conscious effort has been made to be as inclusive as possible. All those families that held office and whose principal residences lay outside Yorkshire but who nevertheless possessed significant estates in the West Riding, frequently including a secondary residence, have been considered in the following survey to be native to the riding. The Harringtons of Hornby (Lancs.) and Brierley, for example, filled all four major offices in Yorkshire during the period and would undoubtedly have seen themselves as part of local society. Similarly, although the interests of the Redmans were primarily confined to Cumberland and Westmorland in the fourteenth century, Sir Richard Redman I's increasing involvement in the affairs of Yorkshire after 1399 caused him to shift his principal residence from Levens (Westm.) to Harewood.<sup>21</sup> By contrast, a number of West Riding families have been included who possessed significant interests in other regions. The Hastings of Fenwick and the Swillingtons of Swillington, for example, were also significant landowners in East Anglia. Perhaps the hardest category to differentiate are those gentry families who held land elsewhere in Yorkshire. Fortunately, these are relatively few in

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<sup>17</sup> For an introductory survey of local administration in Yorkshire before 1348, see H.M. Jewel, 'Local Administration and Administrators in Yorkshire, 1258-1348', *Northern History*, 16 (1980), 1-19.

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> For coroners, see *CCR 1402-5*, p. 78; *1422-9*, pp. 89, 295, 309, 363, 432, 440; *1429-35*, pp. 149, 335; *1445-7*, p. 5; C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), ii, pp. 115-18. For tax collectors, see *CFR 1399-1405*, pp. 256, 261-2, 286, 291; *1405-13*, pp. 64, 91, 180; *1413-22*, pp. 26, 87-8, 122-3, 151, 173, 220, 299, 417; *1422-30*, pp. 607, 219, 293, 331; *1430-7*, pp. 66, 107; *1437-45*, pp. 149, 222, 238, 331; *1445-52*, pp. 40, 129, 169; *1452-61*, p. 47. For commissions of array, see *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 213; *1401-5*, pp. 284, 289; *1408-13*, p. 224; *1413-16*, p. 407; *1416-22*, pp. 144, 196, 211; *1422-9*, pp. 71, 131, 360, 522; *1446-52*, p. 238; *1452-61*, pp. 559-60.

<sup>20</sup> See below, p. 105.

<sup>21</sup> J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, iii (London, 1983), p. 208.

number. Both the Langtons of Farnley and the Meltons of Aston held substantial estates in other parts of the county.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the Meltons were particularly prominent in the local administration of the East Riding.<sup>23</sup> But the principal residences of both families lay in the West Riding, and they have therefore been included as members of local political society.

Let us briefly consider the four chronological periods under investigation. For analytical purposes, these reflect national regimes rather than political developments at a local level. Thus, the first two periods cover the reigns of Henry IV (1399-1413) and Henry V (1413-22). However, the reign of Henry VI has been divided between the minority (1422-37) and the adult reign (1437-61). Such a division has been chosen purely for convenience and is not intended as a contribution to the current debate concerning the 'personal rule' of Henry VI.<sup>24</sup> For the limited purposes of this chapter, the adult reign of Henry VI is held to have commenced on the formal reappointment of the council on 12 November 1437.<sup>25</sup> The following discussion provides a general introduction to the exclusivity of the county administration of Yorkshire before considering those families from the West Riding who provided county officers, or at least one justice of the peace, within the riding and the liberty of Ripon between 1399 and 1461. Appointments to the four major offices of local government are then treated separately, partly in order to establish whether there was a *cursus honorum* in operation in Yorkshire, but also to distinguish any patterns of political influence upon local appointments during the period under investigation.

Between 1399 and 1461, eighty-eight families provided sheriffs, MPs, and escheators of Yorkshire,<sup>26</sup> of which approximately thirty-eight families (43.2 per cent) came from the West Riding. Forty-four of the same sample of families (50 per cent) also provided at least one justice of the peace in the same period. Twelve families (including six from the West Riding) held county office on more than four occasions.

<sup>22</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 560-2, 714-5.

<sup>23</sup> Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 583-4; W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1066-2000* (Barnsley, 2000), p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> Watts has convincingly argued that the formal reappointment of the council in November 1437 marked not the beginning of Henry's 'personal rule' but the point at which 'the divorce between "grace" and "state" was... accepted and institutionalised'. This measure came during an extended period of transition between 1435 and 1445, when the corporate authority of the lords was replaced by a court regime under the leadership of the earl of Suffolk: Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 132-5; J.L. Watts, 'When did Henry VI's Minority End?', in D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies, and P. McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 116-39. Cf. R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Stroud, 1998), p. 277. See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>25</sup> *POPC*, v, p. 71; vi, pp. 312-5; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 275; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 133.

<sup>26</sup> In the following discussion, younger sons and brothers have been counted with the main branches of their families. However, junior branches have been counted separately after one generation.

Ten of these (including five West Riding families) also provided JPs.<sup>27</sup> A further nine families (including two from the West Riding) provided county officers on four occasions, while six of these (including one from the West Riding) also provided at least one justice of the peace.<sup>28</sup> Only two families - Eure of Witton (Dur.) and Harrington - held office in all four periods under investigation. Seven further families (four from the West Riding) - Brounflete of Wymington (Beds.), Constable of Halsham, Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough, Hastings of Roxby, Langton, Plumpton of Plumpton, and Stapleton of Carlton - held county office in three periods. Together, these may conveniently be described as Yorkshire's officeholding elite. Those gentry families who were especially active in local administration therefore numbered only twenty-one (23.9 per cent of all officeholder families), including eight from the West Riding. It is noteworthy that virtually all of these families maintained a tradition of knighthood throughout the Lancastrian period.

**Table 1: The West Riding Officer 'Class', 1399-1461**

	1399-1413	1413-22	1422-37	1437-61
Total Number of Appointees	23	21	28	41
In Previous Period	-	10	10	8
Newcomers	-	11	18	33
Survivors to Next Period	10	10	8	-
<b>Percentages<sup>1</sup></b>				
In Previous Period	-	47.6	35.7	19.5
Newcomers	-	52.4	64.3	80.5
Survive to Next Period	43.5	47.6	28.6	-

Source: *List of Sheriffs*; *List of Escheators*; *HC, 1386-1421*; Gooder (ed.), *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, i; Wedgwood, *Register*; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

<sup>1</sup> Rounded up or down to one decimal place.

Let us now consider the exclusivity of the West Riding officer 'class'. Fifty-eight gentry families from the riding provided at least one sheriff, MP, escheator, or JP between 1399 and 1461.<sup>29</sup> Table 1 indicates that there was a pool of between twenty-

<sup>27</sup> Redman of Harewood (8, JP); Harrington (7, JP); Hastings of Roxby (7, JP); Hilton of Swine (7, JP); Eton of Gilling (6, JP); Eure of Witton (6, JP); Langton (6); Brounflete of Wymington (5, JP); Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough (5, JP); Gascoigne of Gawthorpe (5, JP); Pickering of Ellerton (5, JP); Ryther of Ryther (5).

<sup>28</sup> Constable of Halsham (JP); Hastings of Slingsby (JP); Lound of South Cave; Normanville of Killingwick; Plumpton of Plumpton (JP); Rokeby of Rokeby; Stapleton of Carlton; Strangways of West Harlsey (JP); Ughtred of Kexby (JP). In addition, the Saville families of Elland and Thornhill also contributed four officers between them.

<sup>29</sup> See below, Appendix 2.

one and forty-one major officeholders throughout all four periods. Whereas the reign of Henry V witnessed a slight decline in the overall size of the officer 'class', the number of individuals appointed to major local office virtually doubled during the reign of Henry VI. By far the largest number of newcomers assumed office in the final period between 1437 and 1461. As we shall see, this development occurred largely as a result of the sustained growth of the West Riding commission throughout the adult reign of Henry VI. The number of justices rose in response to increasing levels of political unrest in the region during the 1440s and 1450s.<sup>30</sup> However, it may also reflect the increasing competition between the nobility for local rule following the wholesale redistribution of Duchy resources in the region after 1425.<sup>31</sup>

Four knights from the riding served as sheriff, MP, and JP during their administrative careers. Sir William Dronsfield (d. 1406) of West Bretton and Sir Richard Redman I (d. 1426) of Harewood held all three offices in the reign of Henry IV. In addition, Redman was also appointed escheator in 1404. Sir William Gascoigne III (d.c. 1466) of Gawthorpe and Sir Robert Waterton II (d. 1476) of Methley subsequently held office during the reign of Henry VI. All came from prominent Lancastrian families. Only five families - Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough, Gascoigne, Harrington, Ingilby of Ripley and Waterton - held major office (including justice of the peace) in all four periods under consideration. Another seven families - Clarell of Aldwark, Langton, Mauleverer of Wothersome, Plumpton, Redman, Stapleton and Tempest of Bracewell - held office in three of the four periods. Between 1399 and 1422, eight families provided sheriffs and JPs were drawn from seventeen families.<sup>32</sup> Thereafter, ten families provided sheriffs and thirty-one provided JPs.<sup>33</sup> The figures for sheriffs are inevitably distorted since the shrievalty was shared with the other two ridings. Also, it has already been noted that two separate commissions of the peace were issued within the West Riding. However, it is clear that there was a restricted circle of officeholding families, especially during the earlier period. Recent research has demonstrated that this was a defining characteristic of officeholding in counties where the Duchy of Lancaster was

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<sup>30</sup> See below, Ch. 4.5. A similar expansion occurred in Warwickshire at this time: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 267-74.

<sup>31</sup> See below, Chs. 6-7.

<sup>32</sup> This figure includes 2 families who only sat on the Ripon commission - Mauleverer of Wothersome and Pygot of Clothholme. In total, 15 families were represented on the West Riding bench between 1399 and 1422.

<sup>33</sup> Including Nesfield of Nesfield which only provided one Ripon JP in the period.

the leading landed interest.<sup>34</sup> Whereas counties with competing noble interests witnessed comparatively high turnovers of local officers from a large number of gentry families, counties in which the crown was the greatest landowner appear frequently to have been dominated by a small group of prominent Lancastrians. However, such a high degree of royal influence in local government was clearly unusual.<sup>35</sup>

## 2) The Shrievalty

By far the most politically significant of the local officers was the sheriff, whose sole right it was to administer all royal writs within his jurisdiction. He was also responsible for empanelling juries, raising the *posse comitatus*, collecting the farm of the shire, and convening both the sheriff's tourn and county court.<sup>36</sup> This last duty was of particular consequence, since it was in the county court that the shire's parliamentary representatives were elected. As returning officer, it was possible for the sheriff to manipulate parliamentary elections.<sup>37</sup> A hostile sheriff also had the power to undermine litigation.<sup>38</sup> Legislation attempted to reduce the potential for corruption by dictating that sheriffs should be appointed annually and forbidding their reappointment within three years.<sup>39</sup> An ordinance of 1372 also prohibited sheriffs from being returned as knights of the shire during their term of office.<sup>40</sup> Finally, a property qualification of £20 and a

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<sup>34</sup> In Derbyshire, for example, 19 gentry families provided JPs while 7 provided sheriffs between 1399 and 1422; 13 families provided JPs and 8 provided sheriffs between 1423 and 1461. In Staffordshire, where the Duchy was one of two major powers, 18 families provided JPs and 17 provided sheriffs between 1399 and 1422; thereafter, 16 families provided JPs and 24 provided sheriffs. A similarly exclusive officeholder 'class' has been discovered in Nottinghamshire: Payling, *Political Society*, Ch. 5 and pp. 244-5. By comparison, 36 Warwickshire families provided JPs between 1429 and 1460, and 31 provided sheriffs between 1430 and 1509: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 204, n. 54; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 275, n. 36.

<sup>35</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 204-5; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 274-5; Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 361-3.

<sup>36</sup> See R. Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff and the Royal Household: A Study in Administrative Change and Political Control, 1437-1547', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1960), introduction and Chs. 1-4; W.A. Morris, 'The Sheriff', in W.A. Morris and J.R. Strayer, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ii (Cambridge, MA, 1947), pp. 41-108; Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp. 107-10, 116-21; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 263-4; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 109-10; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 107-11. For the sheriff of Yorkshire's tourns, see KB27/562, Rex rot. 15; 607, Rex rot. 21d; 626, Rex rot. 6; KB9/210, m. 75. Meetings of Yorkshire's county court were held every six weeks on a Monday: J.J. Alexander, 'The Dates of County Days', *BIHR* 3 (1925-6), 93.

<sup>37</sup> Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> As Carpenter has commented, this was one reason why noble lordship was particularly attractive to the gentry. A 'good lord' could bring influence to bear on the legal system, offer protection to members of his affinity, or harass their opponents: M.C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR* 1980, 524-5.

<sup>39</sup> *Stat. Realm.*, i, p. 283; ii, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, ii, p. 310.

residency requirement were attached to the office.<sup>41</sup> In practice, the sheriffs of Yorkshire were almost invariably knights with a theoretical income of at least £40 per annum.<sup>42</sup> As we shall see, the one exception was appointed in extraordinary circumstances.<sup>43</sup> In some other counties, it has been shown that the shrievalty was filled by men of a higher rank than those returned to parliament as knights of the shire.<sup>44</sup> By comparison, all of Yorkshire's parliamentary representatives in the fifteenth century were knights and it was quite common for a man to hold both offices during his career.<sup>45</sup> It has also been suggested by Payling that there was a *cursus honorum* in local government and that election brought knights of the shire to the notice of the crown as potential officeholders.<sup>46</sup> The Yorkshire evidence confirms that sheriffs were frequently, although not invariably, appointed within a few months of their election to parliament. Examples from the West Riding include Sir Halnath Mauleverer (d.c. 1433) of North Deighton, who was elected in August 1419 and appointed sheriff in November 1420.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Sir William Ryther II (d. 1440) of Ryther represented Yorkshire in the parliament of February 1426 and became sheriff in December.<sup>48</sup> Sir Thomas Harrington (d. 1460) of Brierley was elected in May 1455 and appointed sheriff six months later.<sup>49</sup> A number of knights were also shortlisted for the office after their return from Westminster.<sup>50</sup> Sir Thomas Saville (d. 1449) of Thornhill was returned to parliament in January 1442 and shortlisted for sheriff later in the same year.<sup>51</sup> Both he and his parliamentary partner, Sir William Eure of Witton (Durh.), were subsequently shortlisted in 1443.<sup>52</sup> Finally, Sir James Pickering of Ellerton (E. Riding) was elected in February 1447 and shortlisted in 1448.<sup>53</sup> However, it is worth noting Carpenter's observation that such families would probably already have been well known to the government.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *Stat. Realm*, i, p. 174; *Rot. Parl.*, ii, p. 308.

<sup>42</sup> The extant shortlists for the Yorkshire shrievalty suggest that those below the rank of knight were not even considered for appointment in the fifteenth century. See below, n. 64.

<sup>43</sup> See below, p. 85.

<sup>44</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 266; Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 90.

<sup>46</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 114; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>47</sup> C219/12/3, m. 23. See below, Appendices 3a and 3c.

<sup>48</sup> *Return of the Name*, p. 312. See below, Appendices 3a and 3c.

<sup>49</sup> C219/16/3, m. 15. See below, Appendices 3a and 3c.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of the process of shortlisting, see below, p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> C219/15/2, m. 23; C47/34/2/4. See below, Appendix 3c.

<sup>52</sup> C47/34/2/2.

<sup>53</sup> C219/15/4, m. 25; C47/34/2/5. See below, Appendix 3c.

<sup>54</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 267, n. 20.

The stipulation that sheriffs should be replaced at the end of each year was extended to include under-sheriffs and bailiffs in 1426. Moreover, noble stewards and bailiffs were excluded from the shrievalty.<sup>55</sup> This last proviso did not prevent either Sir William Plumpton II (d. 1480) of Plumpton or Sir John Saville (d. 1482) of Thornhill from assuming office whilst serving respectively as stewards of the lordships of Knaresborough and Wakefield.<sup>56</sup> After 1445, sheriffs who remained in office beyond the statutory limit were subject to a £200 fine.<sup>57</sup> In response to a parliamentary petition by the commons in 1425, the government had attempted to address other common abuses committed by sheriffs, specifically extortion and the empanelling of juries without proper warning.<sup>58</sup>

In practice, the sheriff's jurisdiction was restricted by his exclusion from liberties which possessed the franchise of return of writ.<sup>59</sup> In the West Riding, these included the Duchy of Lancaster honours of Knaresborough, Pontefract and Tickhill, the lordship of Wakefield, and, from 1442, all of the estates of the archbishopric of York.<sup>60</sup> That this privilege was highly regarded is emphasised by an incident which took place between officers of the sheriff and tenants of the earl of Northumberland at Thorpe Under Lees (N. Riding) in 1453. When the deputies attempted to arrest a local yeoman, they were forcibly resisted. During the confrontation, it was boasted that neither the sheriff nor any other royal officer could execute an order within the lordship of Topcliffe, or indeed any other property belonging to the earl.<sup>61</sup> Of course, the Percys did not enjoy any such franchise in Yorkshire.

The sheriff of Yorkshire was selected annually from the gentry of all three ridings. Candidates were shortlisted in the exchequer before the king made his final selection.<sup>62</sup> Between 1399 and 1461, forty-two sheriffs of Yorkshire served 63 terms.

<sup>55</sup> *POPC*, iii, p. 219; *Stat. Realm*, i, p. 174; Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), p. 524; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 263.

<sup>57</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 108.

<sup>58</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 306.

<sup>59</sup> See M.T. Clanchy, 'The Franchise of Return of Writs', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 17 (1967), 59-82.

<sup>60</sup> A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 144-5; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 116 and n. 2. See above, Ch. 2.

<sup>61</sup> KB9/149/11/24; R.A. Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-1454', in R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), p. 324 and n. 15.

<sup>62</sup> S.B. Chrimes (ed.), *Sir John Fortescue: De Laudibus Legum Anglie* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 54-5. Yorkshire shortlists survive for 1441, 1442, 1443 and 1448, together with a council list naming the sheriff-designate for 1440: C47/34/1-5. See Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 273. Jeffs suggests that the exchequer nomination may have been overridden by the council in 1442. This was certainly the case in 1448, when Sir William Eure was pricked but Sir John Conyers became sheriff: Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', pp. 54-5.



All were knights except for Robert Mauleverer I (d. 1443) of Wothersome, a West Riding esquire who was serving as under-sheriff at the time of his predecessor's death in 1406.<sup>63</sup> Mauleverer was provisionally appointed to succeed Sir William Dronsfield in September before being replaced by a more suitable candidate two months later.<sup>64</sup> Little evidence survives to identify other under-sheriffs in this period, although Sir William Gascoigne III is known to have appointed his kinsman, John Gascoigne (d. 1445) of Lasincroft, as his deputy in 1441.<sup>65</sup> Because of the responsibilities of the office, including the receiving, despatching and returning of writs, some legal training was preferable. Jeffs has suggested that under-sheriffs were probably selected in rotation from amongst the senior shire house staff.<sup>66</sup> There is some evidence from Yorkshire of a similar *cursus honorum* in the lesser offices of local administration. Robert Mauleverer I, for example, is known to have served as sub-escheator immediately prior to his appointment as under-sheriff.<sup>67</sup>

The majority of Yorkshire's sheriffs were appointed in November. Only three sheriffs exceeded the one-year term of office. Sir Halnath Mauleverer was appointed in November 1420 and not replaced until April 1422.<sup>68</sup> Sir John Langton I (d. 1459) of Farnley served between November 1424 and January 1426. Finally, Sir William Harrington (d. 1440) of Brierley remained in office between November 1428 and February 1430. By contrast, the tenure of Sir John Depeden (d. 1402) of Healaugh was the shortest. He was one of eleven Lancastrians appointed to a shrievalty by Henry IV in September 1399. Like most of the other sheriffs appointed on the first day of the reign, he was replaced a little over a month later.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 162. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>64</sup> *CPR 1405-13*, p. 44.

<sup>65</sup> WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 16.

<sup>66</sup> Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> C1/12/222.

<sup>68</sup> In the parliament of 1421, the crown requested that the statutes regarding the fixed term of office be repealed temporarily in order that those 'valiant and sufficient persons' already holding office should continue to serve in order to keep out extortioners and lesser men: *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 148; Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', pp. 50-1.

<sup>69</sup> See D.L. Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace: The Patterns of Lancastrian Governance, 1399-1401', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), 153.

**Table 2: Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1399-1461**

	1399-1413	1413-22	1422-37	1437-61
Total Number of Sheriffs	16	9	15	23
Number of Appointees	13	7	10	19
Total Number of West Riding Appointments	8	4	5	11
Number of West Riding Appointees	7	3	3	9
<b>Percentages<sup>1</sup></b>				
WR Appointments	50	44.4	33.3	47.8
WR Appointees	53.8	42.9	30	47.4

Source: *List of Sheriffs*.

<sup>1</sup> Rounded up or down to one decimal place.

Table 2 shows the proportion of Yorkshire sheriffs drawn from West Riding families. Between 1399 and 1461, eighteen knights and esquires from the riding served 28 terms in office. During the reign of Henry IV, 53.8 per cent of sheriffs came from the West Riding. These men enjoyed a monopoly over appointments between November 1401 and September 1406, when five out of six sheriffs came from influential West Riding families. Their appointments were due undoubtedly to political necessity. Of the seven men from the riding appointed to the shrievalty by Henry IV, five were already closely associated with the king and one was soon to become so.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, four of the remaining six knights who held office during the reign were also attached to the king.<sup>71</sup> This pattern of royal influence was not restricted to Yorkshire. By November 1401, at least one Lancastrian knight or esquire had been appointed to the shrievalty of every county except Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the palatinate of Durham.<sup>72</sup> Many sheriffs were rewarded for their loyal service to the crown in the face of repeated rebellion. Robert Mauleverer I, for example, was granted custody of the Castle mills at York in 1408.<sup>73</sup> Sir Thomas Rokeby of Rokeby (N. Riding), who defeated the earl of

<sup>70</sup> Sir John Depeden, Sir John Saville and Sir Richard Redman were king's knights: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 288-90. Sir Edmund Sandford was a king's esquire by 1405: CPR 1405-8, p. 69; SC8/255/12730. Sir William Dronsfield's connection with Henry IV dated back to 1395: *HC, 1386-1421*, ii, pp. 801-2. Sir William Harrington was in receipt of a Lancastrian annuity by 1408-9 and served as Henry V's standard-bearer: DL28/27/3, m. 4; DL 42/17, fol. 73v; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 143.

<sup>71</sup> Sir Thomas Brounlete, Sir Peter Buckton, Sir John Etton and Sir Thomas Rokeby: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 287-9.

<sup>72</sup> Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace' p. 155. It was occasionally necessary for the crown to appoint reliable sheriffs to restore its influence in unsettled bailiwicks: Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', Ch. 1, esp. pp. 22-28.

<sup>73</sup> *CPR 1408-8*, p. 435.

Northumberland at Bramham Moor in the same year, was granted the forfeited manor of Spofforth, to the value of £80 per annum, as a reward for his labours.<sup>74</sup>

The proportion of West Riding knights appointed to the shrievalty declined noticeably after 1406, perhaps in response to complaints that local power structures in Yorkshire were not being adequately represented. Only two knights from the riding served as sheriff during the remaining seven years of the reign. By comparison, three West Riding knights (42.9 per cent of officeholders) were appointed to the shrievalty by Henry V. The representation of the riding's gentry fell to its lowest levels during the minority of Henry VI, accounting for only 30 per cent of all officeholders and 33.3 per cent of all appointments. West Riding appointments finally increased during the adult reign of Henry VI, with nine knights (47.4 per cent) serving 11 terms (47.8 per cent) of office. Nevertheless, the riding never regained the monopoly over appointments which it had enjoyed during the first half of Henry IV's reign.<sup>75</sup>

### 3) Parliamentary Representation

Parliamentary representation of the shire was an office which, Carpenter suggests, bestowed enormous prestige upon the holder but little local importance after election.<sup>76</sup> Two knights of the shire represented the county of Yorkshire in every parliament. They were elected by acclamation in the county court at York. Since the sheriff was responsible for presiding over the county court and acted as returning officer, he could inevitably influence the outcome of the election, especially if it were contested.<sup>77</sup> In response, the government enacted a legislative programme to regulate electoral conduct.<sup>78</sup> An ordinance of 1372 forbade the election of lawyers and current sheriffs.<sup>79</sup> In 1406, an act of parliament required sheriffs to enter into an indenture with the electors.<sup>80</sup> A residence qualification was subsequently imposed upon both knights of the shire and electors in 1413, while a statute of 1430 required electors in all counties to be

<sup>74</sup> *CPR 1408-13*, p. 444. See below, p. 135.

<sup>75</sup> West Riding knights did, however, occupy the shrievalty in succession between November 1439-November 1442 (4 sheriffs), and November 1453-November 1456 (3 sheriffs). The appointments of Sir John Melton (1453), Sir John Saville (1454) and Sir Thomas Harrington (1455) can be attributed to magnate influence. All three sheriffs were close associates of Richard, duke of York: Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', pp. 173-4.

<sup>76</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 265.

<sup>77</sup> See Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff', Ch. 5.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-92.

<sup>79</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, ii, p. 310.

<sup>80</sup> *Stat. Realm*, ii, p. 156.

resident 40s. freeholders.<sup>81</sup> Finally, a property qualification of £40 per annum was introduced for all knights of the shire in 1445.<sup>82</sup>

In response to the act of 1406, the Yorkshire returns took the form of an indenture, attested by a varying number of electors present at the county court.<sup>83</sup> Unusually, all surviving indentures between 1407 and 1429 were drawn up exclusively between the sheriff and attorneys representing the greater landowners of the county, typically including the archbishops of York, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the Earl Marshal, and the Lords Greystoke, Hilton, Mauley, and Roos.<sup>84</sup> Notwithstanding the statute of 1430, the names of attorneys of these ‘common suitors to the county court’ continue to appear in the Yorkshire returns alongside those of ordinary freeholders until 1437.<sup>85</sup> The indenture of 1435, however, is irregular and lists 15 knights, 14 esquires, and 4 unstyled gentlemen, who are described collectively as electors.<sup>86</sup> After 1437, the Yorkshire indentures list electors only. Eight other indentures survive for the period.<sup>87</sup> Most list between 24 and 58 electors, usually including only two or three knights, if indeed any.<sup>88</sup> However, the indentures for 1442 and November 1449 name 451 and 100 electors respectively.<sup>89</sup> The 1442 election was probably the only occasion on which the name of every elector present at the county court was recorded in the indenture.<sup>90</sup> A commission of inquiry was subsequently issued to the justices of assize to investigate the legality of the election.<sup>91</sup> By comparison, the return of November 1449 listed fifteen knights, whereas only two are recorded as having

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 243.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>83</sup> For the following discussion, see A. Gooder (ed.), *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, i, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 91 (1935), pp. 2-6; *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 734.

<sup>84</sup> C219/10/4, m. 19; 6, m. 14; 11/2, m. 47; 12/3, m. 23; 4, m. 26; 5, m. 25; 6, m. 26; 13/1, m. 27; 2, m. 27; 3, m. 27; 4, m. 28; 5, m. 27; 14/1, m. 31; 2, m. 26; 3, m. 27; 15/1, m. 33. However, Pollard has observed that the Lords Fitzhugh, Scrope of Bolton, and Furnival were never represented: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 153, n. 26.

<sup>85</sup> The return of 1430 makes it clear that, although only the sheriff and the attorneys of the ‘common suitors’ were party to the indenture, others were involved in the election, including 6 named freeholders: C219/14/2, m. 26; Gooder (ed.), *Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 236; S.J. Payling, ‘County Parliamentary Elections in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Parliamentary History*, 18 (1999), 239, n. 11.

<sup>86</sup> Including 9 electors from the West Riding: Sir John Langton I, Sir William Plumpton II, Sir Roger Warde I, John Harrington, Walter Calverley II, Brian Sandford, Nicholas Fitzwilliam, Thomas Wombwell I, and Guy Fairfax of Steeton: C219/14/5, m. 29.

<sup>87</sup> C219/15/2, m. 23; 4, m. 25; 6, m. 26; 7, m. 26; 16/1, m. 24; 2, m. 29; 3, m. 15; 6, m. 6.

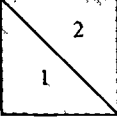
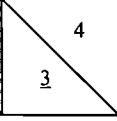
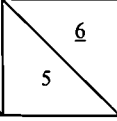
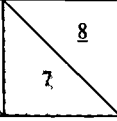
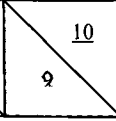
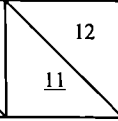
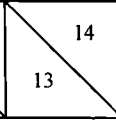
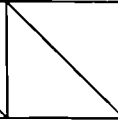
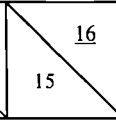
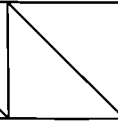
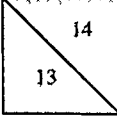
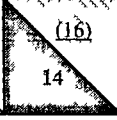
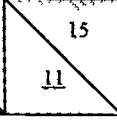
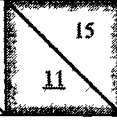
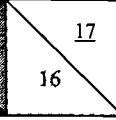
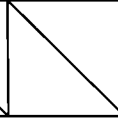
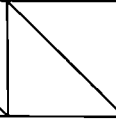
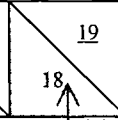
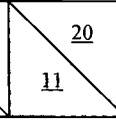
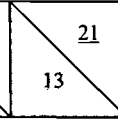
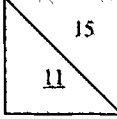
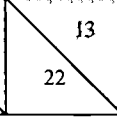
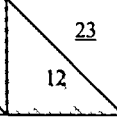
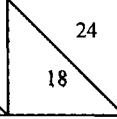
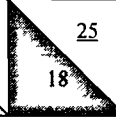
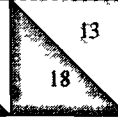
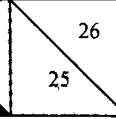
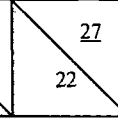
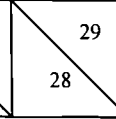
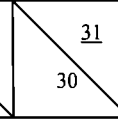
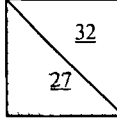
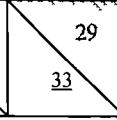
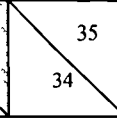
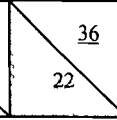
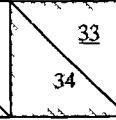
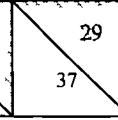
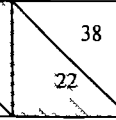
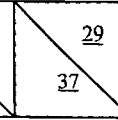
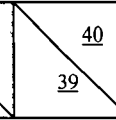
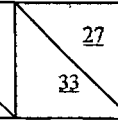



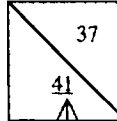
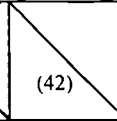
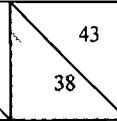

<sup>88</sup> See Gooder, *Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 238.

<sup>89</sup> C219/15/2, m. 23; 7, m. 26.

<sup>90</sup> Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, p. 222.

<sup>91</sup> *CPR 1441-6*, p. 108.

**Table 3: Parliamentary Experience of Yorkshire Knights of the Shire**

1399	1401	1402	1404 (Jan.)	1404 (Oct.)	1406	1407	1410	1411	1413 (Feb.)
									
1413 (May)	1414 (Apr.)	1414 (Nov.)	1415	1416 (Mar.)	1416 (Oct.)	1417	1419	1420	1421 (May)
									
1421 (Dec.)	1422	1423	1425	1426	1427	1429	1431	1432	1433
									
1435	1437	1439	1442	1445	1447	1449 (Feb.)	1449 (Nov.)	1450	1453
									
1455	1459	1460	 Member-elect sat in the Commons on an earlier occasion, either for the same constituency or another.  Member-elect sat in Parliament immediately preceding, for the same constituency.  Parliamentary Novice (according to surviving records)						
									
(b)									

1. Eure, Sir Ralph	17 Stapleton, Sir Brian I	33 Stapleton, Sir Brian II
2. Neville, Sir Robert	18 Hilton, Sir Robert	34 Constable, Sir John
3. <u>Scrope, Sir John</u>	19 <u>Mauleverer, Sir Halnath</u>	35 Neville, Sir Alexander
4. Usflete, Sir Gerard	20 <u>Langton, Sir John I</u>	36 <u>Saville, Sir Thomas</u>
5. Colville, Sir Thomas	21 <u>Gascoigne, Sir William II</u>	37 Pickering, Sir James
6. <u>Rockley, Sir Robert I</u>	22 Eure, Sir William	38 Strangways, Sir James
7. Routh, Sir John	23 <u>Tempest, Sir William</u>	39 <u>Saville, Sir John</u>
8. <u>Tempest, Sir Richard</u>	24 Hastings, Sir Richard	40 <u>Melton, Sir John II</u>
9. Buckton, Sir Peter	25 <u>Ryther, Sir William II</u>	41 <u>Harrington, Sir Thomas</u>
10. <u>Dronsfield, Sir William</u>	26 Pickering, Sir Richard	42 (Tunstall, Sir Richard)
11. <u>Redman, Sir Richard I</u>	27 <u>Gascoigne, Sir William III</u>	43 Mountford, Sir Thomas
12. Rokeby, Sir Thomas	28 Ughtred, Sir Robert	
13. Hastings, Sir Edmund	29 Normanville, Sir William	(a) Returned previously for Lincs.
14. Lound, Sir Alexander	30 Darrell, Sir Edmund	(b) Returned previously for Lincs.
15. Etton, Sir John	31 <u>Hopton, Sir Robert</u>	
16. <u>Plumpton, Sir Robert II</u>	32 <u>Waterton, Sir Robert II</u>	West Riding members are <u>underlined</u>

attended the previous election in February.<sup>92</sup> It therefore seems extremely likely that the elections of 1442 and November 1449 were contested.<sup>93</sup>

Forty-three parliaments were summoned between 1399 and 1461. The identities of 75 of the 86 knights of the shire for Yorkshire are known, while a further two have been plausibly suggested.<sup>94</sup> Despite the number of seats available to the gentry, it is clear that knights of the shire were chosen from a particularly exclusive group of families.<sup>95</sup> Table 3 indicates that, according to the surviving returns, only forty-three individuals were elected between 1399 and 1461, and that nearly half were returned to parliament more than once in the same period. Moreover, every identifiable MP for Yorkshire was a belted knight, a distinction unique to Yorkshire.<sup>96</sup> Such peculiarities were almost certainly due to the predominant influence of the crown as a local landowner.<sup>97</sup>

**Table 4: Parliamentary Representation, 1386-1461**

	Parliamentary novices (%)	MP first county office held by novices (%)	MPs returned once only (%)
1386-99	27.3	66.7	25.0
1399-1413	75.0	33.3	50.0
1413-22	22.2	100.0	40.0
1422-37	54.5	83.3	46.7
1437-61	42.9	70.0	28.6

Sources: *HC, 1386-1421*; Gooder (ed.), *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, i; Wedgwood, *Register*.

It is clear from Table 4 that there was a significant shift in the relative experience of knights of the shire for Yorkshire after the accession of Henry IV. Between 1386 and 1399, 27.3 per cent of the county's representatives were

<sup>92</sup> C219/15/6, m. 26.

<sup>93</sup> Payling, 'County Parliamentary Elections', p. 250; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 224-5. Cf. Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 248, n. 10.

<sup>94</sup> No records survive for the parliaments of 1410, 1413 (Feb.), 1416 (Oct.), 1417 or 1459. Only one knight of the shire is known to have been elected in 1414 (April). However, it has been suggested that Sir Robert Plumpton II may have represented both Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire during this parliament: *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 279; iv, p. 92, n. 1. Wedgwood suggests that Sir Richard Tunstall may have represented the county in 1459, although this conclusion has been questioned by Jalland: Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 882-4; P. Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections in the North of England, 1450-70', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 488. See below, Table 3, and Appendix 3c.

<sup>95</sup> A similar conclusion has been reached by Acheson from his investigation of the parliamentary representation of Leicestershire in the fifteenth century: Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, p. 123. See also Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 244-5.

<sup>96</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 729.

<sup>97</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 274-5; Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 362; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 204-5. See below, p. 122, n. 98.

parliamentary novices. By comparison, 75 per cent of those elected during the reign of Henry IV had no previous parliamentary experience. Most did, however, already possess some experience of county office. None is known to have been elected more than once during the reign. It is also remarkable that 50 per cent of MPs elected between 1399 and 1413 were only returned to one parliament in their careers. By contrast, the most prolific parliamentarian, Sir Richard Redman I, represented the county on at least five separate occasions between 1406 and 1421. These developments again undoubtedly reflect the increased influence of the Duchy of Lancaster in the region after 1399.<sup>98</sup>

The large influx of Lancastrian novices between 1399 and 1413 resulted in a significant reduction in the proportion of parliamentary novices returned during the reign of Henry V. Only four novices (22.2 per cent) are known to have been returned to parliament between 1413 and 1422. Nevertheless, their elections signalled a break with tradition, since none had previously held county office. The proportion of novices subsequently rose again to 54.5 per cent during the minority of Henry VI, largely in response to campaign deaths in France.<sup>99</sup> Again, most new MPs had little experience of local office prior to their election, providing further confirmation of the existence of a *cursus honorum* in local government, particularly after 1413.<sup>100</sup> Nearly half of Yorkshire's representatives during this period attended only one parliament. By contrast, the adult reign of Henry VI witnessed the emergence of a small group of seasoned parliamentarians. Between 1437 and 1461, Sir William Eure, Sir Brian Stapleton II (d. 1466) of Carlton, Sir James Pickering, Sir William Normanville of Kilwick (E. Riding), and Sir James Strangways of West Harlsey (N. Riding) represented the county eleven times in total. Most had already been returned to parliament at least once during the minority.

From the surviving returns, it is clear that the electors at the county court preferred experienced candidates of high rank. It has already been noted that every MP during this period was a belted knight. Notwithstanding the extraordinary prevalence of parliamentary novices between 1399 and 1413, Yorkshire was represented by at least one experienced parliamentarian in 29 parliaments (67.4 per cent of all parliaments) during the period. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a partnership of parliamentary novices ever having been returned during the reign of Henry V. Thereafter, only four

<sup>98</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, i, pp. 728-31; D.L. Biggs, "'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom': The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413", unpublished PhD thesis (Minnesota, 1996), pp. 335-47.

<sup>99</sup> French campaigns claimed the lives of three former MPs: Sir Brian Stapleton I (d. 1417), Sir Robert Plumpton II (d. 1421), and Sir William Gasoigne II (d. 1422). See below, p. 142.

<sup>100</sup> See above, p. 83.

such pairings are known. By contrast, a partnership of veterans are known to have been returned to eleven parliaments (25.6 per cent of all parliaments). Only four knights were ever returned to successive parliaments: Sir Alexander Lound of South Cave (E. Riding), Sir Richard Redman I, and Sir John Etton of Gilling (N. Riding) during the reign of Henry V, and Sir Robert Hilton of Swine (E. Riding) during the minority of Henry VI. Sir Robert Hilton was the only knight ever returned consecutively to three parliaments.

**Table 5: Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire, 1399-1461**

	1399-1413	1413-1422	1422-37	1437-61
Total Number of Appointments	16	18	22	21
Number of Appointees	15	10	16	14
Total Number of West Riding Appointments	6	10	7	7
Number of West Riding Appointees	6	6	6	6
<b>Percentages<sup>1</sup></b>				
West Riding Appointments	37.5	55.6	31.8	33.3
West Riding Appointees	40.0	60	37.5	42.9

Sources: *HC, 1386-1421*; Gooder (ed.), *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, i; Wedgwood, *Register*.

<sup>1</sup> Percentages are rounded up or down to one decimal place.

Table 5 indicates the proportion of parliamentary representatives from the West Riding. The surviving returns reveal that the riding's gentry enjoyed their greatest share of county representation during the reign of Henry V. A number certainly owed their seats, either directly or indirectly, to the influence of John, duke of Bedford, who had established a number of lasting connections amongst the local gentry during the brief period in which the forfeited Percy barony of Spofforth was in his possession.<sup>101</sup> Sir Richard Redman I, for example, who was one of Bedford's closest associates, was returned to parliament in November 1414, 1415, 1420, and December 1421, and was elected as speaker in 1415.<sup>102</sup> However, the riding's predominance was short-lived, with parliamentary representation falling to its lowest level during the minority of Henry VI. Thereafter, the proportion of MPs from the riding rose only very slightly between 1437 and 1461.

<sup>101</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 92 (Sir Robert Plumpton), 186 (Sir Richard Redman), 461 (Sir Brian Stapleton). See below, pp. 139-40.

<sup>102</sup> See Roskell, *Parliament and Politics*, iii, pp. 205-36.



From the surviving returns it is possible to reconstruct an albeit imperfect picture of attendance at parliamentary elections. It has been argued by advocates of the 'county community' that the county court provided a forum for the leaders of political society.<sup>103</sup> But the Yorkshire evidence suggests that attendance was invariably low, except when elections were contested, as in 1442 and November 1449, while the greater gentry are known only to have attended elections infrequently.<sup>104</sup> According to Lander, most of those present were there largely to pursue their own affairs.<sup>105</sup> It has also been demonstrated that the nature of parliamentary elections in Yorkshire between 1407 and 1429 precluded the development of the county court as a representative assembly. The attorneys of the nobility probably controlled elections for much of this period.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, the tenants of the great liberties were exempt from suit at the county court. It therefore seems extremely unlikely that the county court performed a truly representative function even after 1429.<sup>107</sup> In conclusion, Pollard has suggested that the old baronial honours probably served as an alternative focus to the county.<sup>108</sup>

#### 4) The Escheatorship

The office of escheator originated in the thirteenth century. This royal officer was responsible for the discovery and collection of all feudal profits pertaining to the crown. At first there were only two escheatorships in England. After 1341, however, they increasingly coincided with the shrievalties.<sup>109</sup> Between 1357 and 1377, a single

<sup>103</sup> J.R. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 28 (1978), 28-30, 33-41; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p. 57; N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p. 57; M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 24-6.

<sup>104</sup> Gooder (ed.), *Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 238. See above, pp. 88-90.

<sup>105</sup> J.R. Lander, 'The Significance of the County in English Government', in P. Fleming, A. Gross, and J.R. Lander (eds.), *Regionalism and Revision: The Crown and its Provinces in England, 1200-1650* (London, 1998), p. 18.

<sup>106</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 734. Cf. S.J. Payling, 'The Widening Franchise: Parliamentary Elections in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 171-2. It has been suggested that 'dominant groups agreed on the choice of the knights of the shire beforehand, with the role of the assembled electors limited to acclamation': Lander, 'The Significance of the County', p. 19; J.G. Edwards, 'The Emergence of Majority Rule in English Parliamentary Elections', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 14 (1964), 175-96. According to Carpenter, the ability to control this gathering could be an 'acid test' of a magnate's local influence: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 265.

<sup>107</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 347-8.

<sup>108</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 153. See below, Ch. 4.6.

<sup>109</sup> See S.T. Gibson, 'The Escheatrics, 1327-41', *EHR* 36 (1921), 218-25; E.R. Stevenson, 'The Escheator', in Morris and Strayer (eds.), *The English Government at Work*, ii, pp. 113-20; Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, pp. 108-9.

escheator was appointed jointly for the counties of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland. Thereafter, Yorkshire was administered separately.<sup>110</sup> By this period, the escheator was a relatively minor figure, since the importance of feudal incidents as a source of royal revenue had declined during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and been replaced by parliamentary taxation.<sup>111</sup> The holders of the office usually came from the middle or lower ranks of gentry society, despite the establishment of a property qualification of £20 per annum in 1368.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, three knights were appointed to the escheatorship in Yorkshire by Henry IV. Although knights were still known occasionally to fill the office in the later fourteenth century,<sup>113</sup> Sir Thomas Brounlete of Wymington (Beds.), Sir Richard Redman I and Sir Alexander Lounde of South Cave (E. Riding) were probably nominated out of political necessity.<sup>114</sup> At the time of their appointment, each was either already attached to the king, or shortly to become so.<sup>115</sup> The imposition of royal influence through the appointment of Lancastrians to the office of escheator has also been detected in a number of other counties during the reign of Henry IV.<sup>116</sup> However, the escheatorship does seem to have been reserved frequently as a source of royal 'patronage'. Between 1412 and 1451, for example, at least eight servants of the crown were appointed to the office in Yorkshire.<sup>117</sup> Although escheators were required to relinquish office after one

<sup>110</sup> *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, PRO List and Index Society, 72 (1971), pp. 190-3.

<sup>111</sup> Royal interest in the exploitation of feudal revenues was vigorously revived under Edward IV and the first Tudor kings but the escheatorship did not regain its earlier prestige: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 264-5; J.M.W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism, 1250-1540* (Manchester, 1968), pp. 234-56; J.R. Lander, 'Edward IV: The Modern Legend and a Revision', *History*, 41 (1956), 48-9.

<sup>112</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 110. As a consequence, there are some problems with identification. The county or (in the case of Yorkshire) riding of residence is uncertain for three escheators appointed between 1399 and 1461: John Charlton (1406), Robert Gargrave (1411) and Henry Banaster (1449). However, it is known that Banaster served as bailiff of the honour of Pickering (N. Riding) in the 1450s: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 536. Although Gargrave is usually styled 'of Yorkshire', he may have been the man attacked in the North Riding by members of the Thornton family in 1421. But it is also possible that he was the father of John Gargrave of Wakefield. Both men were possibly associates of the Waterton family: *CPR 1401-5*, p. 207; *1416-22*, p. 386; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 311. In 1410, Robert Grgrave and his wife, Alice, were granted an annuity of 25 marks out of the issues of the lordship of Bradford: DL42/16, fol. 94v. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>113</sup> Eight knights were appointed as escheator between 1386 and 1407: *List of Escheators*, p. 191. In the list, Sir Alexander Lounde is mistakenly referred to as an esquire.

<sup>114</sup> The reasons behind Sir Robert Ughtred's appointment in 1439 are less obvious. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>115</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 287, 289; A. Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV', unpublished PhD thesis (Nottingham, 1966), pp. 700-703; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 279.

<sup>116</sup> Biggs, 'The Royal Affinity of Henry IV', pp. 329-30.

<sup>117</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 790-2 (Robert Morton, 1412); *CPR 1401-5*, p. 252 (William Chancellor, 1418); *CPR 1416-22*, p. 82 (Thomas Clarell I, 1427, 1434); *CPR 1436-41*, p. 229 (John Langton II, 1435, 1441, 1445); *ibid.*, p. 127 (Henry Vavasour III, 1440); *ibid.*, p. 95; *1446-52*, p. 574; (Henry Langton, 1450); *ibid.*, p. 72 (Thomas Beckwith, 1451); Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 287-8 (William Stoke, 1458). In addition, John Sothill (1446) was probably the royal esquire referred to in 1450-51: E101/410/6, fol.

year,<sup>118</sup> there were three exceptions. John Barton of Whenby (N. Riding) held office between November 1420 and May 1422. William Scargill I (d. 1459) of Lead was appointed in November 1424 but was not dismissed until January 1426. Finally, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) of Wadworth served as escheator between November 1428 and February 1430.<sup>119</sup> Their protracted periods of office coincided with the similar development in the shrievalty noted above and undoubtedly occurred because of political necessity.<sup>120</sup>

**Table 6: Escheators of Yorkshire, 1399-1461**

	1399-1413	1413-1422	1422-37	1437-61
Total Number of Appointments	15	9	14	24
Number of Appointees	13	9	11	22
Total Number of West Riding Appointments	4	3	13	12
Number of West Riding Appointees	3	3	10	10
<b>Percentages</b>				
WR Appointments	26.7	33.3	92.9	50.0
WR Appointees	23.1	33.3	90.9	45.5

Source: *List of Escheators*.

Let us now return to our consideration of the influence exerted by the West Riding gentry over appointments to the local administration of Yorkshire. Between 1399 and 1461, fifty men served 62 terms as escheator. In total, twenty-three knights and esquires from the West Riding (46 per cent of all officeholders) filled the escheatorship 32 times (51.6 per cent of all appointments).<sup>121</sup> Table 6 reveals that officeholders from the riding accounted for approximately a third of escheators appointed by Henry IV and Henry V. However, it is apparent that the riding's gentry

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40v; 410/9 fol. 42; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 72. A number of other escheators were also connected to the royal household. Gerard Salvin (1417) was a younger son of Sir Gerard Salvin, one of Henry IV's knights. His elder brother, Sir Roger Salvin, had been appointed treasurer of Calais in 1414. Roger was subsequently created a knight of the Bath by Henry V at Caen in 1418/19. He served as a knight of the body and was a legate of Henry V's will: *Yorks. Deeds*, viii, p. 34; *Test. Ebor.*, i, p. 418, n. 1; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 228, 290; E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1961), p. 104. William Scargill I (1424) was probably the elder brother of Thomas Scargill, a yeoman of the crown and usher of the king's chamber: *CPR 1429-36*, p. 491; *1452-61*, p. 32. One final escheator, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (1413, 1428), was a trusted servant of the dukes of York: *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377. See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>118</sup> A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), p. 145.

<sup>119</sup> See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>120</sup> See above, p. 85, and n. 68.

<sup>121</sup> See below, Appendix 3b.

exercised a monopoly over the office during the minority of Henry VI. Between November 1423 and November 1436, 90.9 per cent of appointees came from the West Riding. This development coincided with the rise of a small group of esquires and gentlemen in the riding who discharged the work of the peace commission almost single-handedly.<sup>122</sup> It is also interesting to note that the personnel of these two groups were intermixed. Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark, for example, was appointed escheator in 1427 and 1434, but also attended 53 session days between April 1422 and April 1437. Similarly, Edmund Fitzwilliam I served as escheator in 1428 and was an active justice in the West Riding from 1422 until his death in 1430. John Thwaites (d. 1469) of Lofthouse emerged as the leading justice of the West Riding bench after 1433 and also became escheator in 1436.<sup>123</sup> It is not clear why a new administrative hierarchy appeared and came to dominate the lower levels of county administration in this period. One plausible explanation is that it may have arisen partly as a short-term response to the loss of royal direction from the region in 1422. This evidence lends credibility to Lander's suggestion that, at least during the minority of Henry VI, 'the formal administration of the county lay in a small corps of interested and experienced gentry, mostly legally trained, who almost formed, in effect though not in name, an official class of semi-professionals'.<sup>124</sup> After 1437, there was a gradual decline in the number of West Riding appointees to the escheatorship. However, the proportion of esquires from the riding who occupied the office in this period (50 per cent) was still greater than between 1399 and 1422.

##### 5) The Commission of the Peace

It used to be argued that the later middle ages witnessed a decline in standards of public order and law enforcement. The breakdown of the general eyre, it was suggested, led to a reduction of royal control over local government. Responsibility for the enforcement of royal justice was therefore delegated to local landowners, who perverted the course of justice for their own benefit.<sup>125</sup> In short, the system was susceptible to all of the

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<sup>122</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

<sup>123</sup> See below, Appendices 3b, 6.

<sup>124</sup> Lander, 'The Significance of the County', pp. 23-4.

<sup>125</sup> J.G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pp. 2, 12-29; A.R. Myers, *England in the Late Middle Ages* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 51-3; M. Hastings, *The Court of Common Pleas in Fifteenth-Century England* (New York, 1947), Ch. 15.

misperceived ills of 'bastard feudalism'.<sup>126</sup> Modern research, however, has led to a fundamental reinterpretation of the development and operation of the local judicial machinery of the crown. It is now recognised that the collapse of the general eyre and the subsequent emergence of the commission of the peace were caused by the expansion and not the retreat of royal justice.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the notoriety of the period seems to owe rather more to fuller records than increasing levels of disorder in the provinces.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconcile the sophistication of the late medieval legal system with its apparent inability to enforce the law and maintain order.

Part of the problem, Powell argues, is conceptual. The crown lacked the modern resources necessary to implement a coercive system of justice.<sup>129</sup> As a consequence, the king was dependent upon the support and co-operation of local landowners, who were primarily interested in the resolution of conflict rather than the punishment of offenders.<sup>130</sup> Recent work has therefore emphasised the restitutive nature of royal justice.<sup>131</sup> It has been suggested that arbitration and not a court judgement was the principal mechanism for restoring order in the localities.<sup>132</sup> Local stability ultimately depended to a greater extent on the local cohesion provided by gentry networks and noble lordship.<sup>133</sup> Above all, the maintenance of law and order in the shires was a co-operative undertaking by the crown in partnership with local political society.<sup>134</sup>

The commission of the peace was the principal agency of royal justice in the localities. The justices of the peace had evolved out of the keepers of the peace during the course of the fourteenth century.<sup>135</sup> By 1394, the commission of the peace had

<sup>126</sup> See Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, Ch. 3, esp. pp. 47-54.

<sup>127</sup> A. Musson and W.M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999), Ch. 3.

<sup>128</sup> E. Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', in G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), p. 57; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, p. 53; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p. 114.

<sup>129</sup> See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>130</sup> Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', pp. 57-9.

<sup>131</sup> E. Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law in England in the Late Middle Ages', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 33 (1983), 49-67; Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society*, Ch. 1. See also M.T. Clanchy, 'Law, Government and Society in Medieval England', *History*, 59 (1974), 73-8.

<sup>132</sup> Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law', p. 67; Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', p. 59; G.L. Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, The Fifteenth Century Series, 1 (Stroud, 1995), p. 4. See also I.D. Rowney, 'Arbitration in Gentry Disputes of the Later Middle Ages', *History*, 67 (1982), 367-76; S.J. Payling, 'Law and Arbitration in Nottinghamshire, 1399-1461', in J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (eds.), *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1987), pp. 140-60.

<sup>133</sup> Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, p. 54; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 364-5, 396-7, 472-5, 636; S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983), pp. 122-6.

<sup>134</sup> Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', p. 59; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 310-11.

<sup>135</sup> On this development, see B.P. Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace, 1327-1380', *TRHS* 4<sup>th</sup> series, 12 (1929), 19-48.

assumed the form it would maintain, with only minor variations, for the next two centuries.<sup>136</sup> The commission was responsible for the enforcement of legislation concerning the maintenance of the king's peace as well as the regulation of a number of other social and economic issues.<sup>137</sup> It was composed of magnates, royal justices of assize, local lawyers appointed to the *quorum*, and gentry justices. Separate commissions of the peace were issued for the North, West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, a distinction shared with the three 'parts' of Lincolnshire.<sup>138</sup> Sessions of the peace were held at a wide variety of locations throughout the West Riding.<sup>139</sup> Many of the venues were close to the Great North Road.<sup>140</sup> Although it is impossible to reconstruct an identifiable circuit due to lack of evidence, it is noteworthy that many of the major centres of noble lordship were represented. Knaresborough, Leeds, and Pontefract belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster. Wakefield was one of the seats of the dukes of York, Skipton of the lords Clifford. Cawood and Sherburn were possessions of the archbishops of York, while Tadcaster was the property of the Percy earls of Northumberland.

Members of the nobility would normally expect to be appointed to the commission of the peace in areas where they held extensive estates.<sup>141</sup> This recognition by the crown of a magnate's local authority was a reciprocal relationship since noble influence could be harnessed in support of the work of the bench.<sup>142</sup> It was usual, therefore, for the riding's resident noble families to be represented on the commission.<sup>143</sup> In addition, the archbishops of York were regularly appointed to the

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<sup>136</sup> E. Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice in Late-Medieval England: Peace Sessions and Assizes', in R. Eales and D. Sullivan (eds.), *The Political Context of Law* (London, 1987), p. 56. Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, p. 51.

<sup>137</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 116. See, for example, *Stat. Realm*, i, p. 388; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, p. 21.

<sup>138</sup> See J.S. Mackman, 'The Lincolnshire Gentry in the Wars of the Roses', unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 2000), Appendix 2.

<sup>139</sup> Sessions of the peace and inquisitions before JPs concerning the alien subsidy are recorded as having been held at Boroughbridge, Cawood, Doncaster, Harewood, Knaresborough, Leeds, Otley, Pontefract, Selby, Sherburn, Skipton, Tadcaster, Wakefield, Wentbridge, Wetherby, and York: E137/49/2B, rots. 1-14d; E101/614/44; E179/217/55, m. 1; 59, m. 3; 66, m. 1; 67, m. 1; 270/31, mm. 7-11; KB27/650, Rex rot. 9d; 674, Rex rot. 33; 678, Rex rot. 7; 734, Rex rot. 1; 738, Rex rots. 29, 45d; 742, Rex rot. 22d; 754, Rex rot. 8d; 758, Rex rot. 8; 777, Rex rot. 4; 778, Rex rots. 33d, 40d; 798, Rex rots. 1d-2, 6d, 7d; JUST1/1517, mm. 10-10d, 13-13d; *CPR 1446-52*, pp. 419-20. Evidence from a slightly later date indicates that sessions were also occasionally held at Bradford, another property of the Duchy of Lancaster: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 335.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>141</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 347-8.

<sup>142</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 359 and n. 78; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 287.

<sup>143</sup> Protracted minorities account for the absence of the lords Clifford and the duke of York from the commission for much of the first half of the fifteenth century: see above, Ch. 2. However, Walker has demonstrated that political considerations allowed Richard II to omit 'a wealthy but negligible magnate'

commission (and occasionally even to the *quorum*) from 1431.<sup>144</sup> During the first troubled years of the century, however, while the attention of the greater magnates was diverted elsewhere, Henry IV relied almost exclusively on the services of Thomas Neville (d. 1407), Lord Furnival.<sup>145</sup> The number of nobles appointed to the bench can be seen to have increased in times of political unrest.<sup>146</sup> This tendency became even more pronounced during the fifteen years of Henry VI's minority, when the authority of the crown was represented and administered corporately by the greater lords of the realm.<sup>147</sup> Although the nobles appear largely to have performed a supervisory role and were not expected to sit regularly as justices,<sup>148</sup> all except the earls of Northumberland are known to have occasionally attended quarter sessions.<sup>149</sup> Thomas, Lord Furnival attended a single session at Doncaster in 1402.<sup>150</sup> Sir John Talbot, the eldest son of his successor, attended a session in either 1452 or 1453.<sup>151</sup> Thomas, Lord Clifford sat at Skipton in 1441 and again in 1449.<sup>152</sup> Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, sat at Pontefract on at least three separate occasions between 1450 and 1452.<sup>153</sup> His son, Sir John Neville, attended two sessions between March 1454 and July 1455, probably shortly after he replaced Sir William Skipwith as steward of Conisbrough on 22 May 1455.<sup>154</sup> From this analysis it appears that magnates were only willing to attend quarter sessions when they were held in close proximity to their own lordships, perhaps usually when their own

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such as Edmund, duke of York despite his extensive estates in the riding: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 284.

<sup>144</sup> See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>145</sup> See above, Ch. 2.6.

<sup>146</sup> See Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 284; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 118. In December 1405, for example, in the aftermath of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion, the West Riding commission was strengthened by the inclusion of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, William, Lord Roos of Helmsley (N. Riding), and Peter, Lord Mauley of Mulgrave (E. Riding). In January 1414, during the Lollard rising, Henry V appointed nine nobles to the West Riding commission, including the dukes of Bedford, Clarence and Exeter, and the earl of Westmorland. See below, Appendices 4a and 5.

<sup>147</sup> The exceptional general commission of July 1424, for example, saw the introduction to the West Riding commission of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, Sir Richard Neville, John, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Humphrey, earl of Stafford. Other counties were also affected, especially Nottinghamshire and Berkshire: *CPR 1422-9*, pp. 559, 573; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 169-70: *CPR 1422-9*, p. 573. By November 1439, half of the West Riding commission was composed of nobles: Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 118. See below, Appendix 5.

<sup>148</sup> Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 285.

<sup>149</sup> The absence of the earls of Northumberland may be accounted for by their commitments at court and on the northern border, as well as the protracted period of attainder between 1405 and 1416: *ibid.*, p. 285. See below, Ch. 5.

<sup>150</sup> E137/49/2B, rot. 9.

<sup>151</sup> E372/299, rot. 22; E101/598/42, m. 4.

<sup>152</sup> E101/614/44; KB27/754, Rex rot. 8d.

<sup>153</sup> KB27/777, Rex rot. 4; 778, Rex rots. 33d, 40d. He is also known to have sat at Morley in 1442, although this seems to have been in his capacity as steward of the honour of Pontefract: KB27 738, Rex rot. 45d.

<sup>154</sup> E372/301, rot. 23; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 552. See below, Ch. 7.3.

interests were concerned.<sup>155</sup> The greatest landowner of the region, however, was an absentee lord. Nevertheless, the Duchy of Lancaster continued to be represented on the commission of the peace throughout the period. During the reign of Henry IV, the work of the West Riding bench was supervised by Richard Gascoigne (d. 1423) of Hunslet, chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy. Under Henry V, this function was performed by John Dauney, deputy steward of the Duchy honour of Tickhill.<sup>156</sup> The steward of the honour of Pontefract had automatically received appointment to the West Riding commission since 1399. He was joined on the bench by the chief steward of the North Parts from 1420.<sup>157</sup> During the minority of Henry VI, the decision also to include the steward of the honour of Knaresborough was probably taken to reinforce the authority of the commission.<sup>158</sup> By this time, however, the coherence of the Duchy connection was already in decline, its territorial resources largely redistributed amongst the nobility.<sup>159</sup>

The second category of justices of the peace were the assize judges. Powell has demonstrated that they began to be appointed regularly to all county benches within their circuits from 1350.<sup>160</sup> By the fifteenth century, the justices of assize on the Northern circuit were automatically included in the West Riding commission.<sup>161</sup> Their legal expertise was supplemented by that of the members of the *quorum*. These were either 'professional' lawyers of the central courts or 'amateur' local men of law, whose presence at quarter sessions was essential in order to determine offences.<sup>162</sup> The remaining members of the commission were drawn from the local gentry. Legislation stipulated that those selected should be substantial knights and esquires, and resident in their counties.<sup>163</sup> A property qualification of £20 per annum, from which the men of law were exempt, was subsequently introduced in 1439.<sup>164</sup> In practice, almost all gentry justices in the riding came from knightly families with incomes of at least £40 per

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<sup>155</sup> Their influence would, of course, have been of most profit to the commission in areas where they exercised lordship. See Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 358.

<sup>156</sup> Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 285-6, 294-5, 297. See below, pp. 122, 141.

<sup>157</sup> See below, pp. 123, 142.

<sup>158</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', pp. 118-19.

<sup>159</sup> See below, Chs. 6.2 and 6.3.

<sup>160</sup> Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice', p. 52.

<sup>161</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 117. Walker, however, notes the case of John Preston, who was commissioned as a justice of assize in 1411 but was not appointed to the West Riding bench until 1422: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 289, n. 3. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>162</sup> See Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, pp. 68-9; B.H. Putnam, *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1938), pp. xxv, lxxxvii; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 291-3.

<sup>163</sup> *Stat. Realm*, ii, pp. 63, 177, 187; Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, p. 129.

<sup>164</sup> *Stat. Realm*, ii, pp. 309-10.



annum.<sup>165</sup> These men were drawn from two distinct groups. First came the members of the greater gentry whose honorific appointments reflected their local prestige. Significantly, a number of the riding's greater families - including Sandford of Thorpe Salvin, Saville of Elland and Thornhill, Stapleton of Carlton, Ryther of Ryther, and elder sons of the Fitzwilliams of Sprotbrough - were never appointed to the commission. This was a national phenomenon which Carpenter ascribes to a general unwillingness on the part of knights to serve as JPs until 1461.<sup>166</sup> Secondly, there were a number of lesser gentry justices who owed their seats on the bench either to administrative experience or knowledge of the law.<sup>167</sup>

Because the crown was heavily dependent upon these local landowners to enforce royal justice in the provinces, the system was particularly vulnerable to abuse. A high degree of local influence could be brought to bear upon legal process. The commission had a number of responsibilities of political significance, including powers to initiate criminal prosecutions, which could be exploited by either the nobility or gentry to harass opponents.<sup>168</sup> Indeed, it was precisely this importance which made the peace commission increasingly attractive to the gentry, and secured for the office a prominent place in the *cursus honorum*, especially after 1461.<sup>169</sup> To counter this inherent potential for corruption, the gentry justices were supervised by the justices of assize, whose regular circuits frequently coincided with the quarter sessions.<sup>170</sup> William Gascoigne I, for example, is known to have served concurrently as an assize judge and justice of the peace at York during the reign of Henry IV.<sup>171</sup> No evidence, however, has been found of the assize justices sitting on the West Riding bench outside their assize sessions after 1411.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> See below, Appendices 2 and 7.

