ABSTRACT

The Hollands, Dukes of Exeter, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352-1475 Michael M.N. Stansfield Corpus Christi College Oxford Hilary 1987

At the turn of the fourteenth century, the Hollands were a knightly family of no great import in Lancashire. In 1475, Henry Holland died as the Lancastrian claimant to the throne. Such a transformation, in itself, deserves explanation. This will reveal the dramatic rise of a family through the beneficence of noble and then royal patronage and, even more so, through the fortune of a good marriage being compounded by a combination of fortuitous heirless deaths and a significant remarriage to bring an inheritance and royal kinship. That was the means of ascension through the ranks of the noblility, and it was sustained by consistent service to the crown at court and in the field. The Hollands were not a family of local power who built on this to thrust themselves into the nobility; their local basis almost verged on the nomadic and it is within the context of the court that they must be viewed, they were curialist nobility. Therefore, the absence of family and estate papers is not such a blow to their study as the records of central administration have much to reveal of their activities and their estates were not of such concern to them as they were for other families.

This chronological survey of their rise, significance and disappearance provides something of a commentary on the political, and military, events of later medieval England. It helps further to fill in our picture of England's nobility, confirming its great individuality and providing an example of how a rapid rise through its ranks was possible.

ABSTRACT

The Hollands, dukes of Exeter, earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352-1475 Michael M.N. Stansfield Corpus Christi College Oxford Hilary 1987

This study of the Holland family is part of a survey of the English later medieval nobility that has been proceeding, unofficially, for some decades now. As an element in the broad picture that is consequently emerging, the Hollands have much to offer to add to our understanding of the nobility's backgrounds, resources, attitudes and motivations. Yet that broad picture is revealing the nobility as a group of great individuality, and it is herein that the Hollands have perhaps the greatest significance. The very fact that this thesis can cover the whole of their important history, just over a century and a half, is itself indicative of how fast and far the family rose, and fell; the Hollands scarcely served any apprenticeship in the lesser ranks of the nobility for their status as royal kin. This is unusual, and the process and reasons for such a rise merit investigation, yet the broad timescale that presents such an overview is facilitated by the main conditioning factor in this study, the lack of family papers.

The failure of Holland papers to survive is one reason why the family, overall, has so far been neglected. Individual members have received some attention, yet little attempt has been made to relate them to their forbears and descendants, to place the individuals more fully in the context of the family's development, and position, at the time. Obviously, a compact corpus of estate material would have provided a much fuller background to Holland actions, and would have allowed a far more detailed

assessment of their local influence and their manipulation of an affinity.

Yet the absence of such material is not such a drawback as it might have

1A

been for other, more locally based families. The very curialist nature of the Hollands' existence meant that their estates did not dominate or even dictate their attitudes and actions; it was not through the steady nurturing of a local inheritance and the build up of concomitant territorial power that the Hollands had thrust themselves into the nobility.

So, flourishing in and around the court, it is the records of government and the central administration that are often more relevant for the Hollands, and that have been turned to in the main. The secondhand nature of these sources has, at times, been frustrating, often restricting the assessment of events from the Holland viewpoint and the effects of events on the Hollands, their administrations and affinities. This also means that only when the actions of the Hollands are sufficiently significant to or actually involve the central administration are they recorded; much that might have been of familial significance might now be lost. Yet, it has to be emphasised that such apparent drawbacks are not so constricting for a study of the Hollands as they might be for other families. The Hollands were often involved in the actions of the central administration and can often be identified with its attitudes.

However, this reliance on government records has conditioned the generally chronological approach followed. Each major figure in the family will be looked at in turn in an assessment of his career, influence and relevance to the development of the inheritance. Each figure will also be placed within the political context of his time, though the vicissitudes of all the political events the Hollands were involved in cannot here be

rehearsed, and some of their political activities have already been well

analysed, such as Henry Holland's northern rebellion in the early 1450s.

Yet this survey of the Holland family will provide something of a commentary on the politics of later medieval England; the family was so consistently dependent on royal patronage that it was frequently associated with the royal court, if not often really in the political front line. Its members were heavily involved in both phases of the Hundred Years' War and in the crises of Richard II's deposition and the fall of the house of Lancaster. Quite how the family maintained its high profile, despite suffering forfeiture for its political activities in 1322, 1400 and 1461, and despite never really having the backing of major landed wealth, will be one of the major considerations of this thesis.

The reliance on government records has also allowed the broad timescale adopted as the amount of material relating to specific events for the Hollands is sometimes not immense. This has produced themes and encouraged comparisons which would not appear in a work covering a shorter span of time, such as the continual deprivation of the Holland earls of Kent of their full inheritance by resilient dowagers, and, conversely, the often importance of those dowagers to the restoration and preservation of the inheritance, retrieving the consequences of their husbands' misdemeanours. A break at any point in the story would have frustrated the working out of such themes and would have made some conclusions speculative. This study covers really three branches of the family, the Lancashire Hollands, the Kent Hollands and the Huntingdon Hollands. It might be possible to look at each in isolation, yet that would be somewhat artificial, denying the interrelation of the nobility and obscuring the ability of the junior Holland lines to survive and surpass their seniors.

Given the background of the evidence, the main concern has been to

portray how the Hollands arose to and then utilised their peculiar position

in the English nobility. As already intimated, the steady accretion of

local estates and power, leading to wider recognition, employment and promotion, is scarcely at all under analysis here. Marriage was a widely appreciated means of social ascent in medieval England and the Hollands, aided by the fortune of some opportune deaths, raised themselves further and faster than most by this means. Robert Holland began his career as a squire of not great significance in Lancashire; his grandson, John Holland, was the half-brother of one king, Richard II, the brother-in-law of another, Henry IV, and the grandfather of the sometime Lancastrian heir to the throne, Henry Holland. The marriages of Joan of Kent and Elizabeth of Lancaster were the main vehicles for promotion to such royal proximity. Indeed, the fortunate consequences of that marriage to Joan are depicted in the title itself: 1352 was when her brother John died and she inherited the estates of the earldom of Kent, thereby transforming her soldiering Holland husband into a landed magnate. Quite how and why the Hollands often married so well shows much of the workings of patronage at the highest level in this most vital aspect of medieval life.

Indeed the continual reliance of the Hollands on patronage, generally of the king, is one of the features of this survey. The royal disposal of patronage was often a cause for contention in later medieval England and an analysis of the benefits the Hollands received from it shows how the royal approach varied from the lavish, Richard II, to the abstemious, Henry V. Yet, despite the variation in the rewards they received, the Hollands remained markedly loyal to both kings, even after they had gone; two Hollands died for Richard II in 1400 and John Holland pursued Henry V's ideals in France well into his son's reign. Such loyalty is another ever

prevalent aspect in this study, and it was especially evident in the

military sphere. The military careers of several of the Hollands bring up

the ever vexing problem for historians of how costly or profitable warfare was. One area of this where the Hollands provide two very good examples is the problem of ransoms; Thomas Holland's fortune at Caen in 1346 and John Holland's misfortune at Baugé in 1421 can be shown to have involved not as much gain and loss as might at first sight be expected. Yet they had repercussions in England extending far beyond the actual payment of a ransom. The French war had a far greater effect on the Holland family than the mere profit and loss of fighting in France; reputations and respect won in France were at the cost of local influence and power in England, and conditioned still further the Hollands' dependence on the royal favour and environment.

This positive view of the Hollands as court nobility has been enhanced by the somewhat negative conclusions drawn from examinations of their local interests and influence. The apparent lack of concern of especially the Holland earls of Kent for the areas of their estates is confirmed by their establishment in the later fourteenth century in something of a base on the central southern coast, where they held no family estates. Similarly, analyses of their patronage towards an affinity and their use of their ecclesiastical patronage, though hampered by the shortage of family material, have been inconclusive in discerning much of a policy in such areas. In the south west, the Huntingdon Hollands had perhaps a more obvious opportunity to build up support, yet results are no more decisive. This both caused and was caused by the frequent absence of the Hollands on royal service, at court, and abroad. Other factors compounded this, such as the absence of a male Holland influence altogether, with minorities a prevalent feature of the family's history.

All this continues to lead away from a view of the Hollands as

consciously acting as great landed magnates, lords of local society. The

value of studying the Hollands is in discovering a noble family where estates were important for providing revenues and manpower, but where the profits of office, of trade even, also provided revenue, and where their own kin brought them followers and their kinship with the king provided them with employment, rewards and the influence others gained from their lands. Finally, they were a family not short on characters, admittedly not always of the most affable nature, and not short on incident; their royal blood ensured they could not often avoid the action.

THE HOLLAND FAMILY,

DUKES OF EXETER,

EARLS OF KENT AND HUNTINGDON,

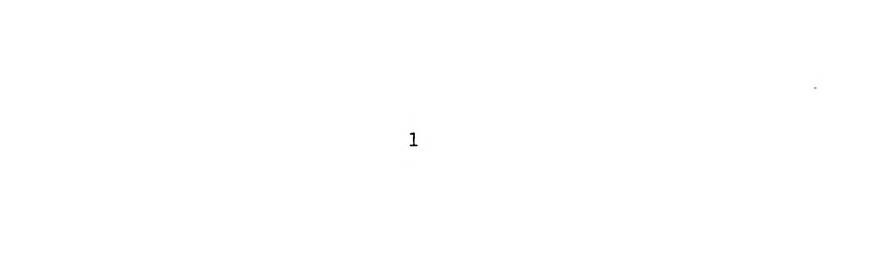
1352 - 1475

ΒΥ

MICHAEL M. N. STANSFIELD (CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE)



Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Modern History in the University of Oxford, Hilary Term 1987.



PREFACE

I owe my initial interest in later medieval England to the inspiration of Ralph Griffiths and especially the late Charles Ross. This interest has been nurtured and developed by the enthusiasm and encouragement of Maurice Keen who has sagaciously and patiently supervised my work on the Hollands from its inception. In a topic of such broad dimensions, the advice and assistance of many, in Oxford, the wider academic world and numerous record offices and libraries, has been invaluable in bringing it to fruition; I am very grateful to all. Beyond this, Rowena Archer has been a much appreciated guide to many contacts, and the staff of the P.R.O. and the Bodlejan have been especially tolerant of my demands. My colleagues, Juliette Bird, Clive Burgess, Isobel Harvey and Graham Stretch, and Corpus M.C.R. in general, have provided welcome support, and diversion. Without Frances White, the technicalities of producing this work would have been insuperable. To my parents, especial thanks are due for their patient confidence and encouragement. Finally, for the remaining errors, the responsibility is mine.

This thesis examines various major male members of the Holland family. To provide clarity of identification, the following nomenclature conventions have been adopted:

| Robert I | : | Robert first lord Holland, died 1328 |
|------------|---|--|
| Robert II | : | Robert second lord Holland, died 1373 |
| Thomas I | : | Thomas first earl of Kent, died 1360 |
| Thomas II | : | Thomas second earl of Kent, died 1397 |
| Thomas III | : | Thomas third earl of Kent and duke of Surrey, died 1400 |
| John I | : | John first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter, died 1400 |
| John II | : | John second earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter, died 1447 |

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ABBREVIATIONS

Full details of all works cited can be found in the bibliography. All references are to page numbers unless otherwise indicated.

| B.I.H.R. | Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research |
|----------------|---|
| B.J.R.L. | Bulletin of the John Rylands Library |
| B.L. | British Library |
| Bod. Lib. | Bodlejan Library |
| C.Ch.R. | Calendar of Charter Rolls |
| C.C.R. | Calendar of Close Rolls |
| C.F.R. | Calendar of Fine Rolls |
| C.I.M. | Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous |
| C.I.P.M. | Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem |
| C.I.P.M. (Rec. | Com.) Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem Sive Escaetum |
| C.P.L. | Calendar of Papal Registers: Letters |
| C.P.P. | Calendar of Papal Registers: Petitions |
| C.P.R. | Calendar of Patent Rolls |
| D.K.R. | Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records |
| D.R.O. | Devon Record Office |
| E.H.R. | English Historical Review |
| Foedera | Rymer T. ed., <u>Foedera, Conventiones, Literae</u> , 20 vols., (1704-35) |
| G.E.C. | Cokayne G.E., <u>The Complete Peerage</u> ed. V.Gibbs et al, 12 vols. in 13, (1910-59) |
| P.P.C. | Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England 1386-1542, 7 vols., ed. N.H.Nicolas, (1834-7) |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office |
| R.O. | Record Office |
| | |

R.P. Rotuli Parliamentorum

R.S. Rolls Series

S.H.F. Société de l'Histoire de France

- T.D.A. Transactions of the Devonshire Association
- T.R.H.S. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
- V.C.H. Victoria County History
- W.A.M. Westminster Abbey Muniments
- W.S.A.S. William Salt Archaeological Society

INTRODUCTION

The Hollands were a late medieval noble family whose study has not been totally neglected by historians. The survival of its lesser branches in Lancashire encouraged some of its more recent members to trace their ancestry back to their noble forbears and to attempt some description of the careers of the titled Hollands of the fourteenth and fifteenth 1 centuries. Useful notices of its major members also appear in those biographical compendia, <u>The Dictionary of National Biography</u> and <u>The</u> <u>2</u> <u>Complete Peerage</u>. More recently, the detailed analysis by Anthony Emery of the architecture of Dartington Hall led him to make a particular study of its founder, John I, with rather less concentration on his son and grandson. However, from none of these works does a really complete picture emerge of the dramatic ascension and establishment of this very distinctive family.