<sup>166</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 266-9. Arnold has found that members of the greater gentry in the West Riding became more interested in the work of the commission by the reign of Henry VII: Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 132.

<sup>167</sup> Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 298.

<sup>168</sup> Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp. 48-9; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 264; Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', p. 58.

<sup>169</sup> Musson and Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice*, pp. 69-70; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 269-70.

<sup>170</sup> Powell, 'The Administration of Criminal Justice', pp. 49-59; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 289-90, 305-7.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290; JUST1/1517, mm. 10-13.

<sup>172</sup> See below, Appendix 6.

Let us now consider the composition of the West Riding commission in greater detail. Between 1399 and 1461, 36 commissions were issued for the West Riding.<sup>173</sup> In total, 105 justices were appointed to the West Riding bench during this period. Of these, thirty can be categorised as nobles, three as prelates, twelve as justices of assize of the Northern Circuit, twenty-seven as members of the *quorum*, and the remaining thirty-three as members of the gentry.<sup>174</sup> No attempt has been made to distinguish a separate category of ‘professionals’, given the obvious difficulties involved in attributing the appointment of gentry justices either to local landed position, noble influence, or professional expertise.<sup>175</sup> As a consequence, it should be noted that the figure for the *quorum* includes justices who, although appointed primarily because of their legal training, were also gentry who would have met the local property qualification instituted in 1439. Similarly, the category of gentry justice includes the chief stewards of the North Parts of the Duchy, whose appointments were generally honorific.<sup>176</sup> In the unusual case of William Gascoigne, a royal justice who was also a substantial local landowner, he has been classified as a member of the *quorum* rather than the local gentry after his retirement as a justice of assize. A total of forty-two justices (40 per cent) are known to have actually attended at least one session of the peace in the riding between 1399 and 1461.<sup>177</sup> A little under half were members of the *quorum*.<sup>178</sup>

Table 7 shows the average size and composition of the West Riding commission between 1399 and 1461.<sup>179</sup> At the start of the period, the peace commission was a small ‘professional’ body with a membership of around eleven that rose to nineteen during the political crisis of 1405. Thereafter, the size of the commission fell to twelve justices by the end of the reign. After 1413, the size of the commission again increased as a result of Henry V’s sweeping judicial reforms. The king embarked upon an immediate campaign to restore public order in response to petitions submitted by the commons

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<sup>173</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 566-7; *1401-5*, p. 521; *1405-8*, pp. 499-500; *1408-13*, pp. 486-7; *1413-16*, pp. 425-6; *1416-22*, pp. 462-3; *1422-9*, pp. 572-3; *1429-36*, pp. 627-8; *1436-41*, pp. 593-4; *1441-6*, pp. 481-2; *1446-52*, pp. 597-8; *1452-61*, pp. 681-3. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>174</sup> See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>175</sup> See Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 267 and n. 23.

<sup>176</sup> Payling, *Political Society*, p. 169. Of the 12 chief stewards of the North Parts who held office between 1399 and 1461, only Richard Gascoigne (1400-1407), Robert Waterton (1407-1413) and Richard, earl of Salisbury (1456-9, 1460) had an interest in West Riding affairs: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 418-20.

<sup>177</sup> This figure includes all those nobles mentioned above who are known to have attended quarter sessions but excludes John Ingilby, who was removed from the commission upon the accession of Henry IV.

<sup>178</sup> See below, Appendices 4a and 6.

<sup>179</sup> See below, p. 103. The following discussion also draws upon Appendix 5.

**Table 7: Average Composition of the West Riding Peace Commission 1399-1461**

	1399-1413	1413-22	1422-37	1437-61
Total Size	15	13	19	21
Nobles	4	4	7	8
Prelates	0	0	1	1
Knights	4	2	3	2
Esquires	2	2	3	4
<i>Quorum</i> <sup>1</sup>	5	5	5	6
<b>Percentages<sup>2</sup></b>				
Nobles	26.7	30.8	36.8	38.1
Prelates	0.0	0.0	5.3	4.8
Knights	26.7	15.4	15.8	9.5
Esquires	13.3	15.4	15.8	19.0
<i>Quorum</i>	33.3	38.5	26.3	28.6

Source: *Patent Rolls*.

<sup>1</sup> Including the justices of assize.

<sup>2</sup> Percentages are rounded up or down to one decimal place.

during his first parliament.<sup>180</sup> The membership of the West Riding commission rose to seventeen in the wake of Sir John Oldcastle's rising in January 1414.<sup>181</sup> Within a year and a half, the commission was reduced to eleven justices, with the removal of six noble justices, and remained at about this level for the rest of the reign. Thereafter, a rapid and sustained growth is identifiable in the size of the commission throughout the minority and adult reign of Henry VI, reaching a maximum of twenty-six justices during the politically unsettled period between 1454 and 1458. In November 1458, however, the commission was dramatically attenuated. The number of local justices was significantly reduced, and only those in whom the government had confidence were reappointed. After the Coventry Parliament of 1459, the commission was again reduced in size, having been purged of all Yorkist justices. Their replacements were both staunch Lancastrians.<sup>182</sup> Thereafter, the number of justices again began to rise following the Yorkist victory in 1460.

Although gentry justices predominated during the reign of Henry IV (40 per cent), *quorum* lawyers formed the largest proportion of the commission during the reign of Henry V (38.5 per cent). However, the proportion of nobles increased dramatically during the minority of Henry VI, rising to an average of 36.8 per cent, no doubt a

<sup>180</sup> See Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', pp. 56, 60-1.

<sup>181</sup> Five nobles, three *quorum* justices and three gentry justices joined the commission in 1414. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>182</sup> Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', pp. 121-2. The Warwickshire commission experienced similar modifications during this period: Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 481-2. See below, p. 203.

reflection of their increased prominence in political affairs during this period.<sup>183</sup> Their numerical superiority was maintained after 1437, with the nobility constituting 38.1 per cent of the West Riding bench. The numbers of most categories of justices remained at particularly high levels throughout the 1450s. Nevertheless, the quadrupling in size of the *quorum* between 1448 and 1458 is particularly noteworthy, and may represent an attempt to reinforce the authority of the commission during a sustained period of political upheaval. Finally, although esquires were increasingly appointed to the bench after 1422, the number of knights declined slightly after 1405. This development was probably due to the increasing unwillingness on the part of the gentry to assume the burden of knighthood rather than an increasing aversion to the work of the bench.<sup>184</sup>

An examination of the payments to justices of the peace reveals that members of the *quorum* were the most frequent attenders at quarter sessions throughout all four periods.<sup>185</sup> In total, members of the *quorum* received payment for sitting on a total of 381 occasions (66.8 per cent of all appearances).<sup>186</sup> Between 1399 and 1419, the work of the *quorum* was largely discharged by a single lawyer.<sup>187</sup> Thereafter, several members of the *quorum* seem to have shared this duty.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, John Thwaites ultimately emerged as the most prominent active justice between March 1433 and June 1457.<sup>189</sup> The *quorum* was not entirely restricted to common lawyers from the West Riding. ‘Foreigners’ were also occasionally appointed to the *quorum*, particularly in

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<sup>183</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

<sup>184</sup> See Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 82-5.

<sup>185</sup> The following section is based upon an examination of the Pipe Rolls and associated documents which record the attendance of justices of the peace at quarter sessions: E137/49/2B, mm. 1-4; E101/598/42, mm. 1-4; E372/248, rot. 12; 254, rot. 11d; 259, rot. 7d; 264, rot. 11; 269, rot. 11d; 272, rot. 12d; 273, rot. 12; 278, rot. 15; 283, rot. 16; 290, rot. 14d; 292, rot. 17; 293, rot. 16; 299, rot. 22; 301, rot. 23; 304, rot. 23d. For the composition of the *quorum*, see C66/358, m. 36d; 363, m. 14d; 372, m. 33d; 374, m. 24d; 376, m. 38d; 385, m. 31d; 389, mm. 33d, 36d; 397, m. 31d; 399, mm. 38d, 39d; 403, m. 20d; 404, m. 18d; 407, m. 5d; 414, m. 21d; 431, m. 28d; 437, m. 35d; 438, m. 28d; 440, mm. 46d., 47d; 445, m. 30d; 448, m. 38d; 451, m. 30d; 451, m. 29d; 451, m. 29d; 457, m. 28d; 465, m. 30d; 474, mm. 26d, 29d; 478, m. 26d; 481, m. 25d; 484, m. 17d; 486, m. 26d; 488, mm. 24d, 26d.

<sup>186</sup> See below, Appendix 6. The evidence from East Anglia also suggests that a small core of lawyers undertook most of the judicial work of the commission: R. Virgoe, ‘The Crown, Magnates, and Local Government in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia’, in R. Virgoe, *East Anglian Society and the Political Community of Late Medieval England* (Norwich, 1997), p. 84.

<sup>187</sup> In the reign of Henry IV, Richard Gascoigne performed much of the work of the bench. He was succeeded by John Dauney in the reign of Henry V. See above, p. 100.

<sup>188</sup> Richard Peck, for example, was present at 12 of the 16 recorded peace sessions between April 1422 and February 1424. He was supported by John Thwaites (8 days), Thomas Clarell (7 days) and Richard Wentworth (7 Days). All except Clarell were members of the *quorum*. Despite being removed in February 1422, he continued to attend quarter sessions regularly until the mid-1430s. See below, Appendices 4a and 6.

<sup>189</sup> Between October 1443 and June 1457, he attended 36 of the 46 recorded peace sessions. It is not known how many session days there were between March 1433 and April 1437. However, Thwaites was present at 22 sessions, while 5 other justices only received payment for 36 days between them. See below, Appendix 6.

times of political necessity. Expediency, therefore, accounts for the inclusion of a Derbyshire esquire, John Foljambe, in December 1405.<sup>190</sup> Seven of the gentry justices appointed between 1399 and 1461 were also ‘foreigners’ who did not attend sessions. Of the remainder, eighteen (69 per cent) are known to have attended sessions of the peace at least occasionally.<sup>191</sup> Those absent from the records include Sir Roger Swillington (d. 1417) of Swillington, who departed to take up residence on his Suffolk estates shortly after his appointment.<sup>192</sup> A comparison of the records of attendance with the commissions of the peace suggests that resident gentry justices were most likely to attend at least one session in the reign of Henry IV (80 per cent attendance rate) and least likely to attend during the reign of Henry V (29 per cent attendance rate).<sup>193</sup> There was an apparent rise in either willingness or availability to participate in the work of the bench during the minority of Henry VI (60 per cent attendance rate) but a sharp fall thereafter (47 per cent attendance rate).<sup>194</sup> This pattern of attendance is unsurprising, given that Henry IV is known to have exercised an unusually high degree of control over both the composition and the operation of the commissions of the peace.<sup>195</sup> The low level of attendance between 1413 and 1422 is explicable partly by the absence of many gentry justices on campaign with Henry V in France.<sup>196</sup> However, Carpenter has concluded that the office did not become truly attractive to the greater gentry until 1461, when the criminal jurisdiction of the sheriff’s tourn was transferred to the justices of the peace.<sup>197</sup>

The archbishop of York enjoyed the right to appoint a separate commission of the peace for the lordship of Ripon. From the 6 surviving commissions, it emerges that this was a much smaller affair.<sup>198</sup> In total, twenty-six justices of the peace are known to

<sup>190</sup> C66/374, m. 24d; Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, p. 295, n. 1. See below, p. 134.

<sup>191</sup> See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>192</sup> C. Richmond, *John Hopton: A Fifteenth-Century Suffolk Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 7-11; Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, p. 299.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 98; P.C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422-1442* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 61-4; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 267-9; Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, pp. 307-8.

<sup>194</sup> All percentages are approximations, due to the changing status of certain justices. For example, Thomas Clarell was nominated to the *quorum* in 1420 but served as a gentry justice thereafter. John Daune was appointed to the *quorum* between 1415 and 1422, but named as a gentry justice in 1424. Since he is known to have died in 1426, it is possible that the latter commission went to his son: *CFR 1422-30*, p. 111; C139/24/35.

<sup>195</sup> See Biggs, ‘Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace’, pp. 149-166; Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, p. 308.

<sup>196</sup> See below, Ch. 5.6.

<sup>197</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 269-70; *Stat. Realm*, ii, pp. 389-91. For the growth of knights on the West Riding commission, particularly between 1472 and 1501, see Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, pp. 336-7.

<sup>198</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 487; *1408-13*, p. 487; *1413-16*, p. 426; *1429-36*, p. 628; B1 Reg. Kemp, fols. 172-73v; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 684. See below, Appendix 4b.

have been appointed between 1399 and 1461. Eight were also appointed to the West Riding bench.<sup>199</sup> The commission usually consisted of between seven and eight justices, of whom the majority were either officers of the lordship, lawyers, or local gentry from the North and West Ridings.<sup>200</sup> The composition of the 1458 commission, however, differed significantly from its predecessors. Only three justices - Sir John Neville of Raby, William Eland and John Holme - were appointed jointly as justices within the archbishop's liberties at Ripon and Beverley (E. Riding). None had previously been appointed to either bench. Again, this development is probably indicative of the deteriorating political situation in the country at large at this time.<sup>201</sup>

## 6) Conclusion

It has become clear that the local administration of Yorkshire was susceptible to high degrees of both aristocratic and royal influence. This tendency was especially pronounced in the reign of Henry IV, when the crown was forced from political necessity to appoint large numbers of Lancastrians as sheriffs and justices of the peace, and secure the return of trustworthy knights of the shire to parliament. The Yorkshire commissions in particular underwent dramatic changes of personnel between 1399 and 1413, largely in response to the Percy rebellions of 1403 and 1405.<sup>202</sup> Such royal influence was probably not a cause for concern in the West Riding, where the existence of a restricted circle of officeholding families was almost certainly representative of local power structures. However, the domination of the county administration by Lancastrian families during the same period was undoubtedly rather more controversial and almost certainly less justifiable. This probably accounts for the noticeable decline in sheriffs drawn from West Riding families after 1406.

During the reign of Henry VI, the loss of royal direction resulted in the fragmentation of the Lancastrian hierarchy and the creation of a power vacuum in the region. This in turn led to increased competition between noble interests for local rule. In the West Riding, the previously exclusive officer 'class' began to expand. During this

<sup>199</sup> The eight were William Gascoigne, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, Richard Norton, Thomas Tildesley, Guy Fairfax of Walton, John Thwaites, Guy Roucliff and John Stafford. *Cf.* Appendix 4a.

<sup>200</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 27 and n. 84. For the *quorum*, see C66/378, m. 6d; 385, m. 32d; 395, m. 32d; 433, m. 21d.

<sup>201</sup> The appointment of the earl of Westmorland's brother, Sir John Neville, may have been factional, since he was no friend of either York or Salisbury. Moreover, William Booth, who succeeded John Kemp as archbishop of York in 1452, was closely linked to Queen Margaret: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 784; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 294, n. 146.

<sup>202</sup> Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 308.

later period, the influence of local lords upon local appointments is clearly discernible. We have already seen that, as ‘common suitors’, the nobility probably had the capability to control parliamentary elections between 1407 and 1429. After 1450, Jalland has demonstrated that the duke of York and the Nevilles exerted an overwhelming influence over county elections.<sup>203</sup> In addition, York is suspected of having secured the appointment of one of his retainers as sheriff in 1454.<sup>204</sup> The number of gentry justices dismissed from the West Riding commission between November 1458 and 1459 suggests that his influence was not restricted to county offices. Indeed, evidence from a slightly earlier period demonstrates the ease with which the Percys were able to build up support on the benches of all three ridings between 1399 and 1401.<sup>205</sup>

There does seem to have been an identifiable *cursus honorum* in county government, although this seems largely to have been restricted to the offices of knight of the shire and sheriff since these were the only offices invariably filled by knights. Moreover, we have seen that the offices of escheator and justice of the peace played an anomalous part in Yorkshire’s *cursus honorum*, since the escheatorship was frequently reserved as a source of royal ‘patronage’ and there was no single commission of the peace for Yorkshire. By far the most significant development in local government during the period was the meteoric growth in the size of the commission, particularly during the adult reign of Henry VI. This undoubtedly occurred in response to the increasing levels of disorder which plagued the region during the 1440s and 1450s. It is certainly possible that there was also an increasing desire amongst the gentry to hold local office during this period as a source of prestige. However, it has emerged that the work of the commission was largely executed by a small professional element. In addition, there are reasons for believing that the commission of the peace did not become truly attractive to the greater gentry until its political significance began to grow in the 1460s.<sup>206</sup>

Finally, it has been argued that a combination of factors prevented the development of a true sense of ‘county community’ in Yorkshire. The shire’s sheer size and the numerous internal geographical barriers which had to be contended with, no less than the centrifugal force associated with separate commissions of the peace and the nature of parliamentary elections, meant that political society inevitably focused upon

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<sup>203</sup> Jalland, ‘The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections’, pp. 483-507.

<sup>204</sup> See below, Ch. 7.2.

<sup>205</sup> Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices’, pp. 287-8.

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. 101.

the three ridings individually.<sup>207</sup> However, the quarter sessions could not provide an adequate local forum for representation, since much of the work was discharged by a small number of ‘men of law’, while members of the greater gentry did not normally sit on the bench in any number.<sup>208</sup> Therefore, local gentry society tended to coalesce around the zones of noble lordship which dominated the county.<sup>209</sup> Rather than a ‘county community’ in Yorkshire, there probably existed a ‘county of communities’ which were not necessarily constrained or defined by administrative boundaries.<sup>210</sup> In the West Riding, as we have seen, the Duchy of Lancaster was the leading landed interest. How the region adapted to the constitutional implications of Henry IV’s accession, and the local repercussions of a devastating period of ineffective kingship under Henry VI, are the subjects of Part Two of this thesis.

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<sup>207</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 733; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 153.

<sup>208</sup> Carpenter, ‘Gentry and Community’, pp. 346-7; Lander, ‘The Significance of the County’, pp. 20-2.

<sup>209</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 153. See above, Ch. 3.

<sup>210</sup> Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p. 58; C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law, and Land in Norfolk, c. 1450-1551* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 80-1.



## **PART II**

CHRONOLOGICAL: THE WEST RIDING, 1399-1461

## CHAPTER FIVE

1399-1422

### 1) Introduction

The purpose of Part II of this thesis is to present a chronological analysis of the political history of the West Riding of Yorkshire. In particular, the West Riding is treated not simply as a separate entity but as a constituent part of the wider kingdom. The way in which the affairs of the riding were affected by national politics is central to the following discussion. Furthermore, the impact of local politics upon national affairs will also receive extended treatment. The region played a particularly prominent role in the usurpation of 1399, as well as in the consolidation of the Lancastrian regime. It will be argued that the accession of Henry IV had far-reaching 'constitutional' ramifications for the country at large which subsequently materialised, to devastating effect, in the middle of the fifteenth century, as a result of the incapacity of Henry's grandson. In Yorkshire, the inanity of Henry VI and the fact that the Duchy of Lancaster was no longer under royal control contributed to the breakdown of local power structures and the onset of civil war. Since a number of narratives have accepted R.L. Storey's conclusion that the Wars of the Roses were caused by an escalation of private feuds, the degree to which local magnate rivalries in the region either contributed to or were symptomatic of the collapse of Lancastrian kingship will also be considered.<sup>1</sup> Part II is divided into three chronological chapters, arranged primarily by political developments within the West Riding rather than by those on the national stage. Chapter Five considers the establishment of the Lancastrian regime and its consolidation under Henry IV and Henry V after the rebellions of the Percys in 1403 and 1405. The traditional assumption that the power of the earl of Northumberland in Yorkshire was completely restored after 1416 is then questioned. Chapter Six addresses the struggle to maintain local power structures in the absence of effective kingship between 1422 and 1450; in particular, the attempt to reinforce the existing regional hierarchy through the redistribution of the territorial resources of the crown is evaluated. Finally, Chapter Seven examines the erosion of public authority in the region after 1450 and the inexorable descent into civil war. Throughout the following account, periods of heightened political tension receive extended treatment. As this thesis purposefully seeks to address the political and 'constitutional' implications of the Lancastrian

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<sup>1</sup> See R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966).

accession, a degree of thematic analysis is also incorporated within each chronological chapter.

## 2) The West Riding to 1399

In his survey of the Lancastrian retinue, Walker concluded that ‘even an affinity as large and expensive as John of Gaunt’s was limited to three or four counties in the geographical range of its consistent administrative influence’.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, however, that Yorkshire, after Lancashire, was the county in which the power of the Duchy of Lancaster was most keenly felt.<sup>3</sup> The territorial dominance of the Duchy in Yorkshire allowed John of Gaunt to exercise the controlling political interest in the county during the second half of the fourteenth century. Twenty-one Lancastrian knights, for example, were returned to parliament for Yorkshire between 1369 and 1397.<sup>4</sup> This pattern of Lancastrian influence can further be identified in appointments to the shrievalty. Between 1376 and 1399, four retainers served in office for a total of 7½ years.<sup>5</sup> The territorial interest of the Duchy was virtually unchallengeable in the West Riding because of the commanding presence of the three Lancastrian honours of Pontefract, Knaresborough, and Tickhill.<sup>6</sup> Walker has demonstrated that, as a consequence, the work of the commission of the peace issued for the West Riding was largely executed by Lancastrians between June 1394 and June 1395.<sup>7</sup> During the same period, there appears to have been no identifiable royal interference with the political composition of the bench.<sup>8</sup>

Richard II embarked upon two intensive periods of royal recruitment throughout England and Wales in the late 1380s and 1390s which directly threatened Lancastrian hegemony in the Duchy heartlands. The king’s initial aim was the construction of a ‘royal affinity’; but, in the last years of his reign, it is clear that he also hoped to achieve

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<sup>2</sup> S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> According to Walker, the duke of Lancaster had sufficient power to act as a power-broker in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire: *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Ch. 2.2.

<sup>7</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 244; S. Walker, ‘Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389-1413’, *EHR* 108 (1993), 285-6. During this period, William Gascoigne and John Woodrove discharged most of the duties of the bench. The only active justice without a clear Lancastrian connection during the 1390s was Sir John Depeden, an associate of the Nevilles: *ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

the neutralisation of the Lancastrian affinity.<sup>9</sup> According to Saul, the king's initiative during these years 'represented an intelligent and practical response to the problems raised by the exercise of royal authority in the later middle ages'.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, there are reasons for believing that even the less controversial phase of royal recruitment (1389-93) threatened to undermine the fine constitutional balance upon which the authority of the king depended.<sup>11</sup> Castor suggests that Richard II demonstrated the same misconception of the nature of royal power during both periods by attempting to undermine the traditional power of the nobility in the localities.<sup>12</sup> Instead, the crown emerged 'as an alternative source of lordship' in Lancashire and the north midlands.<sup>13</sup>

The first phase of Richard's recruiting strategy was executed between 1389 and 1393 and can be identified as a reaction to his humiliating defeat at the hands of the Appellant lords during the Merciless Parliament of 1388.<sup>14</sup> During this period, the king attempted to retain a broad following of knights and esquires throughout the country. Richard deliberately selected leading members of the gentry since they were of most political significance in the localities and could provide ready access to local power structures.<sup>15</sup> According to Given-Wilson, Richard's attention was particularly focused upon north-eastern counties, including Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, where the 'royal affinity' was singularly weak.<sup>16</sup> It must also be significant that these were the same counties from which John of Gaunt had recruited the largest numbers of Lancastrian retainers during the 1360s, 1370s and 1380s.<sup>17</sup> In Yorkshire, the number of king's knights therefore rose from just two prior to 1389 to twelve by 1396.<sup>18</sup> However,

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<sup>9</sup> C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS* 5<sup>th</sup> series, 37 (1987), 94-6; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 176-9, 231; H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 23-4, 201.

<sup>10</sup> N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p. 268.

<sup>11</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 16. It is argued by Castor that both Richard II and Henry IV ran the risk of compromising the universally representative authority of the crown because of their employment of regional affinities: *ibid.*, pp. 17-18, 306. See above, Ch. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10. For a consideration of the role played by the nobility in the rule of the West Riding, see above, Chs. 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> H.R. Castor, 'The Duchy of Lancaster in the Lancastrian Polity, 1399-1461', unpublished PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1994), p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry', p. 94. For the Merciless Parliament and its immediate aftermath, see Saul, *Richard II*, Ch. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry', p. 94. Given-Wilson argues that this represented a sensible and successful policy since Richard was 'tapping in on already established local power structures': *ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94, n. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 31, 33, 35.

<sup>18</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986), p. 221. King's knights from West Riding families included Hugh Hastings (1381), Richard Redman I (1388), William Elys (1389), James Pickering (1390), Thomas Talbot (1392), William Clifford (1397), and William Plumpton I (1398): *ibid.*, pp. 283-6.

Richard abandoned this policy in 1397 to concentrate instead upon the rather more questionable practice of constructing a powerful 'royal affinity' based in the north-west. Although the king's attention was largely directed towards the new principality of Chester, Walker has demonstrated that Richard's strategy was clearly aimed at undermining the duke of Lancaster's hegemony in Lancashire and the north midlands.<sup>19</sup> During the last three years of his reign, the king also embarked upon the wholesale manipulation of local power structures.<sup>20</sup> In particular, he began systematically to employ members of the 'royal affinity' in prominent political roles in local government.<sup>21</sup> Royal influence is detectable in the composition of virtually every English peace commission from November 1397. The size of the commissions increased and there were noticeable changes in their 'political' membership.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the king also strengthened his grip over the other offices of local administration and parliamentary representation. Of the twenty-four English shrievalties held by members of the gentry between 1397 and 1399, for example, no fewer than twelve were granted to members of the 'royal affinity'. At no time before 1389 had this figure ever exceeded five.<sup>23</sup> In the same period, a number of sheriffs were also reappointed for a second term in office, contrary to legislation which stipulated that no sheriff should hold office for more than one year.<sup>24</sup> A similar degree of royal influence can be detected in the return of knights of the shire to the parliament of September 1397. During the 1380s, fewer than ten members of the king's 'affinity' were typically returned to parliament. Between January 1390 and February 1397, however, the average

<sup>19</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 175-9, 228; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 23-4, 201.

<sup>20</sup> Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry', pp. 95, 101; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 228-9; C.M. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', *BIHR* 41 (1968), 1-18; A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1983), Ch. 7; Saul, *Richard II*, Ch. 15. Richard's questionable activities are catalogued both by Walsingham and the deposition articles: T. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.T. Riley, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1863-4), ii, p. 231; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, p. 419. The king had expressed a personal interest in the selection of sheriffs as early as 1389: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 248-9; L.C. Hector and B.F. Harvey (trans. and eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 266-7. According to Saul, the Autumn of 1397 marked the beginning of the 'politicisation' of local government: Saul, *Richard II*, p. 383.

<sup>21</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 247-50.

<sup>22</sup> R. Virgoe, 'The Crown and Local Government: East Anglia under Richard II', in F.R.H. du Boulay and C.M. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II* (London, 1971), pp. 238-9; N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 131-2; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 302-3.

<sup>23</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 249. According to Given-Wilson, Richard secured the appointment of members of the 'royal affinity' to more than half of the shrievalties over which he could exert some influence. Brown suggests that the insertion of royal retainers into shrieval office was an insult to the independence of the 'county community': A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), p. 145.

<sup>24</sup> C. Given-Wilson (trans. and ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 176-7. See above, Ch. 4.2. The Commons had already levelled the complaint during the January parliament of 1397 that sheriffs had been kept in office beyond their yearly term: Saul, *Richard II*, p. 369.

had risen to fifteen. Remarkably, twenty-seven king's knights and esquires were returned to the parliament of September 1397.<sup>25</sup> In total, 132 out of the 203 members of that parliament enjoyed a royal connection. Many had little or no parliamentary experience, while an unprecedented twenty-one constituencies (including six shires) returned two parliamentary novices.<sup>26</sup>

In Yorkshire during this period, Richard II can be seen to have exerted royal influence upon the composition of the commission of the peace, appointments to the shrievalty, and the election of knights of the shire.<sup>27</sup> Two of the king's favourites joined the West Riding peace commission in November 1397: Edward, duke of Aumale, and Thomas, duke of Surrey.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, it has been suggested that Richard II attempted to promote Sir James Pickering of Selby as a royal lieutenant in the West Riding during the last years of his reign.<sup>29</sup> Pickering, a king's knight, was returned as a knight of the shire for Yorkshire to the parliament of September 1397.<sup>30</sup> He held office as sheriff of Yorkshire from 3 November and was appointed to the West Riding peace commission nine days later.<sup>31</sup> It is impossible to be certain exactly when Sir James Pickering died. He was appointed to a commission of arrests in Westmorland in June 1398 but is not heard of again.<sup>32</sup> Roskell suggests that Pickering may well already have been dead when one of his servants received a royal pardon in January 1399.<sup>33</sup> He was, however, almost certainly one of those Ricardian sheriffs who, contrary to custom, were reappointed for a second consecutive term in 1398.<sup>34</sup>

The emphasis of Gaunt's own retaining policy shifted during the 1390s in response to Richard's aggressive recruitment campaign. According to Walker, the duke of Lancaster's new strategy concentrated on the systematic reinforcement of his heir's political position. Whereas he had previously shown a preference for knights, Gaunt

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<sup>25</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 247-8. Given-Wilson calculates that more than a third of all knights of the shire returned to the parliament of September 1397 were members of the 'royal affinity'.

<sup>26</sup> Saul, *Richard II*, p. 376. See also *HC, 1386-1421*, i, Appendix C3.

<sup>27</sup> Members of Richard's 'royal affinity' were returned to parliament as knights of the shire for Yorkshire in 1386, 1394, and September 1397. Only once were two royal retainers elected, in November 1390: *ibid.*, i, p. 732.

<sup>28</sup> *CPR 1396-9*, p. 236.

<sup>29</sup> J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols. (London, 1981-3), iii, pp. 22-4; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 303.

<sup>30</sup> *Return of the Name*, p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 162; *CPR 1396-9*, p. 236.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>33</sup> Roskell, *Parliament and Politics*, pp. 24-5; *CPR 1396-9*, p. 479.

<sup>34</sup> D.L. Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace: The Patterns of Lancastrian Governance, 1399-1401', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), 154-5. Biggs comments that Henry IV's 'policy of selecting members of his royal and ducal affinities as sheriffs was far more subtle than Richard II's practices': *ibid.*, p. 154.

now sought to build up a much larger following throughout England. As a consequence, the Lancastrian affinity rapidly developed into a rather more socially and geographically diverse entity.<sup>35</sup> In particular, the duke began to recruit a larger number of young esquires.<sup>36</sup> It was an added advantage that most of these men had not yet forged any personal connection with the king.<sup>37</sup> Gaunt also attempted to safeguard Bolingbroke's future political position by granting supplementary annuities to his son's retainers on condition that they remained in Lancastrian service following his own death.<sup>38</sup> One such example from the West Riding was Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) of Methley, an esquire who had been retained by Henry when earl of Derby and had subsequently accompanied him abroad between 1390 and 1393.<sup>39</sup> By 1394, Waterton was in receipt of fees from both Henry and his father.<sup>40</sup> Walker concludes that, 'for the first time in his life, Gaunt now found it necessary to buy the loyalty he had previously taken for granted'.<sup>41</sup>

When John of Gaunt died on 3 February 1399, his son was already in exile in Paris. On 18 March, due to a legal technicality, Richard II was able to confiscate the Lancastrian inheritance. Since Henry had been banished by the king, the letters patent authorising his attorneys to receive possession of the Duchy of Lancaster were deemed to be invalid.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, Henry of Lancaster's banishment was lengthened to a life sentence. Thereafter, the Lancastrian estates were divided up amongst the king's favourites. In the West Riding, the honour of Pontefract was granted to Edward, duke of Aumale.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, Richard confirmed the Lancastrian annuities previously granted by Gaunt with the proviso that thirty-six of the most prominent retainers be made to swear an additional oath to be 'retained to stay with the king only'.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, all of

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<sup>35</sup> Walker writes that few new retainers were recruited from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire during these years. Instead, the duke concentrated upon previously unexploited regions such as East Anglia. However, two particularly important individuals from Yorkshire did enter Lancastrian service at this time. They were Ralph Neville, the future earl of Westmorland, and Robert Waterton I of Methley: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 35 and n. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Between 1387 and 1399, the duke recruited twenty-six knights but over a hundred esquires: *ibid.*, pp. 34-6.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), p. 419; L.T. Smith (ed.), *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, earl of Derby*, Camden Society, new series, 52 (1894), p. xcii. Waterton also served Derby as master of the horse: A. Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV', unpublished PhD thesis (Nottingham, 1966), p. 797.

<sup>40</sup> *CPR 1396-9*, pp. 468-9; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 35, n. 118, 37, n. 127, 284.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1961), p. 1; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 134.

<sup>43</sup> *CFR 1391-9*, p. 297; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 135.

<sup>44</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 216. The annuities were confirmed by Richard II between 20 March and 26 April 1399: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 135. The legality of the king's action is questionable since Henry of Lancaster had already confirmed many of these annuities in 1398: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 216.

Richard's assaults upon the Lancastrian affinity came to nothing.<sup>45</sup> The king appointed Edmund of Langley as guardian of England on 18 May 1399 and departed for Ireland. Bolingbroke immediately seized his opportunity while Richard's kingdom was vulnerable and set sail for England in late June, ostensibly to reclaim the Lancastrian inheritance.<sup>46</sup> Henry landed at Ravenspur on or around 28 June 1399, where he was joined by Robert Waterton, now steward of the honour of Pontefract, and two hundred foresters, apparently from the honour of Knaresborough.<sup>47</sup> Thereafter, he travelled via the Lancastrian strongholds of Pickering and Knaresborough to the great fortress at Pontefract.<sup>48</sup> Moving on to Doncaster, Bolingbroke was joined by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy and Ralph Neville (d. 1425), earl of Westmorland, before proceeding to Leicester and Kenilworth.<sup>49</sup> During this journey, the duke of Lancaster assembled a sizeable fighting force. Although the single largest contingent was drawn from the north midlands,<sup>50</sup> a significant proportion of Henry's followers were recruited from Yorkshire. Seven knights and esquires from the West Riding received wages for military service during the crisis of 1399: Sir Robert Neville (d.

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<sup>45</sup> Richard was only partially successful in establishing his lordship in areas previously dominated by the Duchy of Lancaster. The king had a degree of success in Lancashire. In Norfolk, where Gaunt had done little to exploit his estates for political gain, the gentry predictably decided to remain neutral and failed to rally behind either Richard or Henry in any number in the summer of 1399: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 177-9, 182-209. It is clear, however, that the core of Gaunt's affinity remained loyal to his son: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 25-7, 201-2.

<sup>46</sup> Keen concludes that 'Henry did not succeed because the opposition to him was negligible, but because he caught Richard and his friends hopelessly off their guard': M.H. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p. 304.

<sup>47</sup> C. Given-Wilson (trans. and ed.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421* (Oxford, 1997), p. 52. According to Adam of Usk, Robert Waterton I was master forester of the honour of Knaresborough. There is no other evidence to suggest that he ever held such a position. However, he was master forester of Pontefract by 15 February 1397, on which day a previous grant of office during pleasure was extended to a life appointment, and had been appointed as steward of the honour (and probably also constable) by 3 February 1399: *CPR 1396-9*, pp. 468-9; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 135-6, 378-9, 513, 515, 518. According to Whitehead, Waterton was master forester of Pontefract from 1391: J. Whitehead, 'Robert Waterton', *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, forthcoming). Following Henry's exile and the death of John of Gaunt, the honour was regranted to Edward, duke of Aumale. During this brief interlude, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) of Wadworth served as constable of Pontefract Castle: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 136, n. 4; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 301, n.1.

<sup>48</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 135-6; Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, p. 2; M.V. Clarke and N. Denholm-Young, 'The Kirkstall Chronicle, 1355-1400', *BJRL* 15 (1931), 132; B. Williams (ed.), *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roi Dengleterre* (London, 1846), p. 286. Henry experienced a degree of difficulty in securing Knaresborough Castle: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 137.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138. Biggs suggests that Henry's decision to abandon the security of his greatest stronghold for Doncaster, one of Edmund of Langley's Yorkshire manors, demonstrates that the duke of York was sympathetic to, if not actually in collusion with, his nephew: D.L. Biggs, "'A Wrong Whom Conscience and Kindred Bid Me to Right': A Reassessment of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and the Usurpation of Henry IV", *Albion*, 26 (1994), 259.

<sup>50</sup> Of the forty knights, esquires, and gentlemen who received war wages for military service in 1399, sixteen were from Derbyshire and Staffordshire: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 202. See also S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 136.



1314) of Farnley, Sir Robert Rockley I (d.c. 1415) of Falthwaite, Sir Roger Swillington (d. 1417) of Swillington, Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark, Richard Gascoigne (d. 1423) of Hunslet, Henry Vavasour I (d. 1413) of Hazlewood, and Robert Waterton.<sup>51</sup> Most were already established members of the Lancastrian affinity in the region.<sup>52</sup> In total, £4,900 was expended by Henry of Lancaster on military wages in the summer of 1399.<sup>53</sup>

### 3) 1399-1403: Establishment of the Lancastrian Regime

Henry claimed the throne of England before an assembly gathered in Westminster Hall on 30 September 1399.<sup>54</sup> As a usurper, his position was particularly fragile during the initial years of the reign. Moreover, Henry lacked sufficient support amongst the nobility to ensure survival. Following the usurpation, there were comparatively few earls of full age, and fewer still upon whom the king could actually rely.<sup>55</sup> The ranks of the nobility were depleted further due to the rebellion and execution of the earls of Kent, Huntingdon, Salisbury, and the former earl of Gloucester, in January 1400.<sup>56</sup> The king had, therefore, to turn to the knights and esquires of the Lancastrian affinity for the creation of a royal administration.<sup>57</sup> This was immediately pursued at both a national and a local level.<sup>58</sup> The principal offices of central government were all granted to senior Lancastrian officials.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, Henry also determined to maintain the

<sup>51</sup> DL42/15, fols. 70-70v; DL29/728/11987, m. 8; Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 252-3. Note that Given-Wilson incorrectly transcribes Clarell as Clavell: *ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>52</sup> See below, Appendices 8 and 9.

<sup>53</sup> Given-Wilson (ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 252.

<sup>54</sup> M.H. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p. 302.

<sup>55</sup> A.L. Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV: The Establishment of the Lancastrian Regime', in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 7-11. In the early years, Henry could only call on the support of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, Sir Henry Percy, and Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland. According to Bean, the Percys had been Henry's most important military supporters during the summer of 1399: J.M.W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959), 213.

<sup>56</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 188; Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 25-6. According to Powell, a new generation of magnates did not emerge until after 1407: E. Powell, 'Lancastrian England', in C. Allmand (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vii (Cambridge, 1998), p. 459.

<sup>57</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 30; G.L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1988), p. 11. The king could also rely upon the support of the barons. A number were active members of the 'Lancastrian establishment', including William, Lord Roos, and Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, in Yorkshire: Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', pp. 11-14; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228.

<sup>58</sup> See D.L. Biggs, 'A Plantagenet Revolution in Government? The Officers of Central Government and the Lancastrian Usurpation of 1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999); Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace'.

<sup>59</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 198; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 27; Biggs, 'A Plantagenet Revolution in Government', pp. 195-7.

integrity and independence of the newly-enlarged Lancastrian inheritance as distinct from the possessions of the crown.<sup>60</sup> As a consequence, the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster continued to be divided into two circuits, the North and South Parts, each administered separately from the property of the crown.<sup>61</sup>

At a local level, it has been demonstrated that Henry began to consolidate his political position by the appointment of Lancastrians to a number of strategically significant shrievalties in Richard's name on 22 and 27 August 1399.<sup>62</sup> This was followed by the wholesale appointment of Lancastrian retainers to almost 50 per cent of the kingdom's shrievalties on 30 September.<sup>63</sup> Royal influence upon shrieval appointments was matched by the king's determination to realign the political composition of the commissions of the peace. The chief characteristic of this development was a sudden increase in the number of Lancastrian justices throughout England. Although 64 per cent of gentry justices who had served before the usurpation were reappointed, fifty-eight Lancastrian knights and esquires also joined the ranks of the local judiciary, on 28 November 1399. Of these, twenty-six had no prior legal experience.<sup>64</sup> Finally, Henry also exercised a degree of control over the appointment of escheators and the election of parliamentary representatives. Over 26 per cent of all escheators appointed between 1399 and 1413 were Lancastrian retainers.<sup>65</sup> However, 50 per cent of knights of the shire who were returned to Henry's first and second parliaments in October 1399 and January 1401 were Lancastrians.<sup>66</sup>

Henry faced the greatest challenge in determining how to proceed in regions where the Duchy had previously played a leading role in local politics. Helen Castor has argued persuasively that the duke of Lancaster's newly acquired judicial authority as

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<sup>60</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 139, 141; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 27. The Charter of Duchy Liberties (or Great Charter of the Duchy) and the Hereford Charter were presented in parliament on 14 October 1399: W. Hardy (trans. and ed.), *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1845), pp. 137-8.

<sup>61</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 28.

<sup>62</sup> Henry appointed his servants to the shrievalties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire: Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace', p. 151; *CFR 1391-9*, p. 308.

<sup>63</sup> Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace', p. 153. Every English shrievalty, except Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the palatinate of Durham, had been under the administration of at least one Lancastrian knight or esquire during the first three years of the reign: *ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>64</sup> Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace', pp. 159-60. By 16 May 1401, there were 119 Lancastrian knights and esquires sitting on the country benches: *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>65</sup> D.L. Biggs, "'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom": The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413', unpublished PhD thesis (Minnesota, 1996), ii, p. 330. For the occasional reservation of the office of escheator by the crown as a source of royal 'patronage', see above, Ch. 4.4.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 336-7. Royal influence can be seen to have declined somewhat by 1402, when only 35% of knights of the shire were Lancastrian retainers. Biggs suggests that this reflects the growing confidence in the security of Henry IV's position: *ibid.*, pp. 338-9.

king meant that he could no longer be personally involved in the minutiae of local affairs. Instead, he chose to delegate his personal authority to the existing regional Duchy hierarchies. In Yorkshire, as in the north midlands, this effectively meant that a previously controlling interest in local government was converted into overwhelming domination of the shire by the Lancastrian establishment.<sup>67</sup> For example, Sir John Depeden (d. 1402) of Healaugh succeeded Sir James Pickering as sheriff on 30 September 1399.<sup>68</sup> Although Depeden had no identifiable Lancastrian connection prior to the usurpation, he was an associate of the Nevilles and became a king's knight in 1400.<sup>69</sup> Certainly, his loyalty to the Lancastrian crown must already have been beyond doubt for such an appointment to have been made at a time of intense political uncertainty.<sup>70</sup> As soon as the immediate crisis had passed, Depeden was replaced by Sir John Constable of Halsham (E. Riding), a veteran of local administration who had served overseas under Gaunt in the 1370s but is not known to have had any other Lancastrian connection. Constable was almost certainly selected in November 1399 because of his experience in local government.<sup>71</sup> Thereafter, he was succeeded in office by eleven Lancastrian retainers between 1400 and 1413.<sup>72</sup> During the same period, at least one Lancastrian knight was returned as knight of the shire for Yorkshire to each of the eight parliaments for which returns survive, while a partnership of Lancastrian retainers was elected on no fewer than six occasions.<sup>73</sup>

In the West Riding, the king lavishly rewarded the loyalty of the Lancastrian affinity. The most senior Lancastrian officials received additional grants of both fees and offices. William Gascoigne I (d. 1419) of Gawthorpe succeeded Walter Clopton as

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<sup>67</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 205.

<sup>68</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>69</sup> *CCR 1385-9*, p. 150; *1392-6*, p. 76; *CFR 1391-9*, p. 293. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>70</sup> According to Biggs, almost 50 per cent of the kingdom's shrievalties were granted by the king to Lancastrians on 30 September 1399: Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace', p. 153.

<sup>71</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162; W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1066-2000* (Barnsley, 2000), p. 73. Constable had previously served as sheriff in 1377-8.

<sup>72</sup> In Yorkshire, 13 families provided sheriffs between 1399 and 1413. Of these, 5 came from the West Riding and all were Lancastrian retainers: Sir William Dronsfield (1401-2, 1405-6), Sir John Saville (1402-3), Sir Richard Redman I (1403-4), Robert Mauleverer I (1406), and Sir Edmund Sandford (1410-11). In addition, the Lancashire knight Sir William Harrington (1408-9) ultimately inherited the West Riding manor of Brierley from Sir Robert Neville. See below, Appendix 3a. The almost complete domination of local office in Yorkshire was accompanied by similar developments within the local administration of Staffordshire and Derbyshire: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 206, 209.

<sup>73</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 732; G. Dodd, 'Crown, Magnates and Gentry: The English Parliament, 1369-1422', unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 1998), pp. 300-308. Dodd omits the Lancastrian connection of Sir John Etton, MP for Yorkshire in 1411 and a king's knight from 1401: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 288. The Lancastrian MPs from West Riding families were: Sir Robert Neville (1399), Sir Robert Rockley (1402), Sir Richard Tempest (Jan. 1404), Sir William Dronsfield (Oct. 1404), Sir Richard Redman I (1406), and Sir Robert Plumpton II (1411). See below, Appendix 3c.

chief justice of King's Bench on 15 November 1400.<sup>74</sup> His younger brother, Richard Gascoigne, was appointed chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy in the same month,<sup>75</sup> while Robert Waterton became master of the horse.<sup>76</sup> Although still an esquire, Waterton extraordinarily received additional fees and robes as a knight of the chamber.<sup>77</sup> He also continued in office as steward of the honour of Pontefract and constable of the castle.<sup>78</sup> His brother, John Waterton, was appointed bailiff of the wapentake of Osgoldcross, with profits of 20 marks per annum, on 12 August 1399, and further granted an additional annuity of 10 marks on 28 September.<sup>79</sup> Finally, the steward of Bolingbroke's household, Sir Peter Buckton of Buckton (E. Riding), became steward of the honour of Knaresborough on 9 July.<sup>80</sup>

A number of Gaunt's most trusted servants from the riding were already dead by the summer of 1399. Henry now bestowed fresh grants of offices and annuities upon their heirs to maintain traditions of Lancastrian loyalty within these families. Sir Roger Swillington, the son of Gaunt's chamberlain, Sir Robert Swillington (d. 1391), was granted an annuity of 50 marks on 28 September 1399 and became a king's knight in the following year.<sup>81</sup> Sir John Saville of Elland, who had served as constable of Pontefract in 1396-7, was dead by 23 September 1399. His Lancastrian annuity of £20 seems to have been transferred to his son, also Sir John (d.c. 1405), on 4 September 1399.<sup>82</sup> In addition, this Sir John received the bailiwick of the wapentake of Strafforth on 13 November and became a king's knight in 1403.<sup>83</sup> A younger son, Henry Saville (d. 1412) of Thornhill, had already been retained by Bolingbroke in 1398. However, he

<sup>74</sup> *CCR 1399-1402*, p. 219; J. Sainty, *The Judges of England, 1272-1990: A List of Judges of the Superior Courts*, Selden Society, Supplementary Series, 10 (London, 1993), p. 9. Gascoigne was a king's serjeant who had been Chief Justice within the palatinate of Lancaster since 1397: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 468.

<sup>75</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 418. Richard Gascoigne held office until 18 May 1407: DL42/16, fols. 182v, 223.

<sup>76</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 112.

<sup>77</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 98; *CCR 1399-1402*, p. 11; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 191. Before 1399, Waterton had been in receipt of 20 marks per annum. By 1 October 1400, he had additionally been granted the herbage of Marshden (£19 per annum) and the Lincolnshire manor of Doubledyke in Gosberton (24 marks per annum). Waterton was also paid £33 6s. 8d. per annum in wages as steward, constable and master forester of the honour of Pontefract: DL42/15, fol. 89.

<sup>78</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 513, 514.

<sup>79</sup> DL29/738/12096, m. 4; DL28/27/5, m. 1; DL42/15, fol. 84. There were two further men of this name active in Lancastrian service during this period, which makes identification somewhat confusing. John Waterton (d. 1417/18) of Waterton (Lincs.) was the brother of Sir Hugh Waterton (d. 1409) of Eaton Tregoes (Heref.), and a cousin of Robert and John Waterton. It was probably his son, also John, who died in May 1414: *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 784-7. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>80</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 523.

<sup>81</sup> DL29/738/12096, m. 4; *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 221.

<sup>82</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 280, 289; DL29/738/12096, m. 5; 12099, m. 3.

<sup>83</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 95; 1401-5, p. 236.

was subsequently granted an annuity of £10 on 6 April 1400.<sup>84</sup> A number of other supporters from the riding obtained positions within the royal household. These included Sir Thomas Flemyng (*fl.* 1407) of Wath and Sir Richard Redman I (d. 1426) of Harewood, both of whom were confirmed as king's knights, and Sir Richard Goldsburgh (d.c. 1428) of Goldsbrough, who became a knight of the chamber.<sup>85</sup> In addition, Henry Vavasour was rewarded for his military service with the position of king's esquire.<sup>86</sup> Exceptionally, Henry IV recruited a total of twenty-five king's knights and three knights of the chamber from Yorkshire between 1399 and 1408.<sup>87</sup>

On the whole, little attempt was made to broaden the Lancastrian connection either in Yorkshire or the north midlands. Grants of additional annuities and offices were largely distributed among members of established Lancastrian families. According to Castor, only very small sums were advanced to men with no prior history of Lancastrian service and such individuals were generally uninfluential local gentlemen. New grants to more substantial Derbyshire families such as the Fraunceys of Doremark and the Gresleys of Drakelow would appear to have been exceptional rewards in return for military service in 1399.<sup>88</sup> The only significant grant to a West Riding knight who had not previously been retained either by the king or the duke of Lancaster went to Sir Richard Tempest I (d. 1427/8) of Bracewell. Sir Richard was already a retainer of Henry, earl of Northumberland.<sup>89</sup> The Duchy annuity of £50 which he received on 17 February 1401 is likely to have been granted in connection with his creation as a king's knight sometime between September 1399 and 1401.<sup>90</sup> In the event, this subsequently proved to be an appointment of some consequence.<sup>91</sup>

Local government in the West Riding now overwhelmingly became the preserve of the local officers and retainers of the Duchy. Of the eleven gentry justices who

<sup>84</sup> W.P. Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree and the Butlers of Skelbrook and Kirk Sandal', *YAJ* 28 (1926), 412; DL29/738/12096, m. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 287-9.

<sup>86</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 305.

<sup>87</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 227.

<sup>88</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 203.

<sup>89</sup> C.D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), p. 363. Tempest was in receipt of a Percy annuity of £20 from the issues of the town of Preston in Craven: *CPR 1405-8*, p. 48.

<sup>90</sup> DL42/15, fol. 84v. According to Given-Wilson, Tempest was not a king's knight at the time of the first Percy rebellion in July 1403. Instead, he suggests that his appointment came as a reward for his loyalty one month after the revolt, when he received an annuity at the exchequer: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228; *CPR 1401-5*, p. 256. The biography by the History of Parliament Trust suggests a much earlier date of about November/December 1399, when he was first appointed to the West Riding peace commission: *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 574-5. Walker implies that Tempest was a king's knight by 1401: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 288.

<sup>91</sup> See below, Ch. 5.4.

served on the commission of the peace in the West Riding during the reign of Henry IV, eight were in receipt of either royal or Duchy annuities.<sup>92</sup> Another was a younger brother of William Gascoigne, while one was an associate of Edmund, duke of York.<sup>93</sup> The final justice is not known to have had any overriding political affiliation.<sup>94</sup> Of these eleven men, only one had been appointed to the final Ricardian peace commission issued on 12 November 1397.<sup>95</sup> Walker has demonstrated that the work of the West Riding peace commission was overseen principally by Richard Gascoigne, following his brother's promotion to the court of King's Bench.<sup>96</sup> Lancastrians were also predominantly appointed to other ad hoc commissions in the West Riding.<sup>97</sup>

Although membership of the West Riding commission of the peace was largely restricted to a small circle of Lancastrian retainers under Henry IV, this was not necessarily indicative of undue royal influence upon local appointments. Indeed, it seems probable that patterns of officeholding in the West Riding were entirely representative of local power structures.<sup>98</sup> But it begs the question as to whether the monopolisation of county office by Lancastrians in this period was equally justifiable.

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<sup>92</sup> This figure includes Edmund Fitzwilliam I, whose commission is not recorded on the patent roll but who attended 7 sessions of the peace during the reign of Henry IV: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 283, n. 3. See below, Appendix 6. The Lancastrians were the knights John Depeden, William Dronsfield, Robert Neville, Richard Redman I, Roger Swillington, and Richard Tempest, and the esquires John Drax and Robert Waterton I.

<sup>93</sup> Nicholas Gascoigne and Edmund Fitzwilliam I.

<sup>94</sup> Sir Nicholas Middleton. However, the Middletons held all of their manors of the Percy lordship of Spofforth: C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), i, p. 95. Sir Nicholas' son, John, was later retained by John, duke of Bedford, during the period in which the lordship was under his control: *Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 140. Sir John's grandson, Thomas Middleton, was steward of the earl of Northumberland's courts in the West Riding in 1478: Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 47.

<sup>95</sup> Sir John Depeden: *CPR 1396-9*, p. 236. Walker concludes that while 'the true extent of the influence exerted by the king's affinity is somewhat inflated by the policy of appointing additional Lancastrian loyalists... during the disturbances of 1405... the contrast with the decade before Henry IV's accession nevertheless underlines the change in policy that the usurpation of 1399 brought in its wake': Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 303.

<sup>96</sup> Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 294-5. Richard Gascoigne received payment for attendance at 61 out of 64 session days between October 1399 and December 1411: *ibid.*, p. 284. See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>97</sup> See *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 213; *1401-5*, pp. 284, 289; *1408-13*, pp. 224, 374.

<sup>98</sup> The existence of a restricted circle of officeholders is a recognised trait of counties in which the Duchy of Lancaster was territorially dominant. This was certainly the case in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, where the king was able to exploit his control over local government appointments in order to delegate local authority to a group of leading Lancastrians: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 204-5; M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 274-5; Payling, *Political Society*, Ch. 5 and pp. 216-20. In the West Riding, 16 resident gentry families provided JPs from 1399 to 1422, and 25 families from 1423 to 1461; 7 families provided sheriffs of Yorkshire in the first period and 9 in the second: *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 567; *1401-5*, p. 521; *1405-8*, p. 500; *1408-13*, p. 487; *1413-16*, p. 426; *1416-22*, p. 463; *1422-9*, p. 573; *1429-36*, p. 628; *1436-41*, p. 594; *1441-46*, p. 482; *1446-52*, p. 598; *1452-61*, pp. 683-4; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162. By comparison, 19 gentry families provided JPs in Derbyshire between 1399 and 1422, and 13 between 1423 and 1461; 7 families provided sheriffs during the first period and 8 in the second: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 204. See below, Appendices 3a, 4a, and 4b.

Between 1399 and 1413, the administration of Yorkshire was profoundly dominated by Lancastrian appointees.<sup>99</sup> The Duchy, however, held only the honour of Pickering in the North Riding, and had no territorial stake whatsoever in the East Riding. In conclusion, Henry IV probably did abuse his public responsibilities as king to extend the dominance of his private lordship in Yorkshire beyond what he could reasonably have expected as duke of Lancaster.<sup>100</sup>

The same period also witnessed the consolidation of local Lancastrian authority in the hands of one man. Between 1399 and 1407, Robert Waterton emerged as undoubtedly the most influential figure in the riding.<sup>101</sup> His authority as steward of Pontefract was initially augmented by appointment to the West Riding peace commission on 11 November 1399.<sup>102</sup> Thereafter, he succeeded Sir Thomas Swynford as steward of Tickhill on 31 May 1403 and became chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy on 18 May 1407.<sup>103</sup> This last grant significantly consolidated and expanded the influence he already commanded in the West Riding. During the same period, Waterton also received further grants of other local offices in the king's hand by reason of forfeiture. On 28 April 1405, he temporarily became steward of the duke of York's lordship of Sowerby, and was subsequently granted the offices of steward and master forester of the forfeited Percy lordship of Spofforth on 26 July.<sup>104</sup> His local influence seems to have gone unchallenged until the accession of Henry V in 1413. He was replaced as chief steward by Sir Roger Leche, one of Henry V's closest associates, on 5 April 1413. Nevertheless, he retained the remainder of his Duchy offices in the West Riding until his death in 1425, and again received the keeping of the lordship of

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<sup>99</sup> See above, Ch. 4.

<sup>100</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 70. A similar proposition has been put forward by Castor for Henry's strategy in Staffordshire, where the Duchy's resources were too restricted to represent the shire adequately: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 207-12.

<sup>101</sup> Robert Waterton I was one of Henry IV's closest friends and advisers and was subsequently appointed as an executor and supervisor of the king's will, which he also witnessed: *CPR 1413-16*, p. 54; J. Nichols (ed.), *A Collection of all the Wills... of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), p. 205; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 419;. For his biography, see below, Appendix 9.

<sup>102</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 567. See below, Appendix 4a. Waterton also received appointment to the commission of the peace for Holland (Lincs.): *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 560.

<sup>103</sup> DL42/15, fols. 154, 159v; DL42/16, fols. 27v, 182v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 418, 528-9. Waterton was, of course, only an esquire and this may have restricted his local influence. A similar qualification has been noted in the case of Sir Thomas Erpingham, who dominated politics in East Anglia under Henry IV: H.R. Castor, 'The Duchy of Lancaster and the Rule of East Anglia, 1399-1440: A Prologue to the Paston Letters', in R.E. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 64-5.

<sup>104</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 78; *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 15, 73. Waterton also became steward and master forester of the lordship of Hatfield in 1405: *ibid.*, p. 499. The escheator of Yorkshire had been instructed to seize all lands of the Duchy of York within his bailiwick on 6 March 1405, following the arrest of Duke Edward: *CCR 1402-5*, p. 435. Waterton was farmer of the lordship of Sowerby in 1416: *CCR 1413-19*, p. 311.

Sowerby after the death of Edward (d. 1415), duke of York, at Agincourt.<sup>105</sup> Finally, he was appointed constable of Castle Donington (Leics.) in 1420.<sup>106</sup>

The growth in the Duchy's local political authority and the policy of rewarding the loyal service of the Lancastrian affinity was inevitably accompanied by a significant rise in expenditure upon Duchy annuities. In the north midlands, it has been demonstrated that annuity payments at Tutbury rose dramatically during the first years of the reign.<sup>107</sup> This development was not restricted to Staffordshire, as is evident from an examination of the West Riding receipts. Annuity payments assigned at Pontefract had already risen from £200 in 1390 to £616 in 1400. By September 1401, this figure had reached £1,279. Over the next year, the burden fell to £702 but again rose sharply to £1,059 following the Percy revolt of 1403. Thereafter, annuity payments gradually declined to £817 by 1410. The financial effects of this increased expenditure were considerable. During Henry IV's reign, surviving annuity payments at Pontefract averaged £919 a year. The average value of the receipt during the same period was only £805. As a consequence, the receipt showed a deficit of between £333 and £647 in eight of the nine years for which Duchy accounts survive for Yorkshire. In response, the surplus revenues of the smaller Yorkshire lordships of Knaresborough and Pickering were regularly diverted to make up this deficit.<sup>108</sup> According to Castor, such an arrangement heralded the emergence of the honour of Pontefract as the dominant centre of the Duchy in Yorkshire.<sup>109</sup>

Henry's financial position was also compromised by his rash promise at the start of his reign to 'live of his own' and rule without recourse to parliamentary taxation. Nevertheless, the series of military threats to the throne which he faced between 1399 and 1407 dictated the need to reward the continuing loyalty of the Lancastrian affinity.<sup>110</sup> Given-Wilson has noted that the national annuity bill under Richard II had grown to more than £20,000 by 1399.<sup>111</sup> During the first year of Henry IV's reign,

<sup>105</sup> DL42 17, fol. 190; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 418-9; *CFR 1413-22*, p. 135. For Leche, see Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 225-6. The implications of Robert Waterton's death for the rule of the West Riding are considered below, Ch. 6.2.

<sup>106</sup> DL42 17, fol. 62v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 573.

<sup>107</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 202-4.

<sup>108</sup> Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 308; DL29 728 11987-8; DL29 729 11996; DL29 729 11995-6, 12001; 12004; DL29 730 12006; 12008; 12011-12; 12014. Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 28-9, 202-3. Annuity payments assigned at Knaresborough also rose, though less dramatically, from £208 in 1394 5 to £491 in 1401 2; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 305; DL29/729/11996. A similar situation was encountered at Tutbury (Staffs.), the Duchy's richest receipt: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 203 and n. 4.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>110</sup> Powell, 'Lancastrian England', p. 459.

<sup>111</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 136.



however, new grants alone amounted to £9,545, rising to £20,587 when confirmations of Ricardian fees are included.<sup>112</sup> Brown suggests that to this figure we should add approximately another £8,000 in Duchy annuities, giving a total of £32,000 in royal annuity payments.<sup>113</sup> The effect of this expenditure was a period of sustained financial and political crisis from 1401 until 1406.<sup>114</sup>

The first crisis of March 1401 seems to have been provoked by the breakdown of crown finances, itself partly attributable to the inexperience of Lancastrian officials in royal administration. All three of Henry's principal household officers, as well as his chancellor, were dismissed and replaced by experienced former Ricardian servants.<sup>115</sup> But what began as a financial crisis seems to have quickly developed into a political struggle between the Percys on the one hand and Henry's favoured Lancastrian following on the other. During the first eighteen months of his reign, Henry had relied almost exclusively upon the support of a close circle of Lancastrian advisers.<sup>116</sup> As we have seen, this reliance owed much to the depletion of the ranks of the nobility, but magnate families such as the Percys and the Staffords quickly came to resent their own exclusion from government. The financial crisis provided the Percys with an opportunity to gain redress in the short term.<sup>117</sup> Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exeter, replaced John Scarle as chancellor while Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, succeeded Sir Thomas Rempston as the new steward of the household.<sup>118</sup> Worcester also became governor of the prince of Wales.<sup>119</sup> In Yorkshire, the Percys exploited the crisis to appoint further members of their affinity to the peace commissions.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, the

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<sup>112</sup> A. Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV', unpublished PhD thesis (Nottingham, 1966), p. 71; T.E.F. Wright, 'Royal Finance in the Latter Part of the Reign of Henry IV of England', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1984), p. 16; T.E.F. Wright, 'Henry IV, the Commons and the Recovery of Royal Finance in 1407', in R.E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995), p. 67.

<sup>113</sup> Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', pp. 19-20.

<sup>114</sup> For a reassessment of Henry's handling of parliament during this period, see A.J. Pollard, 'The Lancastrian Constitutional Experiment Revisited: Henry IV, Sir John Tiptoft and the Parliament of 1406', *Parliamentary History*, 14 (1995), 103-19; G. Dodd, 'Conflict or Consensus: Henry IV and Parliament, 1399-1406', in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 118-49.

<sup>115</sup> A. Rogers, 'The Political Crisis of 1401', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 12 (1968), 86-9; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 30.

<sup>116</sup> Rogers, 'The Political Crisis of 1401', p. 89.

<sup>117</sup> According to Arvanigian, the central political issue during the crisis was the attempt by the Percys to oust Lancastrian servants from the royal household: M.E. Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles and the Political Establishment in North-Eastern England, 1377-1413', unpublished PhD thesis (Durham, 1998), p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-8.

<sup>119</sup> Rogers, 'The Political Crisis of 1401', p. 91.

<sup>120</sup> In March 1400, Sir John Colville had been appointed to the North Riding commission, while John Aske had returned to the East Riding commission. Another Percy retainer, Sir Richard Tempest, had already joined the West Riding peace commission in 1399. Their appointments may be taken to have represented royal recognition of Percy lordship in Yorkshire. However, three more Percy associates (Sir

gradual recovery of royal control eroded their power and ultimately contributed to their revolt in the summer of 1403.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4) 1403-1408: The Percy Rebellions

The revolt by the Percys in 1403 was the most serious challenge yet faced by Henry IV to the Lancastrian throne. Historians have frequently discussed the motives of Henry's erstwhile supporters in abandoning their earlier political course.<sup>122</sup> It remains uncertain as to whether the Percys had any legitimate grievances in 1403, or had simply grown irresponsibly ambitious during the initial years of Henry's reign.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, we have to contend with the contemporary justification by the Percys for their actions. They insisted that Henry had broken an oath he had sworn at Doncaster to claim only his rightful inheritance. According to their story, he seized the throne of England against their wishes and in direct contravention of the hereditary rights of the young earl of March.<sup>124</sup> This last version of events is the least plausible. Only two contemporary sources make reference to such an oath: Hardyng's Chronicle, which preserves the Percy manifesto of 1403, and the Dieulacres Chronicle. But Bean has demonstrated that the accounts of these two chroniclers manifestly disagree with one another. Furthermore, he emphasises that the Doncaster oath was entirely absent from the initial Lancastrian version of Hardyng's chronicle, only to be included in the later edition prepared as propaganda for the Yorkist king, Edward IV.<sup>125</sup> Bean goes on to suggest that the earl of Northumberland's acceptance of the wardenship of the West March from Henry IV on 2 August 1399 provides conclusive proof of the earl's complicity in the Lancastrian accession.<sup>126</sup> Another contemporary fifteenth-century account provides corroborating evidence which implicates the Percys. The *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux* records how the earl of Worcester publicly proclaimed Henry as

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Robert Hilton and Sir John Scrope in the East Riding, and William Lasynby in the North Riding) were inserted into the Yorkshire commissions on 16 May 1401: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 287-8. On the same day, changes were made to the political composition of the peace commissions in thirty-six counties: Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 252.