This study aspires to be really just one of a series, owing much to the inspiration of the late K.B.Macfarlane, that is enhancing our understanding of the English nobility of the later middle ages, its 4 problems, attitudes, hopes and significance. The Hollands will provide something of a contrast in this series. Though it may be dangerous to offer general observations about such an individualistic group as the nobility,

of John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon', (Keele Univ. B.A. dissertation 1978); P.Kelly, 'Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter 1430-75: a Biography', (Keele Univ. B.A. dissertation 1980). 4. C.F.Richmond, 'After MacFarlane', <u>History</u>, lxviji (1983), 46-60.

B.Holland, <u>The Lancashire Hollands</u>, (1917); E.S.Holland, <u>A History of the Holland Family of Mobberley and Knutsford</u>, (Edinburgh, 1902);
 T.E.Holland, <u>The Hollands of Conway</u>, (1915); W.R.Holland, <u>Some Records of the Holland Family</u>, (1929).
 <u>Dictionary of National Biography xxvii</u>, 147-150, 156-8; <u>G.E.C.</u> v, 195-200, 205-215; <u>ibid</u>. vi, 528-532; <u>ibid</u>. vii, 150-163.
 A.Emery, <u>Dartington Hall</u>, (Oxford, 1970). Studies of John II and Henry Holland have been undertaken: I.Rowney, '"The Fiery Cresset": a Biography

many of the Hollands' noble contemporaries had attained their status after lengthy apprenticeship amongst the local gentry, elevating themselves to such domination of their local environment that enoblement was often a matter of course, sparked perhaps by the rendering of some signal service to the crown, or by a marriage, and often by both at once. The Hollands were rather different from such as the Staffords, Mowbrays, Beauchamps, Percies or Westmorland Nevilles. The politicised patronage of an estranged noble, a young death making a fortunate marriage a very fortuitous one and a subsequent remarriage making it a dramatically important one, all served to propel the family from the mediocrity of Lancashire gentry to royal kinship in just two generations.

Such a rise, followed by the major changes in fortune concomitant with royal blood in the last century before the Tudors, has left the family hard to trace. Records of a family nature are few and do not survive in a corpus anywhere. More than one forfeiture leads one to expect to find them amongst the records of the central administration, and, indeed, their records were taken into royal custody, yet they have not survived there. Nevertheless, notices of the Hollands and their activities do appear amongst the records of government and it is largely from these secondhand and intermittent sources that this study has been constructed.

This failure in preservation, though obviously to be regretted, has however allowed the bounds of this work to be extended further than they might otherwise have been. The complete history of the family can be observed, starting with Robert I's emergence in Lancashire and beyond in Edward II's reign and culminating in Henry Holland's inglorious extinction

in 1475. A succession of vicissitudes in the family fortunes will emerge,

showing the resilience of the English nobility, its ability to survive and

revive when all seems lost. Just how the family managed to survive, till 1475, will show something of the relations of the king with his magnates, their mutual needs for support, the power of royal patronage and the particular reliance of the Hollands upon it.

Throughout this thesis, as the story of each generation unfolds, it will be accompanied by an analysis of the Hollands' land holdings, which will principally look at their size and situation and the timing of their award, so as to give a much fuller context to the Hollands' activities and a better idea of their potential power, based on their lands. A major theme alongside this will be the roles of the female Hollands, mainly in the guise of dowager widows. Their deprivation of their male kinsmen through their own landed holdings and their importance in those difficult periods after forfeitures will be examined.

The study will proceed within a broad chronological framework from around 1300 to 1475. Some digression to examine the various posts the Hollands held will be inevitable, but an examination of the main events affecting and affected by the Holland family will be the general mode of procedure. After an introductory look at the career of Robert I, the focus will not return to Lancashire but will shift, first to the fortunes of Robert's younger sons, principally Thomas I, and mainly in France. The great weight of evidence, and the significance of Thomas' two sons in the reign of Richard II, means that considerable attention will be placed on the relations of the Hollands with that king. First, the career of the elder son, Thomas II, of Kent, will be looked at, then that of his younger and more violently active brother John I, of Huntingdson, up to 1397. John and his nephew Thomas III were major participants in the last two years of

Richard II's reign and the early months of Henry IV's; this overlap will

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allow Henry IV's takeover to be viewed from the aspect of one very involved

Ricardian noble family.

The Holland theme is more diffracted for the rest of Henry IV's reign with the Kent line dying out, leaving various dowager countesses and the Huntingdon line largely dormant in a long minority. The more directly chronological analysis will then return for John II of Huntingdon and Exeter, and his son Henry, last of the line. Finally, the chronological framework will be laid aside and some observations will be made covering the whole family, using specific examples where the patchy evidence is strongest, to look at what the family had to offer as patrons. Both their secular and ecclesiastical patronage brought them into many interesting contacts with officials, retainers and followers, and into a wider circle of local people in the areas of their influence, and these domestic associates will be compared with the military retinues they led abroad throughout the Hundred Years' War.

CHAPTER I RISE, DISASTER, AND RECOVERY 1300-1360

Part 1 Sir Robert Holland, a Noble Protégé 1300-1328

William Marshal was a younger son whose knightly prowess and loyal service in the later twelth century brought him the reward of an advantageous marriage and accession to a considerable inheritance. Thus far, his career bears comparison with the later one of Thomas I, another soldier who served and married well, and gained comital rank. William Marshal's later great political influence, though not emulated by Thomas I, is some indication of what might have been had Thomas lived longer. Yet to appreciate better the career of this progenitor of royal kin, Thomas I's background and ancestry need to be considered to place him more fully in context. This chiefly involves an examination of the first of Thomas' family to achieve real prominence, his father, Robert I.

Robert I's family had owned the manor of Upholland, just south-west of Wigan in Lancashire, since at least King John's reign. The name 'Holland' 1 has various possible derivations. It was by no means unique to Lancashire, with other significant medieval Holland families being identified in 2 Berwick, Conway, Harlech, Lincolnshire, Dublin and Devon. Through Robert I's grandfather, Sir Thurstan Holland, the Hollands first gained knightly status, this being confirmed by the marriage of Robert I's father, also Robert, to Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Salmesbury, the

be used throughout. 2. See such as <u>ibid</u>., 94-102; T.E.Holland, 'Holland Family in Wales', Archaeologia Cambrensis, Third Series, xiii (1867), 164-170.

^{1.} From holh land, hunig land or hunan land, all meaning low-lying land: J.J.Alexander, 'Third Report on the Parliamentary Representation of Devon', <u>T.D.A.</u>, lxvi (1934), 98. Thus the name has appeared independently in various parts of the country. Domesday Book has hoiland but medieval scribes most commonly used the forms holand or holland. Though some 33 variations in spelling have been noted, the modern form holland will here

first of several advantageous marriages for the Hollands.

So Robert I was a member of an already well established Lancashire knightly family when he entered the service of Thomas earl of Lancaster in the late thirteenth century. Despite the lack of any indenture, or even the record of any official position, Robert I evidently became very closely linked to Lancaster, perhaps rather as a partner or favourite, than by the more vertical bond of retainer or servant. By the time of his lord's death in 1322, he was a north midlands landowner of major import with an income worthy of an earl. Robert's rapid rise and the shift in his territorial focus are features that will reappear in this analysis of the Hollands, as will the pattern of Robert's forfeiture of his estates being retrieved by his widow's persistence in seeking their recovery. Yet, first, attention must be turned to the even more prevalent theme of patronage.

It was the main vehicle for Robert's promotion, and was provided chiefly by the earl of Lancaster. Royal appointments and rewards recognised rather than augmented the status Robert had achieved in Lancaster's service. Dr. Maddicott has outlined the particulars of some of Lancaster's grants to Robert and, as he indicated, most of them were more than simple rewards for service. Lancaster passed on to Robert lands which he had gained rather than inherited, where his title might be in doubt, in order to build his closest supporter into a landlord of considerable stature in the north and midlands, to support and complement his own Lancastrian patrimony.

For instance, Thorpe Waterville castle in Northamptonshire, with its attendant manors of Achurch and Aldwinkle, was disputed in the early fourteenth century by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, amongst others.

1. J.R.Maddicott, 'Thomas of Lancaster and Sir Robert Holland: a Study in Noble Patronage', E.H.R., 1xxxvi (1971), 449-472.

To secure the Lancastrian influence there by removing the original protagonist, himself, Lancaster passed the manors on to Robert I in 1320. On Robert's forfeiture in 1322, seisin was restored to Pembroke, whose widow Mary disputed Robert's own restoration in 1328. With the death of Robert in 1328, his widow, Maud Holland, bought out the countess of Pembroke for 1,500 marks. Thereafter, the Holland claim was secure and it became the family seat until 1451.

The inheritance Robert I thus gained through Lancaster's patronage was more than doubled by the single act of Robert's marriage. Lancaster's influence secured for Robert the hand of Maud, daughter and coheiress of William lord Zouche, with £720 worth of Zouche estates in the north midlands. By contrast, the other Zouche heiress, Ellen, only took £104 worth of Devon estates to Nicholas Seymour, a less valuable Lancastrian 3 supporter. The accretion of all these estates, putting Robert in receipt of some £1,340 per annum, brought him a summons to Parliament in July 1314, in recognition of his arrival as a magnate.

This extensive financial aggrandisement was made as a reward for, and in expectation of, service and support. Lancaster's long sojourns out of political favour and so away from the fount of royal patronage meant he had to buy his political allies. He was often short of magnate backing, so Robert represents something of an attempt by Lancaster to create his own magnate following. Furthermore, only at the times of temporary Lancastrian

up by her husband's debts; Phillips, Aymer de Valence, 238. 3. Maddicott, 'Lancaster and Holland', 461. 4. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, 48.

^{1.} V.C.H. Northamptonshire iii, 136-7; R.Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster i, (1953), 24; J.R.Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322, (Oxford, 1970), 154-7; Maddicott, 'Holland and Lancaster', 453; J.R.S.Phillips, Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324, (Oxford, 1972), 77-82. 2. C.C.R. 1327-30, 581-2, 586-7; C.P.R. 1327-30, 455. Thorpe Waterville brought in 200 marks in annual rents and Mary may have been forced to sell

political power was Robert too involved in the central political scene. His appointments as justice of Chester, in August 1307, December 1311 and February 1319, reflect Lancaster's transient political influence and his eagerness to infiltrate his most trusted supporter into a position of great import for his own influence in the north west.

Naturally, Robert's eminence was not without significance in his native Lancashire. Some of his Holland kinsmen followed him into Lancaster's service, his brother William and cousins Richard and Simon, though none could emulate Robert in rising above the level of Lancashire knights. Others were alienated and a Banastre /Bradshaw gang attacked Holland property in south Lancashire in 1315. However, this dispute soon lost its identification with wider political issues and degenerated into a purely local vendetta, simmering on into the 1330s.