<sup>121</sup> Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 93.

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', Ch. 10; J.M.W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959); 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); A.L. Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV'.

<sup>123</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 331.

<sup>124</sup> H. Ellis (ed.), *Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1812), pp. 352-3; Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 212.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-8.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

king of England in parliament, and that Northumberland sought the execution of Richard II in 1399.<sup>127</sup> We can, therefore, reject the contemporary claims of the Percys in this respect, although it remains to be considered whether the Percys had any other legitimate grievances.

Following the revolution, the Percys were initially inundated with rewards. Henry, earl of Northumberland, for instance, was appointed warden of Carlisle and the West March, and subsequently became constable of England in September 1399.<sup>128</sup> His son, Sir Henry Percy, remained warden of the East March, but also received custody of Roxburgh Castle, and became constable and justice of Chester and North Wales.<sup>129</sup> Northumberland's brother, Thomas, earl of Worcester, continued in office as admiral of England, and received an annuity of 500 marks in recompense for a former grant by Richard II of lands forfeited by the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel in 1397.<sup>130</sup> In 1401, he was granted additional annuities amounting to 600 marks.<sup>131</sup> Thereafter, the family's fortunes seem to have gradually declined, for reasons which will be addressed shortly. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that the Percys received substantial rewards for their political and military support in 1399.

The suggestion that the Percys were driven into revolt by financial difficulties as wardens of the Marches has also been firmly rebutted. While the letters of Sir Henry Percy to the council do certainly reinforce the impression that financial considerations were a major factor,<sup>132</sup> Bean's examination of the Issue and Receipt Rolls suggests that the Percys were not unfairly treated financially, and that the crown genuinely attempted to meet what proved, of course, to be an impossible financial burden.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, Ross has questioned whether the difficulties encountered by the Percys in securing

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<sup>127</sup> *Traison et Mort*, pp. 69, 78, 220, 230; Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 218.

<sup>128</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 12; R.L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *EHR* 72 (1957), 603.

<sup>129</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 28, 31; Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', p. 603.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 178; Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', p. 9.

<sup>131</sup> *CCR 1399-1402*, p. 369; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 334.

<sup>132</sup> On 3 May 1403, Sir Henry wrote to the king, informing him that his soldiers 'are in such great poverty that they can no longer bear nor endure for the lack of payment'. His request evidently failed, since he wrote again on 3 July – only a week before his rebellion – demanding immediate payment of more than 2,000 marks which he was still owed. Moreover, Sir Henry reminded the king and council that £37,000 per annum had been granted by the last parliament for the defence of the border, but that the Percys had received only £5,000. In a barely-veiled threat, he suggested that the king had neglected the northern marches for too long and would 'find them the greatest enemies that you have or else that you will hardly have the favour of our service in the said Marches': *POPC*, i, pp. 150-1; ii, pp. 57-9. On 30 May, the earl of Northumberland also appealed to the council for payment. Within two weeks of the rebellion, he wrote to the king to demand that money be sent at once, claiming that they were owed £20,000: Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 222.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-4. The Percys were the most favoured of Henry's creditors: Storey, 'The North of England', p. 136.

prompt payments from the government was sufficient justification for their rebellion in 1403.<sup>134</sup>

It seems rather more likely that the rebellion was provoked by a combination of factors. Possibly of most significance was the growing sense of political exclusion and isolation felt by the Percys following the initial grants of patronage and favour. As has already been noted, Henry turned almost exclusively to the knights and esquires of the Lancastrian affinity in the formation of a Lancastrian administration.<sup>135</sup> The obvious hostility of the Percys to these developments is evident from their exploitation of the financial crisis in 1401 to seek the dismissal of Henry's closest Lancastrian servants. The earl of Worcester played a leading role during this crisis, although it is clear that the family never managed to recover the influence at court which they had previously enjoyed. Following the initial crisis, Henry gradually began to regain control and reduced the political influence of the Percys. From November 1401, Lancastrians were steadily restored to the principal offices of state and the royal household.<sup>136</sup> The Percy monopoly on the Scottish border was broken by the appointment of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, and Stephen, Lord Scrope of Masham, as constables of Roxburgh in December 1401. The post was subsequently regranted to the Percys' great northern rival, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, in March 1402.<sup>137</sup> In the same year, Thomas Percy was replaced as steward and removed from court.<sup>138</sup> Finally, Sir Henry Percy was displaced in Wales by Prince Henry in March 1403.<sup>139</sup> At a local level, the family may also have been particularly concerned about the monopolisation of county office by Lancastrian retainers in areas of traditional Percy influence, particularly Yorkshire.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 338.

<sup>135</sup> See above, Ch. 5.3.

<sup>136</sup> Rogers, 'The Political Crisis of 1401', p. 93.

<sup>137</sup> *Rot. Scot.*, ii, pp. 155, 161. Storey suggests that the loss of the West March and Roxburgh by the Percys in 1395 and 1396 had already contributed to their rebellion against Richard II: Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', pp. 602-3. According to Arvanigian, the grant of Roxburgh to Westmorland possibly represented the last straw for the Percys: Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 66.

<sup>138</sup> Storey argues that Worcester's seat on the council had been the family's guarantee of regional supremacy, and that his removal was another major cause of their rebellion. Without such access to central government, the family's interests could no longer be represented: Storey, 'The North of England', pp. 136-7. Thomas, Lord Furnival's position on the council would appear to have been equally vital for their rivals, the Nevilles: C.R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family, 1166-1400* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 141.

<sup>139</sup> Rogers, 'The Political Crisis of 1401', pp. 93-4. This was perhaps of particular significance. The earl of Worcester had become guardian of the prince of Wales in 1403, while the Percys had previously exercised royal authority in Wales. Thus, the appointment of Prince Henry as king's lieutenant in March 1403 effected a double blow to Percy ambitions. According to Harriss, the prince narrowly escaped capture by the rebels in 1403, while men from his own retinue fought against him at Shrewsbury: G.L. Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', in G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31-2.

<sup>140</sup> See above, Ch. 5.3.

Many of these developments were simply associated with the recovery of royal control. However, Percy influence had undeniably been weakened. Recent research by Mark Arvanigian has suggested that this was part of a deliberate royal policy designed at eliminating the king's reliance upon the Percys.<sup>141</sup> Henry had initially been dependent upon their military support, and the family did, of course, enjoy a strong tradition of Lancastrian service.<sup>142</sup> However, Henry had found it necessary to purchase their loyalty in the summer of 1399. Thereafter, according to Arvanigian, he never regained confidence in the commitment of this overtly ambitious family to the Lancastrian dynasty. Instead, Henry pursued policies favourable to the interests of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, a Lancastrian servant of unquestionable loyalty,<sup>143</sup> whom he promoted as a reliable royal governor in northern England.<sup>144</sup> There his local authority was consolidated with significant grants of land, especially the honour of Richmond in the North Riding on 20 October 1399, which served to unite his estates in Wensleydale with those in Teesdale and Cumberland.<sup>145</sup> Thus, the Percys were excluded at both a local and a national level by favoured members of the Lancastrian establishment.

These developments were accompanied by a series of political disputes between Henry IV and the Percys which inevitably contributed to the latter's disillusionment. When Sir Henry Percy's brother-in-law, Sir Edmund Mortimer, was captured by Welsh rebels on 22 June 1402, Henry IV refused to allow his ransom.<sup>146</sup> Three months later, the Percys won a resounding victory over the Scots at Homildon Hill, but they were instructed by the king not to ransom any of their prisoners without his permission.<sup>147</sup> It

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<sup>141</sup> Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> The earl of Northumberland, despite being Gaunt's rival on the Scottish border, had served as the duke's deputy there in 1384: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 17, 125. Worcester, had been granted annuities by Gaunt between 1386 and 1398 totalling £281: *ibid.*, p. 277; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 334. Sir Henry Percy had been appointed the duke's lieutenant in the Duchy of Lancaster in 1393: Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 66.

<sup>143</sup> Westmorland had married Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and was an executor of the duke's will: *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 175. From 1397, he and his wife had been in receipt of a Lancastrian annuity of 500 marks, assigned upon the receipts of the Duchy honours of Pontefract and Pickering: DL42/17, fol. 74; Payling, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 276.

<sup>144</sup> Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', pp. 49-53. Arvanigian offers two very significant adjustments to the traditional interpretation of the balance of power. Firstly, he suggests that it is a mistake to over-emphasise the role of the Percys in the early years of Henry's reign. Consequently, he sees it as wrong to undervalue the part played by the Nevilles: Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', pp. 8-9, 49-50. Secondly, he argues that the Percys were increasingly operating outside of an established group of influential Lancastrians. On the other hand, the Nevilles were most certainly members of Henry IV's inner circle: *ibid.*, pp. 7, 57-8.

<sup>145</sup> For grants of land and wardships by Henry IV to the earl of Westmorland, see *CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 22, 24; *1408-13*, p. 467; *CFR 1399-1405*, pp. 29, 46; *CCR 1402-5*, p. 421; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 13-16; Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', pp. 50-1.

<sup>146</sup> Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 309.

<sup>147</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 41; *CCR 1399-1402*, pp. 220, 552; *CPR 1401-5*, p. 213.

has also been argued that the Percys were strongly opposed to Henry's aggressive Welsh policy, since it directed vital resources away from their campaigns on the Scottish border.<sup>148</sup>

With their political influence in government waning, and the encroachment of the Nevilles in northern England, the Percys gambled everything once again upon their military power in a second attempt at 'kingmaking'. It has been suggested that the Percys saw Yorkshire as the key to securing control over northern England.<sup>149</sup> It was certainly essential for them to neutralise the robust Lancastrian affinity in this region if they were to have any hope of success. However, they made a fundamental error in the timing of their rebellion. Sir Henry Percy had departed for the Welsh March early in the summer of 1403.<sup>150</sup> On 12 July, the king learned that Sir Henry Percy and the earl of Worcester had issued a manifesto at Chester.<sup>151</sup> As a consequence, the earl of Northumberland had not yet fully assembled his own forces when the king issued pre-emptive instructions on 16 July to a group of prominent Lancastrians, including William Gascoigne, Robert Waterton, Sir Richard Redman, and Sir Robert Rockley, to arrest the leading members of the Percy affinity in Yorkshire, including Sir John Pudsey I (d. 1421) of Bolton and Richard Fairfax (d.c. 1434) of Steeton from the West Riding.<sup>152</sup> When Sir Henry Percy and Worcester faced the royal army at Shrewsbury on 21 July, they did so without the support of most of their northern following. Instead, most of the rebel army came from Cheshire.<sup>153</sup> Sir Henry died in the battle but his uncle was captured and executed at Shrewsbury. On 22 July, the earl of Westmorland, William Gascoigne, Robert Waterton and others were commissioned to assemble all men in the counties of Yorkshire and Northumberland to resist the earl of Northumberland, who

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<sup>148</sup> Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 224. The Percys stood to gain both financially and politically from any expansion of English operations into Scotland since they had been granted the estates of the earl of Douglas. Moreover, the value of their own estates within the northern military zone had undoubtedly decayed due to the conflict with Scotland: Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 64.

<sup>149</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228.

<sup>150</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 342.

<sup>151</sup> A signet letter sent only four days previously, announcing the king's intention to go north to assist the Percys on the Scottish marches, suggests that Henry IV was taken completely by surprise: *CSL 1399-1422*, pp. 48-9. It was fortunate that the king was already at Nottingham, where he was well-placed to summon the support of the northern elements of the Lancastrian affinity: *ibid.*, p. 190; Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 310; Payling, *Political Society*, p. 136. Another signet letter, dated 17 July, makes it clear that Sir Henry Percy was busy questioning Henry of Lancaster's title to the throne, as well as proclaiming that Richard II was alive and well: *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 49.

<sup>152</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 297; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 343.

<sup>153</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, pp. 253-64; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 344. This meant, however, that the rebellion left the Percy affinity in Yorkshire relatively unscathed. According to Ross, this accounts for the survival of powerful elements of discontent in the region: *ibid.*, pp. 348-9.

had retreated to Warkworth Castle.<sup>154</sup> Under threat from these combined Lancastrian forces, Northumberland travelled south and submitted to the king at York on 11 August.<sup>155</sup> Thereafter, the king headed south, entrusting the subjugation of the remaining Percy strongholds in northern England to the earl of Westmorland and his brother, Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival.<sup>156</sup>

It is striking that a number of gentry families in Yorkshire maintained allegiances to both Henry IV and the Percys in the years immediately following the usurpation. The king may simply have been rewarding Percy retainers for their support in 1399 with grants of annuities and appointments as king's knights. Nevertheless, it may also have been Henry's intention to undermine the fidelity of the Percy affinity, as a precautionary measure in preparation for any future confrontation. If this were true, then, in 1403, the Percys may have been provoked to act out of self-defence before the king had the chance to erode their military following still further. In the event, the king's strategy proved unsuccessful and most of those with shared allegiances remained faithful to the earl of Northumberland in both 1403 and 1405.<sup>157</sup> But one West Riding knight, Sir Richard Tempest I, was successfully drawn into the king's camp in 1403.<sup>158</sup>

After the suppression of the rebellion, the earl of Northumberland was deprived of both offices and estates.<sup>159</sup> Prince John became constable of England, while the earl of Westmorland temporarily replaced Northumberland as warden of the East March in June. Although Neville was succeeded in this office by Prince John in the following month, he was immediately compensated with a grant of the wardenship of the West March, which had been forfeited by Sir Henry Percy.<sup>160</sup> On 7 September, the steward of the household, William Heron, Lord Say, was instructed to survey and govern all of the lordships forfeited by the earl of Northumberland in the north of England.<sup>161</sup> This was followed three days later by the appointment of the king's esquire, John Leventhorp, to collect all rents, issues and profits taken from the earl's estates.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, Northumberland was released in February 1404. In the following month, Leventhorp

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<sup>154</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 294.

<sup>155</sup> J.L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970), p. 158; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 345.

<sup>156</sup> *POPC*, i, pp. 213-4; Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 67.

<sup>157</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 228-9.

<sup>158</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 256; *1405-8*, p. 48; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 409; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228.

<sup>159</sup> Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', p. 227.

<sup>160</sup> Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, p. 54; *CPR 1401-5*, p. 258; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, p. 164; Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', p. 603.

<sup>161</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 262.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

was instructed to restore to the earl all the profits of his lands.<sup>163</sup> The king had already demonstrated his willingness to show mercy to the other rebels as early as August 1403. On 22 November, he fixed Epiphany as the deadline for such submissions.<sup>164</sup> Finally, a general pardon was proclaimed in parliament in March 1404.<sup>165</sup> Only one West Riding knight, Sir John Pudsey, is known to have found it necessary to obtain a pardon.<sup>166</sup> A number of other Percy adherents were obliged to swear an oath of fealty to the king, and to renounce their connection with the earl of Northumberland. They included Sir William Clifford, the acting head of the baronial family and a king's knight since 1399.<sup>167</sup>

Over the coming months, the north of England remained unsettled. In 1404, the sheriff of Yorkshire was instructed to arrest all who continued to proclaim that Richard II was alive in Scotland.<sup>168</sup> The first indication that the earl of Northumberland was again contemplating insurrection came when he attempted to ambush the earl of Westmorland at Witton Castle, in the palatinate of Durham, on or around 4 May 1405.<sup>169</sup> Two days later, he detained the king's envoy, Robert Waterton.<sup>170</sup> Towards the end of the month, Henry wrote to the council, informing them that the earl of Northumberland, the Earl Marshal, and Lord Bardolf had risen in rebellion. At the same time, the government was confronted with outbreaks of popular unrest in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire.<sup>171</sup> Earlier in the year, Edmund, earl of March, Henry, earl of Northumberland, and the Welsh rebel, Owain Glyn Dŵr, had secretly sealed the tripartite indenture, aiming at the conquest and division of England and Wales between themselves.<sup>172</sup> However, Walker has recently proposed that the Yorkshire risings of May 1405 should properly be considered as separate episodes.<sup>173</sup> In his view, there was

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<sup>163</sup> *CCR 1402-5*, p. 253.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.

<sup>165</sup> *Stat. Realm*, ii, pp. 147-8; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 349.

<sup>166</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 247; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 345.

<sup>167</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 294; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 346. Clifford was the leader of a small but dedicated group of Percy supporters which held a number of northern castles until 1404: *POPC*, i, pp. 209-10; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, p. 525; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 348; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Affinity*, pp. 228-9; Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles', p. 67.

<sup>168</sup> *CCR 1402-5*, p. 328.

<sup>169</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 351; Keen, *England in the Middle Ages*, p. 311. Witton was the residence of one of Westmorland's retainers, Sir Raph Eure.

<sup>170</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 89; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, pp. 605, 607.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89. For an account of the northern risings, see P. McNiven, 'The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope', *BJRL* 54 (1971), 173-213.

<sup>172</sup> R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 166-8; Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 312.

<sup>173</sup> His paper, given at a symposium on the reign of Henry IV held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, York University, on 12-14 July 2001, will shortly be published in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, forthcoming).



no 'great conspiracy' organised by the Percys. After the failure of Northumberland's attempt to ambush Westmorland, he retreated north towards Berwick. His abortive plot was accompanied by a spontaneous demonstration of support amongst members of the North Riding gentry and their tenants, including associates of the Percys. Finally, Walker argues, Archbishop Scrope led a reformist movement in protest at the lawlessness rife in northern England and the oppressive taxation of the clergy by the government.

Scrope's involvement accorded the risings of 1405 a degree of legitimacy which had not previously been encountered by the Lancastrian regime. They therefore commanded more general support than the rebellion of 1403.<sup>174</sup> A number of rebels were also prominent members of the Percy affinity. From the West Riding, for example, came the esquire Nicholas Tempest, who had been granted the manor of Walton by the earl of Northumberland on 24 April 1405, in recompense for a former annuity of 10 marks.<sup>175</sup> He was joined in insurrection by gentry from a number of other prominent West Riding families, including Sir William Plumpton I (d. 1405) of Plumpton, Sir William Ryther II (d. 1440) of Ryther, and Richard Fairfax of Steeton.<sup>176</sup> According to Ross, most of the rebels were probably malcontents who wished to induce reform rather than revolution.<sup>177</sup>

Henry immediately headed north from Hereford on 22 May, via the north midlands, to Pontefract, and thence to York.<sup>178</sup> On the same day, Sir Robert Babthorpe and John Waterton were appointed to arrest two prominent members of the Percy affinity from the East Riding.<sup>179</sup> In the ensuing campaign, the North Riding insurgents, led by Sir John Fauconberg, Sir John Fitzrandolph, Sir John Colville and Sir Ralph Hastings, assembled a force of 7-8,000 men at Topcliffe. However, they were put to flight by the Lancastrian force under the command of Prince John, the earl of Westmorland, and Lord Fitzhugh. Afterwards, Westmorland hurried to intercept the insurgents led by Archbishop Scrope and the Earl Marshal, who were tricked into surrendering at Shipton Moor on 29 May. The leaders of the uprising, including

<sup>174</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 349-50.

<sup>175</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 42. He was probably a member of the family of Tempest of Bracewell, which maintained close connections with the Percys throughout the fifteenth century. But it is also possible that he may have belonged to a junior branch of the Tempest family, seated at Studley. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>176</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 41-9, 70-79; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 361-9; Ormrod (ed.), *High Sheriffs*, p. 83.

<sup>177</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 361.

<sup>178</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, pp. 89-95.

<sup>179</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 67.

Mowbray, Archbishop Scrope and his nephew, Sir William Plumpton I, were executed at York on 8 June.<sup>180</sup> Supporters of the Percys still held the northern castles but the sheriff of Yorkshire was instructed to assemble as many men as possible and join with the king to march upon Berwick.<sup>181</sup> By 2 July, the castles of Berwick, Prudhoe and Warkworth had all fallen to the king, and only Alnwick remained to be taken.<sup>182</sup> Finally, the earl of Northumberland, his grandson, and Lord Bardolf accepted defeat and fled to Scotland. During the winter, the government strengthened its hold over local appointments in Yorkshire. A Lancastrian loyalist, Sir William Dronsfield (d. 1406) of West Bretton, became sheriff in November.<sup>183</sup> In the following month, the West Riding commission was reinforced with the inclusion of a member of the royal household, the Derbyshire esquire John Foljambe, who joined the *quorum*.<sup>184</sup>

A number of the rebels were severely punished for their involvement in Scrope's rising. Those who had previously been retained by Henry IV but who had consistently defied the king were singled out for execution.<sup>185</sup> Another Percy retainer, Nicholas Tempest, forfeited the manor of Walton.<sup>186</sup> Between August 1405 and January 1406, the confiscated estates and annuities of Robert Morton (d. 1424) of Bawtry were also redistributed amongst servants of the crown. Unlike Tempest, Morton appears to have suffered forfeiture because of his involvement in the abortive Mortimer Plot which had taken place earlier in the year.<sup>187</sup> However, the king again demonstrated mercy. On 12 June 1405, the sheriffs of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were instructed to deliver a proclamation that all those who had participated in the revolt would be allowed to return to their homes in safety, without fear of arrest, and sue for pardons.<sup>188</sup> The earl of Westmorland, William Gascoigne, Sir Richard Redman, Robert Waterton and others had already been commissioned to negotiate such pardons.<sup>189</sup> Waterton was still serving

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<sup>180</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, pp. 604-7; McNiven, 'The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope', pp. 208-12; Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 60-61; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 373-7.

<sup>181</sup> *CCR 1402-5*, p. 517.

<sup>182</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 95. Lord Bardolf's son-in-law, Sir William Clifford, was again serving as captain of Berwick in 1405. As in 1404, he struck a deal with the king and surrendered the castle. Incredibly, he rebelled again in 1408 and was pardoned for the third time: Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 313; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 229.

<sup>183</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>184</sup> *CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 566-7; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 295, n. 1. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>185</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 375-6.

<sup>186</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 42. The lands were jointly regranted to a yeoman of the king's chamber and a yeoman of the earl of Westmorland. Tempest subsequently petitioned for restoration but the escheator determined that the forfeiture was lawful: *CIM 1399-1422*, p. 246. His estates were eventually returned in 1413: *CPR 1413-16*, p. 115.

<sup>187</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 45, 57, 84, 115, 140; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 791.

<sup>188</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 91.

<sup>189</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 75.

in this capacity in 1408.<sup>190</sup> Benevolence was also shown to Sir William Plumpton's widow, who was granted an annual allowance of £40 for the maintenance of her family.<sup>191</sup> Both her father-in-law, Sir Robert Plumpton I (d. 1407), and her son, also Robert (d. 1421), received royal pardons, while the former saw his Duchy annuity reinstated. Following Sir Robert's death, the grant was almost immediately transferred to his grandson, marking the culmination of the family's political rehabilitation.<sup>192</sup> In 1406, Robert Morton received a full pardon.<sup>193</sup> Finally, Elizabeth Percy succeeded in recovering a number of manors, including the West Riding manor of Tadcaster, which she and her husband, Sir Henry Percy, had held jointly in tail male.<sup>194</sup>

Meanwhile, the earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf remained at large in Scotland. With the support of the French, they made another incursion into the north of England in 1406.<sup>195</sup> In March of that year, a commission was issued to Sir William Dronsfield, Robert Waterton, Robert Mauleverer I (d. 1443) of Wothersome and others to investigate the report that a number of northerners had assembled, ostensibly to join Prince Henry in Wales, but actually to assist the rebels.<sup>196</sup> Prince John and the earl of Westmorland were appointed to investigate unlawful congregations in the northern counties in 1407.<sup>197</sup> Nevertheless, the Percys had been dealt a decisive blow in 1405. When Northumberland and Bardolf returned to England for the last time in 1408, they attracted little support beyond their own tenantry and were overwhelmed by the sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Rokeby. Both died in battle at Bramham Moor on 20 February.<sup>198</sup>

Many members of the Lancastrian 'establishment' benefited from the forfeiture of the earl of Northumberland. His estates were confiscated in 1405 and redistributed amongst Prince John, Ralph, earl of Westmorland, and Queen Joan. In Yorkshire, the lordships of Topcliffe and Leconfield, together with several West Riding manors including Cleatop, Giggleswick, Settle and Preston in Craven, were granted to Prince

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<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 450.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>192</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 70; DL42/16, fols. 202v, 232v; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 91.

<sup>193</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 70; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 791.

<sup>194</sup> C138/26/33; *CCR 1402-5*, pp. 335, 434, 469; *1419-22*, p. 150; *CIM 1399-1422*, p. 138; *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 232-3; J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 70-1.

<sup>195</sup> *CSL 1399-1422*, p. 139.

<sup>196</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 229.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>198</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 379-81. See also *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 427-71, *passim*; *1408-13*, pp. 2, 20, 80. The names of very few Yorkshiremen are recorded in the pardon roll for 1408: C67/34. The only Percy retainer of note from the West Riding to join the earl of Northumberland in rebellion was Nicholas Tempest: *CPR 1405-8*, p. 463.

John on 27 June. He also gained control of the great baronies of Alnwick and Prudhoe in Northumberland, and became surveyor of the temporalities of the archbishopric of York.<sup>199</sup> It seems that the earl of Westmorland was originally intended to have a much larger share of the forfeited Percy estates, including the lordships of Cockermouth, Warkworth, and Spofforth. However, most of these estates were subsequently divided between Prince John and the queen, leaving the earl of Westmorland in possession of only Cockermouth and the remainder of the Lucy estates.<sup>200</sup> On 10 August, the queen was granted the keeping of the East Riding castle and lordship of Wressle and the West Riding manor of Healaugh, together with the manor of Petworth in Sussex, all of which had previously been granted to the earl of Westmorland.<sup>201</sup> At this time, according to Ross, the lordship of Spofforth was also regranted to Prince John.<sup>202</sup> Nevertheless, the king continued to make grants of land, offices, and annuities from the barony until 1411.<sup>203</sup> On 30 May 1408, for example, the manor of Spofforth was given to Sir Thomas Rokeby, to the value of £80 per annum, for his services in defeating the earl of Northumberland at Bramham Moor.<sup>204</sup> But the lordship was certainly under the control of Prince John by 1413.<sup>205</sup>

Several members of the West Riding gentry also received rewards for their continuing loyalty to the Lancastrian cause. Unsurprisingly, the greatest beneficiaries were members of the Lancastrian 'establishment'. In 1403, Robert Waterton received a Northumberland manor forfeited by Sir Thomas Percy. Waterton's local authority in the

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<sup>199</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 40, 359. The temporalities themselves (including the West Riding lordships of Ripon, Otley, and Sherburn-in-Elmet) were entrusted to a commission, headed by Peter, Lord Mauley, and Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, but also including other prominent Lancastrians such as William Gascoigne, Sir Thomas Rempston and Robert Mauleverer: *ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 50; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 377-8. For the Lucy inheritance, see above, Ch. 2.4.

<sup>201</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 46; KB27/706, Rex rot. 41. The queen had initially been granted the lordship of Wressle in September 1403: *CPR 1401-5*, p. 259. In 1412, she regranted the manor of Healaugh to Robert and Cicely Waterton: *CPR 1408-13*, p. 382; KB27/706, Rex rot. 41.

<sup>202</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 378, n. 2.

<sup>203</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, pp. 34, 43, 44, 73, 80, 169, 407; *1408-13*, pp. 105, 144.

<sup>204</sup> *CPR 1408-13*, p. 444. In 1409, the king commissioned an auditor to inspect the accounts of Spofforth for the time when they were in the king's hands: *ibid.*, p. 78. Sir Thomas Rokeby's account for 1408 demonstrates that the manor of Spofforth, together with its members in Linton and Leathley, was worth only £73 in 1408: SC6/1087/10. On 27 April 1410, he obtained a licence to sublet the manor of Spofforth (except feudal rights) to the value of £80 per annum: *ibid.*, pp. 186-7; E.J. Fisher, 'Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies, 1450-1650' unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Leeds, 1955), i, Ch. 2, pp. 34-5.

<sup>205</sup> On 13 April, John of Lancaster appointed his esquire, John Middleton, as surveyor of the vert at Spofforth: *Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 140. In an inquest of the same year, the escheator found that Sir Henry Vavasour had held his Yorkshire manors of Hazlewood and Wood Hall of Prince John, as of his manor of Spofforth: W.P. Baildon (ed.), *Inquisitions Post Mortem Relating to Yorkshire during the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 59 (1918), p. 98. It is possible that the barony of Spofforth formed part of the unspecified grant of 17 June 1410, whereby Prince John also gained the reversion of the manor of Healaugh: *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 531-2; KB27 706, Rex rot. 41.

West Riding was enhanced further by his appointment as steward of Spofforth and Healaugh in 1405.<sup>206</sup> Robert Mauleverer received the forfeited goods of John Nowell in 1403, and a life grant of the mills beneath York castle in 1408.<sup>207</sup> In recognition of Sir Richard Tempest's outstanding commitment to the regime, the annuity of 20 marks which had originally been awarded him by the earl of Northumberland was confirmed by Henry IV and increased to £20 in 1405.<sup>208</sup> In the same year, Edmund Sandford received an annuity of £18 from the manor of Donington, while Thomas Markenfield was granted 40 marks per annum for his part in resisting the earl of Northumberland in 1408.<sup>209</sup> Many servants of the earl of Westmorland were also rewarded. In June 1405, for example, John Norton was restored to the office of warrener of Ripon, from which he had been expelled by Archbishop Scrope at the behest of Sir John Scrope and Sir William Plumpton.<sup>210</sup>

##### 5) 1405-1414: Formation of a Regional Lancastrian Hierarchy

A new Lancastrian hierarchy was established in the north of England in the years immediately following the Percy rebellions.<sup>211</sup> Henry IV had finally unburdened himself of his dependence upon the Percys in the region. The problem now remained of how to reconstruct the political balance in the absence of effectual Percy lordship. It was also vital to appoint reliable lieutenants while the earl of Northumberland was still at large and the northern counties remained unsettled. Once again, Henry turned to his faithful Lancastrian connection. At the head of this new regional hierarchy was John of Lancaster, created duke of Bedford in 1414. By 1405, Prince John had nominally assumed most of the Percy mantle in the north. He had succeeded the earl of Northumberland as both constable of England and warden of the East March in 1403, and later received the bulk of the Percy estates which had been forfeited in 1405.<sup>212</sup> John was probably expected to perform a similar duty in northern England to that being discharged by his elder brother, Prince Henry, as the king's lieutenant in Wales. In 1405, however, John was still only an inexperienced youth of sixteen. It therefore seems

<sup>206</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, pp. 73, 254; *1408-13*, p. 77. The John Waterton who was granted an annuity of 20 marks in 1405 may have been either his brother or cousin: *CPR 1405-8*, p. 36. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>207</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 252; *1405-8*, p. 435; NYCRO ZFL/89. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>208</sup> *CPR 1401-5*, p. 48.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 69, 437.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>211</sup> Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles' p. 72.

<sup>212</sup> See above, pp. 131, 135-6.

likely that responsibility for the north was initially delegated to the earl of Westmorland, whose own local authority had been greatly enhanced by the grants of the honour of Richmondshire in 1399, the wardenship of the West March in 1403, and the forfeited Percy lordship of Cockermouth in 1405.<sup>213</sup> Meanwhile, Henry IV ensured that the strategically significant bishopric of Durham was entrusted to another reliable Lancastrian, Thomas Langley, in 1406.<sup>214</sup> In the West Riding, local authority continued to be delegated to the king's personal friend, Robert Waterton. But the death of Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, in 1407 deprived Henry of a truly able Lancastrian servant. His West Riding estates passed to his son-in-law, John Talbot, but the focus of the family's interests now shifted permanently from south Yorkshire to the Welsh March.<sup>215</sup>

During the last years of his reign, Henry IV was increasingly plagued by ill-health.<sup>216</sup> This effectively removed royal leadership from those areas where the king was himself a significant landowner.<sup>217</sup> In Staffordshire, where Henry had misguidedly handed over the government of the region to an altogether too restricted circle of Lancastrian servants, those previously excluded from local rule seized upon the opportunity to go on the offensive.<sup>218</sup> In neighbouring Derbyshire, however, Lancastrian hegemony was far more representative of established local power structures and cohesion seems to have been maintained. The only significant local conflict to arise there actually developed within the Lancastrian affinity itself.<sup>219</sup> The situation in the West Riding seems to have been rather more comparable with that in Derbyshire. Although the growth of Lancastrian influence across Yorkshire and the north of England in general may very well have contributed to the Percy revolt in 1403, there was never any question that the Duchy's dominance in the West Riding was unrepresentative. Indeed, it is a telling indicator of the strength of Lancastrian loyalties within the region that a number of Percy retainers had failed in their duty to support the earl of Northumberland between 1403 and 1408. After 1405, the local lordship of the Percys was completely in abeyance and the Lancastrian connection remained indisputably in control of the riding. The only local conflict of note concerned a property dispute over the Yorkshire manor of Kilburn, which had been granted by the

<sup>213</sup> See above, pp. 129, 131, 136.

<sup>214</sup> Henry could therefore exploit the powers of the palatinate to subjugate the tenants of the Percys: I.C. Sharman, *Thomas Langley: The First Spin Doctor, c. 1363-1437* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 92-3.

<sup>215</sup> See above, Ch. 2.6.

<sup>216</sup> See P. McNiven, 'The Problem of Henry IV's Health, 1405-1413', *EHR* 100 (1985), 747-72.

<sup>217</sup> Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 70.

<sup>218</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 205-16; E. Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', in Harriss (ed.), *The Practice of Kingship*, p. 55.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

king to both Robert Waterton, steward of Pontefract, and Sir Peter Buckton, the rival steward of Knaresborough.<sup>220</sup>

Despite the recent rebellions in the region, the fact that almost no major legal cases from the West Riding are recorded in the surviving records of the King's Bench may be significant. A similar situation also prevailed in East Anglia during the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Castor argues that, in Norfolk and Suffolk, the dominance of the Lancastrian connection was entirely representative and did not provoke instability and confrontation.<sup>221</sup> It therefore seems plausible to conclude that the rule of the Duchy in the West Riding was equally inclusive. A brief examination of the local lordship exercised by John, duke of Bedford, who was selected to compensate for the political vacuum created in Yorkshire by the forfeiture of the Percys, further reinforces this picture of an extraordinarily cohesive network. Prince John made particularly effective use of the West Riding lordship of Spofforth during the brief time in which it remained in his hands. In October 1408, for example, Sir Halnath Mauleverer (d.c. 1433) of North Deighton indented to serve with Prince John for one year at Berwick.<sup>222</sup> In 1413, the future duke of Bedford recruited John Middleton of Stockeld, the son and heir of Sir Nicholas Middleton (d.c. 1416), and appointed him surveyor of the *vert* within the lordship of Spofforth.<sup>223</sup> Two years later, he formally retained Sir Robert Plumpton II, the son of the traitor, Sir William Plumpton, who had been executed in 1405.<sup>224</sup> It was probably also at about this time that Prince John became acquainted with another influential local knight, Sir Richard Redman, through their mutual service on the Scottish border. He almost certainly retained Sir Richard's stepson, Sir Brian Stapleton I (d. 1417) of Carlton, although no formal contract survives. In 1416, Plumpton and Stapleton were returned to parliament by Redman, then serving as sheriff of Yorkshire, perhaps indicating another demonstration of the duke's influence. Bonds of service were further reinforced by family ties within the neighbourhood network. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the knightly families of Gascoigne, Redman, Ryther, Stapleton, and Plumpton were all tightly bound into a

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<sup>220</sup> JUSTI/1517, rots. 42, 45, 47, 48v, 51, 57v; DL42/17, fol. 12v. Waterton won the dispute and subsequently became steward of Kilburn in 1416, although the manor itself had been regranted to William Lasynby the year before: DL42/17, fols. 39, 206.

<sup>221</sup> Castor, 'The Duchy of Lancaster and the Rule of East Anglia', p. 72.

<sup>222</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 703.

<sup>223</sup> *Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 140.

<sup>224</sup> M.C.E. Jones and S. Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476', *Camden Miscellany* 32, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 3 (1994), 144-5.

kinship group which was founded upon traditions of Lancastrian service.<sup>225</sup> This tradition proved to be particularly durable. After Stapleton's death on campaign in France, Bedford requested that the confraternity of St Albans Abbey pray for his soul. His four-year-old-son, Brian Stapleton II (d. 1466), became a ward, and later a loyal servant, of the duke of Bedford. The heir of Sir Robert Plumpton also served with the duke in France. Sir William Plumpton II (d. 1480) enlisted under Bedford in 1435, and was subsequently rewarded with the *vicomté* of Falaise.<sup>226</sup> Moreover, the Gascoignes, Plumptons, and Stapletons remained staunchly loyal to the Lancastrian cause, even during the more troubled years in the middle of the century.<sup>227</sup>

The accession of Henry V brought few significant changes to the balance of power in the West Riding. As in the north midlands, the Duchy remained the dominant interest.<sup>228</sup> Henry immediately confirmed most of the fees and offices granted by his father.<sup>229</sup> His priority, however, was clearly the exploitation of the financial worth of the Duchy rather than the preservation of its political value. From now on, the Duchy would become one of many resources available to an unambiguously royal and public authority.<sup>230</sup> A policy of natural wastage was introduced in an attempt to restore health to the finances of the Duchy. The death of an old retainer was no longer automatically greeted by the grant of a new annuity. Such a trend was most prevalent in the northern heartlands of the Duchy. In this region, a concerted effort was made to reduce the vast expenditure on annuities which, according to Castor, had consumed five-sixths of all available resources under Henry IV.<sup>231</sup> Consequently, annuities charged upon the Pontefract receipt were gradually reduced, ultimately to half their former level, during the reign of Henry V.<sup>232</sup> A number of other adjustments were also made to the Lancastrian connection within the West Riding. Although continuity was initially maintained within the personnel of the peace commission, two of the region's most

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<sup>225</sup> See above, Ch. 3.3.

<sup>226</sup> Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 3; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 203.

<sup>227</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 161-2; iv, pp. 90-92, 183-6, 459-61. See above, Ch. 3.2. The duke of Bedford also seems to have exploited the forfeited Percy estates in the East Riding as a recruiting ground. Two members of East Riding families with traditions of loyalty to the Percys served in the duke's retinue in 1416: Sir John Hotham of Scarborough and Anthony St Quintin of Harpham. See Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 397. It is, therefore, questionable whether the traditional Percy connection showed 'no signs' of constraint as a result of the interregnum: *ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>228</sup> According to Castor, Henry 'intended to maintain direct control of those regions where the Duchy was legitimately the dominant territorial power and fully represented the area's political make-up': Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 225.

<sup>229</sup> See, for example, DL42/17, fols. 9-9v, 11, 190v.

<sup>230</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 37, 225.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-6.

<sup>232</sup> Expenditure upon annuities fell from £427 in 1413 to £213 by 1421: DL29/731/12017, m. 11; 12022, m. 8; 12024, m. 3; DL29/732/12029, m. 9.



prominent Lancastrians promptly lost influence. In 1413, William Gascoigne was not reappointed as chief justice of the King's Bench.<sup>233</sup> Similarly, Robert Waterton was replaced as chief steward of the North Parts by Sir Roger Leche, a close associate of the new king, although he still enjoyed enough influence to succeed Leche as chamberlain of the Duchy in 1416.<sup>234</sup> Moreover, after Richard Gascoigne retired from the peace commission in 1414, the duties of the *quorum* were largely undertaken by John Dauneey I (d. 1426) of Cowick, the deputy steward of Tickhill since 1409.<sup>235</sup> The death of Sir Peter Buckton in 1414 also permitted the appointment of Bedford's associate, Sir Robert Plumpton, as steward of Knaresborough.<sup>236</sup> Elsewhere, Thomas Clarell I, who had been retained by Henry in 1411, increasingly played a more prominent role in the administration of the West Riding and Lincolnshire.<sup>237</sup> Another associate of the new king, Robert Morton, had been in disgrace since his implication in the Mortimer Plot of 1405. In 1412, however, presumably with the assistance of the then prince of Wales, he became escheator of Yorkshire. Four years later, he was confirmed in his position as an esquire of the body. His eldest son, Henry, who was one of Henry V's godchildren, also obtained a place in the royal household.<sup>238</sup>

More wide-ranging developments seem to have occurred at the county level. During the reign of Henry IV, the office of sheriff of Yorkshire had been almost completely monopolised by Lancastrians, with half being drawn from the West Riding. For the most part, Henry V's sheriffs still displayed strong Lancastrian sympathies. Indeed, several had previously held office during the reign of his father.<sup>239</sup> But only two knights from the West Riding served as sheriff of Yorkshire during the reign of Henry V.<sup>240</sup> There may also have been a corresponding decline in the percentage of West Riding knights returned to parliament for Yorkshire, although gaps in the surviving evidence make this assertion much harder to substantiate.<sup>241</sup> Since the influence of the Percys and the duke of York remained negligible for much of this period, it is possible

<sup>233</sup> J. Sainty, *The Judges of England, 1272-1990: A List of Judges of the Superior Courts*, Selden Society, Supplementary Series, 10 (London, 1990), p. 8.

<sup>234</sup> DL42/17, fols. 76, 190; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 417, 419; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 37, 225.

<sup>235</sup> E372/264, rot. 11; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 297; DL42/16, fol. 256; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 528. See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>236</sup> DL42/17, fol. 12; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 523.

<sup>237</sup> See *CPR 1413-16*, p. 407; *1416-22*, pp. 82-3, 144, 211, 250, 384-5, 424; *1422-9*, p. 66; *CFR 1413-22*, pp. 40, 42.

<sup>238</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 389-90; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 356; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 791.

<sup>239</sup> See Ormrod (ed.), *High Sheriffs*, pp. 78-82.

<sup>240</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162. They were Sir Richard Redman I (1415) and Sir Halnath Mauleverer (1420).

<sup>241</sup> See below, Ch. 4.2.

to conclude that these changes reflect an attempt by the new regime to broaden local representation within the administration of Yorkshire. Indeed, Henry V proved himself determined to establish the Lancastrian crown as ‘an incontrovertibly public and universally representative authority’ throughout the kingdom.<sup>242</sup> The king was equally committed to the conquest of France, partly, it seems, ‘to defuse the explosive hostilities which had built up [in England] during his father’s reign’.<sup>243</sup> In the West Riding, preparations for the French campaigns included a commission of array issued to Robert Waterton and other Lancastrians in May 1415 to maintain order during the king’s absence, an extraordinary commission of the peace issued for the whole of Yorkshire in July 1419, and a variety of commissions to raise loans.<sup>244</sup> Additionally, the West Riding commission was reinforced by the appointment of the chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy from July 1420.<sup>245</sup> However, the prosecution of the war with France came at great personal cost. Many knights, esquires, and indeed nobles from the region fought and died on campaign, including Sir Brian Stapleton I (Alençon, 1417), Sir Robert Plumpton II (Meaux, 1421), Sir John Pudsey I (Baugé, 1421), Sir William Gascoigne II (Meaux, 1422), John Fitzwilliam II (Rouen, 1421), and John, Lord Clifford (Meaux, 1422).<sup>246</sup> Their deaths contributed to the general decline in the number of knights from the riding during the period.<sup>247</sup>

#### 6) 1414-1422: The Percy Restoration

One of Henry V’s principal concerns was the reconciliation of disinherited noble families with the Lancastrian crown. His father had suffered from the lack of a Lancastrian establishment amongst the higher nobility during the initial years of his reign and had suffered the financial and political consequences of relying instead upon the support of the knights and esquires of the Lancastrian affinity. However, a new generation of adult magnates, closely associated with the prince of Wales, had begun to emerge after 1407.<sup>248</sup> Harriss concludes that such personal ties were not merely coincidental but rather part of a deliberate royal strategy. When the heirs of Holland,

<sup>242</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 224.

<sup>243</sup> E. Powell, ‘The Restoration of Law and Order’, p. 72.

<sup>244</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 250, 314-5, 407; *1416-22*, p. 462; *CFR 1413-22*, p. 317.

<sup>245</sup> *CPR 1416-22*, p. 463. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>246</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 162; iv, pp. 92, 461; Ross, ‘The Yorkshire Baronage’, pp. 284, 345-6; *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 293; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ed. A. Gatty, 2 vols. (1828-31, repr. Wakefield, 1974), i, p. 338. See above, Ch. 2.5.

<sup>247</sup> See above, Ch. 3.2.

<sup>248</sup> Powell, ‘Lancastrian England’, pp. 459, 461.

Montague, Mortimer, and Mowbray came of age, they were allowed a partial recovery of their estates and titles, with the prospect of more to follow as a reward for good behaviour, and were married into loyal Lancastrian families.<sup>249</sup> A similar strategy was pursued with regard to Sir Henry Percy's heir.

The king's ambitions lay in France, and the restoration of Henry Percy offered the prospect of internal security against Scottish invasion during his absence.<sup>250</sup> In 1414, the earl of Northumberland's grandson was in exile in Scotland when he was encouraged by the king to petition, ultimately successfully, for the restoration of his entailed estates.<sup>251</sup> He was created earl of Northumberland on 16 March 1416 and performed homage for his lands in parliament.<sup>252</sup> At the same time, he was required to marry Eleanor Neville, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland.<sup>253</sup> Nevertheless, the restoration had to be delayed until after Henry V's return from France in 1415 because of events in Yorkshire. It had been agreed that Percy would be exchanged for a Scottish hostage, Murdoch Stewart, eldest son of the duke of Albany, who had been captured by the English at Homildon Hill. While being escorted from the Tower of London to the East March, however, Murdoch was kidnapped near Leeds on 10 June 1415 by an esquire, Henry Talbot of Easington in Craven.<sup>254</sup>

After his restoration, the earl of Northumberland seems to have promptly taken possession of most of his Yorkshire estates, including the lordship of Spofforth.<sup>255</sup> The duke of Bedford received an annuity of 3,000 marks in compensation for the loss of the Percy estates which he had enjoyed since 1405, despite retaining a number of manors until his death in 1435.<sup>256</sup> Upon the death of his mother in 1417, Northumberland also gained control of the manors which she had already recovered.<sup>257</sup> In the same year, the

<sup>249</sup> Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', p. 35.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>251</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 37; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 321; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 314. All those lands which had formerly been held in fee simple or granted to feoffees were expressly excluded from the restoration. Moreover, the estates forfeited by the earl of Worcester, including the castle and manor of Wressle (E. Riding), were also overlooked: Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, pp. 69-70, 74-5.

<sup>252</sup> *CChR 1341-1417*, p. 235, 483; *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 37; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 108; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 69.

<sup>253</sup> Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', p. 37.

<sup>254</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 370; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 109-10; T.B. Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton Plot of 1415*, Southampton Record Series, 30 (Southampton, 1988), p. 101, n. 31; C. Kightley, 'The Early Lollards: A Survey of Popular Lollard Activity in England, 1382-1428', unpublished DPhil thesis (York, 1975), p. 401. Henry Talbot and his elder brother, Sir Thomas Talbot (*f.l.* 1419) of Bashall, were Ricardians. In 1414, Sir Thomas had been implicated in Oldcastle's revolt. Henry Talbot was apprehended at Newcastle in 1417. He was tried and executed for treason. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>255</sup> Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 71; Fisher, 'Estates of the Percies', i, Ch. 2, p. 30.

<sup>256</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 370; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, pp. 71-4.

<sup>257</sup> *CCR 1419-22*, p. 150; *CFR 1413-22*, p. 205.

earl's position in northern England was officially recognised by his appointment as warden of the East March in succession to Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor.<sup>258</sup> Thereafter, he began to serve on local commissions, culminating in his appointment to all three commissions of the peace in Yorkshire between 1416 and 1420.<sup>259</sup> His political restoration was now essentially complete. The earl now set about rebuilding his family's influence in its traditional areas of supremacy. Sadly, little evidence survives regarding the vitality of the Percy affinity in these years. It is apparent, however, that a number of his father's old retainers and their sons remained committed supporters of the earl of Northumberland.<sup>260</sup> One such individual was Sir John Langton I (d. 1459) of Farnley, whose father, also John, had been pardoned for his participation in Scrope's rising.<sup>261</sup> By September 1423, Sir John was serving as steward of Spofforth.<sup>262</sup> Another officer in 1423 was Richard Fairfax, who had been arrested in 1403 and pardoned for rebellion in 1405.<sup>263</sup> His younger brother, Guy Fairfax (d. 1446) of Walton, received a life interest in lands at Walton from the earl in place of an annual fee in 1433.<sup>264</sup> Richard's son, Guy Fairfax (d. 1496) of Steeton, maintained the family tradition and was serving as deputy steward of Spofforth, Tadcaster, Leathley, and Healaugh in 1451. In the same year, he was also granted a life annuity.<sup>265</sup> The lands of Nicholas Tempest, a staunch Percy retainer who had served the Percys throughout all three rebellions, were finally restored in July 1413.<sup>266</sup> Finally, Sir William Plumpton II was in receipt of an annuity from the earl of Northumberland by 1442, and became steward of the earl's Yorkshire estates in 1442.<sup>267</sup>

Nevertheless, it is arguable whether there were 'no signs that the traditional Percy connection among the North Country gentry had suffered from the years of the Earl's exile in Scotland'.<sup>268</sup> Both Northumberland's local and regional authority had undoubtedly been weakened during the interregnum. Although the Percys had emerged during the later fourteenth century as the greatest noble family in northern England,

<sup>258</sup> Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', pp. 604, 613.

<sup>259</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 113. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>260</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 114-5, 408-9.

<sup>261</sup> *CPR 1405-8*, p. 49; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 561.

<sup>262</sup> Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 249.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249; *CPR 1401-5*, p. 297; *1405-8*, p. 79.

<sup>264</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 12. He was still in receipt of these lands in 1442-3: WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 4.

<sup>265</sup> WSRO PHA D9/6, m. 3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, n. 2. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>266</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 115.

<sup>267</sup> WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 5; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, n. 1; Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 251-2.

<sup>268</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 114.

their power was already in decline before the rebellion of 1403. Even in 1403, retainers such as Sir Richard Tempest failed to rally to their standard. After the defeat of Scrope's rising, as we have seen, support for the earl of Northumberland was negligible. When the family's lordship in Yorkshire was eventually revived, after more than a decade in abeyance, the second earl had to contend not only with the greatly augmented authority of the Nevilles in the region, but also with an established relationship between the duke of Bedford and many of the greater gentry families resident around the barony of Spofforth. According to Weiss, it is doubtful whether the family ever managed to reclaim their precedence in the north.<sup>269</sup>

## 7) Conclusion

The Lancastrian affinity played a vital role in the usurpation of 1399. A significant proportion of Bolingbroke's fighting force was drawn from the West Riding. After his accession, Henry IV faced the task of broadening his private lordship into public, universal kingship. However, his constituency amongst the nobility remained insufficient to guarantee the security of the throne. As a result, Henry was compelled to reward the continuing loyalty of his Lancastrian knights and esquires with appointments to office and additional grants of annuities. By comparison, little attempt was made to broaden the Lancastrian connection in Yorkshire. In the early years of the reign, the increased financial burden placed upon Duchy receipts was unsustainable, provoking an extended period of political crisis which was exacerbated by the inexperience of Lancastrian officials in royal administration and the king's rash promise to 'live of his own'.

At a local level, the king also faced the problem of how to reconcile his complete control of royal appointments with possession of a private affinity. In those regions where the Duchy was the leading landed interest, he decided simply to delegate responsibility for local government to a group of leading Lancastrian retainers. In Yorkshire and the north midlands, for example, where the Duchy had exercised the controlling interest in local government under Richard II, Lancastrian influence now became overwhelming. Between 1399 and 1413, for example, membership of the commission of the peace for the West Riding was largely restricted to a small circle of Lancastrians. The evidence confirms that this was undoubtedly a legitimate reflection of

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<sup>269</sup> M. Weiss, 'A Power in the North? The Percies in the Fifteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 502.

local power structures in the West Riding. It has become clear that the riding did indeed possess a highly dominant, albeit extremely unusual, source of lordship in the Duchy of Lancaster. Nevertheless, the lordship exercised by the duke of Lancaster has tended to be obscured because he now also happened to be king. Because of Henry IV's other responsibilities, it became necessary to delegate rather more authority to the leading gentry than was normal. Between 1399 and 1407, for example, the steward of Pontefract emerged as the most influential figure in the riding. But the concentration of regional power in the hands of a select group of local Lancastrians was almost certainly unrepresentative of political interests in Yorkshire as a whole, where a number of noble interests were competing for local rule. Indeed, the domination of local administration in Yorkshire by Lancastrian appointees probably helped to precipitate the Percy revolt in 1403. Two years later, Archbishop Scrope's rising may also have been provoked, at least in part, by the heavy-handed exercise of Duchy authority in the region.

In the aftermath of rebellion, a new Lancastrian hierarchy was established in the north of England under the leadership of Prince John and the earl of Westmorland. The accession of Henry V brought few immediate changes, although the new king's priority was the exploitation of the financial value of the Duchy at the expense of its political importance. As a consequence, he introduced a policy of natural wastage with regard to the Lancastrian affinity. Of greater significance to the balance of power in the north was the restoration of the second earl of Northumberland in 1416. After more than a decade in exile, however, the new earl now had to contend with the enhanced position of the Neville family in northern England. The West Riding evidence therefore contradicts the traditional assumption that the local lordship of the Percys had emerged unscathed from the enforced interregnum. Henry V had proved himself committed to the reconciliation of disinherited noble families with the Lancastrian crown. In 1422, his premature death threatened the unity which his short reign had engendered. In the West Riding, the loss of authoritative leadership to the Duchy was potentially disastrous. Chapter Six considers how successive regimes attempted to compensate for this loss of royal authority.

## CHAPTER SIX

1422-1450

### 1) Introduction

Under Henry IV and Henry V, the Duchy of Lancaster represented the dominant interest in the West Riding. The leading members of the Lancastrian retinue had tirelessly supported Henry IV in the face of repeated rebellion and, under the skilful leadership of the earl of Westmorland, had succeeded in defeating the Percys. By Henry V's accession in 1413, the Duchy had secured more or less complete control of the riding. Henry now sought to assimilate the private power of the Duchy with the public and universal authority of the crown. But in regions where the Duchy was already representative of local power structures, including Derbyshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the new reign brought little in the way of material change. In 1416, the restoration of the earl of Northumberland had led to the revival of Percy lordship in the region. But the new earl had to contend with the political consequences of more than a decade in exile, during which period Neville aggrandisement had continued unchecked in the north of England. Furthermore, the Percy affinity had effectively been neutralised by defection, defeat, and deprivation in the intervening years. At the accession of Henry VI, the Duchy still remained the dominant political power in the West Riding, while two further sources of local lordship had fallen into abeyance with the deaths of Edward (d. 1415), duke of York, and John (d. 1422), Lord Clifford, on campaign in France. Up to this point, the Duchy had enjoyed strong, personal leadership from Henry IV and Henry V, both of whom had been determined to preserve the independence of the Lancastrian inheritance. The succession of the infant Henry VI, and the disruption caused to the Duchy administration by the settlement for the performance of Henry V's will, jeopardised the continued survival of the Duchy as a political entity. Without an adult king, moreover, the stability of local power structures in a region such as the West Riding which was dependent upon Lancastrian lordship was inevitably threatened. Temporary measures needed to be taken until Henry VI came of age and could take up the reins of power. The success or failure of these measures was to preoccupy political society in the riding for the next fifteen years.

## 2) 1422-1437: The Rise of Noble Lordship

In August 1422, the premature death of Henry V resulted in the succession of a nine-month-old baby to the throne of England. The terms of Henry's will led to the appointment of his younger brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, as protector. In the absence of an adult king, the authority of the crown was to be exercised corporately by a council composed of the greater lords of the realm.<sup>1</sup> Such an expedient was not without its flaws, since conciliar rule was, by its very nature, contrary to the accepted form of royal government. The medieval polity was fundamentally dependent upon an adult king exercising independent royal will.<sup>2</sup> The monarch also needed to be receptive to counsel, although neither imposed nor unrepresentative. In 1422, the greater lords needed to contrive an active royal persona with which they could effectively usurp and exercise the royal will independently of the king. Since the council was now peculiarly required to both offer counsel to, and receive it on behalf of, the king,<sup>3</sup> consensus was vitally important and factionalism had to be avoided at any cost if the judicial powers of the crown were to be exercised corporately by the nobility.<sup>4</sup> Dynastic ties between the principal lords of the council helped promote internal unity. Nevertheless, the reign opened inauspiciously with a quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the lords of the council over his claim to precedence. In such a delicate situation, the prospect of an adult king was essential to contain the rivalries and ambitions of the nobility during the minority.<sup>5</sup>

The loss of personal royal leadership of the Duchy of Lancaster had especially serious implications for the maintenance of order in those regions where the king was a substantial landowner. Moreover, the terms of Henry's will, as well as the provisions for Queen Katherine's dower settlement, led to the tripartite division of the Duchy between Henry's feoffees, his widow and his young heir, Henry VI.<sup>6</sup> The political ramifications of these developments were particularly significant in the West Riding.

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<sup>1</sup> See R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Stroud, 1998), Ch. 2; G.L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1988), Ch. 6; B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), Chs. 2-4; J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 111-135; H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 74-80, 151, 196.

<sup>3</sup> According to Watts, 'their counsel was the sole constituent of an imaginary, but authoritative, royal person' during the minority: *ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> J.L. Watts, 'When Did Henry VI's Minority End?', in D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies and P. McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 117-21. Castor argues that the need for consensus among the lords proved to be equally essential for the survival of Suffolk's regime during the 1440s: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49. See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>5</sup> Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 115-17, 128-9.

<sup>6</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 38-9.



On 22 July 1415, the king had granted the honour of Tickhill, the soke of Snaith, and the manors of Bradford and Barnoldswick to his feoffees for the performance of his will.<sup>7</sup> Following Henry's death, Katherine de Valois received a grant of the honour of Knaresborough, in partial fulfilment of her dower assignment, on 9 November 1422.<sup>8</sup> By 1423, therefore, only the honour of Pontefract remained in the crown's possession. In the West Riding, the administrative integrity of the Duchy, which had provided the first two Lancastrian kings with such an invaluable political resource, was shattered.

At a national level, the administrative division of the Duchy into two circuits for auditing purposes was abandoned in 1422, while Henry V's feoffees and Queen Katherine now appointed their own local officers within their respective spheres of influence.<sup>9</sup> But in terms of local personnel, the Duchy hierarchy in Yorkshire initially remained largely intact. Roger Flore, who had succeeded Sir Roger Leche as chief steward of the North Parts in 1416, was reappointed under Henry VI, while Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) of Methley continued as steward of Pontefract and Tickhill. Similarly, in the North Riding, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, was confirmed as steward of Pickering.<sup>10</sup> The only immediate change of personnel within the Lancastrian establishment occurred in the West Riding. This had been necessitated by the death of the steward of Knaresborough, Sir Robert Plumpton II (d. 1421) of Steeton, at the siege of Meaux.<sup>11</sup> His death ushered in a brief period of instability, during which overall possession of the honour was transferred to Queen Katherine. In February 1422, Plumpton was succeeded by Sir William Gascoigne II (d. 1422) of Gawthorpe, the son of Henry IV's chief justice of King's Bench. Gascoigne, however, was also serving in France at this time. Shortly afterwards, he too was killed at Meaux.<sup>12</sup> After holding office within the honour for only three days, Gascoigne was replaced by Sir William

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<sup>7</sup> The feoffees were Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, Richard Courteney, bishop of Norwich, Edward, duke of York, Thomas, earl of Arundel, Thomas, earl of Dorset, Ralph, earl of Westmorland, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, Henry, Lord Scrope, Sir Roger Leche, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir John Phelip, Hugh Mortimer, John Wodehouse, and John Leventhorp: R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), pp. 199-200, 339; *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 356-7; *CCR 1413-19*, pp. 385-7.

<sup>8</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 199, 207, 339; DL42/18, fols. 186-7.

<sup>9</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 201, 202-3, 207-8, 434. Nevertheless, the three establishments remained closely associated and continued to share personnel: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 419-20, 513, 528, 533.

<sup>11</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, p. 162. The siege of Meaux lasted for seven months from October 1421 until May 1422. It was during this siege that Henry V probably contracted the illness which led to his premature death at Vincennes in August 1422: C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450* (Oxford, 1984), p. 25. The siege also claimed the life of John, Lord Clifford, in 1422: *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 293.

Harrington (d. 1440), perhaps because of his prior military commitments.<sup>13</sup> Harrington, a Lancashire knight who was shortly to inherit a large share of Sir Robert Neville's estates in Lancashire and Yorkshire in right of his wife, had recently served as sheriff of Yorkshire and already held Duchy office as chief steward of Lancashire.<sup>14</sup> As a king's knight who had served as Henry V's standard-bearer in France, Harrington was equally overburdened with responsibilities.<sup>15</sup> His tenure lasted only until December 1422, when the stewardship of Knaresborough was regranted to Sir Richard Hastings of Slingsby (N. Riding).<sup>16</sup> Unlike Plumpton or Gascoigne, Hastings was not from a local family. The honour of Knaresborough was by now no longer under the crown's control and Hastings was presumably nominated by Queen Katherine.

A number of judicial measures were taken to reinforce local authority in the West Riding while the Duchy lacked direct royal supervision. In many respects, this merely represented an extension of the temporary practices introduced under Henry V to compensate for the king's prolonged absence abroad. For example, the chief steward of the North Parts had been appointed to the West Riding commission of the peace in 1420, and this practice continued into the reign of Henry VI.<sup>17</sup> The steward of Pontefract had automatically received appointment to the West Riding commission since 1399 and continued to do so.<sup>18</sup> However, the inclusion of the steward of Knaresborough from 1431 was perhaps a response to Henry VI's minority.<sup>19</sup> Finally, a significantly larger proportion of lords were appointed to the West Riding commission from 1424.<sup>20</sup> This in particular reflects the prevailing system of conciliar government and emphasises that the council had acknowledged the need to reinforce local power structures in regions which now lacked authoritative direction. Clearly, the lords believed that they themselves should share responsibility for the preservation of local order in the absence of effective royal leadership.

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<sup>13</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

<sup>14</sup> *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 824; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 162; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 492. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>15</sup> *CPR 1422-9*, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

<sup>17</sup> *CPR 1416-22*, p. 463; *1422-9*, p. 573; *1429-1436*, p. 628; C.E. Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 118-19.

<sup>18</sup> See above, Ch. 5.3.

<sup>19</sup> *CPR 1429-36*, p. 628; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118. Members of the nobility appointed to the West Riding commission during the minority of Henry VI included Richard, duke of York, Henry, earl of Northumberland, Ralph, earl of Westmorland, Richard, earl of Salisbury, Humphrey, earl of Stafford, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, John, Lord Scrope, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, and John, Lord Talbot and Furnival: *CPR 1422-9*, p. 573; *1429-36*, p. 628. See above, Ch. 4.5 (Table 6) and below, Appendices 4a and 5.

A rather more dramatic readjustment within the Duchy hierarchy was necessitated by the death of Robert Waterton I in 1425. During the reign of Henry IV, Waterton had undoubtedly been the lynch-pin of Duchy authority in the West Riding.<sup>21</sup> Although his regional influence had been somewhat reduced after the accession of Henry V, when he was replaced as chief steward of the North Parts by Sir Roger Leche, he remained one of the most prominent Lancastrian servants and rose to become chamberlain of the Duchy in 1416.<sup>22</sup> Far from fading into obscurity during the reign of Henry V, in many respects Waterton's career continued to flourish and, as steward of Pontefract, he was entrusted with the custody of the captive duke of Orléans and the young Richard of York following the battle of Agincourt in 1415.<sup>23</sup> In 1420 his local authority was consolidated further with his appointment as constable of Castle Donington (Leics.).<sup>24</sup> Unsurprisingly, Waterton had been confirmed in all of his local offices in 1422.<sup>25</sup> His death three years later created a political vacuum in the West Riding.