Meanwhile, Robert I's close links with Lancaster and his resultant wealth and power came to an end in 1322. In the final crisis leading up to Boroughbridge, Robert deserted his erstwhile patron; despite bringing troops reputedly to Lancaster's aid, he joined Edward II. Contemporaries $\begin{array}{c}4\\\\4\end{array}$ berated him for his disloyalty and self-interest, though by this point Lancaster's patronage had made Robert into a magnate of virtually independent standing, who might have been tempted to join the gradual drift

^{4.} Chronicon Henrici Knighton i, ed. J.R.Lumby, (R.S., 1889), 424-425, 449; Annales Paulini, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II i,

| ed. W.Stubbs, (R.S., 1882), 342; Vita Edwardi Secundi, in Chronicles of the | 2 |
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| Reigns of Edward I and Edward II ii, ed. W.Stubbs, (R.S., 1883), 267; | - |
| M.Prestwich, The Three Edwards, (1980), 91, 93, 109. | |

^{1.} G.A.Holmes, <u>The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century</u> <u>England</u>, (Cambridge, 1957), 135, 139.

^{2.} Adam Banastre had been Robert's ward and was now his brother-in-law: Calendar of Memoranda Rolls, 326.

^{3.} G.H.Tupling, South Lancashire in the Reign of Edward II, (Chetham Society, Third Series, i, 1949), xli-li provides the details of the dispute.

away of Lancaster's supporters in the months leading up to Boroughbridge.

Robert's desertion saved him little but his life, and that turned out 1 to be only a reprieve. He was imprisoned and lost all his estates. Released in the turmoil of Edward II's fall, the restored Robert I became an instrument for Isabella to use against the new earl of Lancaster, Henry, brother of Robert's patron. Robert's landed potential intruded on 2 Lancaster's area of influence. This heightened tension all round, and the Lancastrian influence behind Robert's murder, near St. Albans in October 3 1328, was clear to the chroniclers. His death left his widow Maud to struggle on and save his still incompletely restored inheritance for their children: four under age sons, Robert, Thomas, Alan and Otto, and three daughters, Isabella, Matilda and Margaret. Not for the last time, the maintenance of the Holland inheritance would owe much to the determination of a dowager widow.

The combination of her efforts to regain Holland estates and the purchase of her children's marriages put Maud in some financial 4 difficulty; between 1329 and 1336, she acknowledged debts of over £3,000. Estates had to be leased and the difficulty she encountered in gaining payment of her husband's arrears from his spells as justice of Chester 6 compounded her financial problems. She retired to Northamptonshire when her eldest son Robert II was proclaimed of age and granted seisin of his

5. C.C.R. 1327-30, 589; C.C.R. 1330-33, 277, 281, 317, 322, 392, 541, 546, 555, 569, 607; C.C.R. 1333-37, 340, 492, 654; C.C.R. 1337-39, 521.
6. Ridlington manor in Rutland was leased to Simon Bereford to repay a 400 mark debt: C.C.R. 1327-30, 589; C.P.R. 1330-34, 81.

^{1.} P.R.O., SC12/18/85.

^{2.} For a detailed analysis of the complex years of Edward III's minority see P.C.Doherty, 'Isabella, Queen of England, 1296-1330', (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1977), 172-269.

^{3.} Annales Paulini, 342; Knighton i, 449; C.I.M. 1307-49, 270.

^{4.} She bought her son Robert's wardship and marriage for 500 marks in 1329 and her daughter Matilda's marriage to John lord Mowbray's son cost her £500 in 1332: C.F.R. 1327-37, 117; C.C.R. 1330-33, 607.

estates in April 1335. Her death in 1349 released the full Holland inheritance to Robert, though she had enfeoffed Thomas I of some of its more choice manors in Northamptonshire in 1346, after his success at Caen.

By contrast with Thomas, Robert II's career was singularly undistinguished. He served in the Scottish wars in the 1330s and at Crécy, but thereafter moved little from Northamptonshire. Even there, it was not until 1350 that he was entrusted with administrative appointments, only becoming a j.p. in 1354. He was finally summoned to parliament in 1363, and 4 died in 1373.

His eldest son Robert was already dead, so the fee simple estates went to Robert II's granddaughter, Matilda, and her husband John lord Lovell, and, five generations on, to the crown, as Francis viscount Lovell forfeited all for his adherence to the Yorkist cause at Stoke in 1487. The male entailed estates, comprising Thorpe Waterville castle and other Northamptonshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire manors, went to the fourth son John, (of the other two sons, Thomas was dead and Gilbert was a monk). The Hollands of Thorpe Waterville were to continue for another two generations, John being followed by his son John, followed in turn by his son John, until he died heirless in 1451 and his estates reverted to Henry Holland. They did have some connections with the more illustrious junior lines, but their significance rarely extended beyond Northamptonshire. The senior line

neighbours of Robert II. 6. <u>C.I.P.M.</u> xiii, 237-240; <u>C.C.R. 1377-81</u>, 57; P.R.O., C260/116, no.12. 7. <u>C.F.R. 1445-52</u>, 178.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1333-37, 386.

C.P.R. 1345-48, 127, Hals/Brackley and Kings Sutton; C.I.P.M. ix, 178-180.
 C.P.R. 1330-34, 459; P.R.O., C71/15, m.39d; C71/17, mm.6d, 7d; Crécy and

Calais AD 1346-47, ed. G.Wrottesley, (W.S.A.S., xviii part 2, 1897), 81. 4. C.P.R. 1348-50, 515, 516, 518; C.P.R. 1354-58, 122-124; C.P.R. 1361-64, 66; C.P.R. 1364-67, 431.

^{5.} G.E.C. viii, 219-225 for details on the Lovell family, Northamptonshire

returned to the level of county knight from which it had been so dramatically raised by Thomas of Lancaster in the early fourteenth century. Without the patronage of a great noble or the king, without a fortunate marriage, without a lucky capture in war, elevation beyond the level of local knight was very difficult.

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Part 2 Thomas Holland: the Rise of a Royal Soldier 1328-1360

The fortunes of war and marriage did allow Robert I's second son, Thomas I, to outshine not only his elder brother Robert II, but their father also, and to found a dynasty far more important than the Hollands of Thorpe Waterville. Yet Thomas started from small beginnings, funded by a 1 E26 annuity gained for him by his mother in 1329. Thomas may well have served in the Scottish campaigns of the earlier 1330s with his elder brother Robert II; he had certainly had some Scottish experience by 1338. His first dated military experience was in 1337 when he served in Robert d'Artois' force of 3,500 which sailed from Southampton to Bordeaux to forestall the French attempt to act on Philip VI's confiscation of 3 Gascony. But there is nothing too noteworthy here; this is the sort of service one might expect of a knightly cadet.

The first sure indication of more significant status comes in William 4de Norwell's royal wardrobe book of July 1338 to May 1340 which reveals Thomas as a knight of the royal household. His perks included a £10 New Year bounty paid in February 1338, a tun of wine shared with two of the Beauchamps in July 1338 and 4 marks for sets of robes in winter and summer in 1338 and 1339. Details are also included of his service in the royal retinue in Flanders for 483 days from 22 July 1338 to 16 November 1339. For 61 of those days, he dined in the royal hall, with just one squire. He was drawing wages for two and the temporary absence of the other, who

6. Thomas' war wages started, not when Edward III sailed from England (July 16), but from when he recalled his ambassadors neotiating for peace at the papal court, E.Perroy, The Hundred Years' War, (1965), 101.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1327-30, 469.

C.P.R. 1338-40, 18, rewarded for Scottish service with a wardship.
 Oeuvres de Froissart ii, ed. K.de Lettenhove, (Brussels, 1867), 393-400.
 P.R.O., E36/203, printed as The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340, ed. M.Lyon, B.Lyon, H.S.Lucas, (Brussels, 1983).
 Ibid., 252, 267, 303.

certainly returned from Flanders with Thomas, shows how a knight's retinue was not constantly in attendance on him.

The Low Countries campaign of 1338 to February 1340 had not been a great success for Edward III. He had changed the nature of the war from a feudal conflict to a dynastic dispute by assuming the French crown and he had gained dazzling alliances with the Empire, Flanders and much of the Low 1 Countries. Yet all this making and keeping of alliances was a great financial drain. This was reflected in Thomas' record in the campaign. As a soldier, he had been largely unemployed; the only non-financial record of his movements being two charters of Walter Mauny witnessed by him at Valenciennes in September 1339. The campaign had made no military gains, yet the wages of just this one household knight, with two squires, had 3still come to £202 1s 1d. Edward III could not afford such lengthy, indecisive sojourns abroad.

Thomas was also followed into the royal service by his two younger brothers. The elder, Alan, was not so directly committed, serving abroad in 1338 as a squire of John de Molyns. The younger, Otto, actually entered the royal household and received an allowance for winter and summer robes in $\frac{4}{1338}$ and 1339. As a squire he received no war wages directly, but he may well have served in Flanders with Thomas I as the two were certainly very close comrades later.

Thomas' royal household links clearly had something to do with a dramatic turn of events for him, before he returned to Flanders in 1340. Probably by then, he had made the considerable coup of marrying Joan of Kent. This was eventually to seal the arrival of the Hollands amongst the

- 1. Ibid., 101-6 has details of the campaign.
- 2. <u>C.P.R.</u> 1338-40, 409, 410
- 3. Norwell's Wardrobe Book, 341-2, 388.
- 4. Ibid., 314, 305; Treaty Rolls ii (1337-39), 130.

nobility, brought Thomas the title earl of Kent a month before his death, and later elevated his sons to the periphery of royalty. Though the stigma of his father's disgrace was fading, the details of how this poorly endowed younger son, at an early stage in his career as a royal household knight, came into the orbit of, and then married, a granddaughter of Edward I are unclear and rather puzzling.

It should be remembered, though, that in 1339/40, Joan's own situation was not as illustrious as it might have been, or was to become. Her father, Edmund earl of Kent, Edward I's youngest son, had been beheaded and deprived of all his estates in 1330 for trying to restore Edward II. Her elder brother, Edmund, died in 1331 after their mother, Margaret, had secured the restoration of the estates, but in 1339 her younger brother, John, still survived, to attain his majority in 1351. So her prospects as an heiress were not great in 1339; it was only in 1349 with the heirless death of her uncle Thomas lord Wake, followed in 1352 by the heirless death of her brother John, that her marriage became worth a great deal in terms of estates.

Yet, even given her poor prospects at the time, her marriage was a considerable coup for Thomas, and must have owed much to Edward III's influence. Joan herself was only aged twelve in 1340, so her role in deciding her husband cannot have been decisive. Her mother, Margaret, was a forceful character and her later actions show how disparaging she considered it for her daughter to marry a younger son of a disgraced Lancastrian lord. Joan and Thomas may well have become acquainted in the

account is followed in R.Barber, Edward Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, (Woodbridge Suffolk, 1978), 172-3. K.P.Wentersdorf, 'The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', Journal of Medieval History, v (1979), 203-231 is the most recent and thorough analysis of the actual divorce.

^{1.} R.Delachenal, <u>Histoire de Charles V</u> iv, (Paris, 1909-31), 7-10 uses most of the relevant documents, but places the Montague marriage in 1347/8. His

royal household but it was Sir William and lady Catherine Montague who were 1Joan's early governor and governess during her residence at Woodstock. No record of any prior link between the Holland and Kent families exists. The marriage has to be seen as a reward by Edward III to Thomas for his considerable military services already rendered, services which for the 2time being preoccupied him a good deal more than his betrothed did.

Wardrobe records have not survived for Edward III's return to Flanders in June 1340 and his abortive Tournai campaign. The activities of his household knights are thus hard to follow; however, Froissart recalled Thomas' presence at the signal success of Sluys on 24 June 1340, and also at the frustrated subsequent siege of Tournai. Edward III may have returned to England by early December 1340, but Thomas was issued with 4 protections to stay abroad until Christmas 1341.

About this time, he seems to have gone on crusade, for in 1349 it was cited that Thomas had been absent in Prussia when he had lost his wife to 5 William Montague. Joan was married to William by 10 February 1341. The young William was only of the same age as Joan, both now rising thirteen;

(W.S.A.S., viii part 1, 1887), 65. 5. Mold was then being settled on William, son of William Montague, and his wife Joan by the earl of Salisbury: C.P.R. 1340-43, 145.

^{1.} M.Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', <u>University of</u> <u>Birmingham Historical Journal</u>, i (1947), 13-50. This article is disappointingly cursory about her marriages.

^{2.} The marriage comes a year after Edward III created his batch of new earls and is a further example of the arrival of a new military nobility in Edward III's court.

^{3.} Froissart iii, 193-198, 313. It is possible that Froissart, not writing this section of his chronicles before the 1350s at the earliest, and mindful of Thomas' later renown, may have anticipated it and so credited Thomas with more prowess in these early campaigns than was his due: J.J.N.Palmer, 'Book I (1325-78) and its Sources', in Froissart: Historian, ed. J.J.N.Palmer, (Woodbridge Suffolk, 1981), 7-24. A payment of war wages for undated service by him and his retinue at Sluys survives in P.R.O., E101/391/9, f.2.

^{4.} G.Wrottesley, An Account of the Military Service Performed by Staffordshire Tenants in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,

Joan's domineering mother Margaret clearly had much to do with this second marriage. The details of this part of Thomas' story must be postponed for a moment; meanwhile, it certainly looks as if he was making a stylish start as a chivalrous man.

Thomas must have been fresh from Prussia when Edward III, frustrated by his allies falling away in north east France, found a new opportunity presented by the death of John III, duke of Brittany, on 30 April 1341; the Breton inheritance was now in dispute. The two parties involved, Montfort and Blois, sought the support of Brittany's two powerful neighbours, England and France respectively, and the duchy was plunged into civil war until 1364. For Edward III, Brittany presented a new, more viable and cheaper route into France. He landed there in October 1342 to support the Montfort claim and with him came, amongst his household, Thomas and Alan Holland. Otto Holland, by now knighted, had already landed with the expedition of Robert of Artois and the earl of Northampton in August 1342, drawing war wages, with two squires and two horse archers, from the fifteenth of that month. Alan Holland, with three other squires, served with Thomas, and their war pay began on September 23. All three returned to England with Edward III in February 1343, after the truce of Malestroit terminated another inconclusive campaign, with war wages ceasing on February 15.

These three Holland younger sons stayed in the royal household, drawing their 5 mark half-year fees up to Easter 1344, and receiving winter and summer clothing allowances for the same periods. Other royal rewards were few; a third share in the wardship of Robert Charles, granted to

Perroy, <u>Hundred Years' War</u>, 114-5; K.Fowler, <u>The King's Lieutenant</u>, (1969), 37-38; P.R.O., E36/204, ff.104 & 106. <u>Ibid.</u>, f.86.

Thomas in February 1338, was the only award to a Holland before 1346. Other benefits from looting and booty, gained in campaigns conducted almost exclusively on enemy territory, cannot be evaluated. Nor can their domestic roles in England and the royal household now be discerned; they only appear on royal service, fighting abroad. They were thereby gaining status, and stature, yet it was in the royal service, and in an often military environment. They had little chance to develop any standing in a local community. As younger sons, their chances would have been limited anyway. Edward III's military needs at least allowed them to progress as soldiers.

A casual aside by Jean le Bel in his description of the siege of Caen in 1346 details Thomas as renowned amongst the French for his service not only in Prussia, but also in Granada. This second crusading venture, to Spain, is, like his Prussian service, elusive, but it was probably undertaken in the company of Henry, earl of Derby. Derby, with the earl of Salisbury, father of Thomas' marital competitor, led an expedition to Granada leaving England in March 1343. Cultivation of Castile was the main diplomatic aim, in an effort to safeguard Gascony. Thomas' invol $\frac{e}{2}$ ment is nowhere specified, but it can be surmised. He was appointing attornies, preparatory to going abroad, on 20 March 1343, and Froissart has him leaving England soon after Easter with Sir John Hardeshull and a force of 200 men-at-arms and 300 archers in a more direct military effort

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4. K.Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-61' i, (Leeds Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1961), 153-158.

 <u>C.P.R.</u> 1338-40, 18. This may have been only a third of Kettleburgh manor in Suffolk, but it was likely to be of long benefit as Robert was only two years old: <u>C.I.P.M.</u> viii, 69.
 H.J.Hewitt, <u>The Organisation of War Under Edward III</u> 1338-62,

⁽Manchester, 1966), 104-110 analyses military plunder.

^{3.} Chronique de Jean le Bel ii, ed. J.Viard & E.Deprez, (S.H.F., 1905), 82.

to bolster Gascony's defences. This was Thomas' first recorded major command and indicates the increasing confidence that Edward III was to show in his abilities. The force was sent to Bayonne, in the south of Gascony and, though Froissart has defence against the French as its objective, it may have been intended as a show of strength for the benefit of Castile to assist Lancaster's bargaining, or even as a direct reinforcement for him. Thomas could thus easily have joined up with Lancaster in Granada before the English expedition left there in November 1343. It is true he was not noticed there, but scarcely any of the English knights who were with Derby are known by name.

After his possible return from Spain in 1343, the activities of Thomas, and also his brothers, are unrecorded for the next two years. Service in France should have left a record of issued protections, though they were by no means obligatory. The brothers were still household knights, Alan being raised to this status by February 1346, as they were then all drawing their clothing allowances and fees. War wages were also being paid then, and in the following April to Thomas and Otto, so they may well have served in the renewed fighting in Brittany under Dagworth in 2 1345.

As with so many others from the king down, it was on the Crécy expedition that Thomas really made his mark. He was involved in it from the start, supervising arrays in Leicestershire and Warwickshire in March 1346. His elder brother, Robert II, served in the earl of Warwick's retinue, but Robert's son, also Robert, served, as did Thomas, in the royal retinue. Thomas took four squires and three mounted archers; Otto had three squires

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1. P.R.O., C76/18, m.13 (three attornies appointed until Christmas); <u>C.P.R.</u> <u>1343-45</u>, 15 (two attornies appointed on May 2 until next Easter); <u>freisgart W</u> 398. 2. P.R.O., E403/336, mm.31, 41; E101/390/12, f.6.

and four archers. They drew war wages from 4 June. The progress of the 2 campaign needs no repeating, yet it was events at Caen that were to establish Thomas' fortune and elevate him above the relative obscurity of a household knight.

As the town was being overrun by the English, the comte d'Eu, constable of France, surrendered to Thomas' custody. The chroniclers record Thomas' reputation as a factor in the comte's choice of captor, though there were present Englishmen closer to the comte's status. The capture was certainly a major boon for Thomas, the sort of lucky bonus that inspired many to go to France. Yet it is both difficult to discover the actual wealth and hard to evaluate the prestige it brought Thomas. The ransom should have made him very rich. There is no record of Thomas trying to ransom the count directly back to the French. With the campaign still progressing, leading from Caen to Crécy and then Calais, there was little opportunity for bargaining with a still very hostile enemy. The comte d'Eu's whereabouts after his capture are unknown, but he may well have travelled with the English army in Thomas' custody as it is only in April 1347, with the Calais siege in progress and Thomas back in England, that orders are issued to Thomas to lock his charge up securely. Once secured, the ransom could be sorted out. Edward III, as was his prerogative with such an important prisoner, bought the comte d'Eu from Thomas for 80,000 florins (£13,333 13s 4d). Thomas was to be paid over three years in twice annual payments at Michaelmas and Easter out of the wool subsidy: £2,000 in



^{1.} Crécy and Calais, 79, 81, 100, 176-7.

^{2.} Barber, Edward Prince of Wales, 48-79 has a full account.

^{3.} Jean le Bel ii, 82-83.

the first year, then £6,833 13s 4d and £4,500.

Thomas now lost all control over the comte as Edward III took over his custody. Yet Edward soon passed on this responsibility to Thomas' younger brother Otto. Otto was such a confederate of Thomas that this must have been a form of surety for Thomas receiving his money. Thomas is not recorded as ever actually receiving any of the ransom, or more strictly, the purchase price of the comte; lack of evidence is a factor, but things clearly did now begin to go wrong. Otto had been detailed not to take the comte d'Eu out of England armed, yet he did precisely this, displaying him at Calais. Otto was subsequently indicted for this and imprisoned in July 1350. It is nowhere mentioned but this may have been seen to invalidate Thomas' ransom agreement with Edward III. The fate of the comte d'Eu himself was even less happy: still a prisoner in England in October 1350, he was then issued with letters of safe conduct, but was arrested on his return to Paris and executed on 18 November 1350. Delay in ransom payments could have encouraged Edward III to allow him back to France to help speed the flow of cash. His death there though would have had very much the opposite effect and any payment of ransom by Edward III to Thomas may have suffered in consequence.

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all the comte d'Eu's lands and goods were confiscated on his death and granted by King John II to the duke of Bourbon: <u>Dictionnaire de la Noblesse</u> vi, ed. M.de la Chenaye-Desbois, (2nd edn., Paris, 1770-86), 206-207.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1346-49, 255; C.P.R. 1345-48, 337, 538-9, 550-1; Foedera v, 568; Crecy and Calais, 269, 272. Ransoms were generally fixed at a year's potential income . For a full assessment of ransoms and their payment see E.R.Warra, 'The Treatment and Disposition of Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years' War', (Wayne State Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1977), 206-299. 2. Extracts from the Coram Rege Rolls of Edward III and Richard II, AD 1327 to AD 1383, ed. G.Wrottesley, (W.S.A.S., xiv, 1893), 74; Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward III vi, ed. G.O.Sayles, (Selden Society, 1965), 70-71.

^{3.} Jean le Bel ii, 198 n.3.

^{4.} There would still be an obligation to pay the ransom if hostages had been left in England: Warra, Prisoners of War: thesis, 241-244. However,

Whatever cash Thomas did eventually realise from his capture, it was a great boost for his prestige. During the Crecy expedition, he held several high command appointments, and his actions received increased press from the chroniclers. Froissart's reference to him as marshal for the expedition is inaccurate, but he may have held some responsibilities in this area under the earl of Warwick, such as being delegated to count the casualties after Crecy. The English army advanced through Normandy in three columns and Thomas was a commander of the left flank column. Froissart further provides details of his exploits at Amiens and Rouen, and he was wounded in an assault on a castle on the Seine. At Crecy, he was placed, with his brother Otto, in the division of the prince of Wales, who would stand as godfather to Thomas' eldest son in 1350.

Thomas continued to serve at the siege of Calais during the winter of 1346-47, assisting in negotiations with the garrison and forays for 3 supplies and booty as late as 21 April 1347. Thence he returned to England, probably to collect horse replacements after the severe winter, as 4 he was being urgently summoned back to Calais, horses or no, on 14 May. Calais fell on 4 August and Edward III returned to England on 14 October.

Now Thomas received his first significant reward for some nine years of fairly consistent royal military service, a £40 annuity from Hayling 5 priory. Thomas had also by now been tied closer to Edward III by his institution, with Otto, as one of the founding knights of the Garter.

Siècle, ed. A.& F.Molinier, (S.H.F., 1882), 86 & 278. 4. Military Service by Staffordshire Tenants, 88 & n; Foedera v, 562-3; Crécy and Calais, 121; P.R.O., C76/24, m.10. 5. Crécy and Calais, 176.

^{1.} Froissart iv, 386; ibid. v, 76.

^{2.} Ibid. iv, 395-7, 432, 493; ibid. v, 31, 33, 35; Récits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes, ed. K.de Lettenhove, (Louvain, 1877), 220; Eulogium Historiarum iii, ed. F.S.Haydon, (R.S., 1863), 208. 3. P.R.O., C76/23, m.3, (protection on 24 January 1347 until Pentecost); Crécy and Calais, 110; Jean le Bel ii, 161; Chronique Normande du XIVe

Edward III was keen for his order to recognise the prowess of such knights, as well as of more senior soldiers; some of his magnates were even excluded for not measuring up to the standards of loyalty of such as the Hollands. The inclusion of Otto is significant in confirming that, where Thomas is mentioned by the chroniclers, or rewarded/paid for his service, the support and service of Otto should also be understood. The partnership was to be more evident in the 1350s, but it must have been established, if unrecorded, long before.

One further consequence of the prestige and financial wealth Thomas had gained on the Crécy campaign and after was that he now felt able to regain his wife Joan. The outlines of the case, whose succesful conclusion was the key to the future Holland fortunes, are fairly simple. Thomas initiated proceedings in the papal court, to avoid the influence in England of Montague, now earl of Salisbury, and Margaret countess of Kent. Despite their extensive delaying tactics, Joan and Thomas' marriage was confirmed and publicised on 13 November 1349, significantly, three weeks after the death of the countess of Kent. Joan was restored to Thomas, giving birth to their son Thomas II in 1350, and William took another wife in Elizabeth Mohun. The case was not yet closed though as Thomas had to resort to another petition to the papacy, answered in July 1354, reaffirming the judgement of 1349. William may well have been agitating for some share of the Kent inheritance which had come to Joan, and so Thomas, on the death of her brother John, earl of Kent, in 1352.