The challenge in 1425, therefore, was to identify a replacement of sufficient local standing and personal authority to maintain the political coherence of the Duchy connection during the protracted minority of Henry VI. Such a responsibility was made even more difficult by the separation of the three Duchy honours in 1422. Henceforth, there would no longer be a single hierarchy of Lancastrian lordship in the region. Moreover, Queen Katherine and Henry V's feoffees were primarily concerned with the exploitation of Duchy revenues, while its political role as a source of private lordship was neglected. It had by now become a matter of some urgency to fill the vacuum created in the riding by the failure of Duchy rule in order to maintain local power structures. By this date, there may not have been any suitably influential members of the local Lancastrian retinue left to succeed Waterton as steward of Pontefract. Between 1413 and 1422, the crown had reduced the size of the Lancastrian affinity, especially in the Duchy heartlands.<sup>26</sup> Annuities had been allowed to decline by a process of natural

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<sup>21</sup> See above, Ch. 5.3. For his biography, see below, Appendix 9.

<sup>22</sup> See above, Ch. 5.5.

<sup>23</sup> *CPR 1416-22*, p. 142; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 394; F.M. Wright, 'The House of York, 1415-1450', unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins, 1959), p. 41. In 1419, the king anxiously wrote to the council to warn that Robert Waterton should not be 'misled by [the] fair speech and promises' of the Duke of Orléans. Furthermore, he was forbidden to allow the duke to leave Pontefract Castle to visit Waterton's nearby manor house at Methley: *CSL 1399-1422*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>24</sup> DL42/17, fol. 62v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 573. See above, Ch. 5.3.

<sup>25</sup> DL42/18, fol. 194v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 513, 528, 573.

<sup>26</sup> See above, Ch. 5.5.

wastage and this policy continued during the minority of Henry VI.<sup>27</sup> It was therefore decided that Waterton should be replaced by a nobleman instead of a member of the gentry. Such an appointment was not wholly unprecedented. Members of the local baronage, for example, had served as stewards of the North Riding honour of Pickering since the death of Sir David Roucliff in 1406. However, they invariably came from resident North Riding families.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the stewardships of the greater Duchy honours such as Pontefract had always been filled by gentry drawn from the local Lancastrian connection.<sup>29</sup> By contrast, Sir Richard Neville (d. 1460), the future earl of Salisbury, was selected to succeed Waterton in 1425.<sup>30</sup>

In many respects, Sir Richard Neville was a natural choice to replace Robert Waterton as steward of the largest, wealthiest, and strategically most important of the four Duchy honours in Yorkshire. He was the eldest son of Ralph (d. 1425), earl of Westmorland, by his second marriage, to John of Gaunt's youngest daughter, Joan Beaufort. His father had emerged as undoubtedly the most powerful magnate in the north of England during the reign of Henry IV. As the king's brother-in-law, Westmorland's loyalty to the Lancastrian crown was indisputable. His rapid promotion had perhaps hastened the rebellion of the Percys in 1403, but his military might and swift, decisive action had also assisted in its rapid suppression. Following the earl of Northumberland's attainder in 1405, Neville enjoyed over a decade of unrivalled supremacy in the northern counties. During this period, he served as the king's watchdog in the north and warden of the West March. By the time of the Percy restoration in 1416, the regional lordship of the Nevilles was unassailable and their power was still growing.<sup>31</sup>

Richard Neville had no claim to the earldom of Westmorland, which descended upon the first earl's death in October 1425 to his grandson, Ralph Neville (d. 1484). Nevertheless, unlike the second earl of Westmorland, Richard Neville was distinguished

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<sup>27</sup> Neither Henry V nor the minority council of Henry VI deliberately sought to undermine the structure of the Lancastrian affinity. Consequently, the majority of existing annuities were confirmed in both 1413 and 1422, but additional annuities were generally withheld: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 35, 41. See above, Ch. 5.5.

<sup>28</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 533. The stewards of Pickering between 1406 and 1437 were William, Lord Roos of Helmsley (1406-1414), Henry, Lord Fitzhugh of Ravensworth (1414-1425), and John, Lord Scrope of Masham (1425-1437).

<sup>29</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 111-12; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> DL42/17, fol. 220v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 513. It is not known who served as steward of Tickhill between 1425 and 1432. However, since the honour had been administered by the steward of Pontefract since 1403, and was now in the possession of Henry V's feoffees, a group dominated by Bishop Beaufort and his brother-in-law, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, it is conceivable that Sir Richard Neville may have been appointed as steward of both honours in 1425. See below, p. 154.

<sup>31</sup> See above, Ch. 5.

by his royal kinship. Because of this, he was selected to succeed his father in all but title.<sup>32</sup> By a complex series of conveyances, the second earl was deprived of the bulk of the Neville inheritance in favour of Joan Beaufort and the heirs of her body. Instead, it was Richard Neville who ultimately received the great North Riding lordships of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton, together with Raby in the palatinate of Durham and Penrith in Cumberland.<sup>33</sup> However, his birthright was not restricted entirely to the Neville patrimony. In 1420, Richard succeeded his half-brother, John Neville, as warden of the West March.<sup>34</sup> This appointment suggests that he was also intended to assume his father's mantle as the king's lieutenant in northern England. His nomination as steward of Pontefract in January 1425 represented an official endorsement of his future role. Upon his father's death, Richard Neville could readily expect to assume the rule of the entire region, from the West Riding to the Scottish border. Such a responsibility was in keeping with the prevailing system of conciliar government by the greater lords in the absence of personal royal leadership. As a royal kinsman, Neville could also look forward to the prospect of a steady flow of patronage with which to extend his power and influence.<sup>35</sup> In 1429, he was finally able to claim a title more in keeping with his future status as the leading territorial magnate in northern England, when he succeeded to the earldom of Salisbury, in right of his wife, Alice Montague.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, since his rapid promotion overlooked the Percy interest in the north of England, it failed adequately to respect the existing regional power structure.

The restoration of the second earl of Northumberland in 1416 had been far from complete. In particular, the duke of Bedford retained a large number of Percy estates, including the barony of Prudhoe in Northumberland and the Yorkshire manors of Healaugh and Kirk Levington, until his death in 1435.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Northumberland also had to live with the stigma of being the son and grandson of traitors. In conclusion, it is unlikely whether the Percys were ever able to regain the supremacy in the north of England which they had enjoyed in the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, they remained the dominant noble family in Northumberland and the East Riding of

<sup>32</sup> A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 246, 249.

<sup>33</sup> See C.D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), Ch. 1.4; E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 320-1. Ralph Neville inherited only the lordship of Brancepeth in Durham and a handful of other manors: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 246. See below, p. 175.

<sup>34</sup> R.L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *EHR* 72 (1957), 613; *Complete Peerage*, xii pt. 2, p. 548; xi, p. 396.

<sup>35</sup> See below, pp. 175-6.

<sup>36</sup> *Complete Peerage*, xi, pp. 395-6.

<sup>37</sup> J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 70-5.

<sup>38</sup> See above, Chs. 2.4 and 5.6

Yorkshire, as well as in districts like Wharfedale and Craven in the West Riding.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the family's position had been further enhanced when Northumberland succeeded in recovering the wardenship of the East March from Richard, Lord Grey, in 1417.<sup>40</sup> But although Northumberland was appointed to the minority council,<sup>41</sup> he lacked the influence that Salisbury enjoyed at court on account of his Beaufort kinship.<sup>42</sup> Because of the remorseless growth in the power of the Nevilles, and their unparalleled access to royal patronage, the Percys were increasingly faced with the prospect of exclusion and subordination, even within their traditional areas of influence.<sup>43</sup> Their eventual response to this challenge will be discussed below.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the controversial process by which the senior Nevilles had been disinherited, Salisbury was undoubtedly the appropriate candidate to succeed his father. However, it may be suggested that his suitability as steward of Pontefract was rather more questionable. Neville almost certainly owed his preferment to the intervention of his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. Beaufort was a son of John of Gaunt and the half-brother of Henry IV. In 1415, he had been named a co-feoffee for, as well as an executor of, Henry V's will. After the king's death, Beaufort emerged as a leading figure in the minority regime. He was a prominent royal creditor and, together with his brother, Thomas, duke of Exeter, and his brother-in-law, the earl of Westmorland, controlled the late king's feoffment, from which the Beauforts derived a distinct political advantage.<sup>45</sup> The basis of the cardinal's power was the minority council.<sup>46</sup> Unsurprisingly, Richard Neville's appointment as steward of Pontefract coincided with his uncle's third term as chancellor between July 1424 and March 1426.<sup>47</sup>

Although Salisbury's extensive inheritance stretched throughout Durham and the North Riding of Yorkshire, it did not, significantly, include any estates in the West Riding apart from the solitary manor of Kettlewell in Craven.<sup>48</sup> He lacked, therefore, the

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<sup>39</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 254.

<sup>40</sup> Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches', p. 604.

<sup>41</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, p. 175; *Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 715; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 21-3.

<sup>42</sup> Harriss, however, acknowledges that the council did offer Northumberland very favourable terms for the renewal of his keeping of the East March in November 1424: Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, p. 146.

<sup>43</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 254.

<sup>44</sup> See below, Ch. 7.2.

<sup>45</sup> Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 118-133.

<sup>46</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 156.

<sup>47</sup> E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., London, 1986), p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 246; 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), p. 130. Kettlewell was an outlying dependency of the North Riding lordship of Middleham: C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West

territorial resources necessary to exercise effective lordship in the West Riding. Any attempt to do so would be entirely dependent upon the regional authority inherent in the office of steward and the ability to project Neville influence from the family's strongholds in the North Riding.<sup>49</sup> To make matters worse, Richard Neville had yet to assume control of his father's vast estates.<sup>50</sup> He did not gain undisputed possession of the North Riding lordships of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton until August 1443, when he finally emerged as undeniably the leading magnate in northern England.<sup>51</sup> The steward of Pontefract had, of course, never before required possession of personal estates to reinforce his local authority. Robert Waterton, for instance, was merely an esquire. However, he was also an established member of the Duchy hierarchy and, as such, was accountable to the king and supported by the resources of the Lancastrian connection. The earl of Salisbury, on the other hand, was a member of the nobility and would not be accountable in the same way. His local role would also be substantially different from that of his predecessors. In the absence of royal authority, it had been decided that the remaining resources of the Duchy in the riding should be handed over to the earl in order to reinforce his own private local authority. His appointment represented a significant change in the administrative structure of the Duchy. For the first time, Lancastrian estates had been redistributed to enhance the independent local authority of a member of the nobility. This anticipated the systematic division of the Duchy's lordships between leading magnates which was introduced in 1437 at the end of the minority to reinforce existing regional hierarchies.<sup>52</sup> The long-term implications of this strategy for the polity were considerable and will be discussed later.<sup>53</sup> Salisbury's appointment, however, had immediate implications for local rule in the West Riding.

As Helen Castor has emphasised, the strategy of delegation was not designed to intrude interlopers into established structures of power but rather to reinforce the authority of those who already played a legitimate role in the rule of the localities.<sup>54</sup> Salisbury's family had not been heavily involved in the affairs of the West Riding since

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Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), i, p. 122; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 63.

<sup>49</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 123.

<sup>50</sup> Salisbury acquired the first of his father's North Riding lordships in 1437, when he received a lease of the lordship of Middleham from his mother: *CCR 1435-41*, pp. 157-8. See below, p. 167.

<sup>51</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 246. See below, pp. 175-6.

<sup>52</sup> See Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 44-7. Watts notes that the crown restricted itself almost without exception to 'supplementing, not creating, the landed resources of territorial lords': Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 176.

<sup>53</sup> See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>54</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 47.

the death of his uncle, Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, in 1407.<sup>55</sup> The earl of Westmorland had, of course, consistently received appointment to the West Riding commission and a variety of other local ad hoc commissions in recognition of his status as one of Yorkshire's greatest landowners.<sup>56</sup> On 20 July 1424, Salisbury joined his father on the commission of the peace in the West Riding.<sup>57</sup> The Nevilles had also enjoyed a limited connection with the Duchy in the county since the reign of Richard II; John of Gaunt had settled a marriage portion of 500 marks per annum upon the countess of Westmorland and her husband in 1397. This annuity, which was drawn upon the Yorkshire receipts of the Duchy, continued to be paid until her death in 1440.<sup>58</sup> The extension of the family's authority from the North Riding into the West Riding might therefore have been of little consequence if there had not been any other noble families resident in the region. Yet there were four such families in the fifteenth century, each of whom perhaps possessed a rather more legitimate claim to a share of the delegated authority of the Duchy in the riding. Of these families, however, two were experiencing minorities in 1425. The young heirs of Edward, duke of York, and John, Lord Clifford, did not finally come of age until 1432 and 1435 respectively.<sup>59</sup> The West Riding estates of the third family continued to be peripheral to their overall interests. Despite receiving regular appointments to the West Riding commission from 1423 until 1437, John Talbot, Lord Furnival, continued to be preoccupied with the affairs of the Welsh March.<sup>60</sup> The family interest in Yorkshire went almost entirely unrepresented until 1440, when Talbot's heir, also John, began to maintain a household at Sheffield.<sup>61</sup> Only the Percys remained politically active in the riding between 1425 and 1432. Their lordship of Spofforth adjoined the Duchy honour of Knaresborough and lay between Pontefract and the North Riding lordships of the Neville family.<sup>62</sup> As we have seen, the Percys experienced some difficulty in restoring their influence after 1417.<sup>63</sup> By now, the

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<sup>55</sup> See above, Ch. 5.5.

<sup>56</sup> See *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 567; *1401-5*, p. 284; *1405-8*, p. 500; *1408-13*, p. 487; *1413-16*, p. 426; *1416-22*, pp. 211, 250, 385, 463; *1422-9*, pp. 405, 573. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>57</sup> *CPR 1422-9*, p. 573. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>58</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 38-9; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249, n. 13. See, for example, DL29/738/12099, m. 2.

<sup>59</sup> See above, Ch. 2.5, 2.8. However, it seems likely that the duke of York's castle at Conisborough continued to serve as a focus for the local gentry in south Yorkshire during the minority of Richard of York. See above, Ch. 3.3.

<sup>60</sup> *CPR 1422-9*, p. 573; *1429-36*, p. 628; *1436-41*, p. 594. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>61</sup> See above, Ch. 2.6.

<sup>62</sup> See above, Ch. 2.4.

<sup>63</sup> See above, Ch. 5.6.



Nevilles clearly enjoyed a distinct advantage over their northern rivals.<sup>64</sup> Yet the Percys had unquestionably re-emerged as a significant source of local lordship in the West Riding by 1425. Despite the proximity of his own estates to the Lancastrian honours of Pontefract and Knaresborough, Northumberland was apparently considered unsuitable to receive a share of the spoils, doubtless because of Beaufort intervention at court. He did not attempt to challenge the status quo until the 1440s.<sup>65</sup> In the meantime, Salisbury was free to establish his own authority uncontested within the honour of Pontefract.

In 1425, Salisbury was immediately confronted with the problem of how to introduce effective rule in a region where he lacked an adequate territorial base. Sadly, little evidence survives concerning his retaining strategy until the late 1450s.<sup>66</sup> But it is clear that he began to recruit a following in the West Riding during the 1420s. Since Salisbury's local authority in the region depended almost entirely upon his tenure of the stewardship of Pontefract, he began by tapping into existing traditions of Lancastrian service amongst the local gentry. One of his first acts was the appointment (or possibly confirmation) of Thomas Wombwell (d. 1452/3) of Wombwell as deputy steward of Pontefract.<sup>67</sup> Thomas was the son of Hugh Wombwell, who had served as Gaunt's attorney in common pleas as well as prothonotary at Lancaster.<sup>68</sup> Thomas Wombwell had been a close associate of Robert Waterton I and was named one of his executors in 1425.<sup>69</sup> He was a key figure in the local administration,<sup>70</sup> and his appointment provided a degree of continuity within the Duchy establishment. On 6 October 1426, Salisbury went one stage further and retained Wombwell for life.<sup>71</sup> Another local esquire, William Scargill I (d. 1459) of Lead, probably associated himself with the earl at about this time. Scargill was another of Waterton's executors.<sup>72</sup> He held most of his estates in the West

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<sup>64</sup> See Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249; M. Weiss, 'A Power in the North? The Percies in the Fifteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 503.

<sup>65</sup> See below, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>66</sup> See A.J. Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury', *Northern History*, 11 (1976).

<sup>67</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 513.

<sup>68</sup> S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 25; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 488.

<sup>69</sup> See LDA MX 851/7, 9, 12; H.A. Hall, 'Some Notes on the Personal and Family History of Robert Waterton, of Methley and Waterton', in *Publications of the Thoresby Society, Miscellanea*, 15 (1909), 87-8.

<sup>70</sup> See CPR 1416-22, pp. 144, 250; 1422-9, p. 405; 1429-36, pp. 71, 360.

<sup>71</sup> M. Jones and S. Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476', *Camden Miscellany* 32, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 3 (1994), 146-7.

<sup>72</sup> LDA MX 851/12.

Riding of the honour of Pontefract and was actively involved in the process by which Salisbury ultimately obtained possession of his inheritance during the 1440s.<sup>73</sup>

There is no other evidence regarding Salisbury's dealings with the local gentry until the 1450s.<sup>74</sup> Arnold concludes that he showed little interest in either the riding or its gentry.<sup>75</sup> Such an interpretation is probably an oversimplification of the extremely complex situation which the earl faced during the 1420s and 1430s. Until 1443, Salisbury was preoccupied with his dispute with the second earl of Westmorland over the Neville family patrimony.<sup>76</sup> He had only recently emerged as a potential source of local lordship in the region and still lacked the material resources to recruit on the scale necessary to develop a coherent affinity across Yorkshire and the north of England.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, Salisbury still commanded no authority within the honours of Knaresborough and Tickhill. His hold over the riding was therefore incomplete because he did not control all of the Duchy lordships in the region. Arnold's conclusion also fails to take into account the practicalities of 'bastard feudalism'. Recent research into the mechanics of fifteenth-century lordship suggests that most nobles neither expected nor could even afford to retain all the gentry in a county. Instead, a lord would seek strategically to recruit men who were potentially of most use in a particular locality.<sup>78</sup> In the West Riding, Salisbury would seem to have been following standard practice by retaining the services of men such as Thomas Wombwell. Nevertheless, since his authority was almost entirely derived from possession of the Duchy stewardship, the effectiveness of his lordship must inevitably be called into question. Salisbury himself seems to have been fully aware of his limitations. As a consequence, the focus of his retaining strategy had shifted by the 1450s to Craven and the honour of Knaresborough. This partly reflects Salisbury's increasing attempts to make political inroads into traditional areas of Percy supremacy.<sup>79</sup> But both districts were also nearer to the heart of

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<sup>73</sup> *CCR 1441-7*, pp. 150-1; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> Sir Richard Hamerton of Wigglesworth, Sir Thomas Harrington of Brierley, Richard Roos of Ingmanthorpe, and Ralph Pulleyn of Scotton were all listed as retainers of the earl of Salisbury in the receiver of Middleham's account roll for c. 1457-9: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 270-1; Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill', pp. 57-9. See below, Ch. 7.2.

<sup>75</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 123.

<sup>76</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 246. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 52-8; Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 322-3; R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), pp. 113-14.

<sup>77</sup> Salisbury's situation may be compared with that faced by Humphrey, earl of Stafford, in the north midlands during the 1420s. Stafford, too, lacked the resources necessary to formally retain a large following: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 236.

<sup>78</sup> M.C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 360. See above, Chs. 2.8 and 3.4.

<sup>79</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 270-1.

Neville power in the North Riding. It would have been far more practical and potentially more profitable to recruit a following within these districts. Moreover, the earl had finally gained undisputed possession of his father's lordships in 1443. His concerted recruitment campaign in the West Riding can therefore be identified with his emergence as a territorial magnate of regional significance.<sup>80</sup>

Salisbury's intervention in the West Riding roughly coincided with another important political development. The work of the West Riding commission had usually been dominated by a single prominent Lancastrian under Henry IV and Henry V. Richard Gascoigne (d. 1423) of Hunslet, for example, had carried out the duties of the *quorum* largely single-handed between 1399 and 1413. Thereafter, John Daunev I (d. 1426) of Cowick shouldered the burden of responsibility for most of Henry V's reign.<sup>81</sup> A markedly different situation prevailed after 1422, with the rise of a gentry group that was highly involved in local administration. This situation reflected a similar development in the north midlands, where the Duchy connection had also been deprived of authoritative royal leadership. It has been demonstrated that a new administrative hierarchy appeared in Staffordshire during the 1420s and early 1430s. A small group of esquires and gentlemen came to dominate the lower levels of county administration, including the commission of the peace and the escheatorship. These men were associates of the young earl of Stafford, who had emerged as a potential source of local lordship after coming of age in 1423. Nevertheless, Helen Castor has suggested that this Staffordshire connection was subsumed within a broader regional structure of power which also represented the interests of Edmund Ferrers of Chartley and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick.<sup>82</sup>

The rise of a similar hierarchy in the West Riding is less explicable. Between 1422 and 1437, the work of the West Riding commission came to be discharged by a small group of local esquires and gentlemen - especially Alfred Manston (d. 1439) of Manston, Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark, Richard Wentworth I (d.c. 1449) of West Bretton, Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) of Wadworth, Guy Fairfax (d. 1446) of Walton, John Thwaites (d. 1469) of Lofthouse, and Richard Peck (d.c. 1439) of Southowram.<sup>83</sup> Most of these men were equally active in other areas of local administration. Clarell, for example, served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1427 and 1434,

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<sup>80</sup> See below, p. 182.

<sup>81</sup> See above, Ch. 4.5, and below, Appendix 6.

<sup>82</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 235-9.

<sup>83</sup> E372/269 rot. 11d; 272 rot. 12d; 273 rot. 12; 278 rot. 15; 283 rot. 16; E101/598/42 mm. 1-2. See above, Ch. 4.4, and below, Appendix 6.

was appointed to commissions to raise loans in the West Riding in 1421 and in the shire in 1431, and served as a commissioner of array for the riding on eight occasions between 1415 and 1436.<sup>84</sup> Manston and Wentworth both held the escheatorship, in 1419 and 1422 respectively, while Wentworth also received appointment to a local commission *de walliis* in 1431, and to the West Riding commission of array in 1434.<sup>85</sup> Edmund Fitzwilliam's administrative career had begun during the reign of Henry IV, but he was once again appointed to the escheatorship in 1428, and served on the commission of array issued for the riding two years later.<sup>86</sup> John Thwaites was appointed to a variety of local commissions from 1422 but also twice filled the office of escheator, in 1430 and 1436.<sup>87</sup> None of these men had any known association with the earl of Salisbury, although his associate William Scargill did serve as escheator in 1424 and was appointed to local commissions of array from 1427,<sup>88</sup> while Thomas Wombwell had begun to contribute to the work of the West Riding bench by 1429.<sup>89</sup>

It may therefore be suggested that a new administrative hierarchy was developing in the riding as a consequence of the loss of royal direction. This new hierarchy still acknowledged the importance of the Duchy in the region but was now increasingly inclusive of other noble interests, both active and inactive. Richard Peck and Alfred Manston, for example, were apprentices-at-law retained by the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>90</sup> Edmund Fitzwilliam, on the other hand, was a servant of the dukes of York and constable of Conisbrough Castle.<sup>91</sup> Thomas Clarell had also formerly been a retainer of Edward, duke of York, but was subsequently retained for life by Henry V while prince of Wales.<sup>92</sup> According to Ross, Clarell's career in local administration was built upon service to the crown.<sup>93</sup> Richard Wentworth was a particularly close associate

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<sup>84</sup> *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 72 (1971) p. 192; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 407; *1416-22*, pp. 144, 196, 211, 385; *1422-9*, p. 405; *1429-36*, pp. 71, 126, 360, 522. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>85</sup> *List of Escheators*, p. 192; *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 139, 360. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>86</sup> He had previously served as escheator in 1413: *List of Escheators*, p. 192; *CPR 1429-36*, p. 71.

<sup>87</sup> *CPR 1416-22*, p. 423; *1429-36*, pp. 280, 522; *List of Escheators*, p. 192. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>88</sup> *List of Escheators*, p. 192; *CPR 1422-9*, p. 405; *1429-36*, pp. 71, 360. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>89</sup> Wombwell was in receipt of payments prior to his first surviving commission as a justice of the peace on 7 November 1431: E101/598/42, m. 1; *CPR 1429-36*, p. 628. See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>90</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 453. Manston was a close relation of William Gascoigne I, although the precise relationship remains unclear: Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 9, 15; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 73n.

<sup>91</sup> *CPR 1413-16*, p. 377. See above, Ch. 2.3, and below, Appendix 9.

<sup>92</sup> *CCR 1429-35*, p. 260; *CPR 1416-22*, pp. 82-3; *1422-9*, p. 66. See above, Ch. 3.3, and below, Appendix 9.

<sup>93</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 411.

of Maud, countess of Cambridge.<sup>94</sup> Finally, Guy Fairfax and John Thwaites were both common lawyers from local families, and their appointments can probably be ascribed purely to their legal expertise.<sup>95</sup> Curiously, many of these men came from south Yorkshire. The significance of this fact is unclear, given that the local lordship of the dukes of York was in abeyance from 1415 until Duke Richard came of age in 1432.<sup>96</sup> However, it seems plausible that the government had turned to the leaders of gentry society to maintain the proper functioning of local administration in the absence of any overwhelming source of active noble lordship in the riding. The preponderance of gentry members from the south of the riding therefore reinforces the hypothesis outlined in Chapter Three that a particularly cohesive and representative gentry network existed in south Yorkshire, centred upon the lordship of Conisbrough, and that it continued to function despite the death of Duke Edward at Agincourt in 1415.<sup>97</sup>

Meanwhile, Salisbury's regional authority continued to grow. In 1432, he had been granted the Duchy stewardship of the honour of Tickhill by Henry V's feoffees.<sup>98</sup> Again, the influence of Cardinal Beaufort may be identified behind his nephew's appointment.<sup>99</sup> Salisbury had now gained control of two of the Duchy honours in the riding. The death of Queen Katherine on 3 January 1437 allowed the crown finally to reclaim the third after an interval of almost fifteen years.<sup>100</sup> An opportunity was now presented to reunite all three Duchy honours and assimilate them with the regional lordship of the earl of Salisbury. Since the honour of Knaresborough lay within the Percy sphere of influence, Neville's appointment as steward of the lordship would have been unnecessarily provocative. Nevertheless, the earl of Northumberland was also overlooked for regional office. Instead, on the day after the queen's death, the stewardship was granted, during pleasure, to John Feriby (d.c. 1441).<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> *Yorks. Deeds*, vi, pp. 15-18; viii, p. 80; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 177-8. See above, Ch. 3.3, and below, Appendix 9.

<sup>95</sup> See Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 12-13; P.E.S. Routh and R. Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood* (Wakefield, 1983), p. 76. Both men, however, also enjoyed connections amongst the local nobility. Fairfax was granted a life interest in lands at West Walton by the earl of Northumberland in 1433 in place of an annual fee. In 1451, the earl granted him a life annuity of £10; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 12; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92n. Thwaites was employed by Thomas, Lord Clifford, in 1442 and was serving as one of his counsellors by 1447; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 107; ii, p. 13.

<sup>96</sup> See above, Ch. 2.3.

<sup>97</sup> See above, Ch. 3.3.

<sup>98</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 528.

<sup>99</sup> Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, p. 324, n. 50.

<sup>100</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 208.

<sup>101</sup> DL42/18, fol. 49; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

According to Wedgwood, John Feriby was possibly the father of another John (d. 1470) of Thorne in south Yorkshire.<sup>102</sup> In fact, he appears to have died childless and was succeeded by his brother, Robert. Although Feriby's family may have originated in Yorkshire, there is no documentary evidence that he possessed lands in the county. He seems to have been from Surrey, where he held a variety of local offices.<sup>103</sup> His inquisition *post mortem* records only that he held the manor of Berners (Surrey), in right of his wife, Margaret Berners.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, he had also served as controller of the royal household since at least 1430.<sup>105</sup> It is hard, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that he obtained preferment in Yorkshire largely because of his access to the king.<sup>106</sup> His appointment, unlike those of his predecessors, probably disregarded existing power structures in the West Riding. According to Griffiths, his nomination as steward of Knaresborough was accompanied by a flood of similar appointments to household servants across the country in an effort to strengthen the link between the royal household and the government during the winter of 1436-7.<sup>107</sup> Griffiths concludes that these developments partly reflected the increasing role of the king in government.<sup>108</sup> This seems extremely unlikely, given the indiscriminate nature of royal generosity at this time.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, Castor has emphasised that members of the regional nobility benefited considerably more than members of the household in 1437, at least when the reorganisation of Duchy resources is considered.<sup>110</sup> What is clear, as Watts notes, is that the nominal admission of the king to his powers and the coincidental death of Queen Katherine presented members of the household with a unique opportunity to further their own interests.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 319.

<sup>103</sup> *CFR 1437-45*, p. 19; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

<sup>104</sup> C139/108/16.

<sup>105</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 302, n. 34.

<sup>106</sup> His appointment came at a time when the king almost indiscriminately endorsed the requests of petitioners. A variety of initiatives were devised by the council to stem the flood of royal grants. Nevertheless, Watts has demonstrated that members of the household succeeded in obtaining an exceptionally large number of grants from the king during this period: Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 154.

<sup>107</sup> Feriby himself had also become sheriff of Surrey and Sussex on 8 November 1436: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 233.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>109</sup> See Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 154.

<sup>110</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>111</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 159. For example, Sir William Phelip exploited his position as chamberlain of the household to secure a grant of the stewardship of Queen Katherine's honour of Wallingford on the same day that Feriby acquired his Knaresborough offices: *CPR 1436-41*, p. 32; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 88. However, neither Feriby nor Phelip were particularly appropriate candidates. Phelip had displaced Suffolk, while Feriby's appointment failed adequately to represent local power structures. In both cases, a compromise was reached over the following months. See Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 160, and below, p. 169.

Regardless of whether or not Henry VI was beginning to play a more active part in government, his advancing age meant that he would soon be expected to assume (or at least be seen to assume) the mantle of independent royal authority. It must have been apparent to all that the minority was inevitably drawing to a close. Nevertheless, it has been suggested by Watts that the passive character of the king prohibited the dissolution of conciliar government in 1437.<sup>112</sup> The reluctance or more likely inability of Henry VI to take up the reins of power at a national level inevitably had implications for the rule of the localities. As in 1422, this was especially the case in regions where the crown was a substantial landowner.<sup>113</sup> The response of the government was to redistribute the local resources of the Duchy of Lancaster amongst leading members of the nobility in order to reinforce existing regional hierarchies. It was immediately apparent that, in the north of England in general and in Yorkshire in particular, the earl of Salisbury would be the greatest beneficiary. Indeed, Watts has gone so far as to suggest that Salisbury emerged from Henry VI's minority with hegemony in the north comparable with that subsequently enjoyed by Richard, duke of Gloucester, in the 1470s.<sup>114</sup> This set the stage for the explosive rivalry between the Nevilles and the Percys which would bring the region to the brink of civil war and beyond during the 1450s.

### 3) 1437-1450: The Growth of Magnate Faction

Thirty years ago, R.L. Storey argued that the Wars of the Roses were brought about not by the failure of kingship or dynastic competition, but rather by 'an escalation of private feuds'.<sup>115</sup> One of the most significant developments, in his view, was the violent conflict which erupted in Yorkshire between the two great families of Neville and Percy after 1450.<sup>116</sup> Recent scholarship, however, has reversed Storey's conclusions. The lack of local stability which beset the shires during the 1440s is increasingly viewed as symptomatic of the collapse of royal authority at a national level rather than the actual cause of the civil war. Significantly, regions in which the king possessed widespread estates, including Cornwall, the north midlands, and Yorkshire, appear to have been particularly disturbed during this period, reinforcing the conclusion that local divisions

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<sup>112</sup> See, for example, Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>113</sup> See above, p. 148.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>115</sup> Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 27.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. 8.

were a product of the political vacuum caused by the inanity of Henry VI.<sup>117</sup> As we shall see, the first signs that this loss of royal authority was destabilising local power structures in the West Riding emerged in 1440 with the outbreak of hostilities between the archbishop of York and the earl of Northumberland within the honour of Knaresborough. But the origins of this dispute date back to 1437 and the political initiatives in national government associated with the official majority of the young king.

It has traditionally been assumed that Henry VI began to play an increasingly active part in government between August 1436 and November 1437.<sup>118</sup> The transition from conciliar government to royal rule, it is argued, began with the dismissal of the king's tutor, the earl of Warwick, on 19 May 1436.<sup>119</sup> In the summer of 1436, Henry began to exercise royal grace with the personal authorisation of warrants by the signet and sign manual.<sup>120</sup> By the end of 1437, he had successfully completed an introductory period into the workings of royal government and was now prepared to assume the full powers of the crown. As a consequence, Henry VI's minority officially ended on 13 November, when traditional royal rule is said to have been re-established.<sup>121</sup> Accordingly, the duties of the council were immediately redefined. Although its members were formally reappointed, apparently at the king's request, the council's powers would be more circumscribed now that there was an adult monarch on the throne.<sup>122</sup> In the years that followed, however, the generous but impressionable young king is said to have fallen foul of a self-serving court clique led by the earl of Suffolk. By the early 1440s, it is argued, Suffolk's regime had gained absolute control of power at the centre from its base within the household. Most of the nobility faced exclusion from government as a consequence of this new arrangement.<sup>123</sup> At the same time, members of the household also secured appointment to a number of key central and regional offices of the Duchy of Lancaster, thus allegedly extending the household's reach into the localities.<sup>124</sup> Matters did not finally come to a head until 1450, when the regime was criticised for seemingly monopolising the king's person and preventing the necessary functioning of representative counsel. The earl of Suffolk was himself

<sup>117</sup> M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 112.

<sup>118</sup> See, for example, Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 231-78; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 87-92.

<sup>119</sup> *CPR 1429-36*, p. 589; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 231; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 88.

<sup>120</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 232; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 129.

<sup>121</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 87.

<sup>122</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 275-7.

<sup>123</sup> See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, Chs. 12-14; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 45.

<sup>124</sup> Griffiths, pp. 233, 342-3; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 45.



murdered on 2 May, shortly before the outbreak of Cade's rebellion, in which a number of other prominent household figures also lost their lives.<sup>125</sup>

An entirely different interpretation of events has recently been proposed by Watts. He argues that, instead of signalling what Griffiths describes as 'the return to normalcy under an adult monarch',<sup>126</sup> the reappointment of a formal council in 1437 represented an 'extension [rather] than a suspension of the minority'.<sup>127</sup> Since the king was the only legitimate source of authority, the survival of conciliar government was anathema to the normal functioning of royal government.<sup>128</sup> Watts concludes that this council owed its continued existence to the almost complete passivity of the king. The deteriorating political and military position in the later 1430s necessitated at least the appearance of a restoration of royal authority,<sup>129</sup> but the real problem continued to be the absence of independent royal will.<sup>130</sup> In 1437, therefore, the lords made a collective decision that Henry VI was still not capable of providing effective rule. Instead, the council proceeded to supersede the king 'as recipient of advice and maker of decisions'.<sup>131</sup>

Nevertheless, the inadequacies of conciliar rule led to a natural progression towards royal government. In particular, the polity depended upon the exercise of independent royal will. Only a king could offer the comprehensive representation of interests and constrain noble ambitions. Whereas the king could restore unity through acts of judgement, a council which derived its powers exclusively from its members ultimately relied upon consensus, but lacked the coercive powers necessary to settle internal divisions. The only means that it possessed to maintain unity were self-discipline and a rather weak form of arbitration. At the same time, the temptation always existed for individual members of the council to invoke a higher, albeit deficient, authority in their disputes.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, the death of the duke of Bedford in 1435 and the deterioration of the English military position in France had led to serious divisions over foreign policy which only an adult monarch could resolve. The council

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<sup>125</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 286-8.

<sup>126</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 275.

<sup>127</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 135.

<sup>128</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 124-5. Watts argues that 'conciliar government was time-consuming, unrewarding, artificial, offensive to the claims of monarchy and possibly even a liability in foreign affairs': *ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>129</sup> The most significant developments were the death of Bedford and the defection of Burgundy in 1435, as well as the threat to Calais: Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 250-5; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 122, 128, 182.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>132</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 153, 177, 196. Suffolk's household regime encountered a similar problem during the 1440s: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49.

also lacked the necessary authority to offer concessions to the French that directly affected the king's estate in return for peace. Only Henry VI, for example, could decide whether or not to relinquish his title to the French crown, or authorise the release of the duke of Orléans. As Watts notes, the need for royal direction was consequently greater than ever.<sup>133</sup> But the lords could not wait for Henry to show signs of leadership. Instead, Watts proposes that they co-operated with the earl of Suffolk in his attempt to reconstitute royal authority artificially. Already by 1438, Suffolk had succeeded in establishing himself as the principal conduit between king and council. He was now able to exploit both his control of the household and his proximity to the ineffective king to recreate the traditional structures of royal government.<sup>134</sup> Suffolk emerges from this analysis not as a mercenary with an insatiable lust for power, but as a loyal servant, struggling to maintain a semblance of royal authority, in the face of prolonged and destructive royal inactivity.<sup>135</sup>

Suffolk could call upon the support of the nobility because this was a group that had a particularly vested interest in the resumption of royal rule. As Castor emphasises, it was the authority of the crown 'which underpinned the hierarchies of power within which they operated'.<sup>136</sup> Perhaps of equal importance, Suffolk was also one of their number and shared their concerns. In consequence, power was haltingly transferred from council to court between 1437 and 1445, effectively bypassing the king, with the tacit approval of the lords.<sup>137</sup> But the artificial royal authority which Suffolk had managed to contrive remained, in essence, conciliar.<sup>138</sup> As such, it continued to be subject to the same limitations which had plagued the minority council. Since the earl required the regional authority of the nobility to sustain his regime, he was ultimately dependent upon their united support for his continued exercise of 'royal' lordship.<sup>139</sup> Since the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall had also been deprived of royal direction, the earl also faced the problem of maintaining the regional responsibilities of the crown.

In 1437, Suffolk immediately set out to win the hearts and minds of the nobility. As has already been noted, a number of prominent members of the household gained

<sup>133</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 182, 187-8.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 155, 162-71.

<sup>135</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 155, 162-71; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49.

<sup>136</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49.

<sup>137</sup> See Watts, *Henry VI*, Ch. 5. The period from 1441 to 1444 witnessed a brief revival of conciliar activity: *ibid.*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172-80, 221-40; J.L. Watts, 'The Counsels of King Henry VI, c. 1435-1445', *EHR* 106 (1991), 189-90; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49.

control of the central offices of the Duchy of Lancaster in that year.<sup>140</sup> A few regional positions were also granted to household men shortly after the death of Queen Katherine on 3 January. These included the controller of the household, John Feriby, who was appointed as steward and constable of Knaresborough a day later.<sup>141</sup> However, Castor has observed that by far the greatest beneficiaries from the far-reaching reorganisation of the Duchy hierarchy which occurred in 1437 were members of the greater nobility.<sup>142</sup> She concludes that the redistribution of Duchy offices represents ‘not a partisan takeover by a court faction but a considered attempt [by Suffolk] to use Duchy resources to reinforce existing regional hierarchies’ in response to the failure of the public authority of the crown.<sup>143</sup> In this venture, local power structures were, in general, respected, and only those lords perceived to have a legitimate claim to regional rule saw their local authority enhanced.<sup>144</sup>

In the north, the earl of Salisbury received the lion’s share of the crown’s local resources. He had already established himself as the leading Duchy official in the West Riding during the previous fifteen years, with the acquisition of the stewardships of Pontefract and Tickhill in 1425 and 1432.<sup>145</sup> But in November 1437, Salisbury’s tenure of the former office during pleasure was converted into a life grant.<sup>146</sup> In addition, he now gained the stewardship of Blackburn hundred in Lancashire, again for life, together with the master forestership of Bowland.<sup>147</sup> Of far greater regional significance, the earl was also granted the stewardship of the North Riding honour of Richmond.<sup>148</sup> Finally, in what was almost certainly an orchestrated arrangement, Salisbury received a lease of the lordship of Middleham from his mother.<sup>149</sup> Taken together, these appointments substantially reinforced the earl’s regional dominance and came close to recreating the territorial position previously enjoyed by his father.<sup>150</sup> Clearly, the government had

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<sup>140</sup> See above, p. 164.

<sup>141</sup> See above, pp. 161-2.

<sup>142</sup> Among the greatest winners in 1437 were the earls of Stafford and Salisbury, as well as Suffolk himself. Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 45-7.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 176.

<sup>145</sup> See above, pp. 152, 161.

<sup>146</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 513.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 500, 507. Salisbury was also confirmed in office as chief justice of the king’s forests north of the Trent and steward of Bradford and Kilburn: *CPR 1436-41*, p. 96; Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, p. 122; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 507. Harriss again detects the influence of Cardinal Beaufort behind Salisbury’s appointment as steward of Bowland: Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, p. 324, n. 50.

<sup>148</sup> *CPR 1436-41*, p. 96; Arnold, ‘West Riding’, i, p. 122. Salisbury was subsequently granted two-thirds of the honour of Richmond in 1444: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249, n. 12. See below, p. 176.

<sup>149</sup> *CCR 1435-41*, p. 96; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 173, n. 202.

<sup>150</sup> Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 47. See above, Ch. 5.4.

determined to create a territorial bloc from crown and Duchy estates in northern England, and transfer regional lordship to the earl in an attempt to preserve local power structures from the effects of the king's passivity.<sup>151</sup> Salisbury now controlled unquestionably the greatest territorial interest in northern England. Furthermore, his considerable influence at court was augmented by his immediate appointment to the new council.<sup>152</sup>

During the same period, the 'royal affinity' in Yorkshire began to increase dramatically in size.<sup>153</sup> At least nineteen members of the West Riding gentry are known to have entered the royal household during the reign of Henry VI. The majority were recruited during the 1430s and early 1440s.<sup>154</sup> One of the most lucrative careers was enjoyed by Henry Vavasour II (d. 1453) of Hazlewood, who became a king's esquire in 1438.<sup>155</sup> He received a string of fees, offices, and other interests in Yorkshire, becoming porter of Wressle Castle, bailiff and escheator of Staincliff wapentake (1438), escheator of Yorkshire (1440), parker of Credling, and receiver of Pontefract, Knaresborough, Tickhill, and Pickering (1444).<sup>156</sup> The intention may again have been to strengthen the connection between the new seat of 'royal' government in the household and the localities. After 1446, however, there appears to have been a general decline in recruitment. No knights or esquires from the riding are known to have entered the royal household after 1451. In addition, the 'royal affinity' in the riding never appears to have been systematically exploited as a political resource, providing only five escheators and two JPs between 1427 and 1451.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, three members of the royal household benefited visibly from the redistribution of Duchy office. Mention has already been made of John Feriby's acquisition of the stewardship of Knaresborough in 1437. Two other esquires of the household, Ralph Babthorpe (d. 1455) of Babthorpe (E. Riding),

<sup>151</sup> See Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 47.

<sup>152</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 92, n. 17; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 135, n. 51. Salisbury's influence was also extended by the elevation of his brother, Robert, to the bishopric of Durham in 1438: Storey, *End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 115; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 251-3.

<sup>153</sup> See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 333-67; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 109-16; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 205-41; A.J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000), p. 124.

<sup>154</sup> They were Sir John Langton I of Farnley (1425), Thomas Scargill of Lead (1435), John Gargrave of Wakefield (1435), Henry Langton of Farnley (1437), Henry Vavasour II of Hazlewood (1438), John Langton II of Farnley (1438), James Cresacre of Barnburgh (1441), John Hastings of Fenwick (1441), William Ryther III of Ryther (1441), John Stapleton of Wighill (1441), Sir Brian Stapleton II of Carlton (1443), Thomas Meryng of Tong (1444), Thomas Beckwith of Clint (1446), John Hopton of Swillington (1446), William Malet of Normanton (1446), William Hopton of Swillington (1448), William Gascoigne IV of Gawthorpe (1450), ?John Sothill of Dewsbury (1450), and John Caterall of Brayton (c. 1461). See below, Appendix 8.

<sup>155</sup> *CPR 1436-41*, p. 127. See below, Appendices 8 and 9.

<sup>156</sup> *CPR 1436-41*, p. 127; DL42/18, fols. 58v, 100; DL37/12/16; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 516, 526-7, 530, 535; *List of Escheators*, p. 192. See below, Appendices 3b, 8, and 9.

<sup>157</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 116-18; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 84, n. 84.

and his son, Robert, succeeded the earl of Salisbury at Tickhill in 1443. It is possible that these men used their access to the king to create opportunities for themselves in Yorkshire. However, since Ralph Babthorpe had served as Salisbury's deputy steward at Tickhill since 1432, he may have legitimately obtained office with the support of the earl, who was otherwise preoccupied with his dispute over the Neville patrimony.<sup>158</sup>

Meanwhile, John Feriby, who was essentially an interloper into established local power structures in the West Riding, had been challenged over his recent appointment as steward of Knaresborough. Within six months, a compromise was achieved. Although he was allowed to keep his newly-acquired position, in July 1437 the office was jointly regranted to Feriby and a local knight, Sir William Ingilby (d. 1438) of Ripley, in survivorship.<sup>159</sup> The affair highlights the lucrative rewards which membership of the household and proximity to the king could deliver, but it is clear that Suffolk's regime was capable of responding to such instances of blatant self-aggrandisement with mediation and compromise in order fully to represent existing regional power structures.<sup>160</sup> When Ingilby died in the following year,<sup>161</sup> he was replaced by another prominent local knight, Sir William Plumpton II (d. 1480) of Plumpton, whose father had previously held the stewardship under Henry V.<sup>162</sup> Feriby himself died shortly afterwards, in October 1441, and Plumpton became the sole steward.<sup>163</sup> By the early 1440s, however, the loss of royal supervision of the Duchy had led to the development of a political vacuum in regions where the Duchy was the predominant source of local lordship. Across the country, attempts by magnates to fill the vacuum caused by the failure of Duchy rule seem to have provoked only further outbreaks of violence and political confusion.<sup>164</sup> In the West Riding, for example, the earl of Northumberland and the archbishop of York, both of whom already possessed sizeable estates around the honour of Knaresborough, seized upon the opportunity presented by the local power vacuum and attempted to gain control of the honour by

<sup>158</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 528-9. However, Babthorpe was apparently expelled by Salisbury from the stewardship in 1453-4. See below, p. 194.

<sup>159</sup> DL42/18, fols. 49v, 58v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

<sup>160</sup> See also Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 160.

<sup>161</sup> C139/90/9.

<sup>162</sup> DL42/18, fol. 111; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524. See above, Ch. 5.5.

<sup>163</sup> C139/108/16; DL42/18, fol. 111; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 524.

<sup>164</sup> See, for example, Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, Ch. 8; M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth Century Devonshire', in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown, and the Provinces*, 123-44; S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 92-3, 97-8, 143-7, 195-6, 208-11; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, p. 112. The major disputes involving the nobility during this period are summarised in Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 202-4. See also Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 363.

force. At a national level, divisions were now beginning to emerge between the lords which only the independent authority of the king could resolve. The problem was that no such authority existed.<sup>165</sup>

The conflict which arose in the honour of Knaresborough during the early 1440s between the Percys and the archbishop of York deserves rather closer scrutiny than it has normally received. It provides the first indication that local power structures in the West Riding were beginning to break down because of the debilitating effects of the loss of royal authority. By advertising the ineffectiveness of conciliar justice, the dispute may also have contributed to the loss of confidence in Suffolk's regime, and convinced men like Northumberland that it was simply not possible to obtain justice from Henry VI.<sup>166</sup> What began as a jurisdictional dispute between John Kemp, archbishop of York, and the tenants of Knaresborough over their refusal to pay tolls at his fairs in Otley and Ripon was almost certainly provoked by the failure of Lancastrian rule in the riding. Freedom from toll was a privilege enjoyed by all residents of the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, the men of Knaresborough were faced with a powerful opponent who was determined to exploit the vulnerability of the Duchy to his financial and political advantage, and whose actions were fully endorsed by the governing regime.

Archbishop Kemp had been translated from London to York in 1426. He was an influential and respected figure at court who had already served as chancellor of Normandy (1417-22) and keeper of the privy seal (1418-21) under Henry V. In 1422, he received appointment to the minority council. Four years later, he became chancellor of England and remained in office until 1432, when the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and his patron, Cardinal Beaufort, resulted in his removal.<sup>168</sup> Kemp was a skilful politician and a close associate of the cardinal, who had emerged as a leading figure in the conciliar regime during the 1430s. Between them, the two prelates came to control appointments within the English church and its relations with the Pope. By the

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<sup>165</sup> Disputes between members of the nobility were particularly divisive. In the absence of independent royal authority, the only course of action with which the government could respond was arbitration. According to Watts, 'conciliar justice meant either the protection of the ambitions of the dominant party, which usually enjoyed representation in the council; or, if neither or both disputants enjoyed such representation, weak, indecisive and last-minute intervention': Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 178. Nevertheless, it was vital to maintain unity: *ibid.*, p. 177. See also Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 49.

<sup>166</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 178.

<sup>167</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 247.

<sup>168</sup> A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1400*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1958), ii, p. 1032; *DNB*, x, p. 1272; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 22; *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 87, 95; Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 215-7.

time that Kemp himself became a cardinal in 1439, he was one of only three bishops who constituted the main clerical element on the king's council.<sup>169</sup>

From the beginning of his episcopate, Kemp had demonstrated his determination to exercise both his temporal and secular rights to the full.<sup>170</sup> Previous archbishops had enjoyed the franchise of return of writs within the liberty of Ripon since the thirteenth century. They also held the right to appoint a separate commission of the peace within the lordship.<sup>171</sup> Unlike his predecessors, however, Archbishop Kemp joined the West Riding commission in November 1431.<sup>172</sup> He continued to serve as a JP in the riding until his translation to Canterbury in 1452, and even received appointment to the *quorum* in 1436, 1437, 1439, and 1452.<sup>173</sup> The archbishop also embarked upon a series of visitations to reinforce his authority within his diocese between 1439 and 1452.<sup>174</sup> It was in this climate of secular aggrandisement that he tried to extract tolls from Duchy tenants.<sup>175</sup> The residents of the honour of Knaresborough unsurprisingly reacted angrily to the archbishop's demands. His heavy-handed attempt to exploit the loss of royal rule within the honour provoked widespread violence and disorder which engulfed the district during the early 1440s.

The principal account of the affair is preserved amongst the family papers of the Plumpton.<sup>176</sup> Retaliatory attacks upon the archbishop's servants and tenants had commenced shortly after the beginning of his episcopate.<sup>177</sup> Archbishop Kemp had been complaining about the riotous and uncontrolled behaviour of Knaresborough residents for some time. For their part, the tenants of the forest of Knaresborough had been petitioning the king about the freedom from toll since Michaelmas 1438. Signet letters had, accordingly, been sent to the steward, Sir William Plumpton, and other officers of the honour instructing them to keep the peace.<sup>178</sup> However, such limited intervention failed and the violence reached new levels in July 1440. According to the articles of complaint submitted by the archbishop to the king, a force of 700 foresters assembled

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<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 330. The others were William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, and John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells.

<sup>170</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 247.

<sup>171</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 26. See above, Ch. 2.7.

<sup>172</sup> *CPR 1429-36*, p. 628. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>173</sup> *CPR 1436-41*, p. 594; *1441-6*, p. 482; *1446-52*, p. 598; C66/438, m. 28d; 440, m. 47d; 445, m. 30d; 474, m. 26d. See below, Appendices 4a and 5.

<sup>174</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 578.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 247.

<sup>176</sup> WYAS LDA Acc. 1731/3, nos. 455-8. For a transcript of this account, see T. Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Society, old series, 4 (1839), pp. liv-lxii.

<sup>177</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 578.

<sup>178</sup> Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. liv, lvii.

within the honour of Knaresborough on 22 July. They were led by Thomas Beckwith of Clint, John Fawkes (d. 1496) of Farnley, William Wakefield of Great Ouseburn, and John Beckwith of Killinghall, all members of prominent local gentry families. The party made their way to Otley, where they disrupted the archbishop's fair and threatened his steward, Robert Mauleverer I (d. 1443) of Wothersome, and his bailiff, John Thoresby. Although Sir William Plumpton did not actively participate in the disturbance, Archbishop Kemp later claimed that the insurgents enjoyed his full support. A month later, John Walworth, bailiff of the lordship of Ripon, was attacked by Thomas Beckwith, John Fawkes, and Ralph Pulleyn of Scotton. It was also alleged that in the same month Sir William Plumpton and Thomas Beckwith had refused to enter into conciliatory negotiations with a delegation from the archbishop led by John Marshall, one of the cardinal's officers, and an esquire, Richard Redman II (d. 1475) of Harewood.<sup>179</sup> Again, the insurgents are claimed to have commanded the full support of Sir William Plumpton. Tensions mounted in May 1441, when Kemp recruited an army of 200 soldiers from the East March and an additional 100 tenants from his Yorkshire estates. According to a petition from the foresters of Knaresborough, the archbishop proceeded to fortify Ripon 'like a town of warr'.<sup>180</sup> Matters came to a head at Thornton Bridge on 5 May.

Two contrasting accounts of the incident survive amongst the Plumpton papers. According to the Duchy tenants, Kemp's soldiers left Ripon on Thursday 4 May with the intention of travelling to York via Boroughbridge, a town within the honour of Knaresborough. During the night, a band of forty foresters departed for Thornton Bridge (N. Riding) to arrest a number of men suspected of assaulting one of their wives during the Ripon fair. The archbishop's men, however, received intelligence of this raiding party and intercepted them at Thornton Bridge. A violent fight ensued, although Sir William Plumpton and other officers of the lordship quickly arrived and restored order.<sup>181</sup> Unsurprisingly, the second account was presented by Archbishop Kemp to the king and differs substantially in content. He maintained that a band of evildoers and rioters had, with the knowledge and assent of Sir William Plumpton, Thomas Beckwith, and John Fawkes, unsuccessfully attempted to ambush his officers, servants, and tenants at *Skilbridge* on their return journey from Ripon fair on 4 May. Another group of Duchy tenants similarly had lain in wait at Boroughbridge and succeeded in capturing one of

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<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lvii-lviii.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. liv-lv.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. liv-lvii.



the cardinal's servants, whom they imprisoned overnight lest he report their position. But the main body of Kemp's followers were forewarned of this threat and set off for York early the next morning with the intention of crossing the River Swale at Thornton Bridge. They were pursued by a gang of Duchy tenants from Boroughbridge led by Sir William Plumpton, who attempted to intercept them. The cardinal's servants and tenants evaded capture and forded the Swale at Brafferton, but were eventually trapped in Helperby, where the highway had already been barricaded. In the ensuing struggle the foresters, under the command of Sir William Plumpton, Thomas Beckwith, and Ralph Pulleyn, killed at least two of the archbishop's servants - Thomas Hunter and Thomas Roper - and grievously wounded many others, including Christopher Bee, William Humberstone, John Craven, John Burton, Henry Fox, and William Playne. In addition, Peter Cawood, Thomas Mayne, and Henry Fox were captured and imprisoned.<sup>182</sup> Although we cannot be certain of the truth in this matter, judging by the evidence it would seem likely that the archbishop was again the aggressor. There was apparently no immediate consensus at Westminster as to how best to contain the dispute, although Archbishop Kemp clearly enjoyed the protection of the government from the first. However, the earl of Northumberland now came to the aid of his retainer, Sir William Plumpton.

The earl had been the ideal candidate to fill the political vacuum left in the district by the failure of Duchy rule. His own barony of Spofforth bounded the honour of Knaresborough. Many local gentry held their lands of both the king and the Percys, and local allegiances tended to vary accordingly.<sup>183</sup> But although Northumberland enjoyed representation in the council and had a history of good relations with Cardinal Beaufort,<sup>184</sup> he never commanded the same degree of influence at court as either Beaufort's nephew, the earl of Salisbury, or his client, the archbishop of York. Indeed, the Nevilles may have conceivably exploited their influence to prevent Suffolk's household regime from respecting the existing regional power structure in this particular instance. Perhaps as a consequence, the stewardship of Knaresborough was acquired by John Feriby and not the earl of Northumberland in 1437. Despite being excluded from the redistribution of Duchy office, Northumberland may have been relatively content to secure the appointment of his retainer, Sir William Plumpton, as steward in the

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<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lviii-lxii.

<sup>183</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 407.

<sup>184</sup> Cardinal Beaufort had, for example, been instrumental in securing the hand of the Poyning's heiress for Northumberland's eldest son: Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 178, n. 232.

following year. Nevertheless, the conflict between the residents of Knaresborough and Archbishop Kemp provided the earl with an ideal opportunity to project his own authority from Spofforth into the lordship of Knaresborough. Moreover, he also had the chance to humble a court favourite whilst promoting his interest in northern England, after four decades of sustained Neville aggrandisement. The earl had apparently started to offer assistance to the tenants of Knaresborough by the beginning of 1442, when he initiated a propaganda campaign targeted against the archbishop of York and his officers. In a visible display of solidarity, the earl also rewarded Sir William Plumpton with the office of steward of all his Yorkshire estates.<sup>185</sup> In February 1442, the government responded to little effect by instructing the justices of the peace in all three ridings to arrest all those who published false statements against the archbishop.<sup>186</sup> Later in the same year, the government somewhat provocatively extended Kemp's secular franchise to include all of his lordships in Yorkshire.<sup>187</sup> The violence continued into 1443, when the archbishop's park and mill at Ripon, and his houses and enclosures at Bishopthorpe, were attacked and despoiled.<sup>188</sup> In what may have been a related incident, Richard Aldburgh I (d. 1466) of Aldborough and his sons, Richard II (d. 1475) and William, were accused of disseising Ralph Neville of his free tenement in Thornton Bridge, which was held of the Duchy of Lancaster. Ten years later, Richard Aldburgh II was one of those Percy feedmen indicted with Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, for attempting to assassinate the earl of Salisbury and his family at Heworth.<sup>189</sup>

In May 1443, however, Archbishop Kemp was able to produce a letter in a great council written by Northumberland, apparently raising his men.<sup>190</sup> Two days later, the earl was instructed to surrender himself to the Tower.<sup>191</sup> A number of prominent Percy retainers were also summoned to appear either before the chancellor or the council, including Sir William Plumpton, Sir William Normanville, Sir John Salvin, Sir Alexander Neville, and Sir John Pennington.<sup>192</sup> A commission of *oyer* and *terminer* was dispatched to the region under Edmund Beaufort, earl of Dorset, and Robert, Lord

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<sup>185</sup> J.W. Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 8 (1996), p. 251; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 579.

<sup>186</sup> *CPR 1441-6*, p. 77.

<sup>187</sup> *CPR 1441-6*, p. 111; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 26.

<sup>188</sup> *CCR 1441-7*, p. 143.

<sup>189</sup> JUST1/1544, rots. 9-9d; R.A. Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-1454', in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), p. 324, n. 14. See below, Ch. 7.2.

<sup>190</sup> *POPC*, v, pp. 273-4; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 203.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275; *CCR 1441-7*, p. 98.

<sup>192</sup> *POPC*, v, p. 269; *CCR 1441-7*, pp. 98-9, 144-6; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 579 and n. 100. For these men, see Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, pp. 92, n. 1, 96-7.

Willoughby, while the sheriff of Yorkshire was instructed to assemble the *posse comitatus* in order to apprehend the remaining enemies of the archbishop.<sup>193</sup> The matter was finally brought to arbitration in July, and a settlement was imposed which found Northumberland and the tenants of Knaresborough to have been at fault.<sup>194</sup> The appointment of Sir William Plumpton, as *vicecomité* of Falaise, to an undated commission of muster in the same year may represent another dimension of the initiative to diffuse the situation within the honour of Knaresborough.<sup>195</sup> Nevertheless, serious discontent seems to have persisted within the lordship, perhaps provoked by a further reconfirmation of Kemp's northern franchises,<sup>196</sup> and the officers and tenants were commanded to observe the settlement and refrain from further breaches of the peace in February 1444.<sup>197</sup> As a final act of punishment towards Northumberland, the earl of Salisbury and his sons, Richard and Thomas, were granted the reversion of the stewardship of Knaresborough in 1445.<sup>198</sup> But the violence continued, notably in Beverley (E. Riding) but also in the north-west of England in 1444.<sup>199</sup> A final skirmish erupted between the cardinal's men and Percy supporters at Stamford Bridge in 1447.<sup>200</sup> By May, a number of men from the Percy manors of Spofforth, Topcliffe and Tadcaster, many of whom were subsequently indicted for their involvement in additional acts of Percy violence during the 1450s, were incarcerated in York Castle.<sup>201</sup> In the same year, Sir William Plumpton's annuity was increased from £10 to £20 for his good and faithful service to the earl of Northumberland.<sup>202</sup>

During the period in which Northumberland was preoccupied with this dispute, the earl of Salisbury was equally absorbed in his struggle to deprive the senior Nevilles of his father's patrimony. By 1443, his superior connections at court had enabled him finally to be confirmed in possession of almost the entirety of the Neville inheritance in northern England, including the lordships of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton (N. Riding), and Penrith (Cumb.).<sup>203</sup> The sheer scale of royal patronage which the earl also

<sup>193</sup> *CCR 1441-7*, p. 143; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 579.

<sup>194</sup> *POPC*, v, p. 309; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 203; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 247.

<sup>195</sup> *CPR 1441-6*, p. 203.

<sup>196</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 579. According to Arnold, this was due to a technical flaw in the wording of the 1442 grant: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 26.

<sup>197</sup> DL37/11/120.

<sup>198</sup> The reversion of the North Riding stewardship of Pickering was also included: DL37/12 44; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 513.

<sup>199</sup> *CPR 1441-6*, p. 291; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 579, n. 102.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 579.

<sup>201</sup> *CPR 1446-52*, p. 41; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 324, n. 14.

<sup>202</sup> Kirby (ed.), *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 252.

<sup>203</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', pp. 52-8; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 178, 203-4; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 246.

came to enjoy during this period was completely unprecedented. In 1443, for example, he secured the farm of the lordship of Barnoldswick in Craven, while his office of chief justice of the king's forests north of the Trent was converted into an hereditary grant.<sup>204</sup> Later in the same year, Salisbury became warden of the West March.<sup>205</sup> In 1444, he took control of two-thirds of the honour of Richmond (N. Riding), including the castle.<sup>206</sup> Two years later, he was granted the keeping of part of the lordship of Kendal (Westm.).<sup>207</sup> In 1449, his possession of the honour of Richmond was converted to a grant in tail male.<sup>208</sup> According to Pollard, this opened up the possibility of uniting the earl's lordships in the North Riding into one hereditary estate.<sup>209</sup> Finally, in the same year he obtained custody of the lands of his brother, George, Lord Latimer, in the North Riding and Cumberland which pertained to the crown by reason of his insanity.<sup>210</sup> Other magnate interests were also gradually incorporated into this new Duchy hierarchy, as the Lancastrian estates were integrated into regional power structures. In the West Riding, the younger son of the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Christopher Talbot (d. 1444), joined the West Riding commission and was granted the bailiwick of Staincross in 1442. In addition, Thomas (d. 1455), Lord Clifford, became bailiff of Staincliff in 1447.<sup>211</sup> In both instances, Duchy office had been bestowed in order to enhance the local authority of members of the regional nobility within their traditional areas of influence. Nevertheless, the hegemony in the region achieved by the earl of Salisbury was clearly exceptional. In this context, the significance of the acquisition by the earl and his sons of a reversionary interest in the stewardships of Knaresborough and Pickering in 1445 deserves to be reconsidered.

Helen Castor has argued persuasively that a similar grant to the earl of Warwick of the offices of steward and constable of the honour of Tutbury in 1444 was less controversial than had previously been thought. Although the duke of Buckingham had held both offices since 1435, a closer examination of the 1444 grant revealed that, although it was proposed to alienate the offices in perpetuity, a qualifying clause

<sup>204</sup> DL37/53/17; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 122; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 277; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 201.

<sup>205</sup> Storey, 'Wardens of the Marches', p. 614.

<sup>206</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249.

<sup>207</sup> *CFR 1445-52*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>208</sup> *CPR 1446-52*, pp. 281-2.

<sup>209</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 249.

<sup>210</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 258. Latimer's estates were subsequently exploited to support Salisbury's household at Carlisle: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 250-1.