Be that as it may, the whole affair was so important for the Holland

Chivalry, (Woodbridge Suffolk, 1982), 89-91. 2. Lambeth Palace Library, Islip Register, f.180. Wentersdorf, 'Clandestine Marriages', 203-231 has the details of the case. 3. P.R.O., SC7/22/16.

^{1.} The earls of Huntingdon and Arundel were excluded for their ambivalent political stance in England, especially in 1340: J.Vale, Edward III and

fortunes that it demands further consideration. Such a rare example of divorce amongst the noble classes in later medieval England is also worth considering in its own right. Divorce seems most prevalent amongst the lower levels of the population as they had fewer records and servants to remind them of their degrees of consanguinity and affinity, (the commonest grounds for divorce), and there was less need for their marriages to be publicised, witnessed, accompanied by solemn land agreements, in general to be raised above the level of a clandestine union and thereby remove the possibility of later dispute. Even in more elevated circles however, marriage could still be a very informal, personal agreement, uncluttered by the financial arrangements of familial/feudal pressures, as Thomas' case testifies. The idea of the freedom of choice of the marriage partners was spreading. Indeed, the marriages of Joan of Kent may well depict a clash between this ideal, (the marriage to Thomas I), with the more traditional view that marriage was a business agreement between families, (the marriage to William Montague).

The initial marriage to Thomas was evidently not an elaborate, public affair, and its clandestine nature allowed William to get away with blatant cohabitation with another man's wife for a long time. William may even have been unaware of the precise nature of Joan's prior liasion with Thomas as the flexibility of the often nebulous formalities required to finalise a marriage could lead partners subsequently to establish, perfectly innocently, bigamous relationships. Later chroniclers were even unaware of an initial marriage between Thomas and Joan and thought William had been divorced from Joan for infidelity, allowing Thomas, reputedly William's

1. See M.M.Sheehan, 'The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register', <u>Medieval Studies</u>, xxxiii (1971), 228-263 for the prevalence of clandestine marriages in the lower levels of society. Some 40% of cases before the Ely court involved bigamy. steward, then to marry his master's wife. The crux of Thomas' proctor's defence though was that Thomas' marriage with Joan had been consummated; this was certainly deemed sufficient in the view of the papal court to remove any doubts about the nature of Thomas' liasion with Joan and convinced it to pronounce in his favour. The marriage was ordered to be solemnized as a public demonstration of the papal decision; the marriage to $\frac{2}{2}$ William, it was declared, had been null and void from the start.

Joan herself would not appear to come out of this episode with much credit. Her apparent conniving at bigamy though should rather be viewed as the submission of a young girl, barely a teenager at the time, to the plans of an ambitious mother; Margaret undoubtedly preferred an earl as a son-inlaw to a landless cadet. Joan may well even have been unaware of the precise nature of the ceremonies she was being subjected to: however, young, especially noble, children did sometimes have to grow up very 3 quickly.

Thomas received no commissions nor administrative appointments during this period at home. The professional soldier with few estates and so little local influence and standing had little role to play in the general administration of the country. All this changed though in December 1352 with the death of Thomas' brother-in-law, John, earl of Kent. It can hardly have been expected as John was only aged 22, but its consequences for the Hollands were tremendous. John died childless and his heir was his sister, Joan, now established as Thomas' wife. She now brought to her husband estates in sixteen counties. John did leave a young widow, Elizabeth of

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3. Margaret Beaufort had had one marriage dissolved and was a widowed mother after another at the age of 13 in 1457: S.B.Chrimes, <u>Henry VII</u>, (1972), 13.

^{1.} The Chronicle of John Hardyng, ed. H.Ellis, (1812), 331.

^{2.} P.R.O., E30/67.

Juliers, and she kept estates in four counties, in a compact south-western block. They never fell to the Hollands as she survived until 1411, three years after the fourth and last Holland earl of Kent had died.

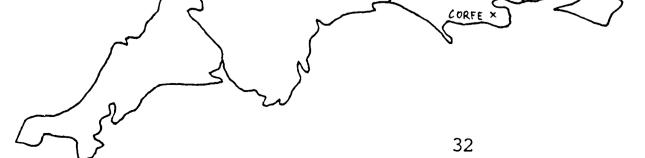
The estates were by no means a neat, compact unit, bringing influence and power in one area of the country, though there were several holdings in a broad belt extending through Northamptonshire, Rutland, Lincolnshire to Yorkshire. Their organisation and administration must have mirrored their distribution as their history in the fourteenth century was at best convoluted. John had only attained his majority the year before his death and he had been a posthumous child of his father Edmund in 1330, so the estates had undergone the longest possible minority. Edmund had been executed for treason in 1330, forfeiting all in consequence, though restoration followed fairly swiftly. He had been the youngest son of Edward I and so had had to have his appanage created for him. This was done initially with lands which had escheated to the crown through the natural feudal process. With the fall of the Despensers in 1326, a great mass of estates became available and Edmund was well rewarded for his part in their overthrow with Despenser lands worth some £741 14s 3d in February 1327. These lands might have been vulnerable to resurgent Despenser claims, so many of them, situated in the south west, were handed over as dower to Elizabeth in 1352. John's redoubtable mother Margaret only died in September 1349, just outliving and inheriting from her brother Thomas, the second lord Wake, so thereby adding the Wake estates as well as restoring

^{2.} Including E382 13s 4d worth of manors and fee farms in October 1315: <u>C.P.R. 1313-17</u>, 360. Also E236 13s 4d worth of fee farms on his elevation to the earldom of Kent in July 1321: C.F.R. 1319-27, 68. See also G.E.C.

| vii, 142–148. | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| VAA, 142 140. | | |
| 3. C.Ch.R. 1327-41, 4. For an | analysis of Despenser pr | copertied wealth, see |
| | | |
| N.Fryde, The Tyranny and Fall | of Edward II $1321 - 1326$. | (Cambridge, 1979). |
| Nollyde, the systemity and said | . Of Handra II 1521 1520/ | (calle13.age/ 13/3// |
| 228-232. | | |
| 220-232. | | |

^{1.} C.I.P.M. x, 41-57.





her dower lands to the Kent inheritance.

All this great inheritance had not yet fallen in when Thomas I resumed his military career abroad in February 1352. This second phase of it saw him used in a rather different role. With his accession to the Kent estates, he now had considerable financial reserves and a much augmented recruiting potential, so he was appointed to a series of administrative military posts. He was no longer a relatively impoverished household knight, a capable fighter, but lacking the resources and commensurate stature needed for major independent command. Edward III increasingly had need of such experienced, self-sufficient leaders as the areas of his influence and control expanded. Though still serving abroad in a military capacity, the rest of Thomas' career was spent in a more administrative role than he had previously been used to.

Thomas was appointing attornies, preparatory to going abroad, in February 1352, yet it was August before there is evidence of his service as captain of Calais castle. No further details survive of this Calais post. However, Calais was of great importance to Edward III and one attempt to betray it had already been made in 1349; Edward now needed officials there who were completely trustworthy. Thomas was solely responsible for the garrison of the castle, the rest of the town having its own captain. Already his younger brother Otto was doing much of the actual work as his deputy, organising revictualling; a pattern to be repeated.

The death of his brother-in-law John in December 1352 again interrupted Thomas' military career. He returned to England to take over

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3. For the powers and duties of the captains/governors, and a survey of Edwardian Calais in general, see D.Greaves, 'Calais under Edward III', in Finance and Trade under Edward III, ed. G.Unwin, (2nd edn., 1962), 313-350.

^{1.} C.I.P.M. ix, 201-210, 233-5.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1350-54, 231; P.R.O., C76/30, m.3.

the Kent inheritance, give the appropriate homage and agree the apportionment of the countess Elizabeth's dower in the early months of 1353. This sudden accession to wealth also meant that Thomas' creditors began to clamour for repayment: the earl of Arundel was owed 200 marks, which was paid, and Sir Ralph Neville of Raby 400 marks, which was to be reduced to 200 marks if that was promptly paid in two instalments in a year. The FitzAlan wealth, and consequent money-lending capacity, is well known; the Neville money may represent some amity established on campaign not revealed in the highlights picked out by the chroniclers. These loans do reveal that a royal household knight, even with the limited retinues that Thomas took to war, was hard pressed to meet his military expenses out of royal sources without the supplement of a significant landed income.

With his landed and financial resources now sorted out, Thomas was soon back in royal service in 1353, travelling again to Brittany before ³ November as Edward III sought to keep up the English pressure there. This was Thomas' third trip to the war-wracked duchy which had become a microcosm of the whole Anglo-French dispute. The complexities of the succession wrangles, the susceptible allegiances of the various Breton factions, the task of realising financial self-sufficiency for the English cause there and the need to sustain military pressure on the French were all aspects of the post of English lieutenant there which required someone of proven ability and experience. In March 1354, this responsibility was given to Thomas as his most important position yet. As the king's captain

<u>Ibid.</u>, 585, 588.
 P.R.O., E403/371, mm.7 & 16, payments of E100 and 100 marks respectively for Breton service.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.F.R.</u> 1347-56, 356-7, (escheators ordered to hand over the earl of Kent's estates); Chichester City Archives, AY129, (homage now taken for the Chichester city fee farm); <u>C.C.R.</u> 1349-54, 530-1, 552-4, 594, (indenture with Elizabeth over her dower).

and lieutenant, the whole thrust of the English cause depended on him.

He indented to serve for a year with 60 men-at-arms and 100 mounted archers. His orders were to take all captured towns into royal obedience and not to surrender them to the Montforts. He was to have all the rents and profits in Brittany from Easter. His force was paid its first quarter's wages, with regards, but thereafter it was to be financed by Brittany. His small force of 160, including the inevitable Otto and fourteen other knights, assembled at Plymouth from 12 December 1353. Provisions were gathered from local towns, Totnes especially resenting this. The warhorses were valued beforehand to facilitate correct reimbursment of any lost. Additional support included 20 Flemish troops under Francis van Hale, a military adventurer who had recently served the English cause in both Normandy and Gascony. Delays meant that John Gibon, providing the transport, only sailed with his fleet from Sandwich on March 16, bringing 20 men-at-arms and 20 archers of his own. He shipped Thomas' force to 2 Brittany, then returned by way of the Isle of Wight to Sandwich on May 28.

No major new initiative was begun by Thomas' arrival; his force was too small, and the familiar pattern of desultory campaigning continued. Thomas was meant to be financially independent of the English government at home, yet it still sent him administrative instructions. Truces agreed with the French had to be proclaimed in Brittany and he was instructed to a execute grants of Breton castles to the English. His appointment as lieutenant was twice extended, or at least reissued: in November 1354, when he was also given the custody of the young heir to the duchy, John de

P.R.O., E403/371, m.28, (Thomas paid £200 for delays in Devon; the force's first quarter's wages, excluding regards, totalled £502 15s);
 P.R.O., E372/199/41; C.P.R. 1354-58, 65, 22.
 Military Service by Staffordshire Tenants, 95; P.R.O., C76/32, mm.5 & 6.

^{1.} B.L., Harleian Charter 51 F 30; P.R.O., C76/32, m.8; <u>C.P.R. 1354-58</u>, 15; C.C.R. 1354-60, 61.

Montfort, and in February 1355, to run from Easter for another year. He returned to England to lead out another small force in July 1355, this time $\frac{2}{2}$ bringing his wife Joan to Brittany.

The extent of his authority in the duchy is debateable. The Breton littoral was of strategic importance for the protection of the sea routes to Gascony, and it was there that the English influence was strongest. The establishment in Brittany of a sympathetic duke, acknowledging Edward III as his feudal lord, would enhance Edward's claims in and to France, yet there were easier and more direct routes into the French hinterland. Brittany was something of a sideshow with great opportunities for individual commanders to build up independent enclaves for themselves. The military power provided for Thomas illustrates that Brittany was not then the focus of Edward III's hopes.

Some alteration in this policy occured with Thomas' replacement as lieutenant in September 1355 by Henry, duke of Lancaster. Edward III may well have felt that under Thomas' tenure, his control in the duchy had been slipping and the much greater authority of one of his premier commanders, a duke and close relative, was necessary to restore the English position. Yet Lancaster did not take over immediately, being engaged on major projects further east in Normandy in 1355 and 1356, and Thomas stayed on in Brittany for at least a month to hand over.