<sup>211</sup> See above, Chs. 2.5 and 2.7.

safeguarded Buckingham's tenure during his own life.<sup>212</sup> However, the grant of the reversion of the stewardships of Knaresborough and Pickering to the earl of Salisbury in 1445 was far more divisive, coming as it did after five years of violent disorder within the honour and over forty years of Neville aggrandisement in the region. The grant potentially offered Salisbury the chance to consolidate the lordships of Kendal, Penrith, Richmond, Middleham, Sheriff Hutton, Knaresborough, Pontefract, and Pickering into one enormous power bloc under Neville control. By comparison, the Percys controlled only the lordships of Topcliffe, Spofforth, and Leconfield in the region.<sup>213</sup> In conclusion, the territorial redistribution of crown offices and estates played a vital part in the emergence of the earl of Salisbury as the leading magnate in the north of England between 1425 and 1449. In the West Riding, the Wharfedale and Craven estates of the Percys and their allies, the Lords Clifford, were becoming increasingly isolated.

#### 4) Conclusion

The absence of effective kingship after 1422 had potentially disastrous implications for areas where the king also exercised noble lordship. In 1425, the government responded to the loss of royal authority within the West Riding by placing the honour of Pontefract under the control of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, in an attempt to consolidate the existing regional hierarchy. However, Salisbury lacked the power base necessary to exercise effective lordship in the riding. He was also hindered because the Duchy honours of Knaresborough and Tickhill remained outside his control. As a consequence, what little evidence there is suggests that Salisbury failed to attract the support of local gentry in any number until the 1450s. The dispute between Archbishop Kemp and the Percys, which arose during the 1440s, should also be reinterpreted as a direct consequence of the loss of royal direction within the honour of Knaresborough.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, was the ideal candidate to receive control of the honour of Knaresborough during the minority of Henry VI. However, he had never fully escaped the stigma of being the son of a traitor. Northumberland also enjoyed less influence at court than his great northern rival, the earl of Salisbury, who may have obstructed his appointment as steward of the honour. Instead, the office was granted in succession to local gentry. During the 1440s, however, the earl of

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<sup>212</sup> H.R. Castor, 'New Evidence on the Grant of Duchy of Lancaster Office to Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1444', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), 225-8; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>213</sup> See above, Ch. 2.4.

Northumberland and the archbishop of York attempted to take advantage of the vacuum of power within the district by asserting their own claims to local hegemony. The long-term consequences of this feud for the government were especially momentous. The dispute had contributed further to Northumberland's growing disillusionment with the household regime. Although still a royal councillor, his sense of alienation and isolation may already have been irrevocable. He had learned his lesson well. It had become perfectly clear to Northumberland that if his opponents enjoyed greater influence at court, as did Cardinal Kemp and the Nevilles, justice could not necessarily be obtained by peaceful means.<sup>214</sup> Since the personal rule of Henry VI was predicated upon what Watts describes as a 'willing suspension of disbelief' amongst the lords,<sup>215</sup> this was a disastrous development. Furthermore, in a dispute ostensibly between the archbishop of York and the earl of Northumberland, the Nevilles had again won a significant victory in their battle for regional supremacy with their acquisition of the reversion of the stewardship of Knaresborough.

In recent years, the traditional assumption as expressed by Griffiths that by the mid-fifteenth century 'relations between Percy and Neville were poisoned by jealousy and resentment' has been rejected.<sup>216</sup> Instead, Pollard has argued that the two great northern families continued to work closely and amicably together until 1450. During the 1440s, both families were preoccupied with separate quarrels.<sup>217</sup> But in light of his recent experience of conciliar justice in 1443, Northumberland may very well have questioned whether it was still possible to defend his family's interest in northern England against the unrestrained aggrandisement of a court favourite like Salisbury without resort to force. Whereas the Percys had been defeated in their contest with Beaufort's associate, the junior Nevilles had enjoyed the consistent support of the government in their campaign to deprive the second earl of Westmorland of his family patrimony, and had ultimately secured a victory in 1443. Thereafter, as we have seen, Salisbury's political gains in the region had been considerable. Nevertheless, both families remained on cordial terms until 1453, when there was 'an unexpected and rapid deterioration in relationships'.<sup>218</sup> The circumstances surrounding this sudden outbreak of hostility will be investigated in Chapter Seven.

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<sup>214</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 177-8.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>216</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 322. See also Storey, *End of the House of Lancaster*, pp. 124-6.

<sup>217</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 246-8.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

1450-1461

### 1) Introduction

The minority of Henry VI had formally been concluded in 1437. However, this development seems to have arisen purely out of political necessity. It is doubtful whether the royal councillors actually had any faith in the king's capacity to exercise independent royal authority. Instead of heralding a return to 'normal' royal rule, the king's majority was accompanied by the re-appointment of the minority council and affairs of state continued to be managed on Henry's behalf. At the same time, the earl of Suffolk began to emerge as the leader of what Castor describes as 'a broadly based attempt to create a workable regime' around the almost totally passive person of the king.<sup>1</sup> During this transitional period the principal regional offices of the Duchy of Lancaster were redistributed amongst the nobility in an attempt to reinforce existing regional power structures. The greatest beneficiary in northern England was Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, who gained control of a bloc of crown lands stretching across northern England. There was now a very real possibility that eastern Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire would be incorporated into a single sphere of Neville influence. Nevertheless, Salisbury's advancement was unrepresentative of existing regional power structures and the claims of established magnates such as the Percys and their associates, the Cliffords. Furthermore, it is questionable whether Salisbury was suited to assuming the rule of the West Riding. His appointment as steward of Pontefract may have been ill-advised because his personal landed estate in the region was virtually negligible. It is far from clear whether he was ever able to establish his lordship as an authority which could adequately claim to represent local society. Salisbury was also disadvantaged because he never came to enjoy the full resources of the Duchy. In 1437, the stewardship of Knaresborough was excluded from redistribution of Duchy office amongst the nobility.

The long-term failure of Duchy rule in the honour of Knaresborough created a power vacuum which brought Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Archbishop Kemp into direct confrontation during the 1440s. For Northumberland, the dispute represented a desperate struggle to consolidate his authority within traditional areas of

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<sup>1</sup> H.R. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p. 49.

Percy hegemony in the face of relentless aggrandisement by opponents who were better connected at court. Characteristically, Suffolk's regime supported Kemp, and Northumberland was compelled to accept a humiliating settlement. Having completely misjudged the situation, the council granted the reversion of the stewardship to Salisbury and his sons. The affair highlighted the inadequacy of conciliar justice and served to alienate Northumberland from Suffolk's regime. Moreover, the reversion was a direct challenge to Percy lordship in Wharfedale and Nidderdale. Northumberland's reaction to these worrying developments forms the subject of the following section.

## 2) 1450-1455: 'The Beginning of Sorrows'

In August 1453, a violent quarrel between the younger sons of the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, which had been raging in Yorkshire throughout the summer, culminated in an attack upon the Nevilles at Heworth, near York. According to one chronicle, formerly attributed to William Worcester, the event marked the beginning of the Wars of the Roses (*'initium fuit maximorum dolorum in Anglia'*).<sup>2</sup> Storey, writing over thirty years ago, agreed that the Neville-Percy feud heralded the start of the descent into civil war.<sup>3</sup> In his view, it was the escalation of such localised rivalries between members of the greater nobility which led to the first battle of St Albans in 1455.<sup>4</sup> Although Griffiths rejected such a simplistic explanation, he nevertheless concluded that the dispute 'was unusually crucial in the passage of events towards the outbreak of war'.<sup>5</sup> The consequences of the Heworth affray should certainly not be underestimated. Between 1453 and 1461, the two greatest northern houses embarked upon a ferocious blood-feud which was to claim the lives of Henry (d. 1455), second earl of Northumberland, Henry (d. 1461), third earl of Northumberland, Thomas Percy (d. 1460), Lord Egremont, Thomas (d. 1455), Lord Clifford, John (d. 1461), Lord Clifford, Richard Neville (d. 1460), earl of Salisbury, and his son, Sir Thomas Neville (d. 1460). But while the conflict undeniably came to be assimilated into the wider struggle

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<sup>2</sup> J. Stevenson (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, 2 vols. in 3, Rolls Series (London, 1861-4), ii, p. 770.

<sup>3</sup> R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), Ch. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27. See above, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>5</sup> R.A. Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-1454', in R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), p. 361.



between Lancaster and York after 1453,<sup>6</sup> it is possible to view both as symptoms of the devastating absence of royal authority under Henry VI. It has also recently been suggested that divisions within regional society during the 1450s cannot simply be interpreted as either local or national in origin.<sup>7</sup> The disorder which plagued Yorkshire throughout the decade should therefore be seen as a product of developments at both a regional and a national level.

Historians have disagreed as to the immediate causes of the dispute. Storey argued that the feud originated in the West March. He concluded that Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont had offered an 'open challenge' to Neville authority in Cumberland between 1449 and 1453. The location of the dispute was only subsequently transferred to Yorkshire.<sup>8</sup> Alternatively, Griffiths has suggested that the events of 1453 represented merely the most violent phase of a long-standing quarrel between two rival families who 'had made mutual hostility a way of life' for three quarters of a century.<sup>9</sup> More recently, Pollard has cast doubt on both of these conclusions. He has demonstrated that relations between the two families apparently remained cordial, at least until after the Yorkshire parliamentary election of 21 January 1453, when one of Salisbury's retainers, as sheriff, returned two of Northumberland's associates to parliament. Thereafter, there was 'an unexpected and rapid deterioration in relationships'.<sup>10</sup>

What is clear is that this was not an evenly-matched 'struggle of giants'.<sup>11</sup> The Nevilles were by far the stronger family in 1453. Between 1425 and 1449, the earl of Salisbury's regional authority had increased beyond all recognition. The appointment of his younger brother, Robert (d. 1457), as bishop of Durham in 1438 had dramatically expanded Neville influence within the palatinate. Salisbury's eldest son, Sir Richard Neville (d. 1471), had succeeded to the earldom of Warwick in 1449. His inheritance included the north-eastern lordship of Barnard Castle.<sup>12</sup> The Percys, on the other hand,

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<sup>6</sup> See Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 321-364; S.J. Payling, 'The Amphill Dispute: A Study in Aristocratic Lawlessness and the Breakdown of Lancastrian Government', *EHR* 104 (1989), 881-907; Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, Ch. 10.

<sup>7</sup> H.R. Castor, '“Walter Blount was Gone to Serve Traytours”: The Sack of Elvaston and the Politics of the North Midlands in 1454', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> He speculates that it was the proximity of the Neville and Percy estates which inevitably led to neighbourly rivalries: Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 321-2, 361.

<sup>10</sup> A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), p. 248. Ross also argued that the two-families co-operated until mid-century: C.D. Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1951), p. 456. Cf. C.E. Arnold, 'A Political Study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1984), i, p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 322.

<sup>12</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 249-53.

had never fully recovered from the effects of forfeiture nearly half a century earlier. A number of former family estates were still lost to the earl of Northumberland, whose territorial power was much weaker than that enjoyed by his father and grandfather.<sup>13</sup> Northumberland still sat on the council, but his influence at court had diminished demonstrably 'after decades of exclusion by pro-Neville regimes'.<sup>14</sup> Most recently, when the gentry of Knaresborough had turned to him for protection, Northumberland's attempts to extend his lordship within the honour had been forcefully resisted by the government.<sup>15</sup> The earl's authority was also being challenged in traditional areas of Percy dominance, such as Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness.<sup>16</sup> During the 1450s, Salisbury even succeeded in recruiting a number of men from the districts of Knaresborough and Craven, including Sir Richard Hamerton (d. 1480) of Wigglesworth, Richard Roos of Ingmanthorpe, and Ralph Pulleyn (d. 1459) of Scotton.<sup>17</sup> As a consequence, Northumberland was justifiably paranoid, and his family very much on the defensive.

It was in this highly-charged situation that the Percys first learned of the prospective marriage of another of Salisbury's sons, Sir Thomas Neville, to Maud Stanhope, the niece and co-heiress of Ralph, Lord Cromwell.<sup>18</sup> Cromwell had agreed to settle the manor and castle of Wressle upon the couple as part of the marriage settlement. The castle was of particular strategic importance because it was located near York.<sup>19</sup> But it also provided the Nevilles with a foothold in the East Riding - the final preserve of the Percys in Yorkshire. Above all, it had been forfeited by the earl of Northumberland in 1405,<sup>20</sup> and the family had never given up hope of its eventual recovery.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, it has recently been suggested that the manor may already have been

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<sup>13</sup> J.M.W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959), 227; M. Weiss, 'A Power in the North? The Percies in the Fifteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 501-9. See above, Ch. 5.6.

<sup>14</sup> J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.178, 311. It seems to have been this experience which prompted Percy tenants at Topcliffe to challenge the jurisdiction of royal officers within the earl of Northumberland's lordships in January 1453: KB9/149/11, m. 24; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 324; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 300, n. 172.

<sup>15</sup> See above, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>16</sup> See Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, pp. 117-23; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 253-4.

<sup>17</sup> Members of other local families, including Brennand of Knaresborough, Percy of Scotton, Louth, and Wakefield of Great Ouseburn, had been attracted into the earl's service by 1459: A.J. Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), pp. 52-69; *North-Eastern England*, pp. 270-1.

<sup>18</sup> The marriage licence was issued on 1 May 1453: *CPR 1452-61*, p. 64.

<sup>19</sup> Griffiths argues that the city of York, as the natural centre of England east of the Pennines, was a coveted prize which provided a focus for local rivalries: Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 322.

<sup>20</sup> See above, Ch. 5.4.

<sup>21</sup> In 1439, Northumberland had asserted his claim to all former Percy estates previously entailed upon Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, including the manor of Wressle: *Rot. Parl.*, v, pp. 11-12; J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958), p. 74.

earmarked, once recovered, for Northumberland's second son, Thomas, Lord Egremont.<sup>22</sup> The affront to Percy dignity was absolute, and seems to have provoked an immediate and violent response from younger members of the family. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the escalation of the feud into open warfare was largely a product of political developments at a national level.

The earliest indication of disorder in the West Riding came in the summer of 1453. Egremont and his younger brother, Richard Percy (d. 1461), were retaining men and distributing the Percy livery in Yorkshire by 12 May.<sup>23</sup> In retaliation, Salisbury's third son, Sir John Neville (d. 1471), attempted to seize Egremont at Topcliffe (N. Riding) on 29 June.<sup>24</sup> On 10 July, the houses of Alan Clerk and James King at Halton and Swinden in Craven came under attack from a group of local gentry led by Richard Percy. The victims are unremarkable, but the raiding party included prominent local esquires such as John Pudsey II (d. 1492) of Bolton, Richard Tempest II (d. 1472) of Bracewell, and John Caterall of Brayton, who were all known Percy supporters.<sup>25</sup> Many of these men were also indicted for their part in the attack upon the earl of Salisbury and his family at Heworth in August. The government's response to these disturbances was entirely ineffectual.

Following the spectacular collapse of Suffolk's regime in 1450, national authority had gradually been restored under the leadership of Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset. But the fundamental weaknesses remained the same. Since the king was inadequate, royal authority still needed to be artificially constituted. This was a problem which had faced every regime which had attempted to govern England since 1422.<sup>26</sup> Somerset, like his immediate predecessor, was entirely dependent upon the continued support of his noble constituency in order to uphold the public authority of the crown.<sup>27</sup> As a consequence, the government's ability to settle magnate disputes during the early 1450s was extremely limited, amounting to little more than appeasement intermixed with desperate pleas for calm.<sup>28</sup> In Yorkshire, the combatants simply ignored the futile stream of royal summonses and moved towards open conflict.<sup>29</sup> The fact that Somerset's regime continued to offer tacit support to the Nevilles did not help matters.

<sup>22</sup> Egremont was subsequently granted a life interest in the estate in 1458: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 255-6; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 428.

<sup>23</sup> KB9/149/4, mm. 11-12; KB9/149/7, m. 2.

<sup>24</sup> KB9/149/8, m. 5.

<sup>25</sup> KB9/149/6, m. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 323.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 282-298.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 298-9.

<sup>29</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 326; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 256.

The government did not try to restrain Sir John Neville's activities until the end of June. At the same time, it also failed in its attempt to bring an end to the conflict by sending Egremont abroad on military service.<sup>30</sup>

On 12 July, a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* was issued under the earls of Northumberland and Salisbury to resolve the situation. The fact that the earls themselves were now expected to bring their own sons into line hints at desperation on the part of the government. However, the commission was once again weighted in favour of the Nevilles. Many of the commissioners were already caught up in the dispute, while others were shortly to become active participants in the acts of lawlessness.<sup>31</sup> It was replaced by a less partisan commission under Sir William Lucy on 27 July.<sup>32</sup> This, too, failed to restore order. Indeed, Lucy himself was alleged to have participated in the attack upon the Nevilles at Heworth in the following month.<sup>33</sup> Somerset's handling of the affair provided a decisive demonstration of his government's impotence. Confidence in his regime was already beginning to fail when the onset of the king's madness in August 1453 prompted a violent escalation of the conflict.<sup>34</sup>

The king's mental collapse, and the subsequent challenge to Somerset's authority by the duke of York towards the end of 1453, led to the paralysis of national government and the exacerbation of local tensions. According to Watts, 'application to the centre for justice could safely be abandoned' and greater risks had to be taken. As a result of the inadequacy of royal justice, rival nobles began to take the use of violent self-help beyond acceptable limits in their local struggles.<sup>35</sup> This was especially true of regions where the king, as duke of Lancaster, was a significant landowner.<sup>36</sup> In Yorkshire, the removal of the king prompted the first real battle of the feud between the Percys and the Nevilles. On 24 August, a large force of well over 700 men, led by Egremont and Richard Percy, attempted to ambush the Nevilles at Heworth, on their return journey from Lincolnshire after the marriage of Sir Thomas Neville and Maud Stanhope. As well as the bride and groom, the wedding party included the earl and countess of Salisbury, and another of their sons, Sir John Neville. Although the outcome of the battle is unknown, the earl and his family survived the attack. Almost all of those

<sup>30</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 300; *POPC*, vi, pp. 140-2.

<sup>31</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 173; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 327.

<sup>32</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 121-3; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 326-7.

<sup>33</sup> KB9/149/5, m. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 300-2.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 323.

<sup>36</sup> For local disturbances in the north midlands during this period, see Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 287; Castor, 'The Sack of Elvaston', pp. 23, 28.

subsequently indicted for involvement in the affair came from Yorkshire.<sup>37</sup> The Percy force included a large contingent of West Riding notables, including John Clifford, son and heir of Thomas, Lord Clifford, Sir John Stapleton (d. 1455) of Wighill, Roger Warde II of Givendale, Richard Aldburgh II (d. 1475) of Aldborough, Richard Tempest II, John Pudsey II, and John and Stephen Hamerton.<sup>38</sup> Most came from areas dominated by the Percys, and both Stapleton and Tempest were retainers of the earl of Northumberland.<sup>39</sup> Curiously, John and Stephen Hamerton were sons of Salisbury's own retainer, Sir Richard Hamerton.<sup>40</sup> Sir Richard's sisters, however, were married to associates of both Salisbury and Northumberland. It has been suggested that Hamerton's own political loyalties may have remained somewhat ambiguous at this time.<sup>41</sup> The Hamerton family's choice of marriage partners certainly suggests increasingly close ties with the Percy affinity. Sir Richard's son, Stephen, had been engaged to Isabel, daughter of Sir William Plumpton II (d. 1480) of Plumpton, after the conclusion of a marriage contract on 24 March 1447.<sup>42</sup> Sir Richard himself later took as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, and widow of Sir William Plumpton's heir apparent, William III (d. 1461).<sup>43</sup> Hamerton served as a juror for the North Riding during the judicial proceedings of 1454,<sup>44</sup> which may shed light on why he was retained by Salisbury at this time, but his Neville fee had certainly been retracted by 1456.<sup>45</sup>

The government's response to the lawlessness in Yorkshire, meanwhile, remained weak and ineffectual.<sup>46</sup> Violent attacks continued to be perpetrated by both sides during the following months.<sup>47</sup> Richard Percy, John Caterall, and William Chamber of Brame abducted Laurence Caterall, bailiff of Staincliff wapentake, from Gargave parish church on 9 September. He was escorted to the Percy lordship of Cockermouth in Cumberland, where he was detained until he had forfeited his office by

<sup>37</sup> For a compositional analysis of Egremont's 'army', see Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 330-4.

<sup>38</sup> KB9/149/11, m. 16; Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, pp. 130-1. Arnold also lists Sir William Ryther III of Ryther and Henry Vavasour II of Hazlewood: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 133.

<sup>39</sup> WSRO PHA D9/3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, n. 1; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 23.

<sup>40</sup> KB9/149/4, m. 25; *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 258n; Arnold mistakenly transcribes John as James Hamerton, Sir Richard's brother: *ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>41</sup> Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill', pp. 61-2

<sup>42</sup> WYAS LDA Acc. 1731/3, no. 534; T. Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Society, old series, 4 (1839), pp. lxxxiv-v.

<sup>43</sup> Stapleton (ed.), *The Plumpton Correspondence*, p. lxxiii.

<sup>44</sup> KB9/149/3, m. 1d.

<sup>45</sup> Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill', p. 62.

<sup>46</sup> *POPC*, vi, pp. 158-63; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 335-7.

<sup>47</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 334-5.

default.<sup>48</sup> A number of names were deleted from the resulting indictment, including that of John Hamerton, whose father, as we have already seen, served as a juror during the subsequent judicial enquiry.<sup>49</sup> On 24 September, Sir John Neville ransacked the earl of Northumberland's house at Catton (N. Riding).<sup>50</sup> A day later, a group of Percy supporters from Topcliffe and Spofforth ransacked the house of William Hebden, vicar of Aughton. They were led by Sir John Salvin, one of Northumberland's retainers, and John Caterall.<sup>51</sup> By 20 October, virtually the entire baronage of Yorkshire was arrayed in two opposing armies at Topcliffe and Sand Hutton in the North Riding. Significantly, it was here that the earls of Northumberland and Salisbury accompanied their sons onto the field for the first time during the confrontation. They were joined by their heirs, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, and Henry Percy, Lord Poynings. The Nevilles were also supported by Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, and Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, while Lord Clifford stood alongside the Percys.<sup>52</sup> Although bloodshed had again been avoided, the severity of the conflict reached new heights in the following year as a direct result of developments at a national level, and the intervention of the duke of Exeter in Yorkshire politics.

During the winter of 1453-4, following the collapse of Somerset's regime, York succeeded in establishing his own authority over central government. By 27 March 1454, Somerset was in prison and York had been appointed protector.<sup>53</sup> On 12 April, Salisbury became chancellor. York's ascendancy should not be interpreted as the victory of a self-serving faction, since authority came to be vested in a broadly-based and representative council.<sup>54</sup> However, it has frequently been suggested that the actions of York's government were far less inclusive. Griffiths, for example, has concluded that the firmness and resolution which the 'Yorkists' brought to English government after years of weakness and vacillation was motivated by 'personal rivalry and political

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<sup>48</sup> KB9/149/4, m. 25. Laurence and John Caterall were presumably close relatives, and Arnold has suggested that the dispute may have been of a local nature. A commission was issued by the Yorkists in August 1460 for the arrest of John Caterall, who played a particularly prominent role in the disturbances of the 1450s: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 131, 299; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 608.

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 185.

<sup>50</sup> KB9/149/8, m. 5. According to Pollard, the house may have belonged to Egremont: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 257.

<sup>51</sup> KB9/149/12, m. 24. Salvin was in receipt of an annuity of £10 from the earl of Northumberland: Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>52</sup> KB9/149/11, m. 3; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 336-7; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 301.

<sup>53</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, pp. 240-2.

<sup>54</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 727-8; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 302-309. Nevertheless, it has been questioned whether Salisbury was an appropriate candidate to serve as chancellor in such sensitive political circumstances: P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 134-5.

hatred'.<sup>55</sup> In his opinion, York and the Nevilles exploited their national authority to advance their own interests and facilitate the destruction of their political rivals.<sup>56</sup> Pollard agrees, stating that the support which the Nevilles came to enjoy from York had 'far-reaching and fateful consequences'.<sup>57</sup> But this interpretation has been roundly rejected by Watts, who suggests instead that York's regime was both consultative and inclusive. He argues convincingly that the first protectorate was founded upon principles of noble counsel and unity. Furthermore, provision was made for Prince Edward to succeed to the title as soon as was realistically possible.<sup>58</sup> In his handling of local disturbances, York also demonstrated a concern 'to uphold effective agencies of rule while attempting to reconcile their opponents'.<sup>59</sup> Above all, Watts has rejected the argument that York was a tool of faction.<sup>60</sup> This analysis provides an altogether more plausible background to events in Yorkshire at this time.

Upon appointment, the duke of York and his associates immediately attempted to reassert the authority of the government throughout England. As far as the north was concerned, in May stern letters were sent to Northumberland, Poyning and his brother, Sir Ralph Percy (d. 1464), instructing them to appear before the council.<sup>61</sup> On 1 June 1454, the West Riding peace commission was reinforced with the introduction of Warwick, his brother, Sir John Neville, and their associate, Henry Sothill of Dewsbury. As in the case of earlier crises, the overall sizes of the commission and *quorum* were also increased.<sup>62</sup> But government attempts to resolve the situation were thrown into disarray by the untimely intervention of Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, on the side of the Percys. Holland, who was actually York's son-in-law, had only emerged politically in 1450. Thereafter, he embarked upon a violent dispute with Ralph, Lord Cromwell over possession of the manors of Amptill and Millbrook in Bedfordshire.<sup>63</sup> He appears

<sup>55</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 342.

<sup>56</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 735-6.

<sup>57</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>58</sup> The only exception to this policy was his treatment of Somerset, who remained incarcerated in the Tower since he still posed a threat to York's rule: Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 308-9, 312; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 135.

<sup>59</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 310-11. The duke's determination to demonstrate the impartiality of royal justice is clear from an examination of his intervention in Derbyshire: Castor, 'The Sack of Elvaston', p. 29. For his even-handed approach in Warwickshire, see M.C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-99* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 468-73.

<sup>60</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 312.

<sup>61</sup> *POPC*, vi, pp. 178-9; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 342.

<sup>62</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 683; C66/478, m. 26d; C.E. Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 120. See below, Appendix 5.

<sup>63</sup> M.M.N. Stansfield, 'The Hollands, Dukes of Exeter, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352-1475', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1987), pp. 238-40; Payling, 'The Amptill Dispute', pp. 881-907.

to have allied himself politically with the Percys by January 1454, when he met with Egremont at Tuxford (Notts.).<sup>64</sup> However, the exact reasons behind this new affiliation remain unclear.<sup>65</sup> It seems likely that Exeter's main grievance with York was that the duke had appropriated what he believed to be his own rightful claim to the protectorate.<sup>66</sup> By May, Duke Richard was facing a rebellion against his rule in Yorkshire. As in Derbyshire, a disturbingly large section of local society had plainly rejected the legitimacy of York's regime.<sup>67</sup>

The uprising began modestly enough. On 6 May, Salisbury's town house in York was raided by a group of freemen who assaulted one of his tenants, John Skipwith.<sup>68</sup> Eight days later, the unfortunate man was again the target of attack.<sup>69</sup> Most of those involved had already taken part in the disturbances of the previous year.<sup>70</sup> On 10 May, Egremont rendezvoused with armed contingents of Percy supporters at Spofforth. The assembled force was comprised largely of husbandmen, yeomen, and artisans, but also included a chaplain and a gentleman.<sup>71</sup> On 14 May, Exeter joined Egremont at York, where they were resisted by the mayor, Thomas Nelson, and the recorder, Guy Roucliff (d. 1460). Both officials were detained in the chapter house of York Minster until they surrendered, after which they were led to Bootham Bar, where they were threatened with mutilation.<sup>72</sup> Over the course of the next two weeks, a considerable force was assembled at Spofforth under the supervision of Exeter and Egremont. They were joined by Richard Percy, and the duke's two illegitimate brothers, Robert and William Holland. The newly-assembled force included contingents from Yorkshire, Cumberland, Bedfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire and London.<sup>73</sup> Most were either tenants or associates of Exeter or the Percys.<sup>74</sup> Five members of the

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<sup>64</sup> J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters*, i (London, 1904), p. 264.

<sup>65</sup> Holland and the Percys did, of course, share a hatred of Lord Cromwell. However, Stansfield suggests that Exeter may have acted out of 'a desire to rectify his landed paucity and seize control of patronage'. He also writes that the duke's newly-acquired estates in Lancashire gave him a previously unappreciated interest in the north: Stansfield, 'The Hollands', pp. 241, n. 11, 242.

<sup>66</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 345.

<sup>67</sup> See Castor, 'The Sack of Elvaston', p. 29.

<sup>68</sup> KB9/148/1, m. 7.

<sup>69</sup> KB9/148/1, m. 13.

<sup>70</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries' p. 343.

<sup>71</sup> KB9/148/1, m. 11; KB9/149/6, m. 3; KB9/149/11, m. 12.

<sup>72</sup> KB9/148/1, m. 15; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 343.

<sup>73</sup> KB9/148/1, m. 11; KB9/149/5, m. 3; KB9/149/6, m. 8; KB9/149/9, m. 8; KB9/149/11, m. 12; KB27/778, Rex rot. 3d; KB27/781, Rex rot. 28; KB27/798, Rex rot. 5d; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 343-4.

<sup>74</sup> Exeter's force included a contingent assembled at Ampthill, while Egremont was joined by men from the Percy lordships of Cockermouth, Topcliffe and Leconfield, as well as Percy retainers such as Sir John Salvin of North Duffield: KB27/781, Rex rot. 28; KB9/149/5, m. 3; Stansfield, 'The Hollands', pp. 240-1; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 348-9.



West Riding gentry were later indicted for supporting the rising. Richard Aldburgh II, John Caterall, Thomas Fairfax of Selby, Thomas Frost of Fetherstone, and John Pudsey II were all veterans of the Heworth affray.<sup>75</sup>

Exeter's ambition was undoubtedly to challenge York's authority as protector.<sup>76</sup> According to the indictments, the duke asserted his own right to the governance of the kingdom, promised relief from parliamentary taxation, and appealed to the king of Scotland for military support. But he is also reported to have raised his standard and laid claim to the Duchy of Lancaster, proclaiming 'Take here the duc of Lancastre lyverey'.<sup>77</sup> York's government responded quickly to the crisis. An attempt was made on 11 May to get Exeter to come south. After this failed, the protector himself hurried north and arrived in York on 21 May.<sup>78</sup> A commission of *oyer and terminer* was issued to York, Warwick, Greystoke, the royal justices Richard Bingham and Ralph Pole, and the mayor of York, Thomas Nelson.<sup>79</sup> But on 28 May an attempt was made to assassinate York and his fellow commissioners. According to the indictment, the plot was hatched by a West Riding esquire, Robert Mauleverer II (d.c. 1461) of Wothersome. Mauleverer had written to various local dignitaries asking for assistance, and the attack was intended to take place at his own manor.<sup>80</sup> The plan failed but York withdrew south to gather support.<sup>81</sup> By 15 July, he felt secure enough to return to York and begin judicial hearings concerning the recent disorder.<sup>82</sup> Those who had only participated in the most recent disturbances were treated leniently. The surviving records indicate that no one received a punishment more severe than outlawry.<sup>83</sup> While the proceedings appear pro-Neville in character, York's action enjoyed a broad base of support amongst the lords. The protector even succeeded in detaching Lord Clifford from the Percys. Within a week, Clifford was sitting on the commission at York. He was joined by another Percy supporter, Lord Beaumont, together with a neutral, the new earl of Shrewsbury.<sup>84</sup> Since Exeter and the Percys had chosen to defy the legitimate and

<sup>75</sup> KB9/149/9, m. 8; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 134.

<sup>76</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 142.

<sup>77</sup> KB27/798, Rex rot. 5d.

<sup>78</sup> *POPC*, vi, p. 180; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 140.

<sup>79</sup> KB9/148/2.

<sup>80</sup> KB9/149/9, m. 7.

<sup>81</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 141. He also appears to have taken the opportunity to restore order in the north midlands, for he began to hear indictments at Derby on 1 July: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 296.

<sup>82</sup> KB9/148/2.

<sup>83</sup> Griffiths suggests that this was to prevent the creation of a hard core of anti-Yorkist sentiments in the north: Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', pp. 350-1.

<sup>84</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 311, n. 221; KB9/149/11, m. 16d.

representative authority of the protectorate, this was certainly not a partisan witchhunt. According to Watts, it is clear that ‘Percy recalcitrance played a significant part in making central authority the friend of the Nevilles’.<sup>85</sup> Northumberland, Egremont, and Exeter were all indicted. Exeter fled to Westminster Abbey, where he was apprehended on 23 July. Afterwards, he was committed into the custody of the earl of Salisbury and imprisoned at Pontefract Castle.<sup>86</sup> Northumberland had been granted a reprieve from judicial proceedings on the same day.<sup>87</sup> Egremont and Richard Percy, meanwhile, remained at large. York, who had arrived back in London on 8 July, again travelled north, arriving at the city of York by 3 August.<sup>88</sup> During September and October, Egremont and Richard Percy fortified Spofforth against their enemies.<sup>89</sup> They were finally apprehended by Sir Thomas and Sir John Neville after the ‘battle’ of Stamford Bridge at the end of October.<sup>90</sup>

In November 1454, York took the opportunity to revise appointments to the shrievalties. A quarter of the new sheriffs were connected with the duke.<sup>91</sup> In Yorkshire, he appointed one of his local officers, Sir John Saville (d. 1482) of Thornhill.<sup>92</sup> Overall, York seems to have been politically secure by Christmas.<sup>93</sup> In the north, the Nevilles had secured the defeat of their rivals. Nevertheless, apart from a couple of skirmishes, the two families still had to engage one another in actual combat, and neither Neville nor Percy had yet spilt any blood. This was to change in 1455, again as a result of national politics. In the New Year, the king finally recovered his sanity. As a consequence, the protectorate was concluded, Salisbury resigned the chancellorship, and the dukes of Somerset and Exeter were released. By May 1455, therefore, the nobility were irreconcilably divided.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 311-12.

<sup>86</sup> Griffiths, ‘Local Rivalries’, p. 352.

<sup>87</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>88</sup> Griffiths, ‘Local Rivalries’, pp. 352-3; KB9/149/1, m. 27.

<sup>89</sup> E.J. Fisher, ‘Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies, 1450-1650’, unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Leeds, 1955), i, Ch. 2 p. 35; WSRO PHA D9/6.

<sup>90</sup> Griffiths, ‘Local Rivalries’, pp. 353-4; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 260.

<sup>91</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 728.

<sup>92</sup> *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 162. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>93</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 151.

<sup>94</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 260-3.

### 3) 1455-1459: The First Battle of St Albans

After Henry VI's recovery over Christmas 1454, York's authority dissolved. Somerset was released from prison on 5 February 1455, and the protectorate was brought to an end four days later. Somerset was rehabilitated and reinstated as the king's principal councillor at the beginning of the following month. On 6 March, York was dismissed as captain of Calais, while Salisbury was replaced as chancellor by Archbishop Bourghier of Canterbury a day later.<sup>95</sup> It was reported at the time that the earl had resigned the great seal rather than agree to the release of Exeter, although he was probably forced out of office.<sup>96</sup> Of the nine nobles who witnessed Salisbury's resignation, six were hostile to York and the Nevilles. Somerset, Wiltshire, and Beaumont were prominent members of the court and enemies of York. They were joined by Northumberland, his son, William Percy (d. 1462), bishop of Carlisle, and Lord Clifford, who were opponents of the Nevilles. Both York and Warwick were noticeable by their absence.<sup>97</sup> Storey observes that the return of Northumberland and Clifford to central politics after so long in the wilderness must have been seen as a particularly disturbing development by the Nevilles.<sup>98</sup> Predictably, the majority of the disparate body of lords continued to back whomsoever they believed most likely to provide the necessary workable authority in government – now once again the duke of Somerset.<sup>99</sup> On 15 March, Somerset's associate, James Butler, earl of Wiltshire, replaced John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, as treasurer.<sup>100</sup> Worcester was, by his first marriage, a son-in-law of the earl of Salisbury, and was still at this stage a supporter of York.<sup>101</sup> His dismissal was another sign of what was to follow. Three days later, the new chancellor was instructed to release the duke of Exeter from Pontefract Castle, apparently against the wishes of the constable, Salisbury.<sup>102</sup> In a climate of fear and uncertainty, the 'Yorkist' lords, fearing possible retribution, withdrew from court. They ignored the summonses to attend a pseudo-parliament, which was scheduled to convene at Leicester in late May, and prepared to take up arms against their enemies.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 739; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 313; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 226.

<sup>96</sup> J.A. Giles (ed.), *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Trium Regum Lancastrensiu Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI* (London, 1848), pt. iv, p. 47; B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 286.

<sup>97</sup> *POPC*, vi, p. 358; Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', p. 11.

<sup>98</sup> Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 160.

<sup>99</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 314.

<sup>100</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 740.

<sup>101</sup> C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', *BIHR* 33 (1960), p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 356.

<sup>103</sup> *POPC*, vi, pp. 339-42; Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', pp. 11-15; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 314.

The purpose of the extraordinary great council was apparently to provide for the personal safety of the king, implying a mistrust of York and the Nevilles.<sup>104</sup> It seems likely that Somerset intended to convene a punitive assembly. Writs were sent to every shire summoning certain knights and esquires to attend. But it is also possible that the great council may have been nominated simply to secure a speedy settlement of the quarrel between Somerset and York before the recognisances binding the two royal dukes expired on 20 June.<sup>105</sup> Provision was made for each of the three ridings of Yorkshire to be treated as a separate entity. Two representatives from the West Riding were summoned to attend the great council. John, Lord Neville was the brother of the second earl of Westmorland, and no friend of his cousins the Nevilles of Middleham. He was summoned to Leicester, together with Sir William Plumpton, a retainer and local officer of the earl of Northumberland.<sup>106</sup> Neville's nomination seems particularly unjustifiable, given that he had no known connection with the riding. It has also been suggested that since no records survive concerning the representation of the North Riding, where Salisbury's authority was absolute, it is likely that no summons was ever sent.<sup>107</sup> If this were true, it would have provided Salisbury and Warwick with further confirmation that Somerset intended to use the assembly to deal a decisive blow to his enemies.

It is far from clear, however, whether the majority of lords would have supported Somerset in such a divisive enterprise. The king's principal councillor ultimately derived his authority collectively from this disparate body of lords. Most entertained no antipathy towards York and the Nevilles, and sought only to maintain unity. Moreover, most were only prepared to offer support to a regime while it was seen as sufficiently representative to constitute public authority. While either Somerset or York needed to neutralise their opponent in order to fully establish their own authority, Watts has demonstrated that the noble constituency on which they depended proved unwilling to support any resolution other than an inconclusive settlement by arbitration.<sup>108</sup>

In the event, the council never met. York, Salisbury, and Warwick withdrew to the north, probably to their lordships of Sandal and Middleham in Yorkshire, where

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<sup>104</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, p. 280; Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', p. 13.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Alternatively, Johnson suggests that the assembly was convened as a matter of some urgency to authorise the council's decision about what form government should take in the event of the king's health suffering a relapse: Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 155.

<sup>106</sup> Wedgwood, *Register*, p. 741; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 136-7.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, n. 72.

<sup>108</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 314-5, 324-5.

they assembled their forces, before marching south to confront the king.<sup>109</sup> The speed and scale of the Yorkist challenge apparently took their enemies completely by surprise.<sup>110</sup> The two sides met at St Albans on 22 May, where the duke of Buckingham entered into ultimately futile negotiations with the Yorkist lords.<sup>111</sup> When battle was finally joined, the outcome was swift and decisive and the Yorkists emerged victorious. It seems that most of the lords accompanying the king were only prepared to defend him, and protect Somerset, insofar as this action assisted the preservation of noble unity.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, there was a body of neutral lords around the king, including Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, John Bourghier, Lord Berners, and Salisbury's own brother, William Neville (d. 1463), Lord Fauconberg, who may have been sympathetic to York, and who was not at any rate disposed to fight for Somerset.<sup>113</sup> A confrontation, therefore, was in the interests of no one, other than that minority of belligerents already engaged in uncontrollable disputes.<sup>114</sup>

During the onslaught, Somerset was cut down, perhaps on York's orders, which would have been the sensible course of action. It is also possible that Northumberland and Clifford were deliberately hunted down and killed by the Nevilles to put an end to their rivalry, although two contemporary sources concluded that the earl's death was unintentional.<sup>115</sup> If this was indeed their aim, it was not particularly successful. The deaths of Northumberland and Clifford at St Albans actually provoked an escalation of the Percy-Neville blood feud, while ultimately unifying the fates of York and the Nevilles.<sup>116</sup>

A number of Percy associates from the West Riding died in the battle, or else succumbed to their wounds shortly afterwards. The dead included Sir John Stapleton of Wighill, Alfred Mauleverer of Ingleby Arncliffe, and Ralph Babthorpe, the king's sewer.<sup>117</sup> The latter had served as Salisbury's deputy at Tickhill during the 1430s. He

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<sup>109</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 314; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 741; A.E. Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1981), pp. 22-5.

<sup>110</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 742.

<sup>111</sup> Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', pp. 30-2, 65-7; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 156-7.

<sup>112</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 315.

<sup>113</sup> Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', pp. 21, 24, 44; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 294; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 264. After the battle, York had sufficient confidence in Fauconberg and Berners to appoint them as constables of Windsor Castle in place of Somerset: *CPR 1452-61*, p. 243.

<sup>114</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 743; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 324.

<sup>115</sup> Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', pp. 39-40; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 293; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 745; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 263-5.

<sup>116</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 265-6.

<sup>117</sup> C139/156/13; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 361; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 265. Arnold suggests that Stapleton may have died of natural causes, since he had drawn up his will in the previous

and his son succeeded the earl as steward in 1443, but it seems likely that Salisbury had ejected them from office during York's first protectorate in 1453-4.<sup>118</sup> A younger son of Northumberland, William Percy, bishop of Carlisle, was robbed, humiliated, and forced to flee on foot.<sup>119</sup> By the end of the battle, York had gained control of the king's person and recovered the initiative. With the death of Somerset, York was now the only candidate left for the lords to rally around.<sup>120</sup>

There is evidence from after the battle that military service was part of the duty owed by all members of York's affinity.<sup>121</sup> The steward of Conisbrough and Hatfield, Sir William Skipwith of Skipwith (Lincs.), had failed to support the duke at St Albans and was, therefore, dismissed from office. He was succeeded by Salisbury's son, Sir John Neville, and Sir James Pickering of Ellerton (E. Riding).<sup>122</sup> From this, Arnold has inferred that Sir John Saville may well have led a contingent from the duke's other West Riding lordship of Wakefield.<sup>123</sup> Although the majority of retainers seem to have remained loyal to their lords through both favourable and uncertain periods, Skipwith's abstinence may have been indicative of a general reluctance on the part of the majority of gentry to commit themselves to either side during the 1450s. It has recently been suggested that the increasing disparity between the interests of the nobility and gentry during this period may actually have encouraged this tendency. The preoccupation of the nobility with national politics meant that they were unable to devote enough time to perform their local responsibilities in the shires. For the gentry, division amongst the nobility threatened the cohesion of local networks as former friends became enemies. They were deprived of noble lordship - previously the principal mechanism for containing local conflict in a competitive society. Moreover, local disorder was of far greater concern to lesser landowners who potentially stood to lose everything. As a consequence, the gentry were forced to adapt, becoming increasingly self-regulating and independent of the nobility.<sup>124</sup>

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year: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 137; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 181. However, he had been a participant at Heworth in 1453. See above, p. 185.

<sup>118</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), p. 528; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 264, n. 65.

<sup>119</sup> Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', p. 48.

<sup>120</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 321.

<sup>121</sup> F.M. Wright, 'The House of York, 1415-1450', unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins, 1959), p. 216. It has been observed that Lancastrian retainers were expected to provide a similar service earlier in the century: Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 29-30, 36, n. 71.

<sup>122</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 552.

<sup>123</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 138.

<sup>124</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 609-10, 634-7; M.C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 131-2, 149-53; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 311-2.

After the battle of St Albans, Henry VI was escorted back to London, where writs were despatched on 26 May to summon a parliament in order to legitimise York's actions.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, a series of council meetings were held which were attended by former members of the protectorate council in order to emphasise the representative nature of the new regime.<sup>126</sup> There were also few immediate signs of indiscriminate self-reward amongst the victors, probably because of the planned act of resumption.<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, Salisbury was soon to receive a life grant of the chief stewardship of the North Parts of the Duchy, on 15 February 1456.<sup>128</sup> He probably also succeeded Lord Cromwell as steward of Pickering after the latter's death in January. Together, these two grants further augmented Salisbury's already commanding position in the north.<sup>129</sup>

The parliamentary election for Yorkshire was held at York Castle on 23 June 1455. Coincidentally, this was the Monday after the feast of St Alban the Martyr.<sup>130</sup> Sir John Saville, who had been appointed sheriff during York's first protectorate, presided over the return of another two of the duke's associates, Sir Thomas Harrington (d. 1460) of Brierley and Sir James Pickering. Many of those who attested the election came from Saville's traditional area of influence, and the election may well have been orchestrated.<sup>131</sup> During the parliament, responsibility for the battle of St Albans was shifted from Lord Clifford and Ralph Percy to Somerset and two of his bureaucrats, while the Yorkists were vindicated.<sup>132</sup> The intention was to blame the recent violence on misgovernment and evil counsel, while concealing existing divisions in order to restore unity amongst the lords.<sup>133</sup> Finally, a general pardon was issued on 31 July for all offences committed before 9 July.<sup>134</sup> But a workable regime still had to be formed.

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<sup>125</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 294-5; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 158.

<sup>126</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 317.

<sup>127</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>128</sup> DL37/24/2-3; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 421.

<sup>129</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 266.

<sup>130</sup> C219/16/3 pt. 1, mm. 14-15.

<sup>131</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 229-30. Johnson concludes that, overall, the commons of 1455 were 'marginally disposed towards York': Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 161. Cf. Wolffe, who argued that York 'made strenuous efforts to influence the elections': B.P. Wolffe, 'Acts of Resumption in the Lancastrian Parliaments, 1399-1456', *EHR* 73 (1958), 610-11.

<sup>132</sup> Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', pp. 57-8.

<sup>133</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 317-8.

<sup>134</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, pp. 283-4; Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 148; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 357. For individual pardons relating to the Yorkshire disorders, see KB27 778, Rex rots 3d, 28.

On 19 November, York became protector for a second time, in response to a number of requests from the commons.<sup>135</sup> It has been suggested that his appointment represented a revolutionary initiative to tackle the absence of royal authority. Together, the protector and a governing council would exercise the powers of the crown, at the request of the commons and with the consent of the lords.<sup>136</sup> But York's reforms were too revolutionary for the lords. In particular, the protector's attempts to pass an act of resumption, which would once and for all have replaced royal grace with conciliar rule, may have triggered a revolt by the lords. They were doubtless encouraged by Queen Margaret and former associates of Somerset.<sup>137</sup> On 25 February 1456, after holding office for only three months, York resigned as protector and once more withdrew from court.<sup>138</sup> He retreated to Yorkshire and spent the summer months at Sandal.<sup>139</sup> In the meantime, a new form of government began to emerge. Power continued to be vested in a broadly based and pro-Neville council, now with the king as its head. Salisbury remained in London, while Warwick received the captaincy of Calais in July.<sup>140</sup> In the north, Neville supremacy continued unchallenged at least until March 1457, when the new earl of Northumberland finally entered his inheritance.<sup>141</sup> It was now the turn of the queen to withdraw from London to the heartlands of the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>142</sup>

By September, the king had joined the queen and the young prince of Wales in the west midlands.<sup>143</sup> In the autumn, Queen Margaret re-established the court at Coventry, and proceeded to attempt to recreate independent royal authority around the person of the enfeebled king.<sup>144</sup> The moderate lords who had occupied the central offices of state since the start of the second protectorate were summarily dismissed as the queen assumed control of government. They were replaced by loyal servants of the queen. Thomas Liseux was succeeded by Margaret's chancellor, Laurence Booth, as keeper of the privy seal on 24 September. On 5 October, Viscount Bourgchier was replaced as treasurer by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. His brother, Archbishop

<sup>135</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, p. 288; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 168-70. Two weeks earlier, the duke's associate Sir Thomas Harrington had been confirmed in office as sheriff of Yorkshire: see below, Appendix 3(a).

<sup>136</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 319-20; J.L. Watts, 'De Consulatu Stiliconis: Texts and Politics in the Reign of Henry VI', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 259-60.

<sup>137</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 321-3; Wolffe, 'Acts of Resumption', pp. 610-2.

<sup>138</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 173; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 757.

<sup>139</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 174.

<sup>140</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 332-4; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 174.

<sup>141</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 266-7.

<sup>142</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 334.

<sup>143</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 302-4, 370.

<sup>144</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 335.



Bourgchier, resigned the great seal six days later in favour of the king's confessor, Bishop Waynflete.<sup>145</sup> Of particular significance to the regional hegemony of the Nevilles in northern England was the death of Robert Neville, bishop of Durham on 8 July 1457. Laurence Booth was appointed in his place, diminishing Neville influence in the palatinate.<sup>146</sup>

The queen had gained control over appointments to the principal offices of state because she controlled the king's person, but she still enjoyed insufficient support to exercise public authority. The power of the crown remained invested in the corporate body of lords. Moreover, the failure of her attempts to secure the destruction of her enemies at either of the great councils held at Coventry between October 1456 and February 1457 demonstrated that the majority of lords were still unwilling to embrace partisan rule in the name of the king.<sup>147</sup> During this period, they seem to have clung to the last vestiges of conciliar rule in an attempt to maintain the principle of noble unity around the king rather than either York or Queen Margaret.<sup>148</sup> As a consequence, Watts has argued that the exercise of government and royal authority remained dispersed.<sup>149</sup> To broaden her authority, the queen now looked to the prince of Wales to provide her with an indisputable source of public authority. His earldom of Chester and principality of Wales, together with the queen's own Lancastrian estates in the midlands, provided the foundations on which to build a new royal power-base.<sup>150</sup>

In her creation of a 'royalist' party focused on Prince Edward, Queen Margaret attracted the support of a disparate group of noblemen, including the heirs of Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, other enemies of York such as Exeter and Devon, and even lords like Shrewsbury and Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, who had accepted York's rule as protector.<sup>151</sup> Cohesion amongst this group was provided by a series of aristocratic marriages between 1456 and 1460.<sup>152</sup> However, the queen's work was negated by the resurgence of authoritative conciliar activity at the end of 1457, which had perhaps been prompted by the threat of French invasion.<sup>153</sup> It was probably this revival of common purpose amongst the lords which encouraged attempts to negotiate a

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<sup>145</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 773.

<sup>146</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>147</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 335-7.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 340-1; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp. 141-2.

<sup>149</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 337.

<sup>150</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 312; Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp. 142-3.

<sup>151</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 338-9.

<sup>152</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 802-3.

<sup>153</sup> Watts speculates that York may have been behind this new-found strength of purpose: Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 341-3.

lasting settlement to the recent divisions.<sup>154</sup> The aim was clearly to restore magnate unity under the king. The process of reconciliation, which began in November, survived two attempted attacks upon York and the Nevilles by the new duke of Somerset and the Percys.<sup>155</sup> On 23 March 1458, a settlement was reached, although Exeter was conspicuous by his absence.<sup>156</sup> The principal protagonists, or their heirs, entered into recognisances with the king. The process was concluded on 25 March with an ostentatious display of reconciliation.<sup>157</sup>

But the loveday was a hollow affair, and ultimately proved divisive. The award emphasised the role of magnate feuds rather than misgovernment as the cause of the battle. It took away the Yorkists' justification for their actions whilst portraying them as aggressors. Furthermore, the fact that the king acted as sole arbitrator fatally undermined the corporate authority of the lords, while strengthening the claims of the queen to exercise national authority.<sup>158</sup> Of more immediate importance, the affair re-awakened the divisions of 1453-4. In 1455, York and the Nevilles had parted company because of the duke's attempts to broaden his authority by claiming the representation not only of the lords but also of the common weal. They were now driven back together out of necessity. Correspondingly, Exeter, Somerset, and the Percys began to strengthen their links with the court.<sup>159</sup>

For the time being, government continued under the auspices of conciliar rule. York and the Nevilles were the key players during this period since they had now come to be identified as the champions of noble unity.<sup>160</sup> In the autumn, however, the queen returned to London and seized control of central government.<sup>161</sup> The court also began to tighten its control over the resources of local government. This was partly to secure a regular source of income for the new court party. But it was also necessary to appoint reliable sheriffs who would guarantee the loyalty of the *posse comitatus* during times of danger.<sup>162</sup> In Yorkshire, court influence can be detected in local appointments from November 1458.<sup>163</sup> On 7 November, Sir John Tempest (d. 1464) of Bracewell was

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.

<sup>155</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 180-3.

<sup>156</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 360.

<sup>157</sup> Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 360.

<sup>158</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 343-5.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 327-8, 345.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346-7.

<sup>161</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 807.

<sup>162</sup> Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 186; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 348; R.M. Jeffs, 'The Later Mediaeval Sheriff and the Royal Household', unpublished DPhil thesis (Oxford), 1960, pp. 146-8.

<sup>163</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 139-40.

pricked as sheriff.<sup>164</sup> Both he and his son were annuitants of the second earl of Northumberland, and Richard Tempest had also been implicated in the disorders of 1453.<sup>165</sup> On the same day, an esquire of the royal household, William Stoke, was appointed escheator of Yorkshire.<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, the West Riding commission was significantly reduced in size on 23 November. Some of those considered to be sympathetic to York were removed, including Percival Cresacre (d. 1476) of Barnburgh, Edmund Fitzwilliam II (d. 1465) of Wadworth, and Nicholas Fitzwilliam (d. 1460) of Adwick le Street. Salisbury's younger son, Sir John Neville, was also dismissed, while Queen Margaret's chancellor, Laurence Booth, joined his brother, William Booth, archbishop of York, on the commission.<sup>167</sup> This was the first occasion that a bishop of Durham had been given a seat on the West Riding bench. At the same time, the court began to take action against the Yorkist lords. After an unsuccessful effort to eject Warwick from the captaincy of Calais, his enemies attempted to assassinate him at Westminster, probably in November 1458.<sup>168</sup> Excluded from government, isolated politically, and threatened with violence, York, Salisbury, and Warwick left the capital for the final time.

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<sup>164</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162. See below, Appendix 3a.

<sup>165</sup> WSRO PHA D9/3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, n. 1; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 23. See above, pp. 183, 185.

<sup>166</sup> This was the first time in seven years that a member of the household had served as escheator: *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 72 (1971), p. 193; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 140, 287-8. See below, Appendix 3b.

<sup>167</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 683-4. There is no other plausible explanation to account for the removal of Percival Cresacre and Nicholas Fitzwilliam from the commission in 1458. Their manors lay close to the lordship of Conisbrough. It is possible that Fitzwilliam may have been killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460: Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 335. On 14 November, his son John was granted a life annuity of 10 marks by Duke Richard: *CPR 1461-7*, p. 121. It is unclear why Cresacre and Fitzwilliam were included in the Lancastrian commission of array for the West Riding issued on 21 December 1459: *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 559-60. Both were subsequently restored to the peace commission by Edward IV in 1461: Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', pp. 123, 136, n. 41. See below, Appendix 4a. Arnold incorrectly asserts that Edmund Fitzwilliam was not prominent in the service of Duke Richard during 1459-60: Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', pp. 123, 136, n. 41. He is known to have been a feoffee of York's as early as 1453: *CPR 1452-61*, p. 71. In 1460, he held Conisbrough Castle for the duke, equipping it with artillery seized from the earl of Shrewsbury's lordship of Sheffield: *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 14, 479; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 223, 231. In the following year, he was granted the office of constable of Tickhill Castle by Edward IV as a reward for his services to Duke Richard: DL37/30/223; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 529. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>168</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 315; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 349, n. 371.

4) 1459-1461: Civil War

After the attempt upon his life, Warwick departed almost immediately for Calais.<sup>169</sup> Salisbury had apparently returned to Middleham by the end of November 1458, where his council agreed to ‘take ful partie with ye ful noble prince the duke of Yorke’.<sup>170</sup> The whereabouts of York cannot be accounted for at this time. The Nevilles found it necessary to renew their alliance with York not only because of the implications of the loveday and the recent attack upon Warwick, but also because the government had begun to undermine Neville hegemony in the north between 1457 and 1459. During this period, the balance of power which had obtained for more than half a century was systematically reversed. In 1457, the new earl of Northumberland had finally been granted livery of his estates, and reappointed as warden of the East March for a further ten years. Moreover, he received preferential rates of pay between 1455 and 1457, while Salisbury and Warwick went unpaid until the middle of 1459.<sup>171</sup> Although two-thirds of the honour of Richmond had been entailed upon Salisbury in 1449,<sup>172</sup> the lordship was regranted to Edmund Tudor upon his creation as earl of Richmond in 1452.<sup>173</sup> On 11 March 1457, Westmorland’s younger brother, Humphrey Neville, was provocatively granted the offices of steward and constable of Richmond during the minority of Henry Tudor.<sup>174</sup> A day later, Sir Ralph Percy became constable of Dunstanburgh Castle.<sup>175</sup> His retainer, Henry Bellingham, was appointed receiver of the lordship of Kendal, the keeping of part of which had been granted to Salisbury in 1446.<sup>176</sup> Finally, Egremont received a life grant of the controversial estate at Wressle on 10 June 1458.<sup>177</sup> As Griffiths has emphasised, Queen Margaret and the court were determined to neutralise the local influence which York and the Nevilles exercised in the shires.<sup>178</sup>

The Yorkist lords failed to attend a great council convened at Coventry in June 1459. Rumours of conspiracy abounded throughout England. On 10 May 1459, Thomas (d.c. 1466) and John Beckwith of Clint assaulted Simon Croft, who was acting under

<sup>169</sup> R. Flenley (ed.), *Six Town Chronicles of England* (London, 1911), p. 113; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 349, n. 371; Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 144.

<sup>170</sup> Pollard, ‘The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill’, p. 52.

<sup>171</sup> R.L. Storey, ‘The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489’, *EHR* 72 (1957), p. 16; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 799; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 267.

<sup>172</sup> See above, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>173</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 699. Pollard doubts whether Salisbury ever surrendered possession: Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 259, n. 49.

<sup>174</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 335; Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 183; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 267.

<sup>175</sup> DL37/25/5; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 538.

<sup>176</sup> Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 183. See above, Ch. 6.3.

<sup>177</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 428.

<sup>178</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 798.

orders of the steward of Knaresborough, Sir William Plumpton II, to arrest one Richard Haxby for inciting rebellion.<sup>179</sup> In July, Richard Louthur and John, George, and William Brennand of Knaresborough disrupted the reading of a royal proclamation by Sir William Plumpton reminding the tenants of the honour of their allegiance, apparently on Salisbury's instruction.<sup>180</sup> According to allegations made at the Coventry parliament later in the year, two of York's retainers, Sir William Oldhall and Thomas Vaughan, were plotting in London on 4 July. Alice Neville, countess of Salisbury, was alleged to have been engaged in treasonable activity at Middleham by 1 August. Later that month, the bailiff of Bawtry was said to have been implicated in a similar conspiracy, while York is known to have sent an undisclosed letter to the town of Shrewsbury.<sup>181</sup> In September, York and the Nevilles finally took up arms. Salisbury was later said to have led an army of 5,000 men south from Middleham. His captains included the West Riding landowners Sir Thomas Harrington and Thomas Meryng of Tong.<sup>182</sup> The earl was joined at Boroughbridge on 18 September by a number of lesser gentry from the honour of Knaresborough, including members of the families of Brennand of Knaresborough, Percy and Pulleyn of Scotton, and Wakefield of Great Ouseburn. On 26 September, Ralph Pulleyn and John Markenfield of Markenfield occupied Knaresborough on behalf of the earl.<sup>183</sup> During the action, Sir William Plumpton's younger brother, Godfrey, was assaulted.<sup>184</sup> Salisbury's army marched south to meet York and Warwick at Worcester. It was intercepted by Lord Audley at Blore Heath in Staffordshire on 23 September. The Lancastrians were defeated and Audley himself was killed, but on the following day two of Salisbury's sons, Sir Thomas and Sir John Neville, and Sir Thomas Harrington, were taken prisoner.<sup>185</sup> The earl himself pushed on to Worcester, where he joined Warwick and York. Together, they attempted to move south, but were forced to withdraw to Ludlow in the face of a royal army led by the king. The two forces finally confronted one another below the town at Ludford, on 12 October. During the night, the Calais garrison deserted them and the Yorkist lords took

<sup>179</sup> W. Wheeler, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers* (Leeds, 1907), p. 187; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 144.

<sup>180</sup> Wheeler, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, p. 187; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 271.

<sup>181</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, p. 349; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 518; KB27/800, Rex rot. 11d; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 185-6.

<sup>182</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v, p. 348; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 271-2.

<sup>183</sup> Wheeler, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, pp. 188-9; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 271. Between 1465 and 1467, Robert Percy of Scotton brought a suit in chancery against Sir William Plumpton for housebreaking and theft after Ludford: Arnold, *West Riding*, i, p. 144.

<sup>184</sup> It has been suggested that Ralph Pulleyn may have been fatally wounded during this skirmish, since he was dead by 4 December: C. Pullein, *The Pulleyns of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1915), p. 45.

<sup>185</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 820-1.

flight. York and his second son, the earl of Rutland, escaped to Ireland, while Salisbury, Warwick, and York's eldest son, the earl of March, fled to Calais.<sup>186</sup>

After Ludford, a parliament met at Coventry on 20 November 1459. The Commons were profoundly Lancastrian in complexion and the election may have been engineered.<sup>187</sup> Although the return for Yorkshire does not survive, it has been suggested that the king's chamberlain, Sir Richard Tunstall of Thurland (Lancs.), probably represented the county.<sup>188</sup> However, Queen Margaret had regained the undisputed support of most of the lords because of the Yorkists' resort to force against the king.<sup>189</sup> During the parliament, the Yorkist lords and a number of their associates, including Sir Thomas Harrington and Thomas Meryng from the West Riding, were condemned as traitors and attainted.<sup>190</sup> Others avoided attainder but suffered confiscation, such as John Saville, the eldest son of Sir John Saville.<sup>191</sup> At a local level, there was a comprehensive redistribution of territorial power. In the West Riding, Shrewsbury replaced Salisbury as steward and constable of Pontefract.<sup>192</sup> His son, John Talbot, succeeded Sir John Saville as steward of Wakefield and constable of Sandal Castle.<sup>193</sup> Sir William Skipwith was restored to his former position as steward and master forester of the lordships of Hatfield and Conisbrough,<sup>194</sup> while Egremont was appointed constable of Conisbrough on the same day.<sup>195</sup> Finally, the peace commission was remodelled on 8 December to reflect the new balance of power in the region. York, Salisbury, Warwick, and Sir Thomas Harrington were dismissed on account of their attainder. Henry Sothill was also replaced by William Bradford (d. 1474/5) of Bradford, prothonotary at Lancaster. He was joined by Sir John Tempest and William Gascoigne IV (d.c. 1461) of Gawthorpe.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 822; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 187-8.

<sup>187</sup> Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 217; Payling, *Political Society*, p. 152. However, Payling has argued that the elections were conducted normally: S.J. Payling, 'The Coventry Parliament of 1459: A Privy Seal Writ concerning the Election of Knights of the Shire', *Historical Research*, 60 (1987), 349-52.

<sup>188</sup> Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 882; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 823. Jalland has disputed this conclusion: P. Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections in the North of England, 1450-70', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 488. Sir Richard had certainly been selected by the queen's regime to play a prominent role in Yorkshire during the later 1450s. He had served as receiver of Tickhill since 1457, and replaced Salisbury as steward of Bowland shortly after his attainder in 1459: DL37/28/11; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 507, 530; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 143.

<sup>189</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 351-3.

<sup>190</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, p. 347; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 272.

<sup>191</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 141.