Thomas' next administrative appointment came in June 1356 when he was made keeper of the Channel Islands. Once again his brother Otto stood in and actually went there as Thomas' lieutenant. In Brittany, Thomas had been

of the force, nor how long it was being paid for; they were merely in auxilium of its wages: C76/33, m.7. 3. M.C.E.Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany 1364-1399</u>, (Oxford, 1970), 12-13. 4. P.R.O., C76/33, m.6; <u>Foedera</u> v, 826-7.

^{1.} Ibid., m.3; C76/33, m.14.

^{2.} P.R.O., E403/377, mm.24 & 27: the payments give no details of the size

given all the local revenues to fund his administration; this was not specified for the Channel Islands and Thomas was allowed to draw a £200 annuity for them, whilst maintaining them at his own expense. The Channel Islands had a similar, though far less vital, strategic role to that of Brittany, as safeguards of English routes into France and also springboards for attacks there. This role was especially pertinent at the time of Thomas' appointment as the duke of Lancaster was then embarking at Southampton for his descent on the Cotentin peninsula and his successful foray through Normandy in June and July 1356. Thomas was reputedly unable to take up his appointment in the Channel Islands as he was already abroad on royal service; he may have gone with Lancaster, or, less likely, have been in the prince of Wales' force advancing from Gascony.

The French too recognised the importance of the Channel Islands and were keen to frustrate the English hold on them. This they had achieved in 1338-40, with the French garrison in castle Cornet only surrendering in 1345. With plans well advanced for Lancaster's expedition to somewhere on the French littoral in the Islands' vicinity, the fall of Cornet to the French again in 1356 created a situation of some urgency. The post of keeper now had strong military requirements, so Thomas was the ideal choice. Immediately unavailable, his brother Otto was a worthy, as well as the usual, substitute. His initial contract for 40 days, at the lavish rate of one mark a day, ran out on June 9, but he had been successful, with Cornet recaptured. The French were still a threat though, and Otto was to

 <u>C.F.R.</u> 1356-68, 7; Fowler, <u>King's Lieutenant</u>, 150-155.
 J.H.Le Patourel, <u>The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands</u> <u>1199-1399</u>, (Oxford, 1937), 30-65.
 <u>C.F.R.</u> 1356-68, 7; P.R.O., E403/380, m.10; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1354-60, 374. The

initial assault captured the French commander. He was ransomed for 80,000 florins, or motons, but the Guernseymen forewent the ransom in return for the surrender of the castle.

stay involved in the Islands' defence for the next two years. He succeeded Thomas as keeper in June 1357, so gaining formal recognition of the judicial and military powers he had already been exercising for over a 1 year. The increasing military burden on the keeper meant that some of his administrative responsibilities increasingly devolved on the receiver, and 2 some of his judicial ones on the bailiff. Otto was in residence but he was by no means tied to the Channel Islands; early in July 1356, after recapturing Cornet, he served for twenty days in Normandy, still at a mark a day, so he could well have brought his own retinue to serve with 3 Lancaster, and his brother Thomas, on the Norman chevauchée.

The Channel Islands did require firm control though. The fall of Cornet had more significance than just the eviction of the French as it had also exacerbated tensions between Guernsey and Jersey. Two Jerseymen had taken the opportunity of the confusion of the recapture to settle finally a score with a Guernseyman. The Jerseymen were imprisoned, but it was feared on Guernsey in 1358 that Otto's proposed replacement, Sir Edmund Cheney, would support the Jerseymen's dispute. Otto sympathised with this view and wrote to the chancellor in March 1358, constructing a substantial case against his successor and the evidently already widely known terms of his appointment. Cheney would sell out Gorey castle on Jersey to the Jerseymen, the English control of the islands would be seriously undermined and Cheney's proposed annuity of £300 was too much as the islands' revenues only totalled 350 marks <u>per annum</u>, so the English garrison troops would not be $\frac{4}{2}$ paid. Otto's appeal was dismissed and Cheney was appointed in May 1358, on £300 per annum (a 50% rise on Otto's pay). Otto's claim about the revenues

C.F.R. 1356-68, 43. He now had his own lieutenant, Thomas Langhurst.
 Le Patourel, The Channel Islands, 51-63.
 P.R.O., E403/380, m.14.

4. E.T.Nicolle, Mont Orgueil Castle, (Jersey, 1921), 17-18, 166.

was not unfounded as Cheney's pay was later cut to 230 marks. Otto himself had by no means profited from his keepership, still owing debts for the Channel Islands in July 1359.

Despite its financial burdens, Otto relished the responsibility of his first, and only, major independent command after his apprenticeship as deputy to Thomas. Now he was beginning to build his own career in military administration; he had not had his elder brother's fortune in marriage and the capture of French nobles, and he was understandably loath to relinquish his command, possibly hoping to establish it as something of an appanage, as Otto Grandison had done, holding the Islands for some fifty years up to 1328. Edward III was not so keen though for such of his lesser commanders to build up private domains, steadily excluding his influence, so Otto had to move on.

Otto's increased status, and his consistent service and assistance to his elder brother, was now recognised and rewarded by Thomas. Shortly after Otto's appointment as his lieutenant in the Channel Islands, Thomas granted him for life, on 1 July 1356, the substantial north Derbyshire manors of Ashford, part of the original Kent inheritance, and Chesterfield, one of the Wake estates which fell in in 1349. This augmented Otto's interest in the area as the Holland manor of Yoxall in Staffordshire had already been under his control for some time before his eldest brother Robert demised it to him for life for 100 marks in February 1359. The rest of his landed

The Hollands and their heirs had and were to have some difficulty maintaining their hold on Yoxall against the Ferrers family and then the house of Lancaster: ibid., 24, 68; P.R.O., DL41/6/19-23; DL41/7/1 & 2.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.F.R. 1356-68</u>, 62; Le Patourel, <u>The Channel Islands</u>, 128; <u>C.C.R. 1354-60</u>, 635.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1354-58</u>, 411; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 448; P.R.O., C143/321/3.

^{3.} The Final Concords, or Feet of Fines, Staffordshire, AD 1327 to AD 1547, G.Wrottesley, (W.S.A.S., xi, 1890), 171. Otto had £5 worth of his goods looted from it in 1354: Coram Rege Rolls of Edward III and Richard II, 90.

endowment was likewise made up of life grants from his elder brothers: Dalbury manor in Derbyshire from Robert and the manors of Talworth in Surrey and Kersey in Suffolk from Thomas. Otto received no recorded extraordinary rewards at all from Edward III for his extensive military service; his brother Thomas was expected to dissipate some of the good fortune that had befallen him, indirectly provided by the king. Thomas had elevated himself to a parliamentary peerage by marriage and the good fortune of war, and now had to learn how best to use his new resources of patronage to reward and encourage. Otto was to remain unmarried before his early death in 1359, yet Thomas was still careful to alienate estates to him only for life: he would provide for his younger brother, but not his heirs, even those yet to be born. Otto's early death restored all his estates to their grantors.

These grants not only reflect some sense of fraternal duty to endow and reward a younger brother; they also alleviated a pressing financial need which Otto's war service had created. The close rolls of the late 1340s and early 1350s contain several acknowledgements by Otto of substantial debts, 3 totalling around £3,280. It is impossible to calculate his war expenses yet this figure does give some idea of the costs a royal household knight had to bear in serving abroad, and the necessity of a private landed income to offset them. Otto certainly did not make his fortune in the wars in the royal service, somewhat in contrast to his brotw/Thomas.

Thomas' appointment as custodian of Cruyk castle in Normandy on 18

1347 to July 1353. Creditors were Richard Dammory, who had used him as a feoffee, Thomas Harwold, a London pepperer and his receiver, Michael Ponyngges (with three), and William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon. Dammory did in turn owe Otto some £2,000: ibid., 209.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 447-8.

^{2.} He was first summoned to Parliament in March 1354: Reports on the Dignity of a Peer iii, 602.

^{3.} C.C.R. 1346-49, 415, 610; C.C.R. 1349-54, 209, 216, 607, from December

November 1357 opened the final phase of his military career. For the remaining three years of his life he was to be consistently employed in and around Normandy as Edward III's French hopes and plans climaxed in the great chevauchée of 1359-60 and the subsequent treaty of Brétigny. English influence in Normandy had developed out of support for the aggrieved king of Navarre, Charles the Bad. Edward III was ever quick to exploit any cause for dissension amongst the French king's vassals and the maligned Charles of Navarre was in violent dissent with King John II by 1354 over the royal retention of his full inheritance, the county of Évreux in Normandy. Charles was a useful, if inconsistent, ally, though the duke of Lancaster's non-appearance in Normandy in 1355 had left Charles with little alternative but to make his peace with John. With the Navarrese now violently opposed to the dauphin after Poitiers, Edward III was seeking to provide more consistent support. He had appointed Philip of Navarre, Charles' younger brother, as his lieutenant in Normandy in October 1356, and this was renewed in December 1357, now with the assistance of one of Edward III's most experienced commanders, Thomas, as captain of Cruyk. Thomas' post was to be financially self-sufficient with local rents and profits providing his income. This sort of arrangment had caused some problems for Edward III's military officials, including Thomas, in Brittany. Garrison commanders, with no financial control over them, came to regard their posts as almost private fiefs, and so paid little heed to the advance of English interests other than their own. Thomas' view of his appointment may have been different; no protection is recorded for his going to Normandy until a year later, in October 1358.

P.R.O., C76/35, m.5.
 Perroy, <u>Hundred Years' War</u>, 127-130; Fowler, <u>King's Lieutenant</u>, 147-8.
 Foedera v, 871-2; <u>ibid</u>. vi, 72.

Meanwhile, he visited the Channel Islands in May 1358 to negotiate 1 with John viscount de Rohan about the Frenchman's ransom. No more is heard of this, but the Frenchman did bring several of his relatives in his retinue of fourteen, who might have been left as hostages with Thomas. This does show that the comte d'Eu in 1346 was not Thomas' sole ransom success in the French wars; many ransom agreements must have been made by the two sides without recourse to any form of government record.

In October 1358, Thomas acceded to a far more eminent role in the direction of English affairs in the duchy of Normandy. The powerful Cotentin lord, Geoffrey de Harcourt, had been sufficiently alienated by Phillip VI to offer his homage to Edward III and to provide valuable advice on the Crécy expedition of 1346. On his death, Edward III retained control of his Cotentin lands, valuable for securing communications with England and as a base for operations in Normandy, appointing his own governors. In October 1358, their care was entrusted to Thomas, with the garrisons being paid by the English exchequer. The estates were centred on the major fortification of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and gave their governor extensive influence in the northern Cotentin. Thomas was preparing to take up residence with his wife Joan and his indispensable brother and deputy Otto in October 1358. His commission was reissued in February 1359 with full power to appoint to all offices and now a 5,000 florins per annum rent, payable to the English exchequer. Saint-Sauveur was reputedly worth some 6,000 francs per annum, so Thomas still stood to gain financially from the

2. P.R.O., C76/36, m.7 printed in Foedera vi, 106-7.

^{1.} P.R.O., C76/36, m.13 printed in Lettres de Rois, Reines et Autres Personages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre ii, ed. M.Champallion-Figeac, (Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1847), 115-6.

appointment.

Control of the Harcourt inheritance necessitated close cooperation with the Navarrese forces as the desultory fighting of petty raids continued in Normandy. On one such raid, accompanying Navarrese troops, in May 1359, Otto was wounded, near Grant-Seuvre, dying some four months later. Thomas' consistent support and deputy was now gone, though his death did restore four manors to the Kent inheritance. Yet this English support for Charles the Bad was not strong or consistent enough, so the king of Navarre made his peace with the dauphin at Pontoise in August 1359, despite 3 Thomas' presence and presumed urging to the contrary.

With plans for Edward III's personal reappearance in France well advanced, Thomas' authority in Normandy was augmented in an effort to offset the Navarrese setback. He stayed out in Normandy, rather than return home to join the expedition preparations, and was entrusted early in October 1359 with the custody of Barfleur, an important entry-point to Normandy on the north-east tip of the Cotentin peninsula. Later in the same month, he was appointed joint lieutenant of Normandy with Philip of Navarre, who had held the post alone for the last three years, to increase the English authority in an area where Edward III had previously been content to allow the Navarrese to pursue their private quarrel with the $\frac{4}{4}$ French crown. Thomas served on the Rheims campaign and, as it drew to its pitiful close in May 1360, he was giving up his custody of the Harcourt

1836), 191; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 447-8. 3. <u>Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel (1343-1468)</u> i, ed. S.Luce, (Société des Anciens Textes Francais, Paris, 1879-83), 6. 4. P.R.O., C76/38, mm.6, 7, 15; Foedera vi, 142.