<sup>192</sup> DL37/28/10; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 514-5

<sup>193</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 570.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

Sir John was probably still an annuitant of the earl of Northumberland, while Gascoigne was knighted by the earl after the battle of Wakefield in 1460.<sup>196</sup>

Salisbury, Warwick, and March wintered in Calais before returning to England on 26 June 1460. On 10 July, they defeated a royal army outside Northampton. The victory was significant but not decisive. Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont and Egremont were killed, and the king was recaptured, but the queen and the prince remained at large.<sup>197</sup> However, the Yorkists now represented the public authority and were beginning to attract back the support of the lords.<sup>198</sup> Henry VI was escorted back to London a week later.<sup>199</sup> Over the following months, the Yorkists asserted their control over royal government. Salisbury became chamberlain, while his son, George Neville, bishop of Exeter, was appointed chancellor. Viscount Bourghier became treasurer, while Robert Stillington succeeded Laurence Booth as keeper of the privy seal.<sup>200</sup> Salisbury was restored as chief steward of the north parts of the Duchy of Lancaster, but was now also appointed steward of the south parts. Both offices were to be held jointly with the earl of Warwick.<sup>201</sup> But much of the country remained under Lancastrian control, including most of Yorkshire.<sup>202</sup> To reverse the acts of attainder and legitimise the new regime, a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on 7 October.<sup>203</sup> York had landed at Redbank, near Chester, in early September.<sup>204</sup> On 16 October, he submitted his claim to the throne to parliament.<sup>205</sup> The lords would not – indeed, still could not – depose Henry VI. But they were at least willing to recognise the duke as their natural leader. The parliamentary accord of 31 October disinherited Prince Edward and named York as Henry VI's successor.<sup>206</sup>

In the north, the situation remained critical. Although the government had managed to secure the return of two Yorkists to parliament for Yorkshire on 30 July,<sup>207</sup> overall control of the county still remained elusive. Sir Thomas and Sir John Neville, and Sir Thomas Harrington had been commissioned only two days before the election to

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<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 683-4; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 122.

<sup>197</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 859-63.

<sup>198</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 356-7.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 863.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 864.

<sup>201</sup> DL37/29/16-18; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 421.

<sup>202</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 206-7; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 863-6.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 865.

<sup>204</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 867; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 210.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>206</sup> Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 358-60.

<sup>207</sup> Sir James Strangways and Sir Thomas Mountford: C219/16/6/1/6.

arrest disturbers of the peace.<sup>208</sup> When the commission of the peace for the West Riding was renewed on 23 August, only minor adjustments were made, designed simply to reverse the dismissals of the previous year.<sup>209</sup> A number of northern castles were still held by the earl of Northumberland and his servants, including Penrith and Wressle.<sup>210</sup> Somerset had garrisoned Pontefract, and Devon was in York, while it was reported that the Lancastrian lords had been systematically destroying the properties of York and Salisbury in the region.<sup>211</sup> By November, only Conisbrough was holding out against the Lancastrians, under the command of the steward, Edmund Fitzwilliam II, who had equipped the castle with artillery captured at Sheffield.<sup>212</sup> York now granted annuities to Edmund's son, Richard (d. 1479), and his kinsman, John Fitzwilliam of Adwick le Street, although it is uncertain whether these were rewards for past or future service.<sup>213</sup>

In the meantime, repeated attempts to restore order to the county had failed.<sup>214</sup> On 8 December, a commission of *oyer and terminer* for the midlands and the northern counties was issued to York, Salisbury, Warwick and a number of others.<sup>215</sup> York and Salisbury were granted further powers on 10 December to restore order.<sup>216</sup> They marched north to deal with the disorder and arrived at Sandal on 21 December.<sup>217</sup> Nine days later, they were surprised and defeated outside the castle by a Lancastrian force commanded by Somerset. York, Rutland, Sir Thomas Neville, and Sir Thomas Harrington were all killed.<sup>218</sup> Salisbury was taken to Pontefract and executed by 'the commune peple of the cuntre, whyche loued hym nat'.<sup>219</sup> A number of associates of the earl of Northumberland were later accused by Alice Neville, countess of Salisbury, as having incited the murder. They included Sir William Plumpton II, Sir Ralph Percy, Sir John Pudsey II, and Sir Richard Aldburgh II.<sup>220</sup> After the battle, Northumberland and

<sup>208</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 607; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 279.

<sup>209</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 683-4; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 122. See below, Appendix 4a.

<sup>210</sup> *CPR 1452-1461*, pp. 610, 651; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 358 and n. 189.

<sup>211</sup> Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 222.

<sup>212</sup> *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 14, 479; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 223. See below, Appendix 9.

<sup>213</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 46, 121.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 607-10, 651; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 279-81.

<sup>215</sup> *CPR 1452-61*, p. 652.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 653.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 222.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 870, 880; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 326-7.

<sup>219</sup> J.S. Davies (ed.), *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, Camden Society, old series, 64 (1856), p. 107. Attacks were also made on the tenants of York and Salisbury before the battle of Wakefield, suggesting a dislike of the Yorkist lords: Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections', pp. 487-8. However, the murder of Salisbury appears to have been premeditated.

<sup>220</sup> Further corroboration of this version of events comes from the later accusation of Robert Percy of Scotton that Sir William Plumpton also attempted to have him beheaded after the battle: Storey, *End of*



Clifford knighted a number of West Riding esquires: Richard Aldburgh II, William Gascoigne IV, Richard Tempest, and probably also Robert Mauleverer II.<sup>221</sup>

The Yorkists suffered another setback at St Albans in February 1461, when Warwick lost possession of the king. However, Edward, earl of March had overwhelmed another royal force at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire earlier in the same month. There was now a race to gain control of the capital. Queen Margaret arrived first, but was forced to withdraw her army after being prevented from entering by the City authorities. On 27 February, March and Warwick entered London, and on 4 March York's son was proclaimed king.<sup>222</sup> Without delay, Edward IV marched north to confront the Lancastrian army. The two sides came face to face on the banks of the River Aire on 28 March. The Yorkist advance guard, led by Fauconberg, punched through the Lancastrian lines at Castleford. During the skirmish, Lords Clifford and Neville were killed. On Palm Sunday, King Edward defeated the Lancastrians at Towton in the bloodiest engagement of the war. Amongst the dead was Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland.<sup>223</sup> Arnold suggests that as many as a quarter of all West Riding knights may have fallen in the battles of 1461.<sup>224</sup> Nevertheless, the victory did not bring an end to hostilities. Henry VI, Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, and the dukes of Somerset and Exeter evaded capture and, it has recently been suggested, fled to Knaresborough Castle where they withstood a Yorkist siege led by Sir Robert Ogle and Sir John Conyers. The late earl of Northumberland's supporters attacked the besiegers at great cost, allowing the royal family to escape to Scotland.<sup>225</sup> Although Edward IV was crowned on 28 June, it would be a further three years before a semblance of stability was restored to the north.<sup>226</sup>

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*the House of Lancaster*, p. 194. He and Plumpton were longstanding enemies: See above, p. 201, n. 183. There is evidence to suggest that at least three others were 'unlawfully beheaded': *CPR 1461-7*, p. 107.

<sup>221</sup> Arnold proposes that it was Robert Mauleverer of Wothersome, and not John Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer, who was knighted in 1460. He had been indicted for the attempted murder of Duke Richard in 1454. Aldburgh and Tempest had both previously been implicated in the 'battle' of Heworth in 1453. Tempest was also an annuitant of the second earl of Northumberland. Gascoigne had joined the West Riding commission of the peace in December 1459, but was immediately removed after the Yorkist coup in 1460: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 45-46, 149-50. See above, pp. 185, 189 and 202, and below, Appendices 8 and 9.

<sup>222</sup> Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 871-4.

<sup>223</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 283.

<sup>224</sup> Possible casualties from the riding include Sir William Gascoigne IV, Sir William Mauleverer, Sir Robert Mauleverer II, Sir Edmund Talbot, John Caterall, William Flemyng, and William Plumpton III: Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 152-4; Stapleton, *The Plumpton Correspondence*, p. lxxvii; J.W. Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 8 (1996), p. 5.

<sup>225</sup> A. C. Breeze, 'A Paston Letter of 1461 and *Coroumbr*, Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 38 (2001), 316-7; Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters*, ii, p. 7; N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971-6), ii, p. 230.

<sup>226</sup> Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 284.

It remains to consider the loyalties of the riding's gentry in this prolonged period of crisis and confrontation. A number of historians have concluded that Yorkshire was predominantly Lancastrian before 1461. By comparison, it has been argued that Duke Richard and the Nevilles enjoyed little support in the county.<sup>227</sup> Such a belief is supported by evidence from contemporary chronicles. According to one account, York and Salisbury travelled north in December 1459 'to repress the malyce of the Northermenne the whyche loued not the sayd duk of York ne the erle of Salesbury'.<sup>228</sup> Given the extent of Lancastrian estates in the region, such a conclusion is unsurprising. However, it has been demonstrated that the role of the Lancastrian affinity as a political resource in the riding had been allowed to wither away earlier in the century.<sup>229</sup> There were, of course, a large number of dyed-in-the-wool Lancastrian families, particularly from the district of Knaresborough, whose energies were harnessed and given direction by the nearby Percy lords of Spofforth. The earl of Northumberland could also call upon the services of a sizeable and committed affinity in the riding. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that Salisbury managed to recruit members of the gentry even in areas traditionally controlled by the Percys and their allies.<sup>230</sup>

The evidence suggesting that Duke Richard was insecure in the south of the riding, where he was the principal landowner, would also seem to be inconclusive. Earlier in the fifteenth century, the dukes of York had enjoyed 'a connection rivalled only by that of the king'.<sup>231</sup> By mid-century, Duke Richard also commanded a significant following amongst the gentry of south Yorkshire.<sup>232</sup> Of the duke's local officers, only Sir William Skipwith abandoned his master's cause. Other members of his affinity from south Yorkshire proved their worth. Sir John Saville and his son remained committed supporters.<sup>233</sup> Sir Thomas Harrington and his son, Sir John, fell with the duke at Wakefield.<sup>234</sup> Edmund Fitzwilliam II served as constable of Conisbrough during the uncertain months of 1460.<sup>235</sup> His kinsman, Nicholas Fitzwilliam, was probably killed in the duke's service at Northampton. Their eldest sons were granted annuities by the duke in November 1460. Both families were rewarded by

<sup>227</sup> Jalland is, however, unable to reconcile this interpretation with the evidence that York and the Nevilles were almost completely in control of Yorkshire parliamentary elections during this period: Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections', pp. 487-8.

<sup>228</sup> Davies (ed.), *An English Chronicle*, p. 106.

<sup>229</sup> See above, Ch. 5.5.

<sup>230</sup> See above, p. 182.

<sup>231</sup> Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage, 1399-1435', p. 411. See above, Ch. 2.3.

<sup>232</sup> See above, Ch. 2.3, and below, Appendix 8.

<sup>233</sup> See above, p. 194.

<sup>234</sup> See above, p. 204.

<sup>235</sup> See above, p. 204.

Edward IV.<sup>236</sup> In 1459, Queen Margaret's regime recognised the potential threat posed by Yorkist sympathisers and removed Edmund Fitzwilliam II, Nicholas Fitzwilliam, and Percival Cresacre from the West Riding commission of the peace. All three were restored to their seats on the bench by Edward IV in 1461.<sup>237</sup> It has also been suggested that a large number of the duke's more prominent supporters from the lordship of Wakefield may have been imprisoned after the battle of Wakefield. They were prevented from playing a prominent role in subsequent events and were only released after the battle of Towton.<sup>238</sup> This evidence strongly suggests that York's lordship remained predominant in south Yorkshire.

How can we reconcile these demonstrations of unswerving loyalty by a significant proportion of south Yorkshire gentry with contemporary accounts of the hostility of the north to York and the Nevilles? Clearly, political affiliations were still governed largely by geographical proximity. In the north, the gentry were attracted to the service of the duke of Lancaster, the Lords Clifford, and the earls of Northumberland. In the south, the duke of York would always command a significant degree of authority amongst local society. As an absentee lord, he could nevertheless rely on the considerable influence of his local officers to attract support.<sup>239</sup> It is also possible that the local hostility towards the Yorkist lords during 1459-60 was orchestrated by the Lancastrians. For example, Yorkist property in the riding was attacked not by the local populace but was systematically destroyed by Northumberland and his allies. There may also be some truth to the charges that a number of Percy retainers, led by Sir William Plumpton II, actively encouraged the murder of their enemies after the battle of Wakefield.<sup>240</sup> Finally, any perceivable lack of commitment to the duke of York amongst the gentry of the riding cannot be interpreted as tacit support for the court regime. Rather, many families, although sympathetic to Duke Richard and the Nevilles, may have preferred to remain neutral in order to protect their own interests. Such a tendency has already been observed in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire.<sup>241</sup> Is it so unlikely that a similar situation could have arisen in other parts of the country?

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<sup>236</sup> See above, pp. 199, n.167, 204.

<sup>237</sup> See above, p. 199 and n. 167.

<sup>238</sup> Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 154-5.

<sup>239</sup> See above, Ch. 2.8.

<sup>240</sup> See above, p. 204.

<sup>241</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 478-83; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 301-2; S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983), pp. 75, 101.

## 5) Conclusion

The rivalry between Neville and Percy did not cause the Wars of the Roses. Rather, the disorder in the regions during the 1450s was another symptom of the catastrophic loss of royal direction which ultimately led to civil war. At a national level, the reign of Henry VI was characterised by successive attempts by the nobility to artificially reconstitute royal authority. In order to rule, each regime needed to be representative. It was also vital to preserve noble unity, since without effective monarchical power, those who attempted to restore order to chaos were dependent upon the corporate authority of the lords. In the long term, it proved ultimately impossible to maintain unity.

At a local level, the loss of leadership proved particularly disastrous in regions where the king himself was a significant landowner, including Yorkshire. By 1437, it had become clear that Henry VI was never going to exercise effective royal authority. As a consequence, Suffolk devised an innovative strategy to reinforce existing local power structures by redistributing the regional authority of the Duchy of Lancaster amongst the territorial nobility. Again, the strategy had to be inclusive and could not be intrusive. In the West Riding, however, the redistribution of Duchy resources did not wholly take account of the existing balance of power. Salisbury, who enjoyed good connections at court, was given an overwhelming mandate, although his landed estate in the riding was negligible. Northumberland, whose own barony of Spofforth bordered on the Duchy honour of Knaresborough, was inconceivably passed over. Since it was politically inappropriate to grant control of Knaresborough to Salisbury, the stewardship remained in gentry hands. Because of this decision, Salisbury was denied the full local resources of the Duchy. His authority in the riding may, therefore, have been inadequate.

When Northumberland attempted to fill the vacuum of power in the honour of Knaresborough during the 1440s, he came into conflict with Cardinal Kemp, another government favourite, and was reproved by Suffolk's regime. The failure to include Northumberland in the territorial redistribution of 1437, together with the government's blind support of Cardinal Kemp in 1443, served to alienate the Percys from a demonstrably unrepresentative government. At the same time, successive regimes had continued to heap rewards upon the Nevilles. All this was in stark contrast to the deteriorating fortunes of the Percys, who had still to recover fully from the effects of attainder earlier in the century. What influence they possessed in the north was being gradually eroded in the face of shameless Neville aggrandisement, with the consent of

the government. The final straw was the likelihood of the Nevilles inheriting the forfeited Percy castle of Wressle. But it was the onset of the king's madness which provided the opportunity. Realising the fundamental inadequacy of conciliar justice, the Percys resorted to force in an attempt to gain redress.

Over the following years, there was a general collapse of law and order in the riding as the Percy-Neville feud became embroiled in the national struggle between York and Somerset to gain control of government. In 1455, the deaths of Northumberland and Clifford at St Albans seemingly brought an end to the local conflict. However, their deaths ultimately provoked a violent blood feud which was only settled by the victory of Edward IV, and the death of the third earl of Northumberland, at Towton in 1461. The outbreak of civil war led to the division of gentry society in the riding. Most of those who supported York and the Nevilles came from south Yorkshire, which was dominated by the duke's lordships of Wakefield and Conisbrough. More surprisingly, it has also been shown that Salisbury enjoyed the support of a number of lesser gentry families within the honour of Knaresborough. By comparison, Salisbury seems not to have attracted the loyalties of many gentry families resident within the honours of Pontefract and Tickhill, despite (or perhaps because of) his stewardship there. The Percys, on the other hand, drew support mainly from gentry families resident in their own sphere of influence in the north of the riding. However, the scarcity of evidence regarding political associations during this period may suggest that the majority of gentry families declined to commit themselves to either side. Most of those who did were either local officers or retainers. For the rest, neutrality would seem to have been the key to their survival.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION

After the Lancastrian revolution of 1399, the king was also a significant landowner in many parts of the kingdom, including Yorkshire. Henry IV now faced the problem of how to broaden his private lordship into universal kingship. However, his narrow base of support in the country remained inadequate to safeguard the throne. Although possession of a private affinity was incompatible with his new public responsibilities, Henry was compelled to reward the continuing loyalty of his Lancastrian knights and esquires in order to guarantee the survival of the regime. This had significant 'constitutional' implications, since the maintenance of such a powerful private connection was 'a sign not of authoritative kingship but of monarchy in crisis' and the king desperately needed to broaden his constituency.<sup>1</sup> The financial burden of annuities charged upon the Duchy of Lancaster, however, was unsustainable and provoked a prolonged period of political crisis. As we have seen, the receipts of the honour of Pontefract were particularly over-stretched during the early years of the reign. In regions where the Duchy of Lancaster was the leading landed interest, the king also determined to hand over local rule to prominent members of his private retinue. This strategy was rather more representative of local power structures in the West Riding, where a previously controlling interest in local government under Richard II now became overwhelming, than in other parts of the kingdom and hence less contentious. In Yorkshire as a whole, however, Henry clearly exploited his power as king to extend his regional dominance beyond what he could have reasonably expected as duke of Lancaster. The domination of the county administration by Lancastrian retainers, for example, was especially pronounced during the reign of Henry IV. As a consequence, the king compromised his public and representative duties as king by exercising private, partisan local lordship. This almost certainly contributed to the alienation of the Percys and undoubtedly hastened both their rebellion in 1403 and the Yorkshire risings two years later. The local Duchy affinity played an instrumental part in the suppression of the Percy revolts and was suitably rewarded. Thereafter, a new Lancastrian hierarchy was established in Yorkshire and the north-east under the leadership of Prince John and the earl of Westmorland.

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<sup>1</sup> H.R. Castor, *The King, The Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p. 20.

The local dominance of the Duchy continued uninterrupted during the reign of Henry V. However, the value of the Lancastrian affinity as a political and military resource was gradually reduced by a policy of natural wastage in order to exploit the financial resources of the Duchy. Finally in 1416, the Percy restoration assisted in the reconstruction of the former regional hierarchy. Nevertheless, the second earl of Northumberland had to contend with the political effects of over a decade in exile in Scotland, during which time Percy lordship in Yorkshire was completely in abeyance and Neville aggrandisement had continued unchecked. It is likely that the Percys were never fully able to regain their position in northern England. A new challenge to regional hegemony arose after the death of Henry V and the accession of his infant heir in 1422. The loss of royal authority had especially serious implications for those regions where the king was also a substantial private landowner. Much of the West Riding had at once been deprived of both royal authority and local lordship. Moreover, the terms of Henry V's will, as well as the provisions for Queen Katherine's dower settlement, resulted in the fragmentation of the Duchy of Lancaster, weakening its local lordship in the riding. This situation was aggravated by the death of the longstanding steward of Pontefract, Robert Waterton, in 1425. Between 1425 and 1437, successive regimes attempted to fill the political vacuum in the riding by using Duchy resources to reinforce the existing regional hierarchy. But the single greatest beneficiary, Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, lacked sufficient landed resources in the region to fulfil his new role. Inconceivably, his rival, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, was excluded from this territorial redistribution, effectively undermining the established balance of power in the riding and alienating the Percys.

By the 1440s, the enduring inanity of Henry VI had begun to destabilise local power structures in regions where Lancastrian lordship was in abeyance. In the West Riding, a violent confrontation erupted between the archbishop of York and the earl of Northumberland for hegemony within the district of Knaresborough. Suffolk's regime proved incapable of resolving the dispute amicably, demonstrating the fundamental weakness of conciliar rule by defending the court favourite, Cardinal Kemp, whilst humiliating the earl of Northumberland. The episode illustrated the impossibility of adequately reproducing the public and universally representative authority of the crown in the absence of effective kingship. It also contributed to the growing disillusionment of the Percys and convinced Northumberland that his family's interests could no longer be adequately protected peacefully. During the same period, the regional authority of

the earl of Salisbury continued to grow exponentially, threatening the political position of the Percys in the family's traditional heartlands. Nevertheless, neither family resorted to violence until 1453, when the impending conveyance of the former Percy castle of Wressle to the Nevilles and the simultaneous mental collapse of Henry VI provided both the necessity and the opportunity for the Percys to take up arms against their northern rivals. In conclusion, the feud between Neville and Percy was symptomatic of the devastating loss of royal authority under Henry VI which ultimately resulted in civil war and was not resolved until the murder of the third Lancastrian king by Edward IV in 1471.

It has also emerged that we cannot talk of a 'county community' in Yorkshire. The county's sheer geographical extent and the problems of poor communication inhibited the development of a strong sense of unity. Moreover, the existence of three semi-independent internal administrative units or ridings, each with its own commission of the peace, produced a centrifugal force which could not be effectively counterbalanced at the county level because of the low attendance at parliamentary elections. As has been demonstrated, the nature of parliamentary elections in Yorkshire between 1407 and 1429 also precluded the development of the county court as a truly representative assembly. The largest identifiable unit of solidarity in the shire was probably the riding, although it seems largely to have served an administrative function. In the West Riding, for example, the ability of the commission of the peace to provide an alternative focus for political society was limited by the reluctance of the greater gentry to assume the burden of local office during the period. Moreover, gentry society was not necessarily constrained by administrative boundaries. We have seen that social networks in the north, west, and south of the riding crossed into neighbouring counties and the other two ridings of Yorkshire. Numerous members of the West Riding gentry also possessed large estates in other shires, and held county office elsewhere. These tendencies precluded the development of a specific attachment to one particular region. Instead, political society coalesced around the principal centres of noble lordships. It has been demonstrated that much of the West Riding did have a highly dominant lord in the duke of Lancaster. Other noble interests exercised hegemony over other parts of the riding. Even in periods when noble lordship was ineffective or absent, gentry networks continued to revolve around the major administrative centres of noble lordships, where the political influence of the local officers was sustained and, on occasion, perhaps even amplified as a result. In particular, Conisbrough Castle continued to serve as a focus for



the gentry of Strafforth wapentake after the death of Duke Edward in 1415, while noble stewards played an equally prominent role in bringing cohesion to society within the honour of Knaresborough and the lordships of Spofforth and Wakefield. The nobility, therefore, played a vital part in binding together gentry networks. For most of the period, they also provided the crucial link between the centre and the locality.

In the absence of a professional regional bureaucracy, the nobility still retained control of local government. In the West Riding, this responsibility was largely undertaken by the king as duke of Lancaster, because his was the dominant source of lordship. Due to the incapacity of Henry VI, however, the government turned to the nobility to assume the rule of regions which had been deprived of Lancastrian lordship. Magnates were increasingly appointed to the West Riding commission of the peace in order to reinforce local power structures. The overwhelming influence exerted by the nobility over local appointments is especially apparent after 1450, when associates of the duke of York and the Nevilles came to monopolise Yorkshire's parliamentary representation. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the independence of the gentry increased during the 'constitutional' crisis of the mid-fifteenth century as their interests diverged from those of the nobility, who were increasingly preoccupied with national politics and responsibilities, and therefore unable to sustain adequate oversight of regional affairs. As a consequence, the balance of power in the shires between king, magnates and gentry gradually shifted, permitting the development of a closer relationship between the crown and the gentry in the localities, and enabling the creation of a truly national and less contentious 'royal affinity'.

As a corollary, the willingness of the gentry to commit themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of their lords seems to have declined during the 1450s and 1460s. Many of the West Riding gentry, including a significant number of greater gentry families, are not known to have participated in the Wars of the Roses, preferring either to remain inactive or neutral to ensure their family's survival. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that the riding's gentry were motivated purely by self-interest, as is clear from traditions of service to individual noble families often maintained at great personal cost. It is also apparent that the gentry were neither independent of nor subservient to the nobility. Rather, this study has demonstrated that political society in the West Riding, and probably in the country as a whole, was founded upon a reciprocal 'community of interests', embracing both noble lordship and gentry networks. All five identifiable gentry networks in the riding corresponded to distinct areas of noble

lordship, but political society was clearly composed of a multitude of possible identities influenced alternately by topography, lordship, kinship, and neighbourhood. Only in the troubled years of mid-century, when the mechanics of the polity were increasingly profoundly dislocated, did this harmonious relationship begin to falter.

This study has established the importance of examining the interaction of local, regional, and national power structures in order fully to comprehend the mechanics of the late medieval 'constitution'. As we have seen, many of the political difficulties experienced by Henry IV emerged from his precarious position as a usurper. Although Henry relied upon the Lancastrian affinity for both the establishment and the continued survival of his regime, he ran the risk of compromising the universal authority of the crown. In regions where local government became too restricted to represent local power structures, including Yorkshire, his actions provoked resentment and rebellion. In the reign of his grandson, it was ineffective kingship which resulted in widespread disorder in localities where the Duchy of Lancaster was a substantial territorial presence, including the West Riding. During both periods, the political and 'constitutional' ramifications of the Lancastrian accession exacerbated local tensions. These, in turn, influenced political events on the national stage. The West Riding was not simply a discrete political unit free from the influence of Westminster. It was an intrinsic part of the body politic.

## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix 1: Directory of West Riding Gentry, 1399-1461

### Key

*	knight
@	distrainee
&	esquire
\$	gentleman

	Name	1 <sup>st</sup> ref. or birth	Last ref. or death	Residence
*	Richard Aldburgh I	1439	*	Aldbrough
*	Richard Aldburgh II	1453/4	*	Aldbrough
	John Amyas ?I	*	c. 1419	?Shitlington
	John Amyas ?II	1419	1443	Shitlington
	Ralph Amyas	1461	1461	Shitlington
	Richard Amyas	1419	1419	?Shitlington
	William Amyas	1419	1419	?Shitlington
\$	Alexander Anne	1425	1437	Frickley
&	Ralph Anne	1416	1431	Hooton Pagnell
\$	Thurstan Banaster	1441	1442	Wakefield
	John Bank	1413	1421	?Bank Newton
&	Richard Bank	1431	1451	Bank Newton
	Christopher Beaumont	1458	1458	Whitley
@	Richard Beaumont I	1429	1459	Whitley
	Richard Beaumont II	1458	1458	Whitley
	William Beaumont	1458	1458	Whitley
	John Beckwith	1432	1440	Clint
	John Beckwith	1434	c. 1436	Tolliston
	Richard Beckwith	1413	1413	?Clint
@	Thomas Beckwith	1440	*	Clint
&	William Beckwith	*	1438	Clint
	Anthony Beeston	1417	1417	Beeston
	Brian Beeston ?I	1410	1410	?Beeston
@	Brian Beeston ?II	1433	*	Beeston
	Miles Beeston	1410	1410	?Beeston
	Ralph Beeston	*	1410	Beeston
	Geoffrey Blakey	1445	*	Overpoppleton
	John Bollyng	1404	1406	?Bolling
@	Robert Bollyng	1437	*	Bolling
&	Thomas Bollyng	1457	*	?Bolling
	Achilles Bosville	1407	1407	?Ardsley
@	John Bosville	1404	1442	Ardsley
	William Bosville	c. 1422	1453	Ardsley
\$	William Bradford	1450	*	Bradford
	George Brennand	1459	1459	Knaresborough
	John Brennand	*	c. 1461	Knaresborough
	Robert Brennand	1440	*	Knaresborough
	William Brennand	1459	1459	Knaresborough
@	Aimer Burdett	1458	1458	Denby
&	Richard Burdett	1416	1416	?Denby
@	Elias Burton	1458	1458	Tinsley

	Henry Burton	1458	1458	Tinsley
\$	John Burton	1458	1458	Tinsley
&	Richard Burton	1420	1456	?Tinsley
*	Walter Calverley I	*	1404	Calverley
@	Walter Calverley II	1423	*	Calverley
&	William Calverley	1442	*	Calverley
	Alan Caterall	1404	1410	?Rathmell
@	John Caterall	1437	*	Brayton
	Laurence Caterall	1442	*	?Rathmell
&	Henry Chamber	*	1442	Brame
&	John Chamber	1406	1442	Brame
\$	William Chamber	1444	1454	Brame
	Nicholas Clapham	1443	1443	?Beamsley
&	Thomas Clapham I	1442	1456	Beamsley
	Thomas Clapham II	1442	*	Beamsley
\$	William Clapham	1443	1443	Clapham
&	John Clarell	1403	*	Waterhall
&	Robert Clarell	1446	1446	Aldwark
@	Thomas Clarell I	*	1442	Aldwark
@	Thomas Clarell II	c. 1402	1450	Aldwark
&	Nicholas Colne	*	1422	?Pontefract
&	Lionel Copley	1422	1458	Batley
*	Richard Copley	1425	1434	Batley
@	James Cresacre I	*	1417	Barnburgh
&	James Cresacre II	1435	1444	Barnburgh
&	Percival Cresacre I	1404	1404	Barnburgh
@	Percival Cresacre II	c. 1399	*	Barnburgh
&	Thomas Darcy	1407	1442	Newstead
&	John Daunev I	*	1426	Cowick
@	John Daunev II	c. 1400	1449	Cowick
	John Daunev III	1429	*	Cowick
	Nicholas Daunev	1404	1457	Cowick
	William Daunev	1427	1433	Cowick
@	Brian Dayville	c. 1410	1451	Bilton
	Thomas Dayville	1436	c. 1447	Bilton
	William Dayville	1401	1432	Bilton
*	John Depeden	*	1402	Healough
	John Drax	*	1423	Wood Hall
	Robert Drax	1423	1458	Wood Hall
@	Christopher Dronsfield	1427	1458	Walden Stubbs
&	John Dronsfield	1410	1427	Walden Stubbs
*	William Dronsfield	*	1406	West Bretton
	Henry Dyneley	1430	1457	Austhorp
	John Dyneley	1451	1451	Austhorp
	Henry Egmonton	*	1422	Fockerby
	Thomas Egmonton	*	1422	Fockerby
*	John Everingham	1406	1424	Birkin
&	Thomas Everingham	1440	1454	Stainborough
@	William Everingham	1441	*	Birkin
&	Guy Fairfax	1449	*	Steeton
&	Guy Fairfax	1418	1446	Walton
&	Richard Fairfax	1401	c. 1434	Steeton
	Richard Fairfax	1446	1446	?Steeton
\$	Thomas Fairfax	1453	1454	Selby
	William Fairfax	1426	1426	Walton
	John Fawkes	1407	1412	?Farnley

&	John Fawkes	1440	*	Farnley
	William Fawkes	1407	1410	?Farnley
&	Edmund Fitzwilliam I	*	1430	Wadworth
@	Edmund Fitzwilliam II	1438	*	Wadworth
&	John Fitzwilliam	1460	*	Adwick le Street
*	John Fitzwilliam I	1404	1417	Sprotbrough
&	John Fitzwilliam II	*	1421	Sprotbrough
&	John Fitzwilliam	1447	*	Wadworth
@	Nicholas Fitzwilliam	1422	1460	Adwick le Street
&	Ralph Fitzwilliam	1413	*	Baildon
*	Richard Fitzwilliam	1455	*	Aldwark
@	William Fitzwilliam	<i>c.</i> 1417	*	Sprotbrough
	Robert Flemyng	1419	1459	?Woodhall
*	Thomas Flemyng	1399	1407	Wath upon Dearne
@	William Flemyng	1439	1461	Wath upon Dearne
@	John Gargrave	1414	1458	Wakefield
\$	William Gargrave	1423	1444	Wakefield
	James Gacoigne	1434	1434	Edlington
&	John Gascoigne	1419	1445	Lasincroft
&	Nicholas Gascoigne	*	<i>c.</i> 1427	Lasincroft
&	Richard Gascoigne	*	1423	Hunslet
*	William Gascoigne I	*	1419	Gawthorpe
*	William Gascoigne II	1417	1422	Gawthorpe
*	William Gascoigne III	<i>c.</i> 1405	*	Gawthorpe
*	William Gascoigne IV	1453	<i>c.</i> 1461	Gawthorpe
&	William Gascoigne	1443	*	Lasincroft
*	Richard Goldsburgh I	*	<i>c.</i> 1428	Goldsbrough
*	Richard Goldsburgh II	1428	<i>c.</i> 1439	Goldsbrough
@	Thomas Goldsburgh	1439	1457	Goldsbrough
	John Greene	1416	1437	Newby
	Richard Greene	1421	1421	Newby
&	John Greenfield I	1424	1442	Barnbow
&	John Greenfield II	1444	*	Barnbow
&	James Hamerton	1451	1457	?Wigglesworth
@	Laurence Hamerton	1409	1439	Wigglesworth
*	Richard Hamerton	1449	*	Wigglesworth
&	James Harrington	1430	*	Brierley, Hornby (Lancs.)
@	John Harrington	1427	1460	Doncaster
*	Thomas Harrington	1429	1460	Brierley, Hornby (Lancs.)
*	William Harrington	1401	1440	Brierley, Hornby (Lancs.)
*	Edward Hastings	*	1438	Fenwick, Elsing (Norf.)
@	John Hastings	1439	*	Fenwick, Elsing (Norf.)
&	Richard Hatfield	1432	1432	?Owston
	Robert Hatfield	1426	1458	Owston
@	Stephen Hatfield	1457	*	?Owston
&	John Hawksworth	1444	*	Hawksworth
&	Thomas Hawksworth	1420	1447	Hawksworth
&	John Heton	*	1419	?Halifax
@	John Hopton	1452	*	Armley
@	John Hopton	1427	*	Swillington
*	Robert Hopton	1419	<i>c.</i> 1447	Wortley

	John Ingilby I	*	c. 1409	Ripley
	John Ingilby II	1434	1456	Ripley
	Thomas Ingilby	*	1415	Ripley
*	William Ingilby	1408	1438	Ripley
	Gilbert Keighley	1425	1450	?Keighley
&	Henry Keighley	1438	1438	?Keighley
&	Hugh Keighley	1429	1438	Keighley
	Laurence Keighley	1453	1453	?Keighley
	John Lacy	1404	1413	Gateforth
@	John Lacy	1457	*	Cromwell Bottom
	Richard Lacy	1400	1410	Cromwell Bottom
	William Lacy	1438	c. 1438	Cromwell Bottom
	Henry Langton	1436	*	Farnley
*	John Langton I	*	1459	Farnley
@	John Langton II	1438	*	Farnley
	Robert Ledes	1404	1404	Saxton
@	Thomas Ledes	1442	*	Westwick
*	Roger Leeds	*	c. 1400	Leeds
	William Ledes	1399	1423	Leeds
@	Gilbert Legh I	1434	1444	Middleton
	Gilbert Legh II	1434	1434	Middleton
	John Lely	*	1421	Drax
	Richard Lely	*	1421	Drax
&	William Lepton	1435	1435	<i>Wyrklay.</i>
	William Leventhorp	1441	1451	Bramham
	Thomas Lindley	1431	1433	Lindley
	William Malet	1415	1449	Normanton
@	John Malham	1439	1439	Malham
	William Malham	1403	1422	Calton
	Alexander Manston	1439	1439	Manston
&	Alfred Manston	1410	1439	Manston
@	John Manston	1439	1457	Manston
	Robert Manston	1439	1454	Manston
	Thomas Manston	1439	1439	Manston
@	John Markenfield	1414	1459	Markenfield
*	Thomas Markenfield	*	1420	Markenfield
\$	Constantine Maud	1442	1456	Riddlesden
&	Edmund Mauleverer	1450	*	Wothersome
*	Halnath Mauleverer	*	c. 1433	North Deighton
	Henry Mauleverer	1450	*	Wothersome
*	John Mauleverer I	*	1400	Allerton Mauleverer
*	John Mauleverer II	1442	*	Allerton Mauleverer
&	John Mauleverer	*	1444	Cusworth
	John Mauleverer	1450	1450	Wothersome
&	Robert Mauleverer I	*	1443	Wothersome
*	Robert Mauleverer II	1457	*	Wothersome
*	William Mauleverer I	1418	1458	Wothersome
	William Mauleverer II	1450	*	Wothersome
\$	William Mauleverer	1438	1438	Cusworth
*	John Melton I	1430	1455	Aston, Kilham (N. Riding)
*	John Melton II	c. 1415	*	Aston, Kilham (N. Riding)
	John Melton III	1458	1458	Towton, Fenton
@	Thomas Meryng	1446	1459	Tong
*	John Middleton I	1419	1429	Stockeld

	John Middleton II	1443	1443	Stockeld
*	Nicholas Middleton	*	1416	Stockeld
@	William Middleton	1420	*	Stockeld
@	Adam Mirfield	*	1428	Mirfield
&	John Mirfield	1429	1443	Mirfield
@	Oliver Mirfield	1448	*	Mirfield
@	William Mirfield	1419	*	Mirfield
&	Nicholas More	1433	1452	?Austhorp
	Richard More	1415	1418	Austhorp
@	Charles Morton	1439	1457	Bawtry, Harworth (Notts.)
&	Robert Morton	*	1424	Bawtry, Harworth (Notts.)
@	Henry Nesfield	1417	1439	Flasby
	Richard Nesfield	1449	1449	Flasby
&	John Neville	*	1433	Liversedge
@	John Neville	1448	*	Womersley, Oversley (Warw.)
*	Robert Neville	*	1413	Farnley, Hornby (Lancs.)
@	Robert Neville	1435	*	Liversedge
*	Thomas Neville	1438	1438	Liversedge
	Thomas Otter	1406	1406	Castleford
	John Otter	1407	1413	Church Fenton
\$	William Otter	1455	*	Church Fenton
	William Parker	1459	1460	Knaresborough
@	John Paslew	1419	1457	Potter Newton
	Robert Paslew	1400	1436	Leeds
	Robert Percy	1459	*	Scotton
	Nicholas Peck	1430	1430	?Southowram
	Richard Peck	1413	1439	Southowram
&	Geoffrey Plumpton	1438	1438	Plumpton
*	Robert Plumpton I	*	1407	Plumpton
*	Robert Plumpton II	*	1421	Steeton, Kinoulton (Notts.)
*	William Plumpton I	*	1405	Plumpton
*	William Plumpton II	1404	*	Plumpton
	William Plumpton III	1461	1461	Plumpton
	John Popeley	1404	1407	Popeley
	Richard Popeley	1401	1444	Popeley
	William Popeley I	*	1410	Popeley
\$	William Popeley II	1436	1452	Popeley
*	John Pudsey I	1409	1421	Bolton
	John Pudsey II	c. 1428	*	Bolton
*	Ralph Pudsey	1415	*	Bolton
&	John Pulleyn	*	c. 1437	Ripley
	John Pulleyn	1455	*	Scotton
&	Ralph Pulleyn	1444	1459	Scotton
	Richard Pulleyn	1423	1459	Scotton
	William Pulleyn	1427	1429	Ripley
@	Geoffrey Pygot I	1404	1429	Clotherholme
@	Geoffrey Pygot II	1429	*	Clotherholme
	John Pygot	1404	1429	Clotherholme
*	Ralph Pygot I	*	1404	Clotherholme
@	Ralph Pygot II	1429	*	Clotherholme
	Richard Pygot	1429	*	Clotherholme



	Miles Radcliff	1455	1455	?Bradley
	Ralph Radcliff	1438	1438	?Bradley
	Thomas Radcliff	1399	1399	?Badley
	Alexander Rawdon	1432	1432	Aberford
	John Rawdon	*	1402	?Aberford
&	Richard Rawdon	1432	1432	Aberford
&	Robert Rawdon	1408	1442	Aberford
*	Matthew Redman	*	1419	Harewood
*	Richard Redman I	1407	1426	Harewood
*	Richard Redman II	1417	*	Harewood
	Arnold Reresby	1435	1460	Thrybergh
@	Ralph Reresby I	1435	1460	Thrybergh
&	Ralph Reresby II	1457	*	Thrybergh
@	Thomas Reresby I	1409	1439	Thrybergh
	Thomas Reresby II	1413	1413	Thrybergh
	William Reresby	1413	1413	Thrybergh
@	John Rilleston I	1409	1443	Rilston
	John Rilleston II	1418	1418	Rilston
	Robert Rilleston	1442	1442	Rilston
*	William Rilleston I	1400	1406	Rilston
	William Rilleston II	1442	1442	Rilston
	William Rilleston III	1442	1458	Rilston
*	Robert Roos I	1420	1451	Ingmanthorpe
@	Robert Roos II	1457	*	Ingmanthorpe
&	John Rockley	1444	1444	?Falthwaite
*	Robert Rockley I	*	c. 1415	Falthwaite
&	Robert Rockley II	1406	c. 1418	Falthwaite
	Robert Rockley ?III	1422	1430	Falthwaite
	Brian Roucliff	1452	*	Cowthorpe
	Guy Roucliff	1416	1460	Cowthorpe
\$	William Russell	1453	1453	Wighill
*	William Ryther I	*	c. 1426	Rither
*	William Ryther II	*	1440	Rither
*	William Ryther III	c. 1405	*	Rither
*	William Ryther IV	1458	*	Rither
*	Edmund Sandford	1402	c. 1414/5	Thorpe Salvin
*	Brian Sandford	1433	1460	Thorpe Salvin
&	John Sandford	*	1429	Tickhill
\$	Thomas Sandford	1453	1454	Doncaster
@	Henry Saville	*	1412	Thornhill
&	Henry Saville	1409	1437	Copley
	John Saville	1459	1460	Copley
*	John Saville	*	c. 1405	Elland
*	John Saville	1429	*	Thornhill
*	Thomas Saville	1409	1449	Thornhill
	Thomas Scargill I	1408	1432	Lead
	Thomas Scargill II	1435	*	Lead
@	William Scargill I	1410	1459	Lead
@	William Scargill II	1435	*	Lead
	John Scott	*	1426	Potter Newton
&	William Scott	1399	1445	Potter Newton
*	John Scrope	*	1405	Hollinhal
&	Richard Slingsby	1442	1442	Scriven
&	Henry Sothill	1455	*	Dewsbury
&	John Sothill	1446	*	Dewsbury
	Henry Stafford	1442	1453	?Treeton

	John Stafford	1442	1456	?Treeton
	Robert Stafford	1435	1453	Treeton
*	Brian Stapleton I	*	1417	Carlton
*	Brian Stapleton II	1412	*	Carlton
*	John Stapleton	1399	1455	Wighill
*	Miles Stapleton	*	1400	Wighill
*	John Swillington	*	1418	Swillington
*	Robert Swillington	*	1420	Swillington
*	Roger Swillington	*	1417	Swillington
*	Edmund Talbot	1432	c. 1461	Bashall
&	Henry Talbot	*	1417	Easington in Craven
*	Thomas Talbot	*	1419	Bashall
	William Tankard	1440s	*	Boroughbridge
*	John Tempest	1434	*	Bracewell
*	Peter Tempest	?1412	1417	Bracewell
*	Richard Tempest I	1405	1427/8	Bracewell
*	Richard Tempest II	1442	*	Bracewell
@	Roger Tempest	*	*	Broughton
*	William Tempest I	*	c. 1440	Studley
	William Tempest II	1443	1443	Studley
&	Brian Thornhill	1438	1438	Fixby
	John Thornhill	1459	1459	Fixby
	Richard Thornhill	1413	1417	Fixby
&	William Thornhill	1438	1438	Fixby
	Robert Thornour	1423	1430	Eccleshill
	Thomas Thornour	1402	1422	Eccleshill
&	John Thwaites	1420	*	Lofthouse
	Thomas Thwaites I	*	1411	Lofthouse
&	Thomas Thwaites II	c. 1427	*	Lofthouse
	William Thwaites I	1401	c. 1435	Marston
	William Thwaites II	1435	*	Marston
	Thomas Trigot	1453	*	South Kirkby
@	William Tyrall	1458	1458	Bradford
*	Henry Vavasour I	1401	1413	Hazlewood
@	Henry Vavasour II	1402	1453	Hazlewood
*	Henry Vavasour III	1453	*	Hazlewood
	John Vavasour I	*	1430	Weston, Newton
@	John Vavasour II	1434	c. 1461	Weston, Newton
	John Vavasour III	1459	*	Weston, Newton
@	William Wakefield I	1440	*	Great Ouseburn
	William Wakefield II	1454	*	Great Ouseburn
&	John Waterton	1408	1417	Methley
&	Richard Waterton	1421	1460	Walton
&	Nicholas Warde	1442	1456	Givendale
*	John Warde I	1401	1405	Givendale
	John Warde II	1405	1405	Givendale
	Richard Warde	1405	1405	Givendale
*	Roger Warde I	1420	1453	Givendale
&	Roger Warde II	1442	*	Givendale
@	Robert Waterton I	*	1425	Methley
*	Robert Waterton II	c. 1408	*	Methley
&	John Wentworth I	*	c. 1415	North Elmsall
@	John Wentworth II	1408	1459	North Elmsall
&	Philip Wentworth	1441	1447	North Elmsall
	Ralph Wentworth	1413	1415	North Elmsall
&	Richard Wentworth I	*	c. 1449	West Bretton, Everton

@	Richard Wentworth II	1449	*	(Notts.) West Bretton, Everton
&	Roger Wentworth	1418	1429	(Notts.) ?North Elmsall
&	Thomas Wentworth	1418	1457	Doncaster
	William Wentworth	1415	1430	North Elmsall
@	John Wombwell	1441	*	Darfield
@	Thomas Wombwell	1408	1452/3	Wombwell
	John Woodrove I	*	c. 1417	Woolley
@	John Woodrove II	c. 1417	*	Woolley
&	Oliver Woodrove	1424	1430	Woolley
@	John Wortley I	1406	1429	Wortley
	John Wortley II	1414	1414	Wortley
@	Nicholas Wortley I	1414	c. 1449	Wortley
@	Nicholas Wortley II	1440	*	Wortley
@	Richard Wortley	1414	1435	Wortley

## Appendix 2: West Riding Officeholders, 1399-1461

Knightly families comprise all those families where at least one member was either a knight of distrained of knighthood.

\* = At least one member of family a knight in period.

	JP	Number of Times in Office <sup>1</sup>		
		MP	Sheriff	Escheator
<b><u>Knightly</u></b>				
Beckwith of Clint	✓	0	0	1
* Calverley of Calverley	x	0	0	1
Clarell of Aldwark	✓	0	0	2
Cresacre of Barnburgh	✓	0	0	0
Daaney of Cowick	✓	0	0	0
* Depeden of Healaugh	✓	0	1	0
* Dronsfield of West Bretton	✓	0	2	0
* Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough	✓	0	0	5
Fitzwilliam of Wadworth	✓	0	0	0
* Gascoigne of Gawthorpe	✓	4	1	0
* Harrington of Brierley	✓	1	5	1
* Hastings of Fenwick	✓	0	0	0
Hopton of Swillington	x	1	0	0
* Ingilby of Ripley	✓	0	0	0
* Langton of Farnley	x	1	1	4
Manston of Manston	✓	0	0	1
* Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer	x	1	1	0
* Mauleverer of Wothersome	✓	0	1	2
* Melton of Aston	x	1	2	0
* Middleton of Stockeld	✓	0	0	0
Morton of Bawtry	x	0	0	2
* Neville of Farnley	✓	1	0	0
Neville of Liversedge	✓	0	0	0
* Pygot of Clotherholme	✓	0	0	0
* Plumpton of Plumpton	✓	3	1	0
* Redman of Harewood	✓	5	2	1
Reresby of Thrybergh	✓	0	0	0
* Ryther of Ryther	x	1	4	0
* Sandford of Thorpe Salvin	x	0	1	0
* Saville of Elland	x	0	1	0
* Saville of Thornhill	x	2	1	0
Scargill of Lead	x	0	0	1
* Scrope of Hollinhal	x	1	0	0
* Stapleton of Carlton	x	4	0	0
* Swillington of Swillington	✓	0	0	0
* Talbot of Bashall	x	0	1	0
* Tempest of Bracewell	✓	1	2	0
* Tempest of Studley	x	1	0	0

<sup>1</sup> Three sheriffs from the West Riding exceeded the one-year term of office: Sir Halnath Mauleverer (Nov. 1420-April 1422), Sir John Langton I (Nov. 1424-Jan. 1426), and Sir William Harrington (Nov. 1428-Feb. 1430). Similarly, two escheators from the riding remained in office for over a year: William Scargill I (Nov. 1424-Jan. 1426), and Edmund Fitzwilliam I (Nov. 1428-Jan. 1430). See below, Appendices 3(a) and 3(b). These appointments have been counted as single terms of office.

*	Vavasour of Hazlewood	x	0	0	1
*	Warde of Givendale	x	0	0	1
*	Waterton of Methley	✓	1	1	0
	Wentworth of North Elmsall	✓	0	0	1
	Wombwell of Wombwell	✓	0	0	1
<b><u>Lesser Gentry</u></b>					
	Bradford of Bradford	✓	0	0	0
	Drax of Wood Hall	✓	0	0	0
	Egmanton of Fockerby	x	0	0	2
	Fairfax of Steeton	✓	0	0	0
	Fairfax of Walton	✓	0	0	0
	Greenfield of Barnbow	✓	0	0	0
	Hatfield of Owston	x	0	0	1
	Lindley of Lindley	x	0	0	1
	Nesfield of Nesfield	✓	0	0	0
	Peck of Southowram	✓	0	0	0
	Roucliff of Cowthorpe	✓	0	0	1
	Sothill of Dewsbury	✓	0	0	1
	Stafford of Treeton	✓	0	0	0
	Thwaites of Lofthouse	✓	0	0	2

### Appendix 3a: Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1399-1461

Source: *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), p. 162. Sheriffs with significant West Riding estates are underlined. Italics denote subsequent appointments.

\* Account rendered by his executors.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sheriff</u>	<u>Residence</u>
30/09/1399	<i><u>Sir John Depeden</u></i>	Healaugh (W. Riding)
03/11/1399	<i>Sir John Constable</i>	Halsham (E. Riding)
24/11/1400	Sir Thomas Brounflete	Wymington (Beds.)
08/11/1401	<u>Sir William Dronsfield</u>	West Bretton (W. Riding)
29/11/1402	<u>Sir John Saville I</u>	Elland (W. Riding)
05/11/1403	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u>	Harewood (W. Riding)
04/12/1404	Sir Peter Buckton	Buckton (E. Riding)
22/11/1405*	<i><u>Sir William Dronsfield</u></i>	West Bretton (W. Riding)
15 /09/1406	<u>Robert Mauleverer I</u>	Wothersome (W. Riding)
22/11/1406	Sir John Etton	Gilling (N. Riding)
23/11/1407	Sir Thomas Rokeby	Rokeby (N. Riding)
15/11/1408	<u>Sir William Harrington</u>	Brierley (W. Riding)
04/11/1409	Sir Edmund Hastings	Roxby (N. Riding)
29/11/1410	<u>Sir Edmund Sandford</u>	Thorpe Salvin (W. Riding)
10/12/1411	<i>Sir Thomas Rokeby</i>	Rokeby (N. Riding)
03/11/1412	<i>Sir John Etton</i>	Gilling (N. Riding)
06/11/1413	<u>Sir William Harrington</u>	Brierley (W. Riding)
12/11/1414	<i>Sir Thomas Brounflete</i>	Wymington (Beds.)
01/12/1415	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u>	Harewood (W. Riding)
30/11/1416	<i>Sir Edmund Hastings</i>	Roxby (N. Riding)
10/11/1417	Sir Robert Hilton	Swine (E. Riding)
04/11/1418	Sir John Bygod	Settrington (E. Riding)
23/11/1419	<i>Sir Thomas Brounflete</i>	Wymington (Beds.)
16/11/1420	<u>Sir Halnath Mauleverer</u>	North Deighton (W. Riding)
22/04/1422	<u>Sir William Harrington</u>	Brierley (W. Riding)
13/11/1423	<i>Sir Robert Hilton</i>	Swine (E. Riding)
06/11/1424	<u>Sir John Langton I</u>	Farnely (W. Riding)
15/1/1426	Sir Richard Hastings	Slingsby (N. Riding)
12/12/1426	<u>Sir William Ryther II</u>	Ryther (W. Riding)
07/11/1427	<i>Sir Robert Hilton</i>	Swine (E. Riding)

04/11/1428	<u>Sir William Harrington</u>	Brierley (W. Riding)
10/02/1430	Sir John Clervaux	Croft (N. Riding)
05/11/1430	<u>Sir William Ryther II</u>	Ryther (W. Riding)
26/11/1431	Sir Richard Pickering	Oswaldkirk (N. Riding)
05/11/1432	Sir Henry Brounflete	Wymington (Beds.)
05/11/1433	<i>Sir Richard Hastings</i>	Slingsby (N. Riding)
03/11/1434	<u>Sir William Ryther II</u>	Ryther (W. Riding)
07/11/1435	Sir William Tirwhit	Kettleby (Lincs.)
08/11/1436	Sir John Constable	Halsham (E. Riding)
07/11/1437	Sir Robert Constable	Flamborough (E. Riding)
03/11/1438	<u>Sir William Ryther II</u>	Ryther (W. Riding)
05/11/1439	<u>Sir John Tempest</u>	Bracewell (W. Riding)
04/11/1440	<u>Sir Robert Waterton II</u>	Methley (W. Riding)
04/11/1441	<u>Sir William Gascoigne III</u>	Gawthorpe (W. Riding)
06/11/1442	Sir Thomas Metham	Metham (E. Riding)
04/11/1443	<u>Sir Edmund Talbot</u>	Bashall (W. Riding)
06/11/1444	Sir William Eure	Witton (Durh.)
04/11/1445	Sir James Strangways	West Harlsey (N. Riding)
04/11/1446	Sir Robert Ughtred	Kexby (N. Riding)
09/11/1447	<u>Sir William Plumpton II</u>	Plumpton (W. Riding)
09/11/1448	Sir John Conyers	Hornby (N. Riding)
20/12/1449	Sir James Pickering	Ellerton (E. Riding)
03/12/1450	<i>Sir Robert Ughtred</i>	Kexby (N. Riding)
03/12/1451	Sir Ralph Bygod	Settrington (E. Riding)
23/11/1452	<i>Sir James Strangways</i>	West Harlsey (N. Riding)
05/11/1453	<u>Sir John Melton II</u>	Aston (W. Riding)
04/11/1454	<u>Sir John Saville</u>	Thornhill (W. Riding)
04/11/1455	<u>Sir Thomas Harrington</u>	Brierley (W. Riding)
17/11/1456	Sir John Hotham	Scorborough (E. Riding)
07/11/1457	<i>Sir Ralph Bygod</i>	Settrington (E. Riding)
07/11/1458	<u>Sir John Tempest</u>	Bracewell (W. Riding)
07/11/1459	Sir Thomas Metham	Metham (E. Riding)
07/11/1460	<u>Sir John Melton II</u>	Aston (W. Riding)

### Appendix 3b: Escheators of Yorkshire, 1399-1461

Source: *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Index Society, 72 (1971), pp. 190-3. Escheators with significant West Riding estates are underlined. Italics denote subsequent appointments.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Escheator</u>	<u>Residence</u>
26/11/1399	Sir Thomas Brounflete	Wymington (Beds.)
24/11/1400	William Skipwith	Skipwith (E. Riding)
08/11/1401	William Hungate I	(E. Riding)
29/11/1402	<u>Thomas Egmonton</u>	Fockerby (W. Riding)
12/11/1403	Nicholas Gower	Picton (N. Riding)
22/10/1404	<u>Sir Richard Redman</u>	Harewood (W. Riding)
01/12/1405	Thomas Pickering	Ellerton (E. Riding)
26/08/1406	John Charlton	?Apley (Lincs.)
09/11/1406	<i>Thomas Egmonton</i>	Fockerby (W. Riding)
02/11/1407	Sir Alexander Lound	South Cave (E. Riding)
09/12/1408	Thomas Santon	South Cave (E. Riding)
07/11/1409	<i>Nicholas Gower</i>	Picton (E. Riding)
29/11/1410	Robert Hilliard	Scalby (E. Riding)
10/12/1411	Robert Gargrave	(Yorks.)
10/11/1412	<u>Robert Morton</u>	Bawtry (W. Riding)
10/11/1413	<u>Edmund Fitzwilliam I</u>	Wadworth (W. Riding)
12/11/1414	Peter del Hay	Spaldington (E. Riding)
14/12/1415	<i>Robert Hilliard</i>	Scalby (E. Riding)
08/12/1416	Christopher Boynton	Acklam (N. Riding)
30/11/1417	Gerard Salvin	North Duffield (E. Riding)
04/11/1418	William Chancellor	Woodfield (Durh.)
23/11/1419	<u>Alfred Manston</u>	Manston (W. Riding)
16/11/1420	John Barton	Whenby (N. Riding)
20/05/1422	<u>Richard Wentworth</u>	West Bretton (W. Riding)
13/11/1423	<i>Peter del Hay</i>	Spaldington (E. Riding)
06/11/1424	<u>William Scargill I</u>	Lead (W. Riding)
24/01/1426	<u>Guy Roucliff</u>	Cowthorpe (W. Riding)
17/12/1426	<u>Robert Hatfield</u>	Owston (W. Riding)
18/11/1427	<u>Thomas Clarell I</u>	Aldwark (W. Riding)
04/11/1428	<u>Edmund Fitzwilliam I</u>	Wadworth (W. Riding)
12/02/1430	<u>Robert Mauleverer I</u>	Wothersome (W. Riding)



05/11/1430	<u>John Thwaites</u>	Lofthouse (W. Riding)
26/11/1431	<u>Thomas Lindley</u>	Lindley (W. Riding)
05/11/1432	<u>Robert Mauleverer I</u>	Wothersome (W. Riding)
05/11/1433	<u>Nicholas Fitzwilliam</u>	Adwick le Street (W. Riding)
03/11/1434	<u>Thomas Clarell I</u>	Aldwark (W. Riding)
07/11/1435	<u>John Langton II</u>	Farnley (W. Riding)
23/11/1436	<u>John Thwaites</u>	Lofthouse (W. Riding)
23/11/1437	Christopher Conyers	Hornby (N. Riding)
06/11/1438	<u>Nicholas Fitzwilliam</u>	Adwick le Street (W. Riding)
05/11/1439	Sir Robert Ughtred	Kexby (N. Riding)
04/11/1440	<u>Henry Vavasour II</u>	Hazlewood (W. Riding)
04/11/1441	<u>John Langton II</u>	Farnley (W. Riding)
06/11/1442	<u>Nicholas Fitzwilliam</u>	Adwick le Street (W. Riding)
04/11/1443	Edmund Portington	Portington (E. Riding)
06/11/1444	John Hotham	Scorborough (E. Riding)
04/11/1445	<u>John Langton II</u>	Farnley (W. Riding)
04/11/1446	<u>John Sothill</u>	Dewsbury (W. Riding)
04/11/1447	Richard Clervaux	Croft (N. Riding)
06/11/1448	Robert Newport	Boynton (E. Riding)
11/12/1449	Henry Banaster	?(N. Riding)
07/12/1450	<u>Henry Langton</u>	Farnley (W. Riding)
29/11/1451	<u>Thomas Beckwith</u>	Clint (W. Riding)
13/11/1452	<u>Roger Warde II</u>	Givendale (W. Riding)
03/12/1453	<u>Walter Calverley II</u>	Calverley (W. Riding)
06/11/1454	William Burgh	Brough (N. Riding)
04/11/1455	Richard Hansard	Walworth (Durh.)
04/11/1456	<u>John Wombwell</u>	Darfield (W. Riding)
07/11/1457	William Hungate II	(E. Riding)
07/11/1458	William Stoke	Warmington (Northants.)
07/11/1459	Thomas Ilderton	Ilderton (Northumb.)
08/11/1460	<u>John Harrington</u>	Doncaster (W. Riding)

### Appendix 3c: Yorkshire Knights of the Shire, 1399-1461

Sources: A. Gooder (ed.), *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York*, i, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 91 (1935); *HC, 1386-1421*; Wedgwood, *Register*. Knights of the shire with significant West Riding estates are underlined. Italics denote subsequent elections to the same constituency.

<u>Parliament</u>	<u>MP</u>	<u>Residence</u>
1399	<i>Sir Ralph Eure</i> <i>Sir Robert Neville</i>	Witton (Durh.) Farnley (W. Riding)
1401	<u>Sir John Scrope</u> Sir Gerard Usflete	Hollinhall (W. Riding) North Ferriby (E. Riding)
1402	Sir Thomas Colville <u>Sir Robert Rockley</u>	Coxwold (N. Riding) Falthwaite (W. Riding)
1404 (Jan.)	<i>Sir Peter Buckton</i> <i>Sir Ralph Euer</i>	Buckton (E. Riding) Witton (Durh.)
1404 (Oct.)	<i>Sir John Routh</i> <u>Sir Richard Tempest</u>	Routh (E. Riding) Bracewell (W. Riding)
1406	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u> Sir Thomas Rokeby	Harewood (W. Riding) Rokeby (N. Riding)
1407	Sir Edmund Hastings Sir Alexander Lound	Roxby (N. Riding) South Cave (E. Riding)
1410	-	
1411	Sir John Etton <u>Sir Robert Plumpton II</u>	Gilling (N. Riding) Steeton (W. Riding)
1413 (Feb.)	-	
1413 (May)	<i>Sir Edmund Hastings</i> <i>Sir Alexander Lound</i>	Roxby (N. Riding) South Cave (E. Riding)
1414 (Apr.)	<i>Sir Alexander Lound</i> <i>?Sir Robert Plumpton II</i> <sup>1</sup>	South Cave (E. Riding) Steeton (W. Riding)
1414 (Nov.)	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u> <i>Sir John Etton</i>	Harewood (W. Riding) Gilling (N. Riding)
1415	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u> <i>Sir John Etton</i>	Harewood (W. Riding) Gilling (N. Riding)
1416 (Mar.)	<u>Sir Brian Stapleton I</u> <u>Sir Robert Plumpton II</u>	Carlton (W. Riding) Steeton (W. Riding)

<sup>1</sup> Plumpton may have represented both Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire in April 1414: *HC, 1386-1421*, i, p. 729.

1416 (Oct.)	-	
1417	-	
1419	Sir Robert Hilton <u>Sir Halnath Mauleverer</u>	Swine (E. Riding) North Deighton (W. Riding)
1420	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u> <u>Sir John Langton I</u>	Harewood (W. Riding) Farnley (W. Riding)
1421 (May)	<u>Sir Edmund Hastings</u> <u>Sir William Gascoigne II</u>	Roxby (N. Riding) Gawthorpe (W. Riding)
1421 (Dec.)	<u>Sir Richard Redman I</u> <u>Sir John Etton</u>	Harewood (W. Riding) Gilling (N. Riding)
1422	Sir William Eure <u>Sir Edmund Hastings</u>	Witton (Durh.) Roxby (N. Riding)
1423	<u>Sir Thomas Rokeby</u> <u>Sir William Tempest I</u>	Rokeby (N. Riding) Studley (W. Riding)
1425	<u>Sir Robert Hilton</u> Sir Richard Hastings	Swine (E. Riding) Slingsby (N. Riding)
1426	<u>Sir Robert Hilton</u> <u>Sir William Ryther II</u>	Swine (E. Riding) Ryther (W. Riding)
1427	<u>Sir Robert Hilton</u> <u>Sir Edmund Hastings</u>	Swine (E. Riding) Roxby (N. Riding)
1429	<u>Sir Richard Hastings</u> Sir Richard Pickering	Slingsby (N. Riding) Oswaldkirk (N. Riding)
1431	<u>Sir William Eure</u> <u>Sir William Gascoigne III</u>	Witton (Durh.) Gawthorpe (W. Riding)
1432	Sir Robert Ughtred Sir William Normanville	Kexby (N. Riding) Kilnwick (E. Riding)
1433	Sir Edmund Darrell <u>Sir Robert Hopton</u>	Sessay (N. Riding) Wortley (W. Riding)
1435	<u>Sir William Gascoigne III</u> <u>Sir Robert Waterton II</u>	Gawthorpe (W. Riding) Methley (W. Riding)
1437	<u>Sir Brian Stapleton II</u> <u>Sir William Normanville</u>	Carlton (W. Riding) Kilnwick (E. Riding)
1439	Sir John Constable Sir Alexander Neville	Halsham (E. Riding) Thornton Bridge (N. Riding)
1442	<u>Sir William Eure</u> <u>Sir Thomas Saville</u>	Witton (Durh.) Thornhill (W. Riding)
1445	<u>Sir John Constable</u>	Halsham (E. Riding)

	<u>Sir Brian Stapleton II</u>	Carlton (W. Riding)
1447	Sir James Pickering <i>Sir William Normanville</i>	Ellerton (E. Riding) Kilnwick (E. Riding)
1449 (Feb.)	<i>Sir William Eure</i> Sir James Strangways	Witton (Durh.) West Harlsey (N. Riding)
1449 (Nov.)	<i>Sir James Pickering</i> <i>Sir William Normanville</i>	Ellerton (E. Riding) Kilnwick (E. Riding)
1450	<u>Sir John Saville</u> <u>Sir John Melton II</u>	Thornhill (W. Riding) Aston (W. Riding)
1453	<u>Sir Brian Stapleton II</u> <u>Sir William Gascoigne III</u>	Carlton (W. Riding) Gawthorpe (W. Riding)
1455	<u>Sir Thomas Harrington</u> <i>Sir James Pickering</i>	Brierley (W. Riding) Ellerton (E. Riding)
1459	?Sir Richard Tunstall <sup>2</sup>	Thurland (Lancs.)
1460	<i>Sir James Strangways</i> Sir Thomas Mountford	West Harlsey (N. Riding) Hackforth (N. Riding)

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<sup>2</sup> Wedgwood suggests that Tunstall sat for Yorkshire in 1459. However, his conclusion has been disputed by Jalland: Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 882; P. Jalland, 'The Influence of the Aristocracy on Shire Elections in the North of England, 1450-70', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), 488.

## Appendix 4: Justices of the Peace, 1399-1461

### Appendix 4(a): West Riding Justices of the Peace

Source: *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; Patent Rolls (C66).

All commissioners are listed in alphabetical order according to their family name. For example, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, appears under 'Percy'. The status column indicates each individual's categorisation in Appendix 5.

The categories refer to either a person's social status, in the case of noble or gentry justices, or to their professional appointment as a Duchy of Lancaster official or as a member of the *quorum*.

The symbols within the table distinguish between non-professional appointments, members of the *quorum*, and justices of assize.

#### Key

N	Nobleman	E	Esquire		
Pr	Prelate	DL	Professional - Duchy of Lancaster officer		
Kt	Knight	Q	Professional lawyer - member of <i>quorum</i>		
×	JP	✓	Appointed to <i>quorum</i>	●	Justice of Assize

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## Appendix 4b: Ripon Justices of the Peace, 1399-1461

Source: *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; Patent Rolls (C66); BI Reg. Kemp, fols. 172-3v.  
Notes and abbreviations as for Appendix 4(a).

	Status	12/2/1408 <sup>+</sup>	31/5/1412	30/11/1414	14/7/1433	26/11/1447 <sup>1</sup>	1/7/1458 <sup>2</sup>
Bowet, Richard			x				
Burgh, John	Q	✓		x			
Danby, Robert, SL						x	
Eland, William							x
Ellerker, John	Q				✓		
Fairfax, Guy (of Walton)	Q				✓		
Fencotes, William	Q	x	x	✓			
Fitzhugh, Henry, Lord	N	x	x	x			
Gascoigne, William (I), CJKB	JA	●	✓	✓			
Holme, John							x
Ingilby, John (I) <sup>3</sup>	E	x		x			
Keighley, Henry						x	
Lindley, Thomas					x		
Mauleverer, Robert (I)	E		x	x	x		
Nesfield, William					x		
Neville, John	N						x
Newsome, John			x	x			
Norton, Richard, CJCP	Q	✓	✓	✓			
Pygot, Ralph II						x	
Roucliff, Guy						x	
Stafford, John						x	
Strangways, James	Kt					x	
Thwaites, Henry						x	
Thwaites, John	Q				✓		
Tildesley, Thomas, KS	JA	●					
Walworth, John					x	x	

<sup>1</sup> The identities of the *quorum* justices for this commission are unknown.

<sup>2</sup> This commission was appointed jointly for Ripon and Beverley (E. Riding).

<sup>3</sup> John Ingilby was dead by 21 March 1409: DURH3/2, fols. 163-163v. It may, therefore, have been his son, Thomas, who was appointed to the Ripon commission in 1414.



### Appendix 5: Compositional Analysis of the West Riding Peace Commission, 1399-1461

Date of Commission	Total No. of Justices	Noblemen	Prelates	Justices of Assize	Quorum	Gentry	Knights	Esquires
<b>Henry IV</b>								
28/11/1399	11	3	0	2	3	3	2	1
16/05/1401	13	1	0	2	3	7	5	2
22/01/1405	15	2	0	2	3	8	5	3
18/12/1405	19	5	0	2	4	8	5	3
13/02/1407	14 <sup>i</sup>	6	0	2	1	5	4	1
20/02/1412	12	4	0	2	2	4	3	1
<b>Henry V</b>								
21/03/1413	14	6	0	2	2	4	3	1
16/01/1414	17	9	0	2	3	3	1	2
06/07/1415	11	3	0	2	3	3	2	1
24/11/1416	10	2	0	2	3	3	2	1
04/12/1416	12	4	0	2	3	3	2	1
08/07/1420	11	2	0	2	3	4	2	2
12/02/1422	14	2	0	2	3	7	3	4
<b>Henry VI (Minority)</b>								
07/07/1423	12	3	0	2	2	5	1	4
20/07/1424	19	8	0	2	1	8	3	5
07/11/1431	15	6	1	2	2	4	2	2
06/07/1435	18	7	1	2	3	5	3	2
08/11/1436	19	7	1*	2	3	6	4	2
21/03/1437	21	8	1*	2	3	7	4	3
30/04/1437	19	8	1	2	3	5	3	2
18/07/1437	21	9	1	2	3	6	3	3
<b>Henry VI (Majority)</b>								
28/11/1439	18	8	1*	2	2	5	3	2
12/10/1440	18	8	1	2	2	5	3	2
16/03/1442	18	8	1	2	2	5	2	3
04/05/1442	21	10	1	2	2	6	2	4
07/06/1442	22	10	1	2	2	7	2	5
23/11/1443	22	9	1	3	3	6	1	5
05/04/1448	24	9	1	3	2	9	3	6
28/01/1452	23	7	1*	3	4	8	3	5
12/07/1452	23	7	1*	3	4	8	3	5
01/06/1454	26	9	1	3	6	7	3	4
25/06/1456	26	7	1	3	8	7	3	4
10/07/1458	26	8	1	3	7	7	3	4
23/11/1458	17	7	2	2	3	3	1	2
08/12/1459	14	3	2	2	3	4	2	2
23/08/1460	17	6	1	2	5	3	1	2

<sup>i</sup> This figure excludes Edmund Fitzwilliam I of Wadworth, for whom no commission survives but who was paid for attendance at seven sessions of the peace between 23 May 1409 and 23 December 1411: Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 283; E372/259, rot. 7d. See below, Appendix 6.

\* The archbishop of York was also included in the quorum of these commissions.

### Appendix 6: Attendance Payments for West Riding Justices of the Peace, 1399-1461

Payments to Justices (WR)	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
William Gascoigne	11	2	2	12												
Sir John Depeden	9															
John Ingilby	4															
Richard Gascoigne	25	26	15													
Sir Richard Tempest	2	3	1		2											
Sir William Dronsfield	9															
Sir Nicholas Middleton	11	7														
Sir John Cokayn	1															
Robert Tirwhit	1															
Nicholas Gascoigne	1	8														
Robert Waterton	1	1	1	25	2	1										
Sir Robert Neville	6	5														
Sir Richard Redman	1	1		8	2											
Edmund Fitzwilliam I					5	2	2	5	1		1	1	2		4	1
Edmund Fitzwilliam II				40												
John Daunev					12											
Richard Peck					7											
Richard Wentworth					7											
Thomas Clarel					7	9	5	8	13	11						
John Thwaites					8				5	22	6	8	8	3	6	5
Sir William Harrington						2	1	1								
Alfred Manston						10	6	10	10							
Guy Fairfax (Walton)								3	9	14	5	1				
Thomas Wombwell								3	6	7						
Alexander Anne										1						
Sir Robert Waterton										3						
Sir Thomas Harrington																
John Stafford										1						
Percival Cresacre																
Sir William Plumpton																
Nicholas Fitzwilliam																
Sir John Falbot																
Robert Drax																
Ralph Reresby																
Henry Sothill																
Sir John Neville																
John Hastings																
Guy Fairfax (Steeeton)																
No. of session days:	31	26	15	40	16	10	6	?	15	?	7	8	8	6	9	8

A. 3 Mar. 1399-6 Oct. 1402<sup>1</sup>  
 B. 21 Dec. 1402-4 Mar. 1409<sup>2</sup>  
 C. 23 May 1409-23 Dec. 1411<sup>3</sup>  
 D. 4 Nov. 1415-3 July 1419<sup>4</sup>  
 E. 21 Apr. 1422-16 Feb. 1424<sup>5</sup>  
 F. 5 Nov. 1424-16 Feb. 1424<sup>6</sup>  
 G. 18 June 1426-12 Aug. 1427<sup>7</sup>  
 H. 22 Oct. 1427-20 July 1429<sup>8</sup>  
 I. 14 Mar. 1430-28 Feb. 1433<sup>9</sup>  
 J. 27 Mar. 1433-6 April 1437<sup>10</sup>  
 K. 3 Oct. 1443-7 Dec. 1444<sup>11</sup>  
 L. 25 May 1445-15 Apr. 1447<sup>12</sup>  
 M. 6 May 1447-29 June 1448<sup>13</sup>  
 N. 23 Oct. 1452-6 Aug. 1453<sup>14</sup>  
 O. 7 Mar. 1454-19 July 1455<sup>15</sup>  
 P. 18 Oct. 1455-25 June 1457<sup>16</sup>

1. E137 49 2B, mm. 1-4; E372 248, rot. 12.  
 2. E372 254, rot. 11d.  
 3. E372 259, rot. 7d.  
 4. E372 264, rot. 11.  
 5. E372 269, rot. 11d.  
 6. E372 272, rot. 12d.  
 7. E372 273, rot. 12.  
 8. E101 598 42, m. 1.  
 9. E372 278, rot. 15.  
 10. E372 283, rot. 16; E101 598 42, m. 2.  
 11. E372 290, rot. 14d.  
 12. E372 292, rot. 17; E101 598 42, m. 3.  
 13. E372 293, rot. 16.  
 14. E372 299, rot. 22; E101 598 42, m. 4.  
 15. E372 301, rot. 23.  
 16. E372 304, rot. 23d.

## Appendix 7: West Riding Distraintees, 1410-1465

<u>Date of Writ</u>	<u>Source</u>	
20/11/1410	E198/4/39; 4/34	
03/03/1439	Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 71-4 <sup>1</sup>	
27/04/1457	E198/4/24	
28/04/1458	E198/4/16	
--/ --/1465	E370/2/22	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Distrainted</u>
Richard Aldburgh I	Aldbrough	1439, 1457
Richard Aldburgh II	Aldbrough	1465
Richard Beaumont	Whitley	1458
Thomas Beckwith	Clint	1457
Brian Beeston	Beeston	1439
Robert Bollyng	Bolling	1457
John Bosville	Ardsley	1410
Aimer Burdett	Denby	1458
Elias Burton	Tinsley	1458
Walter Calverley	Calverley	1465
John Caterall	Brayton	1457
Thomas Clarell I	Aldwark	1410, 1439
Thomas Clarell II	Aldwark	1439
James Cresacre	Barnburgh	1410
Percival Cresacre	Barnburgh	1439, 1458, 1465
John Dauney II	Cowick	1439
Brian Dayville	Bilton	1439
Christopher Dronsfield	Walden Stubbs	1439
William Everingham	Birkin	1457, 1465
Edmund Fitzwilliam II	Wadworth	1439, 1457
Nicholas Fitzwilliam	Adwick le Street	1457
Richard Fitzwilliam	Aldwark	1457, 1465
William Fitzwilliam	Sprotbrough	1457
William Flemyng	Wath	1439, 1457, 1458
John Gargrave	Wakefield	1458
William Gascoigne	?Gawthorpe/Lasingcroft	1457, 1465
Thomas Goldsburgh	?Goldsbrough	1457
Laurence Hamerton	Wigglesworth	1439
John Harrington	Doncaster	1457
John Hastings	Fenwick	1439, 1457, 1465
?Stephen Hatfield	?Owston	1457, 1465
John Hopton	Armley	1457, 1465
John Hopton	Swillington	1457
John Lacy	Cromwell Bottom	1457, 1458

<sup>1</sup> According to Arnold, this information can be found in E159/217. However, I have been unable to confirm its location.

John Langton II	Farnley	1465
Thomas Ledes	Westwick	1465
Gilbert Legh	Middleton	1439
John Malham	Malham	1439
John Manston	Manston	1457
John Markenfield	Markenfield	1457, 1458
Thomas Markenfield	Markenfield	1410
Robert Mauleverer II	Wothersome	1457, 1458, 1465
Thomas Meryng	Tong	1457, 1458
William Middleton	Stockeld	1457, 1465
Adam Mirfield	Mirfield	1410
Oliver Mirfield	Mirfield	1458, 1465
William Mirfield	Mirfield	1457, 1465
Charles Morton	Bawtry	1439, 1457
Henry Nesfield	Flasby	1439
John Neville	?Womersley	1457
Robert Neville	?Liversedge	1457, 1465
John Paslew	Potter Newton	1439, 1457
Geoffrey Pygot I	Clotherholme	1410
Geoffrey Pygot II	Clotherholme	1457, 1465
Ralph Pygot	Clotherholme	1457, 1465
Richard Redman	Harewood	1458
Ralph Resesby	Thrybergh	1457, 1465
William Rilleston	Rilston	1457
Robert Roos	Ingmanthorpe	1457, 1465
Henry Saville	Thornhill	1410
William Scargill I	Lead	1457, 1458
William Scargill II	Lead	1465
Brian Stapleton	Carlton	1410
John Stapleton	Wighill	1439
?Richard Tempest II	?Bracewell	1457, 1458, 1465 <sup>2</sup>
Roger Tempest	Broughton	1457
William Tyrsall	Bradford	1458
Henry Vavasour III	Hazlewood	1457, 1465
John Vavasour II	Weston	1439, 1457
William Wakefield	Great Ouseburn	1458
Roger Warde II	Givendale	1465
Robert Waterton I	Methley	1410
John Wentworth	North Elmsall	1457
Richard Wentworth	West Bretton	1457
John Wombwell	Darfield	1457, 1465
Thomas Wombwell	Wombwell	1410
John Woodrove	Woolley	1457, 1465
John Wortley	Wortley	1410
Nicholas Wortley	Wortley	1439, 1457, 1458, 1465
Richard Wortley	Wortley	1465

<sup>2</sup> Richard Tempest II (d. 1472) of Bracewell was knighted by John, Lord Clifford, on 30 December 1460. See below, Appendix 9.

## Appendix 8: Membership of Noble Affinities

Name	Date	Capacity	Refs.
ROYAL HOUSEHOLD			
Thomas Beckwith	1446-51	King's esquire	E101/409/9, fol. 33v; 410/9, fol. 43
?Richard Burton	1441	King's esquire	E101/409/9, fol. 37
John Caterall	c. 1461	Position unknown	<i>Rot. Parl.</i> , vi, p. 290
Thomas Clarell I	1411-23	Prince of Wales' esquire; king's esquire	<i>CPR 1413-16</i> , pp. 82-3; <i>1422-9</i> , p. 66
Thomas Clarell II	1421/2	Military service	E101/70/6/732
James Cresacre	1441	Yeoman of crown	E101/409/9, fol. 37v; DL37/9/31
?John Dauney	1450	King's esquire	E101/410/6, fol. 40v
John Drax	<i>Temp. RII-</i> 1423	Serjeant-at-arms	<i>CCR 1409-13</i> , p. 62; <i>1422-9</i> , p. 40
?William Everingham	1450	King's esquire	E101/410/6, fol. 40
Ralph Fitzwilliam	1441	Captain of Sauvaterra	SA WWM/D/86
Thomas Flemyng	1399	King's knight	Given-Wilson, <i>Royal Household</i> , p. 288
John Gargrave	1435	King's esquire	<i>CCR 1429-35</i> , p. 359
William Gascoigne IV	1450-51	King's esquire	E101/410/6, fol. 40; 410/9, fol. 43
Richard Goldsburgh I	1400-6	Annuitant; chamber knight	Given-Wilson, <i>Royal Household</i> , p. 287; Rogers, 'The Royal Household', p. 812
?John Greenfield	1441-51	Clerk	E101/409/9, fol. 37v; 410 6, fol. 44
?John Harrington	1450-1	King's esquire	E101/410/6, fol. 40; 410/9, fol. 43
Thomas Harrington	1441	King's esquire	E101/409/9, fol. 36v
William Harrington	1412-23	Standard bearer, king's knight	<i>CPR 1413-16</i> , p. 143; <i>1422-9</i> , p. 44
John Hastings	1441-51	King's esquire	<i>CPR 1436-41</i> , p. 543; E101 409 9, fol. 36v; 410/9, fol. 43
?Stephen Hatfield	1441-50	King's esquire	E101/409 9, fol. 36v; 410 6, fol. 39v
John Hopton	1446	King's esquire	E101/409/16, fol.33v
William Hopton	1448-51	King's esquire	E101/410/3, fol.30; 410 9, fol. 43
Henry Langton	1437-52	Yeoman usher; king's esquire	DL42/18, fol. 57; <i>CPR 1436-41</i> , p. 95; <i>1446-</i> <i>52</i> , p. 574
John Langton I	1425	King's knight	<i>CCR 1422-9</i> , p. 182
John Langton II	1438-51	King's esquire	<i>CPR 1436-41</i> , p. 229; E101 410 9, fol. 42v
William Malet	1446	King's esquire	E101/409 16, fol.33v
Thomas Markenfield	1408-15	Military service; annuitant	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 437; <i>1413-16</i> , p. 299
Robert Mauleverer I	1403	'King's servant'	<i>CPR 1401-5</i> , p. 252
?John Melton II	1441	King's esquire	E101 409 9, fol. 37
Thomas Meryng	1444-52	King's esquire	<i>CPR 1441-46</i> , pp. 249, 438; E101 409 9, fol. 36v; 410 9, fol. 42
?William Meryng	1450	King's esquire	E101 410 6, fol. 40
Henry Morton	1415	King's serjeant, godson	<i>CCR 1413-19</i> , p. 356
Robert Morton	1396-1424	Annuitant, king's esquire	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iii, pp. 790-2; <i>CCR 1413-19</i> , p. 356
?John Neville	1450	King's esquire	E101 410 6, fol. 40
Richard Redman	1401-26	King's knight	<i>CPR 1416-22</i> , p. 102; Given-Wilson, <i>Royal</i> <i>Household</i> , p. 289
?Robert Rockley	1450-1	King's esquire	E101 410 6, fol. 40; 410 9, fol. 43
William Ryther III	1441	King's esquire	E101 409 9, fol.36v
?William Ryther IV	1451	Groom of stable	E101 410 9, fol. 45
Edmund Sandford	1405	King's esquire	SC8 255 12730; <i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 69
John Saville	1403	King's knight	<i>CPR 1401-5</i> , p. 236; Given-Wilson, <i>Royal</i> <i>Household</i> , p. 290
Thomas Scargill	1435-53	Yeoman; usher of chamber	<i>CPR 1429-36</i> , p. 491; <i>1452-61</i> , p. 32
John Sothill	1450-51	King's esquire	E101 410 6, fol. 40v; 410 9, fol.42
Brian Stapleton II	1443	King's knight	<i>CCR 1441-7</i> , p. 167
John Stapleton	1441-51	King's esquire	E101 409 9, fol.36v; 410 9, fol. 42v
Roger Swillington	1400	King's knight	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , p. 221
?John Tempest	1441	King's esquire	E101 409 9, fol. 37
Richard Tempest I	c. 1399- 1427/8	King's knight	<i>CPR 1401-5</i> , p. 256; <i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iv, pp. 574-5

Henry Vavasour II	1438-1451	King's esquire	<i>CPR 1436-41</i> , p. 127, f.101/416/9 fo 42v
Robert Waterton I	1399-1425	King's esquire, master of horse	<i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , pp. 98, 112

#### DUCHY OF LANCASTER

John Beckwith	1441	Feodary of Knaresborough	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 526
Thomas Clarell I	1399	Military service	DL42/15, fol.70
Thomas Clifford	1447	Bailiff of Staincliff	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 527
Nicholas Colne	<i>Temp.</i> RII- 1422	Receiver of Pontefract and Knaresborough, annuitant	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 516, 525 DL29/738/12096, m. 4
Thomas Craven	1399	Annuitant	DL29/738/12096, m. 4
Percival Cresacre	1445	Bailiff/feodary of Tickhill	DL37/12/38; Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 531
John Dauney I	1409	Deputy steward of Tickhill	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 528
William Dronsfield	1395-1406	Esquire of Derby, bailiff of Staincross	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , ii, p. 801; Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 520
John Fawkes	1437-1453	Receiver of Knaresborough, receiver for Henry VI's feoffees	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 526
Richard Gascoigne	1399	Military service, chief steward North Parts	DL42/15, fol. 70; Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 418
William Gascoigne II	1422	Steward and constable of Knaresborough	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 523, 525
John Greenfield II	1460-3	Receiver of Pontefract	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 516
William Harrington	1412-22	Annuitant, chief steward Lancs., steward and constable of Knaresborough	DL42/17, fol. 73v; Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 492, 523, 525
Robert Hatfield	1377-1413	Annuitant, controller of Derby's household	Walker. <i>Lancastrian Affinity</i> , pp. 11n. 32n. 37n, 271; DL42 17. fols. 9, 12
William Ingilby	1437-8	Steward and constable of Knaresborough	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 524-5
William Leventhorp	1448-59	Receiver of Pontefract	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 516
William Malham	1421	Deputy steward of Staincliff	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 527
Alfred Manston	1415	Annuitant	DL42 17, fol. 94v
Thomas Methley	1399-1407	Annuitant	DL29 738 12096. m. 4 : DL28 27 3. m. 3
Robert Morton	1416-24	Annuitant, feodary of Notts., constable of Castle Donington	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iii. pp. 790-2
Robert Neville	<i>Temp.</i> RII- 1413	Annuitant, officer, military service	DL42 15, fols. 16v, 70v; 42 17. fo 30r 4l. <i>1386-1421</i> , iii. pp. 821-4
Robert Plumpton I	1399-1407	Annuitant	DL29/738 12096. m. 4. H 3x6-42 v p. 91; DL28 27 9. m 3
Robert Plumpton II	1408-1421	Annuitant, steward and constable of Knaresborough, chief steward of Staincliff	DL42 16, fols. 202v, 232 v. 7. fo 92v. Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 523, 525, 527
William Plumpton II	1439-61	Steward and constable of Knaresborough	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 524-5
Richard Popeley	1401-c. 1434	Feodary in Yorks., receiver of Pontefract and Knaresborough	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 516, 526
Richard Redman I	c. 1399- 1426	Annuitant	Walker. <i>Lancastrian Affinity</i> , p. 279l DL42 18. fol 174 v. 4l. 306-40. v. m. 183-6
John Rishworth	c. 1428-32	Feodary of Pontefract	Somerville. <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 528
Robert Rockley I	1373-c. 1415	Annuitant, officer, military service	Walker. <i>Lancastrian Affinity</i> , p. 279l. Given- Wilson ed. <i>Annals of Revolution</i> , 2 253. <i>HC 1386-42</i> , v. m. 221-2. DL1421 fol. 3v
William Ryther I	c. 1426	Monumental effigy wears collar of SS	Routh and Knowles, <i>Local Annals of Haverham</i> , p. 2
Henry Saville (Copley)	1423	Annuitant	DL 42 18. fol 174

Henry Saville (Thornhill)	1398-1412	Annuitant	Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree', pp. 413-4; DL29/738/12096, m. 4
John Saville	1399	Annuitant, bailiff of Strafforth	DL28/738/12096, m. 5; <i>CPR 1399-1401</i> , p. 95
Thomas Scargill	1432	Parker of Roundhay	DL42/18, fol. 28
Henry Sothill	1456-65	Apprentice-at-law retained by Duchy; deputy steward North Parts, deputy steward of Pontefract	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 454. See below, NEVILLE
John Swillington	1415-18	Annuitant	DL28/27/6, m. 4; DL29/738/12108, m. 5
Robert Swillington	1415-20	Annuitant	DL28/27/6, m. 4; DL29/738/12110, m. 4
Roger Swillington	1399-1417	Military service, annuitant	DL42/15, fol. 70; DL29/738/12096, m. 4
Christopher Talbot	1442-3	Bailiff of Staincross	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 521
?Edmund Talbot	1445	Bailiff of Staincliff	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 527
William Tankard	1443	Deputy steward of Knaresborough	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 524
Richard Tempest I	1401-1427/8	Life annuitant	DL42/15, fol. 84v; <i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iv, pp. 573-5
Henry Vavasour I	1399	Military service	DL42/15, fol. 70v
Henry Vavasour II	1444-8	Receiver in Yorks., bailiff of Staincliff	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 516, 527
John Waterton	1399-1415	Annuitant, baliff of Osgoldcross	DL29 738/12096. m. 4: DL42 15, fols. 83v-84: Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> . p. 520
Robert Waterton I	1392-1425	Annuitant, military service, steward, constable of Pontefract and Tickhill, master forester of Pontefract, chief steward of North Parts	Walker, <i>Lancastrian Affinity</i> , p. 284; <i>CPR 1396-99</i> , pp. 468-9; DL42 15, fol. 71; Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> . pp. 418. 513. 515, 518, 528-9
Robert Waterton II	1439-47	Feodary, deputy constable of Pontefract and keeper of armour	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> . pp. 518-9
Thomas Wombwell	1425-52	Deputy steward of Pontefract	See below, NEVILLE

#### DUCHY OF YORK

John Bosville	1435	Has Countess Maud as feoffee, supervisor of will	CP25/1 280 157. mm. 39-40: Hunter, <i>South Yorkshire</i> . ii, p. 113
?John Chamber	c. 1415-33	Annuitant	<i>CCR 1429-35</i> , p. 260
Thomas Clarell I	c. 1415-33	Annuitant	<i>CCR 1429-35</i> , p. 260
James Cresacre	1435	Evidence of association with Countess Maud	CP25 1 280 157. mm. 39-40
?Percival Cresacre	1459	Removed from commission of peace 1459, restored 1461, evidence of association with Countess Maud	See above. Appendix 4a: CP25 1 280 157. mm. 39-40
Richard Fairfax	1446	Bequest from Countess Maud	<i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, p. 118
Edmund Fitzwilliam I	1397-1430	Officer, steward in Yorks. - constable of Conisbrough	<i>CPR 1413-16</i> , pp. 377-8
Edmund Fitzwilliam II	1453-1465	Councillor, feoffee, bondsman, constable of Conisbrough and Tickhill, married lady-in-waiting of Countess Maud	Wright, 'House of York', p. 240; <i>CPR 1461-7</i> , p. 71; <i>1461-7</i> , p. 47; <i>HC 1386-1421</i> , iv, p. 529; Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 529
John Fitzwilliam	1460	Life annuitant	<i>CPR 1461-7</i> , pp. 471, 479
?Nicholas Fitzwilliam	1460	?Military service - probably died at Wakefield	Wedgwood, <i>Bequest to the Duchy</i> , p. 337
Richard Fitzwilliam	1460-65	Life annuitant, constable of Conisbrough	<i>CPR 1461-7</i> , pp. 469, 470

John Gargrave	1429	Receiver-general, attorney, feoffee	Johnson, <i>Duke Richard</i> , p. 232; <i>CFR 1422-30</i> , pp. 202, 286
John Harrington	1460	Military service – died at Wakefield	Wedgwood, <i>Biographies</i> , pp. 426-7
Thomas Harrington	1460	Elected MP and appointed sheriff Yorks. in 1455; attainted in 1459, military service – died at Wakefield	See Appendices 3(a) and 3(c); Wedgwood, <i>Biographies</i> , pp. 426-7
John Melton II	1458	Bondsman, feoffee	E40/6338; Wedgwood, <i>Biographies</i> , p. 584
?Thomas Meryng	1459	Attainted in 1459	<i>Rot. Parl.</i> , v, p. 347
Robert Morton	1403	Bailiff and master forester of Hatfield, annuitant	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iii, p. 791; <i>CPR 1413-16</i> , p. 388
John Neville	1455-9	Steward of Conisbrough and Hatfield, bondsman	<i>CPR 1452-61</i> , p. 552; E40/6340
Robert Pilkington	1442	Master forester of Sowerby	Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 45
William Popeley	1438	Feoffor	<i>Yorks. Deeds</i> , iii, p. 44
Richard Pygot	1458	Bondsman	E40/6337
John Saville	1399-405	Master forester of Sowerby	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 15
John Saville	1441-82	Military service, probably knighted by Richard, steward of Wakefield and Sowerby, constable of Sandal; appointed sheriff of Yorks. 1454; bondsman	Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 45; ii, p. 43, 64; KB9/289, m. 44; Johnson, <i>Duke Richard of York</i> , p. 238; <i>CPR 1452-61</i> , p. 532; see Appendix 3a; E40 6339
Thomas Saville	1414	Master forester of Sowerby	SC8 23 11411; <i>CPR 1416-22</i> , p. 38
William Scargill I	1446	Executor of Countess Maud	<i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, p. 118
John Vincent	1449-1460	Receiver in Yorks.	<i>CPR 1452-61</i> , pp. 531, 567; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 43
John Woodrove II	1460-85	Receiver in Yorks.	Johnson, <i>Duke Richard</i> , p. 241; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 43; <i>CPR 1476-94</i> , p. 534
Richard Wentworth I	1431-41	?Officer, mainpernor	<i>Test. Ebor.</i> , pp. 137-8; <i>CFR 1430-7</i> , pp. 40, 81, 115, 174, 226; <i>1437-45</i> , pp. 203, 249
Thomas Wentworth	1436-46	Attorney and executor of Countess Maud	<i>C219 15 1</i> , m. 33; <i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, pp. 118-24; Hunter, <i>South Yorkshire</i> , ii, p. 453

## PERCY OF NORTHUMBERLAND

Richard Aldburgh II	1453-60	Indicted for participation at Heworth, supported Exeter's rising, knighted by earl at Wakefield, implicated in murder of Salisbury, attainted	KB9 149 9, m. 8; 149 11, m. 16; BL Add. MS 46355, fol. 2v; Arnold, 'West Riding', i pp. 45, 157; Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , p. 301
Walter Calverley II	1442	Annuitant	WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 5; Bean, <i>Estates of the Percy Family</i> , p. 92n
John Caterall	1453-60	Member of Percy raiding parties, indicted for participation at Heworth, supported Exeter's rising, commission issued for arrest in 1460	KB9 149 4, m. 25; 149 6, m. 7; 149 9, m. 8; 149 11, m. 16; 149 12, m. 24; <i>CPR 1452-61</i> , p. 608
William Chamber	1453	Member of Percy raiding party	KB9 149 4, m. 25
Thomas Clapham I	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9 149 11, m. 16
John Clifford	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9 149 11, m. 16
Guy Fairfax (Walton)	1433	Life interest in lands at Walton in place of an annual fee	Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 12; WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 4
Guy Fairfax (Stecton)	1451-3	Life annuitant, deputy	WSRO PHA D9 6, m. 3; Bean, <i>Estates of the</i>



Richard Fairfax	1403-23	steward of Spofforth Arrested as member of affinity, officer	<i>Percy Family</i> , p. 92n <i>CPR 1401-5</i> , p. 297; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 343; Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , p. 249
Thomas Fairfax	1453-4	Indicted for participation at Heworth, supported Exeter's rising	KB9/149/9, m. 8; 149/11, m. 16
John Fawkes	1442	?Councillor	WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 4
William Gascoigne III	1453	Evidence of association	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 248
William Gascoigne IV	1460	Knighted by earl at Wakefield	BL Add. MS 46355, fol. 2v; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 45
John Hamerton	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9/149/11, m. 16
Stephen Hamerton	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9/149/11, m. 16
John Langton I	1423	Steward of Spofforth	Stapleton (ed.), <i>Plumpton Correspondence</i> , p. 1; Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , p. 249
Robert Mauleverer II	1442-60	Annuitant, implicated in assassination attempt upon duke of York, ?knighted by earl at Wakefield, possibly died with father at Towton	WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 5; KB9/149/9, m. 7; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 45n; ii, p. 22; BL Add. MS 46355, fol. 2v
John Paslew	1442	Annuitant	WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 5; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 22
Thomas Pynchbeck	?1426-54	Bailiff in Yorkshire	WSRO PHA D9 6, mm. 1, 3, 6
William Plumpton II	1442-53	Life annuitant, steward in Yorkshire	Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , pp. 251-2; WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 5; 6, m. 3; Bean, <i>Estates of the Percy Family</i> , p. 92, n. 2; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 22
John Pudsey I	1403	Arrested as member of affinity	<i>CPR 1401-5</i> , p. 297; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 343
John Pudsey II	1453-60	Member of Percy raiding party, indicted for participation at Heworth, supported Exeter's rising, implicated in murder of Salisbury	KB9 149 6, m. 7; 149/9, m. 8; 149 11, m. 16; Storey, <i>House of Lancaster</i> , p. 194n
Ralph Pudsey	1453	Evidence of association	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 248
William Ryther III	1453	Evidence of association; indicted for participation at Heworth	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 248; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 133
Thomas Sandford	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9 149 11, m. 16
Brian Stapleton II	1453	Evidence of association	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 248
John Stapleton	1442-55	Annuitant, indicted for participation at Heworth, possibly killed at St Albans	WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 5; Bean, <i>Estates of the Percy Family</i> , p. 92n; KB9 149 11, m. 16; Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 264
John Tempest	1442	Annuitant	WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 4; Bean, <i>Estates of the Percy Family</i> , p. 92n
Nicholas Tempest	1405	Granted manor of Walton by earl in recompense for a previous annuity	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 42
Richard Tempest I	1399-1405	Annuitant, trustee	<i>CPR 1399-1405</i> , p. 125; <i>1405-8</i> , p. 48; <i>CFR 1399-1405</i> , p. 12; Ross, p. 363; Gooder (ed.) <i>Parliamentary Representation</i> , i, pp. 162-4
Richard Tempest II	1442-53	Annuitant, member of Percy raiding party, indicted for participation at Heworth	WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 4; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 23; KB9 149 6, m. 7; 149 11, m. 16
Henry Vavasour II	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 133
Nicholas Warde	1442	Annuitant	WSRO PHA D9 3, m. 4
Roger Warde I	<i>Temp.</i> HVI	Evidence of association	<i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, p. 165n
Roger Warde II	1453	Indicted for participation at Heworth	KB9 149 11, m. 16

## CLIFFORD OF WESTMORLAND

Robert Bollyng	1461	Military service	<i>Rot. Parl.</i> , vi, p. 20; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 154
William Bosville	1449-53	Feoffee	CP25/1/281/160, m. 39
William Gargrave	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
John Garth	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
Thomas Garth	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
William Garth	1415-38	Feoffee, mainpernor, receiver	<i>CCR 1422-9</i> , p. 7; <i>CFR 1413-22</i> , p. 433; Whitaker, <i>Craven</i> , p. 319; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 285 and n. 4
Richard Gascoigne	1415-22	Feoffee	<i>CPR 1413-16</i> , p. 320; <i>CCR 1422-9</i> , p. 5
Thomas Harrington	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
William Harrington	1415-22	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
Henry Hartlington	1416	Retainer	Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 283, n. 4
Gilbert Keighley	1416	Retainer	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 283, n. 6
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
Thomas Romondeby	1416	Chaplain, feoffee	<i>CPR 1422-9</i> , p. 7; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 285
John Tempest	1444	Feoffee	C139/159/33; <i>CPR 1441-6</i> , p. 324
Peter Tempest	1417	Military service	Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 283
Richard Tempest II	1460	Knighted by Lord Clifford at Wakefield	BL Add. MS 46355, fol. 2v; Arnold, 'West Riding', i p. 45
John Thwaites	?1442-7	Councillor	Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 107
William Whitehall	1423	Steward	Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , p. 249
Robert Wood	1435	Servant	C139/162/30, m. 2

## THOMAS LORD FURNIVAL

Thomas Bosville	-	Nephew	<i>Yorks. Deeds</i> , x, p. 43
Robert Pudsey	1407	Executor	<i>Test. Vetust.</i> , pp. 168-9

## TALBOT OF SHREWSBURY

Thurstan Banaster	1441-2	Co-recognizor; mainpernor; feoffee	<i>CCR 1441-7</i> , p. 60; <i>CFR 1437-45</i> , p. 252; C139/179/58
Thomas Clarell	c. 1442-53	Feoffee	C139/179 58
Thomas Lord Clifford	1446	Executor	<i>Test. Ebor</i> , ii, pp. 252-4
Thomas Everingham	1440-6	Officer; annuitant, witness	Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 48; <i>Test. Ebor</i> , ii, pp. 252-4; Thomas (ed.), 'Comptus of the Foresters of John Talbot', p. 74; Thomas (ed.), 'Account of William Swyfte', p. 245.
Edmund Fitzwilliam I	1414	Feoffee	SA ACM WD 572
Thomas Harrington	1446	Executor; feoffee	<i>Test. Ebor</i> , ii, pp. 252-4; C139 179 58
John Hastings	1441-c.1453	Co-recognizor; feoffee	<i>CCR 1441-7</i> , p. 60; C139 179 58
John Melton IV	1455	Godson	C140 50 47
Oliver Mirfield	1448	Co-owner of Gomersal manor	<i>Yorks. Deeds</i> , vii, p. 99; viii, p. 70
William Popeley	1448	Bailiff of Gomersal	<i>Yorks. Deeds</i> , vii, p. 99; viii, p. 70
Edmund Sandford	1414	Witness	SA ACM WD 572
Henry Stafford	c. 1442-53	Receiver; feoffee	SA ACM S 112; C139 179 58.
Robert Stafford	1435-53	Retainer	Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 120
Roger Steadman	c. 1441/2	Receiver	Thomas (ed.), 'Account of William Swyfte', pp. 229-46
William Swift	c. 1441/2-46	Deputy receiver; witness	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 229-46; <i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, pp. 252-4.
Nicholas Wortley	c. 1442-53	Feoffee	C139 179 58

## ARCHBISHOPRIC OF YORK

John Clarell	c. 1423	Servant of Henry Bowet	Stell and Hampson (eds.), <i>Probate Inventories</i> , pp. 108-9
Guy Fairfax (Steeeton)	1456-70	Steward of Sherburn, Otley and Cawood	BI Reg. William Booth, fol. 204v; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 49
Guy Fairfax (Walton)	1433	<i>Quorum</i> JP Ripon	<i>CPR 1429-36</i> , p. 628; C66 433, m. 21d
William Gascoigne I	1408-14	<i>Quorum</i> JP Ripon	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 500; <i>1413-16</i> , p. 426; C66. 378, m. 6d; 395. m. 32d

John Ingilby	1408	JP Ripon	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 500; <i>C66/378</i> , m. 6d
Robert Mauleverer I	1412-43	JP Ripon, attorney in county court, steward of Otley	<i>CPR 1408-13</i> , p. 487; Gooder (ed.), <i>Parliamentary Representation</i> , I, p. 237; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 183; Stapleton (ed.), <i>Plumpton Correspondence</i> , pp. lvii
John Neville	1458	JP Ripon and Beverley	<i>CPR 1452-61</i> , p. 684
Ralph Pygot II	1447	JP Ripon	BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172
Guy Roucliff	1447	JP Ripon	BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172
John Sandford	c. 1421	Steward of Scroby	<i>Test. Ebor.</i> , i, pp. 400-401.
William Scargill I	1446	Steward of Sherburn	BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 49
John Stafford	1447	JP Ripon	BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172
John Thoresby	1440	Bailiff of Otley	Stapleton (ed.), <i>Plumpton Correspondence</i> , p. lvii.
John Walworth	1440	Bailiff of Ripon	Stapleton (ed.), <i>Plumpton Correspondence</i> , p. lviii.
Robert Waterton I	c. 1423	Servant, annuitant of Henry Bowet	Stell and Hampson (eds.), <i>Probate Inventories</i> , p. 108

## JOHN DUKE OF BEDFORD

Halnath Mauleverer	1408	Military service	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> , iii, p. 703
John Middleton	1413	Surveyor of <i>vert</i> , Spofforth	<i>Yorks. Deeds</i> , vi, p. 140
Robert Plumpton II	1415	Life retainer	Jones and Walker (eds.), 'Private Indentures', pp. 144-5
William Plumpton II	1435	Military service, rewarded with <i>vicomté</i> of Falaise	Kirby (ed.), <i>Plumpton Letters and Papers</i> , p. 3
Richard Redman I	c. 1410-1426	Feudal tenant, associate, councillor	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> . iv. p. 186
Brian Stapleton I	<i>Temp. HV</i>	Ward, military service, probable retainer, duke requested prayers for his soul at St Albans Abbey	<i>HC, 1386-1421</i> . iv. p. 461

## NEVILLE OF WESTMORLAND, SALISBURY AND WARWICK

Thomas Beckwith	1458	Co-recognizor with Sir John Neville	<i>CCR 1454-61</i> , p. 301
George Brennand	1459	On Salisbury's instruction disrupted reading of proclamation by Sir William Plumpton, indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189
John Brennand	1459	"	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> . p. 271; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> . p. 189
William Brennand	1459	"	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> . p. 189
Thomas Clapham II	1461	Annuitant	Arnold, 'West Riding'. ii. p. 22
Richard Hamerton	1450s	Retainer	Pollard, 'Northern Retainers', pp. 59. 62
James Harrington	1459-60	Pardoned for treason	Pollard, 'Northern Retainers'. p. 63
Thomas Harrington	1442-60	Annuitant, deputy steward of Bowland, captain, killed at Wakefield	Pollard, 'Northern Retainers'. p. 57 and n. 18; DL37 26 23; <i>North-Eastern England</i> . p. 271
Richard Louther	1459	On Salisbury's instruction disrupted reading of proclamation by Sir William Plumpton, indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> . p. 271; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> . p. 189
John Markenfield	1454-9	Mainpernor for Sir John Neville, occupied Knaresborough for	<i>CFR 1452-61</i> , p. 103; Wheeler, <i>Knaresburgh</i> . p. 189; Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271

Thomas Markenfield	1408	Salisbury Mainpernor	<i>CFR 1405-13</i> , p. 131
Thomas Meryng	1459	Captain of Salisbury	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 272
William Parker	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 140
Robert Percy	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge, captain	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271; Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189
John Pulleyn	1454-9	Mainpernor for Sir John Neville, indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	<i>CFR 1452-61</i> , p. 103; Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189
Ralph Pulleyn	1450s-1459	Annuitant, indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge, occupied Knaresborough for earl	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271; Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189
Richard Pulleyn	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 140
Richard Roos	1450s	Annuitant; received a bequest and maintenance for life in Salisbury's will	Pollard, 'Northern Retainers', pp. 57-8 and n. 19; <i>Test. Ebor.</i> , ii, p. 246
William Scargill I	1441-54	Feoffee	<i>CCR 1441-7</i> , p. 150; CP25/1/281/160, m. 52; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 124
Henry Sothill	1449-65	Surety for Warwick, deputy steward of North Parts, deputy steward of Pontefract,	Hicks, <i>Warwick the Kingmaker</i> , p. 30; Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , pp. 425, 514
William Tempest I	1399	Mainpernor	<i>CFR 1399-1405</i> , p. 29
William Tempest II	1443	Feoffor	C139/115/29
Henry Vavasour I	1408-13	Held manor of Eastburn for life by grant of earl of Westmorland, wife Margaret left a bequest to Countess Joan in her will	<i>CPR 1405-8</i> , p. 333; Baildon (ed.), <i>Yorkshire Inquisitions</i> , p. 97; <i>Test. Ebor.</i> , i, pp. 362-4
Henry Vavasour II	1448	Mainpernor for Salisbury	<i>CFR 1445-52</i> , p. 14
John Wakefield	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 140
Richard Wakefield	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 140
William Wakefield	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271; Wheater, <i>Knaresburgh</i> , p. 189
Henry Walron	1459	Bailiff of Warwick's lordship of Bawtry, imprisoned on suspicion of having incited rebellion	<i>CPR 1452-61</i> , pp. 518, 527, 569
James Wilsthorp	1459	Indicted for mustering with Salisbury's forces at Boroughbridge	Pollard, <i>North-Eastern England</i> , p. 271
Thomas Wombwell	1425-52	Deputy steward of Pontefract under Salisbury, life retainer	Somerville, <i>History of Duchy</i> , p. 513; Jones and Walker (eds.). 'Private Indentures', pp. 146-7

## Appendix 9: Biographical Details of Selected West Riding Families

### Clarell of Aldwark

The knightly family of Clarell was seated at Aldwark, within the lordship of Sheffield. The family also held the Yorkshire manors of Adwick upon Dearne and Steeton, together with Ulceby in Lincolnshire. (C139/110/42.) On 16 October 1377, William Gascrik and Henry Ratford of Lincolnshire were pardoned, at the supplication of the king's mother, for the death of William Clarell in 1376. (*CFR 1368-77*, p. 377; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 35.) William had married Elizabeth, daughter of William Raygate, and sister and co-heiress of James Raygate. (NA DDFJ/1/214/4.) The wardship and marriage of their son, Thomas Clarell I, was sold to Sir John Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough and Sir John Clinton for 200 marks in 1381. (Lodge and Somerville [eds.], *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83*, ii, pp. 298, 359.) Thomas had come of age by 1389 when he received a grant of the manor of Steeton from Sir John Felton. (NA DDFJ/4/33/17.) In the following year, he received another grant of the manors of Steeton and Woodhall from Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Ledes, in return for an annuity of 38 marks. (NA DDFJ/4/33/19.) Thomas also seems to have initially held a variety of other manors, including Newton, Penistone and Waterhall. (NA DDFJ/4/33/21.) He granted the latter to his son John in 1403. (NA DDFJ/4/34/1.) Thomas Clarell married Maud (d. 1457), daughter of the prominent Lancastrian Sir Nicholas Montgomery (d.c. 1424) of Cubley and Marston (Derby.) With his father-in-law, he joined Bolingbroke's forces in 1399 and was paid £26 13s. 4d. in war wages. (DL42/15, fol. 70.) He was retained by Prince Henry in 1411 and was a king's esquire by 1416. (*CPR 1422-9*, p. 66; *CPR 1416-22*, pp. 82-3.) He was also a retainer of Edward, duke of York, by 1415. (*CCR 1429-35*, p. 260). Thereafter, he pursued a successful career in local administration. The fact that his own son was also called Thomas makes identification confusing at times, but it seems that Thomas I served as sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1413 and 1422, and probably as escheator of Yorkshire in 1427 and 1434. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 79; *List of Escheators*, p. 192.) Between them, father and son were appointed to every commission of the peace issued for the West Riding between 1420 and 1450. Thomas Clarell I was appointed to the *quorum* in 1420. (C66/403, m. 20d.) He regularly attended sessions of the peace between 1422 and 1437. (See Appendix 6.) It is uncertain when his son replaced him on the bench, but, since no payments survive, it seems unlikely that he ever took up his seat. In 1408, Thomas I secured the hand of Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Scrope (d. 1405) of Hollinhall for his eldest son. Through her, Thomas II acquired a life interest in the North Riding manor of Sedbury. (NA DDFJ/4/34/2-3; CP25/1/280/155, m. 34; *VCH, North Riding*, i, p. 79.) His eldest daughter, Margaret, married (1) John Fitzwilliam II (d. 1421) of Sprotbrough, in or after 1410, (2) Robert Waterton (d. 1425) of Methley (for whom Clarell served as a

testamentary supervisor), and (3) Sir William Gascoigne III (d.c. 1466) of Gawthorpe. (SA CD2; Whitehead, 'Robert Waterton', *New DNB* [forthcoming]; *HC, 1386-1421*, ii, p. 162; Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 86.) Upon Sir John Fitzwilliam I's death in 1417, Clarell was granted the keeping of his son-in-law's inheritance, initially with Richard Wentworth and then with William Kinwolmarsh. (*CFR 1413-22*, p. 244; DL42/17, fol. 50.) He subsequently served as a trustee for John Fitzwilliam II (SA WWM/D/77; C139/5/41; SA CD/3; *CCR 1422-29*, pp. 2, 40.) Another daughter, Elizabeth, married John Gresley (d. 1449) in 1422. (Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 224.) The elder Thomas was distrained in 1410, and again with his son in 1439. (E198/4/39, m. 35; E159/217.) He drew up his will on 20 November 1441 and drowned in the River Don on 1 May in the following year. (BI Reg. Test. ii, fol. 396; *CFR 1437-45*, p. 231; C139/110/42.) His wife died intestate in 1457, when administration was granted to John Clarell of Marshburgh Hall, her only surviving son and a former servant of Archbishop Henry Bowet. (BI Reg. Booth, 268v; Stell and Hampson [eds.], *Probate Inventories*, pp. 108-9; *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 400-1.) The younger Thomas was born around 1402 and seems to have begun his career under Henry V in France in 1421/2. (E101/70/6/732.) His daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Sir Richard Fitzwilliam (d. 1479) of Wadworth. Thomas II was dead by 15 July 1450, when administration was granted to his mother (BI Reg. Test. ii, fol. 210v.) He was buried alongside his father at Tickhill Friary (*VCH, Yorks.*, iii, p. 280.) His widow married John Pilkington. (CP25/1/181/161, m. 6; NA DDFJ/4/38/2.) The family estates descended to the Fitzwilliams of Wadworth.

#### Dauney of Cowick

Originally from Escrick (E. Riding), the family acquired Cowick in the fourteenth century, through the marriage of Thomas Dauney (d. 1391) to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Newton of Snaith. (*CIPM 1384-92*, pp. 394-6.) Around 1387, their son John married Ellen, daughter of John Barden of York. (*Yorks. Deeds*, ix, pp. 72-3.) An able administrator, John Dauney I was serving as deputy steward of the honour of Tickhill under Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) by 1409. (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 528.) Becoming a JP in 1415, he and Waterton undertook the bulk of the work of the West Riding *quorum* during the reign of Henry V. (E372/264, rot. 11; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 297.) In 1416, Dauney, Waterton and Nicholas Colne were commissioned to undertake repairs to Pontefract Castle. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 344.) During his career, Dauney was also appointed to a variety of ad hoc commissions, of inquiry (1400, 1415, 1425), *de walliis* (1413, 1419), and of array (1417). (*CCR 1399-1402*, p. 183; *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 37, 348; *1416-22*, pp. 144, 269; *1422-9*, p. 279.) He and Robert Waterton were close personal friends, serving as attorneys, feoffees and witnesses for one another on numerous occasions, and Dauney witnessed Waterton's will in 1425. (WYAS LDA MX 98/2; MX 851/12, 28; *Yorks. Deeds*, ix, pp. 75-6; x, p. 154.) Dauney himself died in the

following year, on 13 July. (*CFR 1422-20*, p. 111; *C139/24/35*.) His son, John II (c. 1400-49), married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Lound of South Cave (E. Riding). In 1439, he was distrained of knighthood. (Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 72.) However, he played little part in local affairs and died on 7 July 1449. (*C139/134/22*.) Margaret drew up her will on 12 May 1455. It was proved on 9 December. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 193-4.) Their own son, John III (d. 1497), was born at Cowick on 21 September 1429. He married Agnes, sister of Brian Roucliff (d. 1495) of Cowick, and proved his age in 1450. (*C139/144/47*; *CCR 1447-54*, p. 207. For his biography, see Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 53.)

### Depeden of Healaugh

The family seat of the Depedens was at Healaugh, but they had also acquired the manors of Tibthorp and Thorp Arch in 1349. (*CCR 1349-54*, p. 24; *CIM 1348-77*, p. 9-10.) Sir John Depeden (d. 1402) was the son of another Sir John and his wife, Maud. (*Yorks. Deeds*, i, pp. 168-9; *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 294-5.) He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Stephen Waleys. (*CPR 1396-9*, p. 345; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 10, n. 2.) She had previously been married to Sir William Neville, one of Richard II's chamber knights, and predeceased her second husband. Sir John was active in local administration during the last years of the fourteenth century and served on a number of commissions. (*CPR 1396-9*, pp. 52, 101, 310, 313.) In addition, he joined the West Riding peace commission in 1394 and received payment for attendance at twelve sessions between 7 October 1392 and 6 October 1402. (*CPR 1391-6*, p. 439; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 313; see Appendix 6.) Depeden served as a trustee for Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1394) of Carlton in 1392. (*CIPM 1391-9*, p. 214.) In the following year, he was appointed as an executor of Stapleton's will, from whom he also received a bequest. (*Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 198-201.) In 1399, he was appointed as an attorney by the king's knight Sir Richard Redman. (*CPR 1396-9*, p. 519.) Depeden lacked any specific Lancastrian connection prior to 1399 but seems to have been associated both with the Nevilles and the Percys. (Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 286.) It has already been mentioned that Depeden married the widow of Sir William Neville. In 1386, Sir William's brother, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, served as a mainpernor for Sir John Depeden and Edmund Fitzwilliam. (*CCR 1385-9*, p. 150.) The favour was returned when Depeden was subsequently granted the keeping of the manor of Leverton to the use and profit of the archbishop. (*CIM 1387-93*, p. 79; *CFR 1391-9*, p. 283.) Depeden served with Robert Neville of Farnley as a mainpernor for Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, in 1392. (*CCR 1392-6*, p. 76.) In 1398, Henry, earl of Northumberland, enfeoffed Depeden, Miles Stapleton, Richard Gascoigne, John Ingilby and others with two parts of the manor of Hunmanby for the life of Sir John and his wife. (*CPR 1396-9*, p. 432.) The nature of his settlement is obscure but the date suggests a connection with

the tenurial history of Healaugh. The manor of Hunmanby formed part of the Orreby inheritance, which had descended to the earl's half-sister, Mary, daughter of Henry Percy (d. 1368) and Joan, daughter and heiress of John, Lord Orreby. Upon Mary's death in 1394, the Percys had entered into a complicated settlement with the other Orreby heirs. As a consequence, they received a number of Orreby estates, including Hunmanby. (Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 9.) The year in which Sir John and Elizabeth Depeden received a life interest in the manor of Hunmanby therefore roughly coincided with the period in which Healaugh was entailed upon the earl of Northumberland (Oct. 1397-Sept. 1399.) Sir John Depeden retained a life interest in the manor, but Healaugh was ultimately acquired by the Percys. (Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 9.) During the last three years of his life, the Lancastrian revolution led to a dramatic improvement in Depeden's fortunes, when he followed other members of the Neville affinity into royal service. It is not known exactly when the last Ricardian sheriff of Yorkshire died. Sir James Pickering had been appointed to the shrievalty on 3 November 1397 and is considered to have served as Richard II's lieutenant in the West Riding during the 'tyranny'. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162; Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 303.) He then went on to serve on a commission of arrests in Westmorland in June 1398, but is not heard of again. It has been suggested that Pickering was dead by January 1399. Ultimately, Sir John Depeden accounted for Pickering's term in office and succeeded him as sheriff on 30 September 1399. (Roskell, *Parliament and Politics*, iii, pp. 24-5; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 168.) Although Depeden is not known to have received any military wages for his part in the Lancastrian revolution, the timing of his appointment during the crisis of 1399 emphasises the degree to which he was acceptable to the new king. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that almost fifty percent of the kingdom's shrievalties were granted to Lancastrians on the first day of the reign. (Biggs, 'Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace', p. 153.) As sheriff, he also received appointment to the commission of array issued for the West Riding in December 1399. (*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 213.) Shortly afterwards, his Lancastrian sympathies were recognised by his appointment as a king's knight (Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 288.) He is not heard of again until July 1401, when his mother released the manor of Thorp Arch and the advowson of Nun Monkton Priory to two chaplains, Thomas Hulot and William Flaxton. The nature of this family settlement is again uncertain but it is possible that Thorp Arch formed part of Maud's dower. Certainly, Sir John was required to quitclaim the same manor in the following month. (*Yorks. Deeds*, i, pp. 168-9.) Both Hulot and Flaxton may well have served as family chaplains since both were appointed by Sir John as executors, together with Depeden's neighbour, Sir Henry Vavasour (d. 1415) of Hazlewood, Richard Norton and Robert Wyclif, rector of Hutton Rudby, when he drew up his will on 20 August 1402. The witness list was headed by John Darell, vicar of Thorp Arch. Depeden must have died shortly afterwards, since probate was granted on 19 December. (*Test Ebor.*, i, pp. 294-9.) He is not known to have had any children.



Dronsfield of West Bretton

See *HC, 1386-1421*, ii, pp. 801-2.

Fairfax of Walton

Members of the Fairfax family were closely associated with the Percys throughout the fifteenth century. Richard Fairfax (d.c. 1434) of Steeton was the eldest son of Thomas Fairfax (d. 1394) of Walton. (*Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 203-4.) In July 1403, he was one of several leading members of the Percy affinity in Yorkshire arrested on suspicion of treason. (*CPR 1401-5*, p. 297; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 343.) By 1423, he was an officer of Henry (d. 1455), second earl of Northumberland, probably serving as his receiver in Yorkshire. (Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 249. Richard died before September 1434, and was survived by his wife, Eustacia. (CP25/1/280/156, m. 23; 157, m. 17.) His younger brother, Guy Fairfax, apparently retained the ancestral manor of Walton. A common lawyer, Guy Fairfax served as a JP in the West Riding from 1431 until his death, and also received appointment to the commission of the peace for the liberty of Ripon on 14 July 1433. (See above, Appendices 4a, 4b, and 6.) In addition, he served on a number of ad hoc commissions in the region. (See *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 280, 301, 426, 522, 524, 536; *1436-41*, pp. 90, 145, 250; *1441-6*, pp. 62, 79, 200.) He was retained of counsel by Robert Waterton II (d. 1475) by Michaelmas 1427, St Leonard's hospital in 1430, the prior and convent of Durham in 1431, and the mayor and council of York by 1433. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 12; *CCR 1429-35*, p. 166; Dobson, *Durham Priory*, p. 132.) He maintained the family connection with the Percys. On 15 December 1433, he was granted lands at West Walton by the earl of Northumberland in place of an annual fee. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 12; WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 4.) He made his will on 5 October 1446. Probate was granted seventeen days later. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 124-5.) His nephew, Guy Fairfax (d. 1495) of Steeton, was a JP in the riding from 1456. (See above, Appendices 4a and 6.) Another common lawyer, Guy Fairfax (d. 1495) held office as deputy steward of the Percy barony of Spofforth from 30 April 1451. He was also in receipt of a life annuity of £10 from the earl of Northumberland. (WSRO PHA D9/6, m. 3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92n.) In 1459, he was one of those commissioned to investigate whether Henry Walron, bailiff of the earl of Warwick's lordship of Bawtry, was guilty of sedition. (*CPR 1452-61*, p. 518.) Retained by the Duchy of Lancaster as an apprentice-at-law between 1460 and 1465, subsequently he was promoted to king's serjeant (1468), chief justice at Lancaster (1477), a justice of King's Bench (1477), and became a knight of the Bath in 1478. (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 452-469; Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 313-4; Sainty, *Law Officers*, p. 11; Baker, *Order of Serjeants*, p. 11; Sainty, *Judges of England*, p. 510; *DNB*, xvii, p. 134.)

### Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough

The senior line of the Fitzwilliam family had been seated at Emley and Sprotbrough in South Yorkshire since the twelfth century. (Clay [ed.], *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 28.) The family also held Darthington and West Haddlesey in Yorkshire, and the Nottinghamshire manor of Plumtree. (Baildon [ed.], *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 144-5.) Sir John Fitzwilliam (d. 1417) married Eleanor (d. 1421), daughter of Sir Henry Green of Drayton, Northamptonshire. Dower was assigned to Eleanor in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire in 1418. (C138/35/62, 64; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 469.) His son, another John (d. 1421), initially became a ward of his father-in-law, Thomas Clarell (d. 1442) of Aldwark, Richard Wentworth and William Kinwolmarsh, but proved his age in the same year. (*CFR 1413-22*, p. 244; DL42/17, fol. 50; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 476; Baildon [ed.], *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 146-7.) A prenuptial agreement had been sealed for John's marriage to Margaret Clarell in 1410. The couple were married by 1412 when Sir John Fitzwilliam granted Clarell the manor of Darthington for eight years in return for a cash portion of 450 marks. After this period, the property was settled upon John and Margaret as her jointure. (SA CD/2; C139/5/41.) Their marriage, however, was destined to be shortlived, as John Fitzwilliam died on campaign at Rouen in 1421. (C139/5/41.) After his death, she married (1) Robert Waterton (d. 1425) of Methley and (2) Sir William Gascoigne (d.c. 1466) of Gawthorpe. Fitzwilliam seems to have enfeoffed the greater part of his inheritance upon a group of trustees shortly before his departure for France. These were headed by Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham and William Kinwolmarsh, the treasurer of England, but also included Thomas Clarell, Richard Wentworth and John Melton. (SA WWM/D/77; C139/5/41; SA CD/3; *CCR 1422-9*, pp. 2-3, 40.) John Fitzwilliam was succeeded by his own son, William (1417-1474), who became a ward of Sir Thomas Chaworth (d. 1459) of Wiverton, Notts. (*CFR 1430-37*, p. 76.) Thereafter, William was married to Chaworth's daughter, Elizabeth. (Payling, *Political Society*, p. 232.) The tradition of knighthood had by now well and truly lapsed. William Fitzwilliam was distrained in 1457, and was still an esquire at the time of his death. (E198/4/24, m. 1; C140/56/40.) A monumental brass of the couple still survives in Sprotbrough parish church. Unlike the Fitzwilliams of Wadworth, the main line of the family seems to have played no part in local administration. However, a younger son of Sir John Fitzwilliam founded another branch of the family at Adwick le Street. Nicholas Fitzwilliam (d. 1460) served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1433, 1438 and 1442. (*List of Escheators*, pp. 192-3.) He regularly received appointment to the West Riding bench between 1436 and 1458, and was paid for attending sessions of the peace between 1447 and 1448. (See Appendix 6.) He attested the elections of knights of the shire for Yorkshire in 1435 and in 1442, either with his own son, John, or a younger son of Edmund Fitzwilliam (d. 1430). (C219/14/5, m. 29; 15/2, m. 23; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 281-2; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i, p. 252.) Nicholas was almost certainly married

to Margaret, a daughter and co-heiress of John Tansley (d.c. 1418) of Nottingham. (Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, i.) If this is correct, then he was the brother-in-law of his close associate, Richard Wentworth (d.c. 1449) of West Bretton. It is uncertain whether Nicholas inherited any Tansley estates in Nottinghamshire, but he was returned as a knight of the shire for the county in 1447. (*Return of the Name*, i, p. 336.) Fitzwilliam may have been killed at Northampton in 1460. (Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 335.) John Fitzwilliam of Adwick succeeded his father and was granted a life annuity of 10 marks by Richard, duke of York in 1460. He subsequently embarked upon a career in local administration, becoming escheator of Yorkshire in 1467, and receiving appointment to the West Riding bench between 1467 and 1470. (*CPR 1461-7*, p. 121; *List of Escheators*, p. 193; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 80.) He died in 1498. (*CIPM Henry VII*, ii, p. 155.)