P.R.O., C76/36, m.7; C76/37, m.19; L.Delisle, <u>Histoire du Chateau et des</u> <u>Sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte</u>, (Paris/Caen, 1867), 109-115; Perroy, <u>Hundred Years' War</u>, 137.
 <u>Chronique de Jean II et Charles V</u> i, ed. R.Delachenal, (S.H.F., 1910-20), 229 & n; Scalacronica of Thomas Gray, ed. J.Stevenson, (Edinburgh,

estates and returning to England to prepare for his final, most important 1 appointment.

On 30 September 1360, Thomas indented to serve as Edward III's captain and lieutenant in Normandy and France. The position was not quite as important as it at first sounds as it was only for a quarter of a year and only entailed a retinue of 60 men-at-arms, including a banneret and ten knights, and 120 mounted archers. To reward him for his past services, and to bolster his authority and prestige, necessary for such a post, Thomas was now also accorded the title earl of Kent, which he had not automatically acceded to when he inherited the Kent estates in 1352. His small force crossed to France in a fleet of ten ships, though all the absentee captains of garrisons in northern France, including Brittany, were urged to accompany him. Once in France, the reason for his appointment soon became clear as, with the Brétigny preliminaries finalised at Calais in October 1360, he was instructed to supervise the handover of English held fortresses, as agreed there. Thomas' task would be a delicate one, requiring considerable skills of diplomacy and Edward III trusted in Thomas' experience, prestige and authority to carry it out successfully. However, he failed in this last mission as he contracted some illness at Rouen and died there in the last days of 1360. Initially buried by the friars minor at Rouen, his body was later brought back to England and interred by the grey friars in Stamford.

Thomas' life had been dominated by the French war and it was apt that

3. P.R.O., C76/43, m.3; Foedera vi, 298; Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois, ed. S.Luce, (S.H.F., 1862), 123. 4. Idem.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1358-61, 329.

^{2.} P.R.O., C76/40, m.4; E403/402, m.1. His first quarter's wages, paid on 2 October, totalled £893 1s; Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London Letter Book G c.1352-1374, ed. R.R.Sharpe (1905), 123.

he should die in France. His career illustrates the opportunities that the French war threw up for social ascent and personal success. Despite all his military service, it was his marriage to Joan of Kent that ultimately provided the most important boost for his elevation to the peerage. This accession to a major landed income in England in 1352 transformed his role in France from that of a freelance knight to a royal administrator of some stature and eminence. Though his record in Brittany, the Channel Islands and Normandy was not outstanding, much may have been due to a paucity of resources; his forces were always economical. Soldiering was certainly his mien as he showed no great concern for English affairs, never sitting as a j.p., and, in his absence, even temporarily losing his wife. His transitory and distant influence on his inheritance bequeathed no strong local power base for his heir. Yet this he might well have rectified, had he lived, in the peace after Brétigny. His achievment was to thrust his junior line of the Hollands firmly into the peerage, even to the comital level. However, this junior Holland line had yet to put down real roots in England and establish themselves on the map politically; Thomas I's heirs had still to do that.

1. <u>C.C.R. 1354-60</u>, 405; acknowledgement of a 350 mark debt to Sir John Bohun of Midhurst.

CHAPTER II THOMAS HOLLAND, SECOND EARL OF KENT 1360-1397

Part 1 Young Soldier 1360-1377

The death of Thomas I in late December 1360, only recently elevated to the title earl of Kent, produces something of a break in the Holland theme. He was survived by two daughters, Joan and Maud, and two sons, Thomas and John. The elder son, and heir, Thomas, was only ten. A hiatus in the Holland role in political events would naturally be expected until he attained his majority and gained control of his estates and their consonant power. That this hiatus was even more pronounced was a result of the peculiar nature of Thomas I's tenure of his considerable estates.

The transformation of Thomas I's military career from that of a freelance adventurer into an administrator with major responsibilities in Edward III's French conquests had largely been occasioned by the childless death of John earl of Kent in 1352 and the subsequent inheritance by John's sister and heiress Joan, also then Thomas' wife, of two thirds of the inheritance of the earls of Kent. Thomas enjoyed the profits and control of these estates in his wife's name. On Thomas' death, these estates all remained to his widow Joan. None were available for wardship. So the prospect of Thomas II enjoying the revenues of any of them was dependant on Joan's beneficence and/or death. Thomas I had also held various properties originally acquired by his father Robert I and either settled on him directly by Robert's widow Maud or passed on to him by his eldest brother Robert II. These grantors had however been careful not to deplete the Holland inheritance permanently by alienating these properties to Thomas only for his life. In December 1360, these estates thus all reverted to

Thomas' eldest and only surviving brother Robert. The landed prospects for Thomas II were not immediately very good. His mother Joan of Kent and aunt Elizabeth of Juliers held the Kent inheritance between them. Neither was aged much over thirty so the prospect was that Thomas II, and John I, would depend much on their patronage and goodwill, as well as that of others, for some time to come.

Soon after his father's death, Thomas II's mother greatly enhanced his prospects, elevating him to the status of royal kin, by remarrying. After some problems necessitating papal dispensations, she became the bride, in October 1361, of Edward III's son and heir, Edward, prince of 2 Wales. He was already Thomas II's godfather and had presented him with two silver basins in April 1353, possibly in recognition of his parents' new 3 status as holders of the Kent inheritance.

For her part, Joan was not unattractive as a bride for the prince of Wales. She was reputedly beautiful, of similar age, and wealthy, bringing, as countess of Kent and lady Wake, a considerable accession to the prince's own estates as prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester. She was also experienced in administration and life in France, having travelled 4 with Thomas I to Brittany and Normandy. This factor must have weighed with the king in acceding to this home marriage for his heir, in view of his subsequent plans for the prince in Aquitaine; a wife who would be a financial, administrative and diplomatic asset would certainly be a help to the prince. Yet this had to counter the great diplomatic loss that the

4. P.R.O., C76/32, m.4 (in Brittany in November 1354); C76/33, m.7 (in Brittany in August 1355); C76/36, m.7 (in Normandy in October 1358); C76/38, m.15 (in Normandy in October 1359).

^{1.} The manors of Little Broughton, with lands at Caldecotte, in Buckinghamshire and Yoxall in Staffordshire: <u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 553. 2. Barber, Edward, Prince of Wales, 172-174.

^{3.} Register of Edward the Black Prince 1346-65 iv, (1933), 87.

marriage represented; the French pope was only too keen to help remove any obstacles to this disposal of the English king's prime diplomatic card. Edward III's own marriage with Phillipa of Hainault had brought valued ties in the Low Countries and he owed his own claim to the French throne to his father's marriage to a French princess. The Black Prince's marriage was not of obvious benefit to the English cause in France; for the Hollands though, its significance was to be extensive.

Most immediately, it gave the Black Prince control of the Kent inheritance. Joan maintained a considerable say in their running, but the estates underwent some reorganisation under her husband. The more northern estates were largely left untouched, continuing in their logical geographical groupings. Those nearer London, where the prince held estates of his own as duke of Cornwall, did undergo some integration: Woking and Gaddesden were grouped with the duchy of Cornwall manors of Berkhamsted, Byfleet and Risburgh, yet the separate indentity of the Kent estates was generally recognised. Some annuities were granted from them, such as Cottingham and Castle Donington, but the lordship of Wallingford was far more heavily charged with them. The Kent inheritance was Joan's property and it was only as her husband that the Black Prince, like Thomas I, had any access to its resources. In that respect, for the young Holland heir Thomas, the death of his stepfather the Black Prince in 1376 was of far less significance and material benefit to him than that of his mother Joan in 1385.

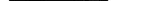
Gaunt: <u>Black Prince's Register</u> iv, 509; <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 25. 2. For a full list of the prince's estates see <u>C.I.P.M.</u> xiv, 286-7; <u>ibid</u>. xv, 67-77; B.P.Wolffe, <u>The Royal Demesne</u> in English History, (1971), 240-1.

^{1.} The most northerly estate, Kirkandrews lordship in Cumberland was leased off in October 1363 to Sir Robert Tilliol for 2 years. This was commensurate with the policy which allowed the reversion of Liddell castle in Cumberland, due to fall in with Blanche Wake's dower, to go to John of

By his marriage, the prince also inherited two Holland sons and two Holland daughters as his step-children. He did not neglect his duties towards them. Maud was soon used to secure the allegiance of the prince's most important neighbour in his 'home' lands as duke of Cornwall. In October 1362, an indenture was signed for her marriage to the earl of Devon's grandson and heir, Hugh Courtenay, as his second wife. This cost the prince some 1,000 marks, to be paid over two years, and the earl was to enfeoff Maud with 200 marks worth of lands, the manors of Sutton Courtenay and Waddesden. The prince was to obtain the necessary papal dispensation and this arrived in August 1363. The Courtenay connection thus established was evidently real as Hugh, with his uncles Philip and Peter, was knighted with the young Thomas II by the prince at Vitoria in 1367 and they all fought with the prince at Najera.

Joan was used to secure the allegiance of an important neighbour for Edward as prince of Aquitaine. Early in 1366, she was married in Nantes to John IV, duke of Brittany, as his second wife, thereby sealing the alliance agreed a few months earlier. The marriage was probably engineered by the prince rather than his father and was an effort to sustain the weakening English influence in the duchy. Its effects were not as substantial or lasting as may have been hoped; the duke was in exile in England 1373-9 and his wife probably stayed on, not returning to Brittany until the summer of 1383, and then dying there the following year. In fact she seemingly spent most of her married life in England and was more familiar with the English

^{1.} Black Prince's Register ii, 194; C.P.P. 1342-1419, 453; C.C.R. 1374-7, 52; G.E.C. iv, 325; Life of the Black Prince, Chandos, 80; Froissart 169, 172. 2. Froissart xvii, 422; Jones, Ducal Brittany, 45-6.



royal court than the ducal one in Brittany. The relative failure of the 2 marriage should not detract though from the Black Prince's evident diplomatic and political hopes for it in 1366, however.

The most important marriage for the Black Prince though was that of his elder stepson Thomas. His bride not only tied closer an important neighbour to the prince's estates in Cheshire and Wales but must also have facilitated access to the wealth of one of the richest magnates in the country. It was again the prince who secured the necessary papal dispensation in August 1363 for the marriage of Thomas II to Alice, daughter of Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel. The indenture was not signed until nearly some two years later in June 1365. Arundel was to pay some 4,000 marks for the marriage and the prince was to enfeoff the couple with 500 marks worth of lands in the manors of Kirkbymoorside, Cropton and Buttercrambe in Yorkshire, licence for which had already been granted fourteen months before. This particular family alliance was not to be a success: Thomas II never served with his dashing younger brother-in-law John and relations with his elder one Richard, who succeded as earl in 1376, became increasingly strained throughout Richard II's reign with the two families violently opposed in the final years of it.

 She had English guardians appointed in November 1367 (John Delves), September 1369 (Isabel Delves), and November 1370 (Godfrey Fojambe): <u>C.P.R.</u> <u>1367-70</u>, 27, 305; <u>C.P.R. 1370-4</u>, 16. She received various gifts from John of Gaunt in the early 1380s and held a 200 mark annuity from the English exchequer: John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83 i, ed. E.C.Lodge & R.Someville, (Camden Society, Third Series, lvi, 1937), 178, 222, 231; P.R.O., E403/468 m.2; E403/471, m.9; E403/472, m.2; E403/475, m.2. Yet, of the witnesses and legatees of her will, only Silvester Cleveland hints at her Holland ancestry, possibly coming from one of the family's north Yorkshire estates: Archives Départementales de la Loire-Atlantique, E24.
 No children were produced in eighteen years of marriage; John's third wife provided his heir, John V.

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3. <u>C.P.P. 1342-1419</u>, 453; <u>Black Prince's Register</u> iii, 480-1; <u>C.P.R. 1361-</u> <u>4</u>, 480.