### Fitzwilliam of Wadworth

A branch of the Fitzwilliam family was established at Wadworth by Edmund Fitzwilliam I (1360-1430), a younger brother of Sir John Fitzwilliam (d. 1417) of Sprotbrough. Edmund enjoyed an active administrative career in Yorkshire, which owed much to his connections with the house of York. He had entered the service of Edward of York by 1397 when he was appointed steward of Burstwick in Holderness. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.) When the Lancastrian honour of Pontefract was regranted by Richard II to Edward (then duke of Aumale) in 1399, Fitzwilliam briefly held office as constable. (Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 301.) Thereafter, he appears to have entered the service of Duke Edmund, becoming steward of his Yorkshire estates in 1401. He received a life grant of the office of constable of Conisbrough Castle from Duke Edward in 1410. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 377.) It was in this capacity that he was responsible for the safe delivery of Richard of York into the wardship of Robert Waterton at Methley in 1416. (Wright, 'House of York', p. 41.) Although his commission does not survive, Fitzwilliam evidently served as a justice of the peace for the West Riding between 23 May 1409 and 23 December 1411. He was reappointed to the bench in 1422 and is known to have attended quarter sessions until at least 14 March 1430. (See Appendix 6.) He also served on a number of local commissions and became escheator of Yorkshire in 1413 and 1428. (*List of Escheators*, p. 192.) Fitzwilliam married Maud (d. 1433), daughter of Sir John Hothom of Scarborough. Upon Edmund's death, she married into the Strother family. (NA DDFJ 4/36/2.) In 1433, Thomas Strother leased the bailiwick of Osgoldcross from the honour of Pontefract for £25. (DL29/732/12036, m. 3.) Fitzwilliam was succeeded by his son, Edmund II. He married (1) Katherine (d. 1435), daughter of Sir John Clifton (d. 1403) of Clifton, Notts., and (2) Catherine Welles (d. 1477), a lady-in-waiting to both Maud, countess of Cambridge, and Cecily, duchess of York. (Payling, *Political Society*, p. 204; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 118; *CPR 1461-7*, p. 335.) In 1439,

Fitzwilliam was distrained of knighthood. (Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 73.) He was named an executor of Countess Maud's will in 1446, and attested the election of knights of the shire for Yorkshire in 1449, and Suffolk in 1450. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 118; C219/15/7, m. 26; Virgoe, 'Three Suffolk Parliamentary Elections', p. 188.) Edmund II, like his father, proved to be a loyal servant of the house of York. He was serving as a feoffee for Duke Richard by 1453 and, in the same year, was indicted at Norwich with the duke's chamberlain, Sir William Oldhall, for inciting Cade's Revolt in 1450. (*CPR 1452-61*, p.71; Virgoe, 'Three Suffolk Parliamentary Elections', p. 188.) During the height of civil war in 1460, Fitzwilliam held Conisbrough Castle for the duke, which he successfully equipped with artillery seized from Shrewsbury's manor at Sheffield. (Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp. 223, 231.) In 1461, Fitzwilliam was granted the office of constable of Tickhill Castle by Edward IV, as a reward for his services to Duke Richard. He also continued to serve as constable of Conisbrough. In 1465, both offices were jointly regranted to Fitzwilliam and his eldest son, Sir Richard. Edmund was by now a king's esquire. (DL37/30/223; *CPR 1461-7*, pp. 14, 479; DL37/33/38.) He may also have been the man connected with the duke of Norfolk. If not, it was his namesake who was appointed as deputy marshal of the Marshalsea by John, duke of Norfolk. It was in this capacity that he had been assaulted in Westminster Hall by a Norfolk esquire in 1438. (*CPR 1436-41*, p. 198.) This man was a feoffee of Duke John by 1448. (*CPR 1446-52*, p. 145.) In the same year a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* was commissioned to investigate the complaint of Sir Roger Wingfield that the duke of Norfolk, Edmund Fitzwilliam and John Leventhorp had laid siege to his Suffolk manor of Letherington. (*CPR 1446-52*, p. 236.) He was finally appointed as keeper of Caistor Castle by the duke. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 55.) Fitzwilliam died in 1465, and it is said that both he and his wife were buried at Conisbrough (Wright, 'Dukes of York', p. 241; *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 227.) However, a fine tomb-chest to Edmund and his first wife survives in Wadworth parish church nearby that of his parents. He was succeeded by his own son, Sir Richard Fitzwilliam (d. 1479) of Aldwark, whose marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Clarell II (d. 1450), vastly increased the family's fortunes. (C140/69/1.) Sir Richard was a devoted Yorkist who had been retained by Duke Richard as an esquire in 1460, and went on to play a particularly prominent role in local affairs under Edward IV. (*CPR 1461-7*, p. 46.) He succeeded his father as constable of Conisbrough and Tickhill, and became a king's knight in 1470 (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 73, 529.) He also served on the West Riding commission, and was appointed to the shrievalties of Yorkshire (1465) and Lincolnshire (1468). (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 55.)

Gascoigne of Gawthorpe

A family noted for their Lancastrian loyalties, the Gascoignes benefited considerably from the accession of Henry IV. On 15 November 1400, William Gascoigne I (d. 1419) of Gawthorpe, who had served as Bolingbroke's attorney during his exile, became chief justice of King's Bench. (*CCR 1399-1402*, p. 219; Sainty, *Judges of England*, p. 8; *DNB*, vii, p. 924.) His younger brother, Richard, was paid £3 15s. 1d. in war wages and served as chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy of Lancaster until 1407. William, Richard, and their brother, Nicholas, all received appointment to the West Riding commission of the peace during the reign. (See below, Gascoigne of Hunslet and Lasingscroft.) William Gascoigne was not reappointed as chief justice on the accession of Henry V, but continued to serve as a JP in the West Riding until his death. (Sainty, *Judges of England*, p. 8. See above, Appendix 4a.) He made his will on 15 December 1419, and died two days later. The administration of his will was undertaken by his brother, Nicholas, and his nephew, Alfred Manston. By his first wife, Elizabeth Mowbray, William Gascoigne had one son, William II (d. 1422). After her death, he married Joan Pickering, who survived him and died in 1426. William Gascoigne and his first wife are commemorated by a magnificent tomb-chest in Harewood parish church. (Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, pp. 9-10, 97-8; *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 390-5, 410.) His son, William II, married Joan, daughter of Sir Henry Wyman, and was knighted by October 1419. He was returned to parliament for Yorkshire in 1421. On 17 February 1422, he was appointed steward, constable, and master forester of the Duchy honour of Knaresborough. However, he was apparently killed at the siege of Meaux on 28 March. Shortly before his embarkation for France in 1421, he drew up a brief will and placed his estates in trust. The Yorkshire manors of Thorp Arch, Shipley, Cottingley and Burghwallis, and a sizeable estate in Somerset, were settled as a jointure upon his wife. However, Joan experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining her jointure, which she only finally recovered in 1426. (*Return of the Name*, p. 298; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 523; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 161-2; *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 402-3; C139/7/56; *CCR 1422-9*, p. 245.) Their son, also William, came of age in 1426, shortly after his clandestine marriage to Margaret, daughter of Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark. He represented Yorkshire in the parliaments of 1431, 1435, and probably also in 1453, and served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1441. (Gooder [ed.], *Parliamentary Representation*, p. 187; *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 325; CP25/1/280/155, m. 42; *Return of the Name*, pp. 320, 328, 349; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) On 26 September 1444, he was pardoned for his involvement in the death of a collier, named Thomas Dawson, at Tadcaster. (KB27/734, Rex rot. 4; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 297.) During his career, he was also appointed to commissions to raise loans (1421, 1439), of array (1434, 1436), gaol delivery (1433), inquiry (1435), and to distribute allowances on taxes (1436). (*CFR 1430-37*, p. 283; *CPR 1429-36*, pp. 126, 349, 360, 522, 531-2; *1436-41*, p. 250.) His

eldest son, William IV, joined the commission of the peace for the West Riding on 8 December 1459, and was included in the commission of array issued for the riding on 21 December. This man was knighted by the earl of Northumberland after the battle of Wakefield on 30 December. Sir William IV certainly predeceased his father, and may have been killed at either the second battle of St Albans or at Towton in 1461. Sir William III himself was pardoned for all treasons in July 1461. He is said to have died in c. 1466. He and his wife were buried in Harewood parish church beneath an ornate altar-tomb. (*CPR 1452-61*, p. 559; Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p. 122; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 152; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 364; Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, pp. 27-32.)

#### Gascoigne of Hunslet

Richard Gascoigne was the youngest brother of William Gascoigne I (d. 1419) of Gawthorpe. An apprentice-at-law, he had been marshal of the exchequer since 1384. In 1399, he joined Bolingbroke's army and received £3 15s. 1d. in war wages. He also served as chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy of Lancaster between 1400 and 1407. (DL42/15, fol. 70; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 386, 418.) First appointed to the commission of the peace for the West Riding on 12 November 1397, he performed the duties of the *quorum* largely single-handed for most of the reign of Henry IV. Throughout this period, he consolidated his estate at Hunslet and Cat Beeston. (*CPR 1396-9*, p. 236; CP25/1/279/150, mm. 11-12; 279/152, m. 9; 280/154, m. 39.) During his career, he was appointed to commissions of inquiry (1413), and *de walliis* (1419, 1422). (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 115; 1416-22, pp. 203, 424; 1422-9, p. 36.) He also served as a feoffee of John (d. 1422), Lord Clifford. (C139/159/33; Bod. Lib. Dodsworth MS 83, fols. 38, 54v; *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 115, 320; *CFR 1422-30*, pp. 29-30; *CCR 1422-9*, p. 5.) His will, dated 3 February 1423, was proved on 23 April. His executors were his wife, Beatrice, daughter of Henry Elys of Hunslet, William Scargill I, his nephew, Alfred Manston, and his son, Thomas. (*Test. Ebor.*, i, p. 403.) Thomas Gascoigne subsequently served as chancellor of Oxford University. Richard's eldest daughter, Alice (d. 1481), married Sir Thomas Neville (d. 1438) of Liversedge. (Pronger, 'Thomas Gascoigne', pp. 606-26.)

#### Gascoigne of Lasingcroft

A third branch of the Gascoigne family was descended from Nicholas Gascoigne, another brother of William Gascoigne I (d. 1419) of Gawthorpe. Nicholas Gascoigne purchased the manor of Lasingcroft from Geoffrey Lasingcroft in 1392. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 5.) On 3 March 1399, Nicholas was retained by Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey. One week later, he was granted a tun of wine by Richard II. (*CPR 1422-9*, p. 57; WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 11.) After

the Lancastrian revolution, he served as a JP in the riding between 1401 and 1405, and is known to have attended quarter sessions. (Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', pp. 294-5; E137/49/2B, mm. 1-4; E372/248, rot. 12; 254, rot. 11d; 259, rot. 7d. See Appendix 4a.) On 8 May 1404, he received from the king a grant of the wardship of John Cawood (d. 1454), which he purchased for 45 marks. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 12. See Baildon [ed.], *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, p. 40; C139/157/19.) He apparently married Mary Clitherow, widow of John Tempest (d.c. 1390) of Studley. In 1405, the couple renounced their claim of Studley. In exchange, William Tempest I (d.c. 1440) and his mother, Isabel, granted Mary an annual rent of £5 out of the manor. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, pp. 7-14.) On 20 August 1419, Gascoigne agreed to the marriage of his son, John, to Isabel, daughter of William Heton. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 15.) Nicholas Gascoigne made his will on 6 July 1427. His inquisition *post mortem* was held on 9 July 1428. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 16a.) John Gascoigne, a common lawyer, was exempted from the administration of his father's will because he had previously conveyed all his lands to John Thwaites (d. 1469) of Lofthouse, William Authorpe, rector of Deighton, and Robert Rawdon of Aberford (d. 1442). (WYAS LDA CG/F/5/1, pp. 39, 41.) In 1441, John Gascoigne was appointed under-sheriff of Yorkshire by his kinsman, Sir William Gascoigne III of Gawthorpe. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 16.) In the same year, he agreed to the marriage of his own son, William, to Joan, daughter of William Beckwith of Clint. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, pp. 16-17a.) He died in 1445, in which year letters of administration were granted to his kinsman, George Heton of York, and John Richardson of Leeds. (WYAS GC/F/5/1 p. 16.) In 1448, William Gascoigne took possession of Lasincroft from John Thwaites, his grandfather's sole surviving trustee. He promptly granted the reversion of the manor to his mother, Isabel, and her second husband, Sir Ralph Greystoke. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, pp. 31-2, 39, 41.) He made his will on 7 November 1475. (Lumb [ed.], *Barwick-in-Elmet Wills*, pp. 6-7.)

#### Goldsburgh of Goldsbrough

Sir Richard Goldsburgh I (c. 1364-c. 1428) of Goldsbrough, the son of another Richard and Joan, daughter of Sir Ralph Cromwell, was a knight of the chamber to Henry IV. (Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 287; Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV', p. 812.) In March 1400, he received an annuity of £40 charged upon the customs of Lincoln, which was subsequently transferred to the exchequer since Lincoln had no port. (*CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 230, 236.) However, he played only a limited role in local administration, receiving appointment to a single commission of array in the West Riding in July 1410. (*CPR 1408-13*, p. 224.) In 1423, a marriage was contracted between his son Richard and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Norton CJKB. Sir Richard Goldsburgh II is not known to have played any part in local administration. His will was proved on 17 February 1439. His son and heir, Thomas, initially became a ward of

Sir Thomas Chaworth. In 1447, he was returned with the archers in Claro wapentake as an able person, being in harness. In common with many other wealthy West Riding esquires during this period, he never assumed the dignity of knighthood, being distrained in 1457. (E198/4/24, m. 1; Goldsbrough, *Memorials of the Goldesborough Family*, pp. 80-2.)

#### Harrington of Brierley

See Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, pp. 80-1; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 561-2, 824; Gooder [ed.], *Parliamentary Representation*, i, pp. 202-4; Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 319-20; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 423-7.

#### Hastings of Fenwick

See *Complete Peerage*, vi, pp. 358-61.

#### Ingilby of Ripley

See Lancaster, *The Early History of Ripley and the Ingilby Family*.

#### Langton of Farnley

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 560-2; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 58.

#### Markenfield of Markenfield

The Markenfields were seated at Markenfield Hall, near Ripon, which they had licence to crenellate in 1309. (Fowler [ed.], *Memorials of Ripon*, ii, p. 185. Thomas Markenfield (*fl.* 1421) was the son of another Thomas, whom he had succeeded by 1399, and Dionysia. (Fowler [ed.], *Memorials of Ripon*, iv, p. 178.) In 1408, he was granted an annuity of 40 marks by Henry IV as a reward for his part in the defeat of the earl of Northumberland. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 437.) Although distrained in 1410, he was knighted between April 1415 and November 1416. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 299; Fowler [ed.], *Memorials of Ripon*, iv, p. 248.) Apart from serving as a commissioner of array in the West Riding in 1410, Sir Thomas played little part in local administration. (*CPR 1408-13*, p. 224.) He was buried in the collegiate church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, where his magnificent tomb-chest can still be seen. His effigy bears a Lancastrian livery collar attributed to Bolingbroke as earl of Derby. (Routh and Knowles, 'The Markenfield Collar', pp. 133-40.) Thomas Markenfield's son John (*fl.* 1459) married Margaret, daughter of John Hopton (d. 1478) of Swillington, but was himself never knighted, preferring to



pay a fine in 1458. (E198/4/16, m. 1.) John Markenfield also appears to have been disinterested in holding local politics, although he occupied Knaresborough on behalf of the earl of Salisbury in September 1459. (Wheater, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, pp. 188-9.) His own heir, another Thomas (d. 1497), was retained by Richard of Gloucester in 1471 and eventually became a knight of the body. He served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1484-5. (Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 96.)

#### Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 702-3; Arnold, *West Riding*, ii, pp. 59-60.

#### Mauleverer of Wothersome

A junior branch of the great West Riding knightly family of Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer had established itself at Potter Newton by 1333. Robert Mauleverer I (c. 1372-1443) and his wife, Elizabeth, acquired the manor of Wothersome in the early fifteenth century, which subsequently became the family seat. ('Ingleby Arncliffe', pp. 168-9, 187-8.) His younger brother, John Mauleverer (d. 1451), established another branch of the family at Cusworth, which he purchased from Richard Ledes in 1403. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 148-9; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i, p. 349.) Robert Mauleverer built his administrative career upon service to the house of Lancaster. In 1403, he was already described as 'the king's servant' in a grant of lands forfeited by John Nowell on account of his rebellion. (*CPR 1401-5*, p. 252.) In the following year, he became sub-escheator of Yorkshire. (C1/12/222.) After the execution of Richard Scrope in 1405, he was appointed as a custodian of the temporalities of the archbishopric of York. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 23.) In 1406, however, his circumstances dramatically improved after his unexpected promotion from under-sheriff to sheriff of Yorkshire following the death of his predecessor, Sir William Dronsfield. (*CFR 1405-13*, p. 44.) He held office for a little over two months before being replaced by Sir John Etton on 22 November. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) He seems to have been instrumental in the defeat of the earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf and was rewarded with a life grant of the mills under York Castle in 1408. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 435.) When the custody of the mills was regranted to Thomas Welburne of York in 1413, Mauleverer successfully petitioned for their return. (SC6/1088/18; NYCRO ZFL 89; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 260.) He was still in possession in 1441, when the mills were regranted in survivorship to himself and John Langton II of Farnley. (*CPR 1436-41*, p. 556.) He served as a JP in Ripon between 1412 and 1433, and as the archbishop of York's attorney at the county court between 1414 and 1436. (*CPR 1408-13*, p. 487; *1413-16*, p. 426, *1429-36*, p. 628; C219/12 3, m. 23; 12/4, m. 26; 12/6, m. 26; 14/1, m. 32; 14/2, m. 26; 14/3, m. 27; 15/1, m. 33; Gooder [ed.],

*Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 237.) He was also steward of Otley at the time of the disturbances between the Percys and Archbishop Kemp in 1440. (Stapleton [ed.], *The Plumpton Correspondence*, p. lvii.) In an administrative career which spanned thirty years, he also twice served as escheator of Yorkshire, in 1430 and 1432, and was placed on numerous ad hoc commissions, of arrest (1403, 1405, 1429), inquiry (1406, 1410), array (1415), and *de walliis* (1419). (*List of Escheators*, p. 192; *CPR 1401-5*, p. 297; *1405-8*, pp. 67, 229; *1408-13*, pp. 179, 473; *1413-16*, pp. 111, 407; *1416-22*, p. 269; *1429-36*, p. 73.) He seems to have retired soon after his second term as escheator and died in July 1443, having in the previous year made detailed provisions for the conveyance of his lands to his wife, with remainder to their son, William. (NYCRO ZFL 1, mm. 5d-6d; 'Ingleby Arncliffe', pp. 188-9.) Sir William Mauleverer married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Colville (d. 1418) of Dale, from whom he obtained the manor of Ingleby Arncliffe (N. Riding). In 1446, he leased Wothersome to his eldest son, another Robert. ('Ingleby Arncliffe', pp. 189-90, 217-8.) Robert II had entered the service of the earl of Northumberland before 1442, by which time he was in receipt of an annuity of £5. (WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 5.) He was subsequently indicted for plotting the assassination of the duke of York and his fellow commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer* at Wothersome in 1454. (KB9/149/9/7; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 348.) It was probably this man, and not John Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer, who was knighted by Northumberland at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. Sir William and Robert Mauleverer were possible casualties of the battle of Towton in the following year. (Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 45 and n. 26, 152.)

#### Melton of Aston

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 714-5; Gooder (ed.), *Parliamentary Representation*, i, pp. 200-2; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 583-4.

#### Neville of Farnley and Brierley

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, pp. 821-4.

#### Plumpton of Plumpton

Probably the best documented of all West Riding gentry families, the Plumptons are known to have established themselves at Plumpton within the Percy barony of Spofforth by 1166. (Kirby, 'A Northern Knightly Family', p. 86.) In Yorkshire, the family also possessed the manors of Grassington, Idle, Nesfield, Steeton, and Studley Roger. (Baildon [ed.], *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 60-1; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 91.) The family benefited greatly from the marriage of Sir

Robert Plumpton I (1341-1407) to Isabel (d. 1419/20), daughter of Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham. Determined to improve their position even further, his son Sir William Plumpton I purchased the marriage of the wealthy midlands heiress Alice Foljambe for his own son, Robert II, in 1392. She brought her husband eleven manors in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, centred upon Kinoulton. (*HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 91; Stapleton [ed.], *Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. xxvi-vii; Kirby [ed.], *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 2.) In 1405, however, Sir William was executed for his participation in the ill-fated rebellion of his uncle, Archbishop Scrope. Henry IV quickly issued royal pardons to Sir Robert Plumpton I and his grandson. In addition, Sir Robert was confirmed in the annuity of £20 which had been granted to him by John of Gaunt. After his death, the annuity was transferred to his grandson, who had been knighted by October 1411. Sir Robert II played a relatively active role in local affairs. He represented Yorkshire in the parliaments of 1411 and March 1416, and probably both Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire in the parliament of April 1414. (*HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 90-2.) He was appointed to a variety of ad hoc commissions, of array (1410), *oyer* and *terminer* (1411), of arrest (1414), and to raise loans (1419, 1420). (*CPR 1408-13*, pp. 224, 375; 1413-16, pp. 250, 292; *CFR 1413-22*, p. 317.) He also served as steward and constable of the Lancastrian honour of Knaresborough from 1414. (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 523, 525.) On 15 October 1415, he was retained for life by John, duke of Bedford. (Jones and Walker [eds.], 'Private Indentures for Life Service', pp. 144-5.) Owing to the longevity of his grandmother, who enjoyed a life interest in the manor of Plumpton, and mother, Alice Gisburn (d. 1423), who retained all of her husband's estates as a jointure, Sir Robert II and his wife resided principally at Steeton and Kinoulton. (*HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 91-2; Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 3.) He died on 8 December 1421, and is said to have been killed at the siege of Meaux. (C139/57/5; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 92.; Stapleton [ed.], *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. xlix.) His son, William II (1404-1480), was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Brian Stapleton I (d. 1417), in January 1416. He grew up as a ward of the earl of Northumberland. Between 1427 and 1430, he served in France and received knighthood. He subsequently served under the duke of Bedford, and was rewarded with the *vicomté* of Falaise. (Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 3; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 203.) Like his father before him, Sir William became steward and constable of Knaresborough in 1439. (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 524-5.) In the 1440s, he inevitably became embroiled in the dispute between Archbishop Kemp and Henry, earl of Northumberland, for control of the honour. As a reward for his loyalty, Plumpton became the earl's steward in Yorkshire on 20 February 1442. In 1447, his life annuity was increased from £10 to £20 because of his faithful service. (Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 251-2; WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 5; 6, m. 3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92, nn. 1-2.) Sir William was also extremely active in local administration. He was returned as a knight of the shire for Nottinghamshire in 1437, and served as sheriff of

Yorkshire in 1447-8, and of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1451-2. (*Return of the Name*, p. 330; *List of Sheriffs*, pp. 103, 162.) In addition, he served as a JP in the West Riding from 1439 until his removal in 1460, and is known to have attended quarter sessions. (See above, Appendices 4a and 6.) He also received appointment to the commission of array issued in the West Riding in 1436. (*CPR 1429-36*, p. 522.) In April 1455, he was summoned by writ to 'represent' the West Riding with John, Lord Neville, at the great council scheduled to convene at Leicester. (Arnold, 'West Riding', i, pp. 136-7; Wedgwood, *Register*, p. 741.) He was also appointed to the Lancastrian commission of array issued for the riding in December 1459. (*CPR 1452-61*, p. 559.) After the accession of Edward IV, Plumpton was ejected from his offices. Despite the death of his last surviving son, also William, at Towton in March 1461, Sir William reconciled himself with the Yorkist regime, and obtained a royal pardon in the following year. Having been acquitted of treason in January 1464, he was appointed as deputy steward of Knaresborough under the earl of Warwick, and apparently also resumed the stewardship of Spofforth. (Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 7; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 293.) During his final years, Sir William was preoccupied with the attempt to disinherit his two granddaughters by his son William in favour of his young son, Robert, by his second wife, Joan Wintringham. Matters were complicated because Sir William had received 400 marks and £333, respectively, from Brian Roucliff and Henry Sothill for the marriages of Margaret and Elizabeth Plumpton as co-heiresses of the family inheritance. Despite a settlement enacted by Sir William before his death in 1480, his heir Sir Robert Plumpton (d. 1523) lost almost everything during the ensuing legal battle. According to an incomplete valor of 1479, the Plumpton inheritance was worth in excess of £290. (Kirby [ed.], *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 8-15, 234-6.)

#### Redman of Harewood

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 183-7.

#### Roucliff of Cowthorpe

Originally from Rawcliffe (N. Riding), Guy Fairfax (d. 1460) acquired the manor of Cowthorpe through his marriage to Joan, sister and co-heiress of John Burgh (d. 1438). (Speight, *Nidderdale*, p. 137; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 7.) A JP in the West Riding, he served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1426, and was appointed to the commission of the peace within the liberty of Ripon in 1447. Roucliff also held the office of recorder of York. (*List of Escheators*, p. 192; BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172; Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 335.) On 14 May 1453, he and the mayor, Thomas Nelson, were detained in the chapter house of York Minster by supporters of the duke of Exeter and Lord Egremont, before being led to Bootham Bar, where they were threatened with death. (KB9/148/1, m. 15; Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries', p. 343.) His

will, dated 12 October 1459, was proved on 28 March 1460. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 238.) His eldest son, Brian Roucliff (d. 1495), also prospered in the legal profession. A member of the Middle Temple, Brian served as a puisne baron of the exchequer between 1452 and *c.* 1488. (Sainty, *Judges of England*, p. 118.) In 1452, he joined the West Riding *quorum*. He almost automatically received appointment to the *quorum* between 1452 and 1470, and from 1472 until his death. (C66/474, m. 26d; 478, m. 26d; 481, m. 25d; 484, m. 17d; 488, m. 26d; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 7.)

### Ryther of Ryther

Although seated at Ryther, in 1392 the family acquired half of the Aldburgh patrimony through the marriage of Sir William Ryther I (d.*c.* 1426) to Sybil (d. 1439), the sister and co-heiress of William, Lord Aldburgh. (*CIPM 1391-99*, pp. 442-3.) Her elder sister, Elizabeth, married Sir Richard Redman I (d. 1426), and by an amicable arrangement the two families occupied Harewood Castle alternately for several generations. In total, the Rythers received over a dozen manors in the settlement. (Greenwood, *Redmans of Levens*, pp. 81-7.) Although his magnificent monumental effigy in Harewood parish church bears a collar of SS, Sir William is not otherwise known to have been a member of the Lancastrian affinity. (Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, p. 21.) Indeed, his son, also William (*c.* 1379-1440), was apparently involved in Scrope's rebellion and was subsequently pardoned for treason on 8 August 1405. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 41.) Unlike his father, Sir William II was extremely active in local administration. Having represented Yorkshire in the parliament of 1426, he was appointed to the shrievalty of that county later in the year. He subsequently served as sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1430, and sheriff of Yorkshire in 1430, 1434, and 1438. (*Return of the Name*, p. 312; *List of Sheriffs*, pp. 79, 162.) In addition, he received appointment to commissions of inquiry (1424, 1435), *de walliis* (1433), *oyer* and *terminer* (1433), gaol delivery (1433), and of array (1434). (*CPR 1422-9*, p. 275; *1429-36*, pp. 280, 302, 350, 360, 531.) His administrative career came to an end on 29 July 1438, when he was granted exemption from again having to hold local office. (*CPR 1436-41*, p. 186.) On 1 October 1440, he died seised of the manors of Ryther, Scarcroft, and *Colecotes* (Lincs.), and moieties of the manors of Harewood and Kirkby Overblow. (C139/103/29.) Sir William II married Maud, sister and co-heiress of Sir Gilbert Umfraville. (*CCR 1419-22*, p. 269; Gooder [ed.], *Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 185.) Their son, William III (*c.* 1405-75), married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne II (d. 1422), in 1429. (WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 102.) William Ryther III was a king's esquire by 1441. (E101/409/9, fol. 36v.) There is no evidence that he remained in the royal household after his knighthood in *c.* 1442-5, although his younger son, also William, was a groom of the stable by 1451. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 85; E101/410/9, fol. 36v.) In 1450, Sir William III was appointed sheriff of Lincolnshire. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 79.) Three years later, he was indicted for

participating in the attack upon the Nevilles at Heworth. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 85.) Having made his will on 20 June 1475, he died on 29 July. (*Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 217; C140/51/18; *CFR 1471-85*, p. 99.)

### Sandford of Thorpe Salvin

The Sandfords were a prominent Westmorland family who established themselves in Yorkshire during the later fourteenth century. William Sandford the elder (d.c. 1375), clerk, purchased the West Riding manor of Thorpe Salvin from Nicholas Salvayn in 1363. He also acquired another West Riding manor, Harthill, and the East Riding manor of Escrick, from Sir William Bardolf of Wormegay in 1372. (Baildon [ed.], *Yorks. Fines, 1347-1377*, pp. 95, 157; *Yorks. Deeds*, vii, p. 112; Clay [ed.], *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 80; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i, p. 309.) The exact arrangements concerning Escrick are confusing, since Thomas Dauney also seems to have held land there. However, the Dauneys were evidently related to the Lengleys, and thereby connected by marriage to the Sandfords. (Ragg, 'Lengleys', pp. 81-2.) The intended beneficiary of Escrick, Harthill and Thorpe Salvin would seem to have been William's nephew, Sir Edmund Sandford of Askham (fl. 1383). William Sandford the elder, William Sandford the younger (d. 1416), and Thomas Dauney were all involved in Edmund's purchase of the Westmorland manor of Askham from Sir Robert Swinburne in 1373. (Ragg, 'Sandford of Askham', pp. 176-8.) The same group were all serving as William Sandford the elder's executors in 1375. (*Ibid.*, p. 179.) Edmund Sandford and his wife, Idonea (d. 1420), daughter of Sir Thomas Lengleys, were certainly in possession of Thorpe Salvin by 1379, when they were assessed at the knightly rate of 20 shillings for the Poll Tax of that year. ('Poll Tax Rolls', *YAJ* 5 [1879], p. 256.) Edmund was dead by 1399, when the manors of Thorpe Salvin and Harthill were reconveyed to his son, another Edmund, and his wife, Katherine, by Thomas, Lord Furnival, and the rectors of Treeton and Sprotbrough. (YAS DD5/3/103a; DD5/3/105.) Katherine may possibly have been the daughter of Edmund Harthill since the couple were evidently in possession of his lands. (YAS DD5/3/101; DD5/3/104; DD5/3/111.) Edmund, however, does not appear in the Sandford pedigree; neither is he mentioned in Idonea Sandford's will, although it can safely be assumed that he was either a son of Sir Edmund Sandford by a previous, unrecorded marriage, or else a younger brother of Sir Edmund's heir, Sir William Sandford (d.c. 1417) of Askham. (Ragg, 'Sandford of Askham', p. 232; *Test. Vetust.*, pp. 199-200; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 299-300.) In 1402, Edmund received the manor of Escrick from Thomas Hornby and William Sandford the younger, now vicar of Gilling. (*Yorks. Deeds*, ix, p. 75.) He received a quitclaim of the manor from Roger Morton, Robert Chaterton and John Mordon in 1408 but reconveyed a fourth part of the manor to them in the following year. (*Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 75; ix, p. 76.) Morton at least appears to have been one of Sandford's household servants. In 1412, he certified that Nicholas

Kuton had recognised Sandford as his lord in 1402. (*Yorks. Deeds*, viii, pp. 144-5.) This seems initially to have cleared the way for Sandford's claim to the wardship of Nicholas' heir. However, Kuton's wardship was also claimed by Edward, duke of York. Arbitrators were appointed and Sandford was granted custody until performance of the award. Nevertheless, the dispute escalated and Richard, earl of Cambridge imprisoned Sandford's bailiff at Conisbrough. Edmund ultimately petitioned the king for redress in 1414/15 but the outcome of the case is unknown. (*Yorks. Deeds*, vii, pp. 112-3.) The earl's resort to force was particular foolish since Sandford was a royal retainer. (Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton Plot of 1415*, p. 96.) He was already a king's esquire by 1405, when he successfully petitioned the king for an annual grant of £18 from the issues of the forfeited Mowbray manor of Donington (Yorks.) (SC8/255/12730.) The pension was subsequently regranted to Edmund and his wife, Katherine, for life on 23 October 1408. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 69.) Despite being a royal retainer, Sandford played only a limited role in local government. He seems to have been knighted immediately prior to his appointment as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1410. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) There is slightly more evidence of his involvement in local affairs. For example, he was named an executor by Richard Fitzwilliam of Sprotbrough in 1398, and witnessed the enfeoffment of the Nottinghamshire manor of Worksop by John Talbot, Lord Furnival, in 1413. (BI Reg. Test. iii, fol. 29v; *Test. Ebor.*, iii, p. 212n.; SA ACM/WD 572.) Nonetheless, the date of his death remains uncertain. His son and heir, Brian Sandford, must have been born after April 1399. (DD5/3/105.) By 1411, he had married Isabel, one of the daughters of Nicholas Blackburn I (d. 1432). (YAS DD/5/3/111.) Blackburn was one of the wealthiest and most influential merchants in York. (*HC, 1386-1421*, ii, p. 245.) Brian Sandford served as a feoffee for Thomas Wentworth between 1435 and 1460, and attested the election of knights of the shire for Yorkshire in 1435. (SA WWM [Add.Dep.] Box 20/1[viii]; C219/14/5, m. 29.) He had been knighted by 1447 and died between 1460 and 1467. (*Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 19; SA WWM [Add.Dep.] Box 20/1 [ix-x].) He was succeeded by his own son, Sir John Sandford. Sir John's wife, Katherine, died in 1461 and was buried beneath a fine incised alabaster slab in Thorpe Salvin parish church. Another close relative, John Sandford (c. 1369-1429) of Tickhill, may have been another of Idonea Sandford's sons. (C138/54/122; *Test. Vetust.*, pp. 199-200; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i, p. 309.) Upon his death, he was buried in Tickhill parish church beneath an incised slab. (*Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 417-8.) There is some discrepancy concerning the identity of John Sandford's heir, but it must have been either his nephew, Robert Sandford II (d. 1459/60) of Askham, or his son, also called Robert. (YAS DD5/3/119; *Test. Ebor.*, i, p. 417.) In 1430, Robert Sandford appointed Brian Sandford as attorney to receive seisin of John's estate. (YAS DD5/3/119.) Another member of the family, Thomas Sandford of Doncaster, was indicted for his participation in the attack upon the Nevilles at Heworth in 1453. (KB9/149/11, m. 16.)

### Saville of Elland and Thornhill

Sir John Saville of Elland, a retainer of John of Gaunt who had served as constable of Pontefract in 1396-7, was dead by 23 September 1399. (Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 280, 289; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 312-4.) His Lancastrian annuity of £20 seems to have been transferred to his son and heir, also Sir John (d. 1405), on 4 September. (Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 280, 289; DL29/738/12096, m. 5; 12099, m. 3.) In addition, he received a grant of the bailiwick of the wapentake of Strafforth on 13 November 1399 and became a king's knight in 1403. (*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 95; *1401-5*, p. 236.) In 1402, he served as sheriff of Yorkshire. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) A younger son, Henry Saville of Thornhill (d. 1412), had already been retained by Bolingbroke in 1398. He was granted a Lancastrian annuity of £10 on 6 April 1400. (Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree', p. 412; DL29/738/12096, m. 4.) In 1423, this was bestowed upon his younger son, also Henry. (DL42/18, fol. 157v.) The Savilles were also servants of the dukes of York. The family connection dated back to the end of the fourteenth century when Sir John Saville (d. 1405) had been appointed master forester of the lordship of Sowerby and Holmfirth by Duke Edmund for life, although this was at the express request of Henry IV. This grant was subsequently confirmed by Edward of York on 20 November 1399. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 15; Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage', p. 412, n. 1.) The Elland estates eventually descended to John's nephew, Sir Thomas Saville (d. 1449) of Thornhill, who succeeded his uncle as master forester of Sowerby in 1414. (CP25/1/280/155, m. 3; SC8/23/11411; *CPR 1416-22*, p. 38; Baildon, 'Notes on the Early Saville Pedigree', pp. 413-4.) Sir Thomas' son, Sir John Saville (d. 1482), accompanied Duke Richard to Normandy in 1441. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 64.) He seems to have served as steward of Wakefield and Sowerby, and probably master forester of Sowerby and constable of Sandal Castle, from at least 1442 until 1459, when the lordship was seized by the crown and his offices were regranted to John Talbot, the son of the earl of Shrewsbury. However, Saville recovered his offices in the following year. (Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 238; *CPR 1452-61*, p. 532; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 43.) He was also appointed as sheriff of Yorkshire during the duke's protectorate in 1454 and again by Edward IV in 1461. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162; Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 90; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 743.)

### Scargill of Lead

Originally from Scargill in the North Riding, the family also possessed several manors in the West Riding, including Lead, Thorpe Stapleton, and Whitkirk. The Scargills were retainers of John of Gaunt in the late fourteenth century. Confusion surrounds whether William Scargill I (fl. 1415-59) was the son of John or Thomas Scargill I (d. 1432) of Lead. He married Constance,



daughter of Geoffrey Pygot of Melmerby (N. Riding). (*VCH, North Riding*, i, p. 41; *CPR 1446-52*, p. 167; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 280; 'Poll Tax Rolls', *YAJ* 6 (1881), p. 323; 8 (1884), pp. 12-13; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 65.) By 1443, he was serving as a feoffee of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury. He and the earl's wife, Alice, countess of Salisbury, also served together as executors of the will of Maud (d. 1446), countess of Cambridge. (*CCR 1441-7*, p. 150; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 118.) On 20 October 1446, Scargill was appointed steward of the archbishop of York's lordship of Sherburn. He may have owed his preferment to Salisbury, since another member of the Neville affinity, Sir James Strangways of West Harlsey (N. Riding), was by then serving as steward of the archiepiscopal liberty of Ripon. Between 1441 and 1448, Scargill is also known to have employed at least four other associates of the earl as feoffees, including Sir James Strangways, Christopher Boynton, Thomas Wombwell, and William Ayscogh. (*CPR 1446-52*, p. 167; BI Reg. Kemp, fol. 172; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 124.) During his administrative career, he served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1424-5, and was appointed to commissions of array (1427, 1430, 1434, 1454), inquiry (1428, 1433), *oyer* and *terminer* (1432), and gaol delivery (1437, 1449). (*CFR 1422-30*, p. 85; *CPR 1422-9*, pp. 405, 494; *1429-36*, pp. 71, 275, 301, 360; *1436-41*, p. 145; *1446-52*, pp. 238, 317; *1452-61*, p. 220.) He was distrained of knighthood in 1457 and 1458. (E198/424, m. 1; 4/16, m. 1.) Having died intestate, administration of his estate was granted to Robert Neville of Liversedge and Robert Hall of Selby on 12 May 1459. (BI Reg. Test. ii, fol. 405.) Thomas Scargill II (d. 1476), who was probably William's younger brother, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Tyrell, chief steward of the Duchy of Lancaster and treasurer of the royal household. An usher of the king's chamber between 1435 and 1453, he was returned as MP for the boroughs of Bedwin (Wilts.) in 1447, Bridport (Dors.) in 1449, and Westbury (Wilts.) in 1449-50. (*CPR 1429-36*, p. 491; *1452-61*, p. 32; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 750; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, p. 35.) He was also appointed escheator of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1445. One of twelve members of the royal household who frequently attested the king's acts of state, he was in receipt of a variety of grants, including the keepership of Havering park (Essex) in 1437, and the office of rider of Waltham forest (Essex) in 1439 and 1453. (Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 104n; *CPR 1436-41*, pp. 67, 306; *1447-54*, p. 375; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 65.) William Scargill I was succeeded by his son, also William. In 1460, he was one of those chosen to expel the Lancastrian garrisons from the castles of Pontefract, Wressle, and Penrith. (*CPR 1452-61*, p. 651.) Five years later, he was distrained of knighthood. (Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 74.) His will, dated 11 August 1480, was proved on 5 August 1484. (*Test. Ebor.*, iii, pp. 256-7.)

### Sothill of Dewsbury

The Sothills of Dewsbury are frequently confused with two other branches of the family seated at Radbourne and West Rasen in Lincolnshire. (Mackman, *Lincolnshire Gentry*, p. 315.) John Sothill was appointed escheator of Yorkshire in 1446. (*List of Escheators*, p. 192.) He was probably also the royal esquire referred to in 1450 and 1451. (E101/410/6, fol. 40v; 410/9, fol. 42; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 72.) Administration of his estate was granted on 4 June 1485. (*Test. Ebor*, iv, p. 168n; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 85.) His brother, Henry, was appointed to the *quorum* of the commission of the peace for the West Riding in 1454, and was paid for attending quarter sessions. (See above, Appendices 4a and 6.) Henry was retained by the Duchy of Lancaster as an apprentice between 1456-66. An associate of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, he also served as deputy steward of Pontefract in 1458-9, and became deputy chief steward of the North Parts of the Duchy in 1459. (Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 425.) He served as king's attorney between 1466 and 1475. (Kirby [ed.], *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, pp. 338-9; Sainty, *Law Officers*, p. 43.)

### Stapleton of Carlton

See *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 459-61; Gooder (ed.), *Parliamentary Representation*, i, pp. 192-3; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 804.

### Talbot of Bashall

The Talbots of Bashall were also landowners in Lancashire and Kent. (*CCR 1413-19*, pp. 177, 413-4, 424.) Sir Thomas Talbot (*fl.* 1419) of Bashall was retained for life by Richard II as a king's knight in 1392. (*CPR 1391-6*, p. 182; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 286.) In 1393, he was possibly responsible for leading a revolt in Cheshire against the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, which was perhaps orchestrated by the king. (Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', p. 399.) His younger brother, Henry Talbot of Easington in Craven, had also been retained by Richard II by 1398. In March 1399, Sir Thomas was appointed as steward of Slaidburn and keeper of Bowland Forest. He subsequently accompanied the king on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland. (*CPR 1396-9*, pp. 426, 495, 550.) After the usurpation, both Sir Thomas and Henry Talbot received confirmations of their former annuities. (*CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 343, 486.) But they were never truly reconciled to the Lancastrian dynasty. Sir Thomas was implicated in Oldcastle's revolt in 1414. He was one of those specifically excluded from the general pardon of 28 March 1414. He remained at large and was outlawed for treason on 8 June. (Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', pp. 399-402; *CCR 1413-19*, pp. 177, 414.) Henry Talbot, meanwhile, had continued

to plot against the Lancastrian regime, and a commission was issued for his arrest in 1413. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 35.) On 10 June 1415, he abducted Murdoch, earl of Fife, near Leeds. (V.H. Galbraith [ed.], *The St Albans Chronicle, 1406-20* (Oxford, 1937), p. 86 n. 2; Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', pp. 400-401; Pugh, 'The Southampton Plot', p. 66; Pugh, *Henry V and the Southampton Plot*, p. 101 n. 31.) Henry Talbot was eventually apprehended at Newcastle in 1417, having stirred up unrest in Yorkshire and Northumberland. He was tried and executed. (KB27/624, Rex rot. 4; Sayles [ed.], *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V*, pp. 237-9.) Sir Thomas Talbot was succeeded by his son, Sir Edmund, who was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire in 1443. This man, a committed Yorkist, was a possible casualty of the battle of Wakefield. He was succeeded by his own son, Sir Thomas. (Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 87. See above, Appendix 3a.) Sir Thomas, Edmund and Richard Talbot assisted in the capture of Henry VI at Waddington in 1465. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 20; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 888, 894 n. 18.)

#### Tempest of Bracewell

When the Tempest family diverged into two branches in the fourteenth century, the senior line retained the ancestral manors of Bracewell and Waddington. Sir Richard Tempest (d. 1427/8) of Bracewell was a retainer of the earl of Northumberland, and in receipt of an annuity of 20 marks, charged upon his manor of Preston in Craven. He became a king's knight between September 1399 and February 1401, when he received a Lancastrian annuity of £50. Afterwards, he began to play a more prominent role in local affairs, serving as a West Riding JP from November 1399. (*HC, 1386-1421*, iv, pp. 574-5; DL42/15, fol. 84v. Cf. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 228.) Having remained loyal to Henry IV during the Percy revolt in July 1403, Sir Richard was rewarded with the wardship and marriage of Sir John Lilburne's heir. Two years later, he received a grant of the forfeited Percy manor of Preston in Craven. (*CPR 1401-5*, p. 256; *1405-8*, p. 48.) His kinsman, Nicholas Tempest, was less fortunate. He supported the Percys in 1405, and forfeited the manor of Walton, which he had received from the earl of Northumberland on 24 April in lieu of an annuity of 10 marks. Although he petitioned for restoration, his estates were not returned until 1413. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 42; *1413-16*, p. 115; *CIM 1399-1422*, p. 246.) In January 1404, Sir Richard Tempest represented Yorkshire in parliament. (*Return of the Name*, p. 266.) He was also appointed to several ad hoc commissions in the West Riding, of array (1399, 1417, 1418, 1419), of arrest (1404, 1405, 1410), of inquiry (1412), and to raise a loan (1421). (*CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 213, 506; *1405-8*, p. 149; *1408-13*, pp. 225, 379; *1416-22*, pp. 144, 196, 211, 384-5.) His will, which is dated 26 August 1427, was proved on 30 September in the following year. It has been suggested that he was succeeded by his son, Roger (1390-1467), who also served as his administrator. (*Test.*

*Ebor.*, i, pp. 412-3; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 575.) In actual fact, Roger was a younger son from whom was descended the branch of the family seated at Broughton. He married Katherine (d. 1469), daughter and heiress of Peter Gilliot of Broughton. Roger was distrained of knighthood in 1457. (Gooder [ed.], *Parliamentary Representation*, p. 162; *Test. Ebor.*, iii, pp. 169-70; Lancaster, *The Tempests of Broughton*, pp. 35-40; E198/4/24, m. 1.) Sir John Tempest was in possession of Waddington by May 1434. (*Yorks. Deeds*, i, p. 172.) According to the pedigrees, he was the grandson of Sir Richard Tempest. His father, Sir Piers Tempest, accompanied John (d. 1422), Lord Clifford, to France in 1417, and is presumed to have died during the campaign. Sir John married Alice, daughter of Richard Sherborne of Mitton. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 260-1; Ormrod [ed.], *High Sheriffs of Yorkshire*, p. 86; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', p. 283, n. 7.) By 1442, he was in receipt of an annuity of £6 13s. 4d. from the earl of Northumberland. (WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 4; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92n.) In 1444, he was appointed as a feoffee of Thomas (d. 1455), Lord Clifford. (C139/159/33; *CPR 1441-6*, p. 324.) Sir John served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1439-40 and 1458-9. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) After the flight of the Yorkist lords in 1459, he was appointed to the West Riding bench. (See above, Appendix 4a.) His will, which is dated 29 November 1463, was proved three months later. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 260-1.) His eldest son, Richard II (d. 1472), was also in receipt of a Percy annuity of £5 by 1442. (WSRO PHA D9/3, m. 4; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p. 92n.) Richard was indicted for participating in the attack upon the houses of Alan Clerk and James King in Craven led by Richard Percy in July 1453. He was also implicated in the attempted assassination of the earl and countess of Salisbury at Heworth in August. Apparently distrained of knighthood in 1457 and 1458, he was knighted by John (d. 1461), Lord Clifford, after the battle of Wakefield in December 1460. (E198/4/24, m. 1; 4/16, m. 1; KB9/149/6, m. 7; 149/11, m. 16; BL Add. MS 46355, fol. 2v; Arnold, 'West Riding', i, p. 45.)

#### Tempest of Studley

The junior branch of the Tempest family acquired Studley through marriage in the fourteenth century. They also possessed the Yorkshire manors of Appleton Parva, Hartforth, Linton in Craven and Stainton, and Hatton in Northumberland. A veteran of the Scottish march, Sir Richard Tempest (d.c. 1390) of Studley had retired in the mid-1370s, after having disgraced himself through embezzlement. (*HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 574.) He was probably predeceased by his son and heir apparent, John, whose widow, Mary, married Nicholas Gascoigne (d. 1427) of Lasincroft. Another son, William Tempest I, who was born in c. 1375, succeeded to the family patrimony. William was already a knight in 1405, when he and his mother, Isabel, granted Mary Gascoigne an annual rent of 100s. out of Studley for her life. In return, she and her husband renounced their claim to the manor. (C139/42/75; CP25/1/279/150, m. 29; WYAS LDA

GC/F/5/1, pp. 7-9, 14.) In 1414, Sir William was one of those appointed to arrest a band of vagrant monks of Fountains Abbey. Two years later, he was serving as a captain under the earl of March. (*CPR 1413-16*, p. 221; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 321.) In 1423, he was returned to parliament by the electors of Yorkshire. (*Return of the Name*, p. 307.) He was also appointed to commissions of inquiry in Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland in 1428 and 1433. Finally, he was appointed to the commission of array issued in the West Riding in 1434. (*CPR 1422-9*, p. 467; *1429-36*, pp. 276, 360.) On 3 March 1440, he granted the manor of Hartforth to his son, William, prior to his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Montgomery. On 18 June 1441, William Tempest II was deputed by Ralph Botiller, the chief butler, to discharge the office of chief butler in the port of Newcastle. (*CPR 1436-41*, p. 547.) He had come into his inheritance by 1 May 1443, when he conveyed his lands to a group of trustees, including Richard, earl of Salisbury, and Sir John Montgomery. He himself died shortly afterwards, on 20 December 1443, leaving an infant son, John. (C139/115/29.) John was dead by 1451. In that year the family estates were partitioned between his aunt Dionysia and her husband, William Mallory (d. 1475) of Hutton Conyers, and Sir John Norton (d. 1489), the son of his other aunt, Isabel, and Richard Norton of Norton Conyers. (*VCH, North Riding of Yorkshire*, i, pp. 79, 404; Walbran, *The Lords of Studley*, p. 4; Smith, *History of the Mallory Family*, p. 97.)

#### Thwaites of Lofthouse

Although little is known about his antecedents, John Thwaites was apparently the son of Thomas Thwaites (*fl.* 1411) of Lofthouse. John Thwaites married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ryther I (d.c. 1440) and Sybil Aldburgh (d.c. 1426). (*Yorks. Deeds*, vi, p. 32; Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, pp. 75-6.) In 1420, he began to witness local deeds, and also served as a trustee for Nicholas Gascoigne (d. 1427) of Lasingcroft. (*Yorks. Deeds*, v, p. 67; vi, p. 148; p. WYAS LDA GC/F/5/1, p. 39.) He served as a JP in the West Riding from 1431 until his death, and was the mainstay of the West Riding *quorum* between 1433 and 1457. (See above, Appendices 4a and 6.) During an extraordinarily busy career, he also served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1430-1 and 1436-7, and received appointment to numerous ad hoc commissions of inquiry (1420, 1422, 1434-8, 1442, 1450, 1459), *de walliis* (1430, 1433, 1458), *oyer* and *terminer* (1433, 1460), gaol delivery (1433, 1437, 1442, 1449), to oversee rivers (1433, 1435-6), of array (1436, 1459), to raise loans (1439, 1442), *de kidellis* (1442-3), to assign archers (1457), for a tax (1459), and of arrest (1460). (*List of Escheators*, p. 192; *CFR 1413-22*, p. 349; *1445-52*, p. 169; *CPR 1416-22*, p. 423; *1429-36*, pp. 73, 280, 301-2, 349, 426, 522, 524, 528, 530-1, 536; *1436-41*, pp. 88, 90, 145, 147, 250; *1441-6*, pp. 48, 62, 77, 79, 200; *1446-52*, pp. 317, 390; *1452-61*, pp. 408, 489, 510-11, 518, 607, 609.) His legal services were also very much in demand. Thwaites was retained of counsel by Thomas (d.

1455), Lord Clifford, the mayor and council of York, the abbot and convent of Selby, and St Leonard's Hospital. (Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 13; *CCR 1429-35*, p. 166.) He was also frequently invited to act as an arbitrator in local gentry disputes. (*CCR 1419-22*, p. 204; *1422-9*, p. 380; *Yorks. Deeds*, iv, p. 109; *Thoresby Society*, 2 (1871), p. 127.) In c. 1434 a marriage was contracted between Thomas, son and heir of John Thwaites, and Alice, daughter of Thomas de la Hay. John Thwaites drew up his will, several years before his death, on 22 January 1461. A writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued to the escheator of Yorkshire on 16 May 1470. He and his wife were buried in Harewood parish church, beneath a black tomb-slab which originally bore a brass inset. (Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, pp. 75-8; BI Reg. Test. iv, fol. 140v; *CFR 1461-71*, p. 260.)

### Vavasour of Hazlewood

The Vavasours had been seated at Hazlewood since the eleventh century. (Clay [ed.], *Early Yorkshire Families*, p. 95.) In addition, they held the Yorkshire manors of Addingham, Ferry Fyston and Walden Stubbs, and Cockerington and Mumby in Lincolnshire. (*CIPM 1413-18*, pp. 7-8; C139/150/29.) Henry Vavasour I had succeeded his father, William, by August 1397, when he received a grant of the manor of Addingham for life from his mother, Elizabeth Stapleton. (*Yorks. Deeds*, x, pp. 13-14.) In the summer of 1399, he joined Henry of Lancaster and received £14 11s. 7d. in war wages. (DL42/15, fol. 70v.) A knight by July 1401, he is not known to have had any subsequent involvement in politics. (*Yorks. Deeds*, i, pp. 168-9.) In 1408, he and his wife, Margaret (d. 1415), daughter of Sir William Skipwith JCP (d.c. 1397), were granted a life interest in the manor of Eastburn by Ralph, earl of Westmorland. This was evidently a significant relationship since in her will Margaret Vavasour left a bequest to Joan, countess of Westmorland. (*CPR 1405-8*, p. 333; *Test. Ebor.*, i, pp. 362-4.) Sir Henry died on 27 March 1413. His will was proved two days later. (Baildon [ed.], *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, pp. 97-8; *Test. Ebor.*, i, p. 361.) His son, Henry II (1402-53), had entered the royal household by 1438. A king's esquire, he enjoyed a particularly lucrative career, being appointed porter of Wressle Castle and bailiff and escheator of Staincliff wapentake in 1438, escheator of Yorkshire in 1440, parker of Credling and receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster in Yorkshire in 1444. (*CPR 1436-41*, p. 127; E101/410/9, fol. 42v; DL42/18, fols. 58v, 100; DL37/12/16; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 516, 526-7, 530, 535; *List of Escheators*, p. 192.) He was appointed to a variety of commissions, of arrest (1438), muster (1443), of array (1448), to sell certain of the king's jewels (1450), and a tax commission in Yorkshire (1451). (*CPR 1436-41*, pp. 312-3; *1441-6*, p. 202; *1446-52*, pp. 238, 401; *CFR 1445-52*, p. 207.) In 1442, he secured exemption from appointment as sheriff. (*CPR 1441-6*, p. 98.) He maintained the family connection with the Nevilles, acting as a mainpennor for Richard, earl of Salisbury, in 1446. (*CFR 1445-52*, p. 14.) Henry Vavasour

II drew up his will on 20 November 1447. (*Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 162-3.) He died on 9 January 1453. (C139/150/29.) His own son, Henry III (d. 1499), was distrained of knighthood in 1457 and 1465. (E198/4/24, m. 1; E370/2/22, rot. 1. For his biography, see Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, p. 87.)

### Waterton of Methley

Robert Waterton I (d. 1425) rose to national prominence in the service of the Lancastrian dynasty. Although the family pedigree is unclear, it seems that he and his brother, John, were the sons of Richard Waterton of Waterton (Lincs.) They were, therefore, the cousins of two other leading figures in the new regime, another John and Sir Hugh Waterton. (C67/30, m. 14; 31, mm. 12-14; *HC, 1386-1421*, iv, p. 785.) Robert had entered Lancastrian service by 1390, when he accompanied Henry, earl of Derby, on his expedition to Prussia. (Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, i, p. 419; Smith [ed.], *Expeditions to Prussia*, p. xcii.) By 1394, he was in receipt of fees of 10 marks from both Bolingbroke and his father, John of Gaunt. Three years later, he received a life grant of the office of master forester of the honour of Pontefract, and was also serving as steward of Pontefract and constable of Tickhill by February 1399. (*CPR 1396-9*, pp. 468-9; Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 37, n. 127, 284; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 378-9, 529.) According to Adam of Usk, he was the first to join Duke Henry at Ravenspur in 1399. He was accompanied by 200 foresters from either Knaresborough or Pontefract, and subsequently received wages of £285 for military service. (Given-Wilson [ed.], *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 252; DL42/15, fol. 71; DL29/728/11987, m. 8; Given-Wilson [trans. and ed.], *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, p. 52.) During the interregnum, Waterton had been replaced as steward of Pontefract by Edmund Fitzwilliam I (d. 1430) of Wadworth. On 12 September 1399, his former offices were restored. (Walker, 'Yorkshire Justices', p. 301, n. 1; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 513, 515, 518.) Two months later, he became master of the horse and a king's esquire. Remarkably, he was granted an annuity at the knightly rate of £40, which was charged upon the customs of Hull. (*CPR 1399-1401*, pp. 98, 112; DL42/15, fol. 89; *CCR 1399-1402*, p. 11.) In addition, he received a grant of the manor of Doubledyke with the advowson of Gosberton, forfeited by Sir John Bussy. (*CPR 1399-1401*, p. 143; *CCR 1405-9*, p. 82.) He was also appointed to the commission of the peace for the West Riding, in which capacity he continued to serve until his death. (See above, Appendix 4a.) Over the next few years, his influence in the north was consolidated further by a series of additional grants, including the stewardship of Tickhill (1403) and the chief stewardship of the North Parts of the Duchy (1407). It was alleged by William, Lord Willoughby, that Waterton and his officers had perpetrated a series of oppressions and extortions against his interests in Lincolnshire in 1408. (DL42/15, fols. 159v, 182v; DL41/434; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 418-9, 528.)

Waterton was also actively involved in the suppression of rebellion. In July 1403, he was appointed to the commission of arrest which prevented the principal retainers of the Percys in Yorkshire from joining Sir Henry Percy and the earl of Worcester in revolt at Shrewsbury. Immediately afterwards, he was sent north with Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, to neutralise the threat posed by the earl of Northumberland, and was subsequently commissioned to arrest Hotspur's wife and son. (*CPR 1401-5*, pp. 294, 297, 439.) In 1405, he was captured by Northumberland, whilst attempting to negotiate the latter's surrender. He was not released until his brother, John, agreed to take his place as a hostage. (*CSL 1399-1422*, p. 89; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, pp. 605, 607.) In the aftermath of Scrope's rebellion, Robert Waterton temporarily became steward of the duke of York's lordships of Hatfield and Sowerby, and was granted the offices of steward and master forester of the forfeited Percy barony of Spofforth. (*CPR 1405-8*, pp. 15, 73, 499.) In 1410, Waterton exchanged the advowsons of Gosberton (Lincs.) and Wath upon Dearne with the master of St Nicholas' Hospital, Pontefract, for the manor of Methley, which he also had licence to crenellate. (*CPR 1408-13*, pp. 198, 232, 371.) It was there that he entertained some of his most distinguished charges, including Charles, duke of Orléans, and Richard of York. (*CPR 1416-22*, p. 142; *CCR 1413-19*, p. 394; *CSL 1399-1422*, pp. 179-80; Wright, 'The House of York', pp. 41-3.) By now he was a very wealthy man, and was distrained of knighthood in 1410. (E198/4/34, m. 1d; E198/4/39, m. 35.) In 1411, he was appointed sheriff of Lincolnshire and joined the commission of the peace for the Parts of Holland and Lindsey. (*List of Sheriffs*, p. 79; *CPR 1405-13*, p. 482.) He witnessed Henry IV's will and acted as one of his executors. (Nichols [ed.], *A Collection of all the Wills*, p. 205; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 54.) According to an enfeoffment of May 1414, he had by now obtained possession of the manors of Halghton, Scaftworth (Notts.) and Waterton. (WYAS LDA MX 851/7, 29.) In 1415, he again received the keeping of the lordship of Sowerby, and was appointed constable of Castle Donington in 1420. Although he had relinquished the chief stewardship of the North Parts at the accession of Henry V, he was confirmed as steward of Pontefract and Tickhill in both 1413 and 1422. (*CFR 1413-22*, p. 135; DL42/17, fols. 62v, 190v; 18, fol. 194v; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, pp. 513, 528, 573.) Waterton was married three times, firstly to Joan Everingham, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Everingham (d. 1369), and widow of Sir William Elys (d. 1391) of Everingham. By this marriage, he acquired control of the inheritance of her son, Robert Elys (d. 1464), in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. (C139/14/16; *HC, 1386-1421*, iii, p. 21.) Secondly, he married Cicely, daughter of Robert Flemyng of Woodhall, between 1399 and 1403. Finally, he married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Clarell I (d. 1442) of Aldwark, and widow of John Fitzwilliam II (d. 1421) of Sprotbrough. This marriage may have taken place around February 1424, when he again conveyed the manor of Methley to trustees. Robert Waterton made his will at Methley on 10 January 1425 and died seven days later. (WYAS LDA MX 851/9, 12, 30; C139/14/16; Hall, 'Notes on Robert Waterton', pp. 87-8.) His magnificent



tomb-chest survives in the chantry chapel, which was constructed by his executors in Methley parish church in accordance with the detailed instructions in his will. His son and heir by Cicely, Robert II (c. 1409-1475), married Beatrice, daughter of John, Lord Clifford, and was knighted by 1428. He represented Yorkshire in the parliament of 1435, and was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire in 1440. (Gooder [ed.], *Parliamentary Representation*, i, p. 191; Arnold, 'West Riding', ii, pp. 68-9; *List of Sheriffs*, p. 162.) Sir Robert served as a JP in the West Riding between 1436 and 1458. (See above, Appendix 4a.) He was also appointed to commissions of array issued for the West Riding in 1434, 1436, 1448 and 1459. (*CPR 1429-36*, pp. 360, 522; *1446-52*, p. 238; *1452-61*, p. 559.) He died seised of the manors of Methley, Halghton, Brierley, and Doubledyke. Having no legitimate male heir, his estates were eventually partitioned between the four daughters of his sister, Cicely, who had married Lionel (d. 1461), Lord Welles. (C140/54/45; WYAS LDA MX 851/37.)

#### Wentworth of West Bretton

Richard Wentworth was a younger son of John Wentworth (d.c. 1415) of North Elmsall and Agnes, sister and co-heiress of Sir William Dronsfield (d. 1406) of West Bretton. He established a branch of the family at Everton (Notts), but also received a sizeable grant from his mother of the former Dronsfield manors of West Bretton, Bulcliffe and Cumberworth in the West Riding. By Christmas 1429 he had married Cecily, a daughter and co-heiress of John Tansley (d.c. 1418) of Nottingham. (*Yorks. Deeds*, vi, pp. 154-5.) As a consequence of his good fortune, Wentworth's landed income in Nottinghamshire was assessed at £65 in 1436. (Payling, *Political Society*, p. 227.) Despite his wealth, Richard Wentworth's administrative career in Yorkshire was limited. He was appointed to the West Riding peace commission as a member of the *quorum* in February 1422, and became escheator of Yorkshire three months later. During this period, he attended seven sessions of the peace, but was not reappointed to the bench in 1423. (See Appendices 4a and 6.) He did serve as a *quorum* justice in north Nottinghamshire from 1430 until his death. (Payling, *Political Society*, p. 177.) It is clear that Wentworth's activities and connections straddled the border between Nottinghamshire and the West Riding. He served first as a guardian and then as a feoffee for John Fitzwilliam II (d. 1421) of Sprotbrough, and as a mainpernor for John and Christopher Dronsfield of Walden Stubbs in 1427. (*CFR 1413-22*, p. 244; C139/5/41; *CFR 1422-30*, p. 178.) His closest connection, however, was with Maud, countess of Cambridge, for whom he also served as a mainpernor on a number of occasions between 1431 and 1441. (*CFR 1430-37*, pp. 40, 81, 115, 174, 226, 249; *1437-45*, p. 203.) Countess Maud was herself a feoffee for Richard between 1425 and 1430, and it seems more than likely that Wentworth was one of her servants. (*Yorks. Deeds*, vi, pp. 15-18; viii, p. 80; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 137-8.) His brother, Thomas Wentworth (d.c. 1449) of Doncaster,

served as Maud's attorney in the county court, and as an executor of her will in 1446. (PRO C 219/15/1, m. 33; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 118-24; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, p. 453.) Upon his death in c. 1449, Richard was buried at Everton, and was succeeded by his own son, also Richard (d. 1483). (CP25/1/281/160, m. 15; *Test. Ebor.*, ii, pp. 137-8.)

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C219	Chancery, Election Indentures
C255	Chancery, Miscellaneous
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DL37	Duchy of Lancaster, Chancery Rolls
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E371	Exchequer, Originalia Rolls
E372	Exchequer, Pipe Rolls
JUST1	Assize Rolls
JUST3	Gaol Delivery Rolls
KB9	King's Bench, Ancient Indictments
KB27	King's Bench, <i>Coram Rege</i> Rolls
KB29	King's Bench, Controlment Rolls
SC6	Special Collections, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts
SC8	Special Collections, Ancient Petitions

Chichester: West Sussex Record Office

PHA            Petworth House Archives

Leeds: Leeds District Archives

Acc. 1731/2    Plumpton Letter Book  
 Acc. 1731/3    Plumpton Coucher Book  
 GC             Gascoigne Collection  
 IR             Ingilby Records  
 MX             Earl of Mexborough Archives  
 NH             Newby Hall Records  
 VR             Vyner MSS  
 WH             Weston Hall Records

Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society

DD             Duke of Leeds Collection  
 MD             Middelton Collection  
 MS 650        Calendar and Transcript of Dodsworth MS 83

Northallerton: North Yorkshire County Record Office

ZAA            Ingilby of Ripley  
 ZFL            Mauleverer of Ingleby Arncliffe

Nottingham: Nottinghamshire Archives

DDFJ          Foljambe of Osberton

Oxford: Bodleian Library

Dodsworth MS 83

Sheffield: Sheffield Archives

ACM            Arundel Castle Muniments  
 Bag C          Bagshawe Collection  
 CW             Cooke of Wheatley  
 CD             Copley Deeds  
 CM             Crewe Muniments  
 FrHD          Frickley Hall Deeds  
 WWM          Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments

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