This important group of three Holland marriages in the middle years of the 1360s is something of a precursor of Richard II's policy of using his, then more extensive, Holland kin to bind a selected group of nobles 2 the closer to the crown. In the 1360s, the choices were not so overtly politically partisan. The Black Prince was still perfectly healthy and expected to accede to the throne before too long. It would take time for him to acquire marriageable children of his own after 1361. His marriage provided him with a ready made family of four and he was not slow to use them to secure the important local allegiance of the earl of Devon, to cultivate the major military prowess and financial power of the earl of arundel, and the vital diplomatic allegiance of the duke of Brittany. His own marriage choice may have lacked the political and diplomatic impact perhaps expected, but he was careful to seek maximum advantage from the betrothals of his wife's offspring by Thomas I.

In the post 1360 lull in France after Brétigny, English martial efforts were directed towards Spain under the Black Prince, now also prince of Aquitaine, and it was there that the young Thomas II was to gain his first military experience. In May 1366 he was preparing to sail from Southampton with reinforcements for his stepfather. He served with the prince throughout the Nájera campaign and was knighted at Vitoria in 4

Thereafter, his career for the rest of Edward III's reign is a catalogue of service on the various chevauchées resorted to by the English

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Prince's Register iii, 449.

4. P.R.O., C61/79, m.14; Froissart vii, 149, 172, 214. See Barber, Edward, Prince of Wales, 186-206 for a full description of the Spanish campaign.

^{1.} John I was to be noticeably neglected for some 20 years in this respect until 1385.

^{2.} See below p.102.

^{3.} Arundel lent him £1,000 for his Aquitaine expedition in July 1362, Black

government to attempt to arrest its receding control in France. He served under the earl of Hereford in 1371 and 1372 at sea, on John of Gaunt's cross-France <u>chevauchée</u> of 1373, and the abortive expedition to Brittany of ² 1375. Ten years of fairly frequent soldiering abroad gained Thomas great experience in military affairs and the management of men and provided opportunities to establish useful connections with his colleagues in the higher nobility. Yet, though the general English military performance scarcely encouraged it, he had hardly served with great distinction. He had no recorded independant commands, either on expedition or in garrison, and no outstanding exploits noted by the chroniclers, unlike both his father and younger brother. They were both second sons though and so had more need to make a name for themselves. Thomas II's future political role was already presaged by his military career: he was prominent but not outstanding, steady and reliable, prepared to work hard for a cause but not necessarily ready to try and direct it.

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The factors that encourage this assessment were not all personal. Two events during this period should perhaps have boosted his landed and financial position, and so power and influence, but did not. In 1371, Thomas came of age, yet received no increase in his holdings from the Kent inheritance as his mother Joan was still alive and held all the lands as they were hers by right of inheritance. His father had had neither the finances nor inclination to acquire any independant estates so there was no accretion of lands to mark Thomas' 21st birthday. A year later, in 1372, Thomas' last surviving uncle, Robert II, died and was buried at Brackley.

2. B.L., Harleian 5805, 339; P.R.O., E101/31/15; John of Gaunt's Register 1372-1376 i, ed. S.Armitage-Smith, (Camden Society, Third Series, xx, 1911), 34; ibid. ii, 339; C.P.L. 1362-1404, 127; P.R.O., C81/956/19; Froissart viii, 344, 346.

^{1.} G.Holmes, The Good Parliament, (Oxford, 1975), 21-62, 128-134, 159-165 analyses English strategy in France at this period.

His estates were split between his heir general, his granddaughter Maud and her husband John Lovell, and his heir male, his fourth son, Sir John Holland of Thorpe Waterville. No estates came to his more illustrious 1 nephew Thomas, nor were there even any bequests to him in his will.

However, the death of his FitzAlan father-in-law did bring Thomas II some relief from his financial hardship. In his will of 5 December 1375, Richard earl of Arundel bequeathed his daughter Alice 3,000 marks, (his other daughter Joan only received 2,000 marks), along with a large number of valuables. The cash gift was raised to 5,000 marks in a codicil. Arundel died in January 1376 and the Holland family again benefitted from an $\frac{2}{2}$

Yet, despite this windfall, Thomas II, aged 27 and married for some 12 years, on the eve of his young half-brother's accession to the throne was still only being sustained by the income from three Yorkshire manors. His only reward for his military service had been elevation to the order of the Garter by 1376. His significance in the political turnoil of the last years of Edward III had been minimal. He was lacking in political power and experience when Edward III's death in 1377 brought his position into far greater prominence as the half-brother of the new king Richard II.

(Lincoln, 1888), 52-3. 2. Lambeth Palace Library, Sudbury's Register, ff.93r-95r. Alice was not

appointed one of his executors, though his three sons and other daughter Joan were.

^{1.} C.I.P.M. xiii, 237-240; A.Gibbons, Early Lincoln Wills 1280-1547,

Part 2 Royal Service and the Inheritance Regained 1377-1389

Richard II's reign has been, and still is, a fruitful area for research and it is not proposed here to rehearse the various crises that punctuated its twenty-two years. The Hollands were never prime movers in those crises but their very origins and natural ties meant that their support was worth cultivating and is now worth examining. The nature of the sources, being, in the absence of extensive family archives, chronicles concentrating on the major events, and government records detailing the Hollands' involvment with the government, tends to exaggerate the Hollands' links with the royal circle. This does not falsify the picture too greatly though as the Hollands had no extensive long-standing local and territorial roots. Their dependence on the royal court was something of a consequence of Edward III's great military interest in France. Their father had been so involved there, he had had little time or spare cash to build up any local power in England and had been totally dependant on his wife's inheritance and his family's beneficence for his estates, and largely dependant on his familial connections for his retinues in France. His sons consequently needed patronage to support their now elevated status as royal kinsmen. Though Thomas II was not immediately raised to his father's earldom at Richard's coronation, when five other earls were created, his financial impecuniosity was recognised by the regency council which consequently sought to augment his financial status to one more becoming a royal halfbrother. A 100 mark gift was paid in three instalments between June and November 1378 to help maintain him and a £200 exchequer annuity was granted for the same reason in April 1378. The portion due at Michaelmas

 T.F.Tout, <u>Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England</u> iii, (Manchester, 1928), 325-326. Mowbray, similarly restricted by dowagers, was raised to an earldom.
 P.R.O., E403/468, mm.6 & 11; E403/471, m.6.

1378 was paid up, then the exchequer fell behind with payments. The grant was then converted and augmented into some £795 13s 4d worth of rents in scattered locations, which, with his own estates, valued at £203 6s 8d, gave him a prospective income just short of £1,000. This was more in keeping with his status and needs, though again there were problems over realising these rents: in June 1381, the rents were converted to seisin of the manors at Lowestoft, Wendover and Faxfleet; Oakham could only produce half the required £100, so £50 was added from Oxfordshire estates, though Cakham was having difficulty producing even £50 in January 1385.

Thomas also received responsibility along with such largesse, though he was not yet politically experienced or powerful enough to command direct involvement in the government. One of the new regime's first acts in July 1377 was to appoint him to the custody of the royal forests south of the Trent during pleasure. He replaced Sir John Foxley who then also had personal custody of the New Forest with Southampton castle and Lyndhurst amor, all of which Thomas was also later to come to possess. Custody of the forests involved various administrative and judicial duties in considerable areas of the southern part of England. These were largely carried out by an experienced deputy, Sir Baldwin Bereford, appointed in November 1377. The post, significant if not vital, presaged Thomas' role

J.F.Willard & W.A.Morris, <u>The English Government at Work, 1327-1336</u> i, (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1940), 405-6. 5. C.P.R. 1377-81, 149, 292, 536, Bereford deputising in forest cases.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 187; P.R.O., E403/471, mm.1, 6 & 10; E403/475, m.8; <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 450-1. The grant is here specified as being worth 1,000 marks, yet the individual rents detailed total £795 13s 4d.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1381-5, 14; P.R.O., E403/505, m.19.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 5; <u>C.P.R. 1374-7</u>, 350. For a full list of keepers see G.J.Turner, 'The Justices of the Forests South of the Trent', <u>E.H.R.</u>, xviii (1903), 112-116.

^{4.} The extent of the royal forests in the early years of Edward III is shown in C.R.Young, <u>The Royal Forests of Medieval England</u>, (Leicester, 1979), 152. The duties are detailed in N.Neilson, 'The Forests', in

for the rest of his life, directing his interests away from the natural focus of his estates in the north-east midlands towards a base in Hampshire.

This shift developed only gradually and his influence was also widely felt in Surrey. He first appeared there as a j.p. in May 1380, with his brother-in-law the earl of Arundel, and he was consistently active there in several land dealings into the early 1380s. In October 1382, his mother Joan handed over her Surrey manors of Woking and Talworth to Thomas and his wife. Thomas may have actually enjoyed their revenues for some time before, having issued a deed from Talworth in June 1381, and Talworth was to remain $\frac{2}{3}$ royal manors of Sheen in November 1377 and Kennington in February 1380.

Physical proximity to the royal court encouraged an increasing role in government affairs. As a royal scion and experienced soldier, Thomas was a logical choice for the prestigious appointment of Marshal of England in $\frac{4}{1380}$. This post gave him an increased direct influence at court by its own duties and also indirectly through the patronage it brought in $\frac{5}{100}$ appointment rights.

Now aged thirty in 1380, Thomas was beginning to develop some political import, and employment and rewards increased. His interest in Hampshire has already been alluded to. 1380 was a time of heightened tension along the south coast, and in Southampton in particular, over

being of Canterbury diocese in February 1397: C.P.L. 1396-1404, 55. 4. C.P.R. 1377-81, 488. Already acting in February: <u>ibid.</u>, 563. 5. See below p.276.

 <u>Ibid.</u>, 514, 581; <u>C.C.R.</u> <u>1377-81</u>, 353, enfeoffment of Wimbledon lands; Guildford Muniments Room, IM 338/14, 18, dealings over Catteshull manor; IM 338/21, leasing Sutton manor for seven years in September 1385.
 P.R.O., C138/22/51 no.5; <u>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</u> ii, 166. Talworth was closed down as a residence by his widow in 1398: P.R.O., SC6/1282/6.
 <u>C.P.R.</u> 1377-81, 149, 563. Thomas II and his wife were also described as

French invasion intentions. The experienced Thomas II was made captain of the strategically important Southampton with a garrison of 150 men-at-arms, 70 balisters and 80 archers in June 1380. Fears increased in July and Robert Rous brought another 80 men to Southampton's defence as Thomas could 1 only muster 200. The threat passed but wine grants in Southampton and appointments to Hampshire commissions of the peace soon followed to confirm $\frac{2}{2}$ this implantation in central southern England.

Either as a reward for his defence of Southampton, or to facilitate the useful diplomatic employment of such a close royal scion, his father's title of earl of Kent was restored to Thomas II late in 1380. Now suitably prestigious and influential, he was despatched to Flanders to negotiate with the king of the Romans in late 1380. In recognition of his elevation, Thomas' mother handed over to him and Alice the comital shire farm of £30 from Kent, with the Kent manor of Wickhambreux. This grant also confirmed the major role Thomas had played in suppressing the Peasants' Revolt in Kent. Thomas' part, along with his brother John, was equivocal in the actual events of this massive outburst of popular indignation against the government's financial measures. Both, very much part of the royal court, were present with the young king in London as the revolt broke, yet they were missing from its dramatic climax. Thomas may

3. P.R.O., E403/481, m.12, paid £133 6s 8d on 20 December 1380.

4. C.P.R. 1381-5, 98; P.R.O., C136/92/11.

5. Froissart ix, 395, 404; The Anonimalle Chronicle, ed. V.H.Galbraith, (Manchester, 1927), 138.

^{1.} P.R.O., E403/478, mm.22 & 24, payments to Thomas as captain of Southampton. C.P.R. 1377-81, 546. See C.Platt, Medieval Southampton, (1973), 125-130 for a cursory survey of royal policy towards the port at this time and C.Platt, R.Coleman-Smith et al, Medieval Southampton 1953-1969 i the Excavation Reports, (Leicester, 1975), 37-38 for the fortification improvements, including artillery ports, made to meet the threats at this time, all part of the general concern to improve defences in the Channel and London against the French: J.H.Harvey, <u>Henry Yevele</u>, (1944), 35-41.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 311, 330, 347, 502, 589; P.R.O., E101/401/2, f.44d.

already then have been dispatched with the urgent task of suppressing the 1 disturbances in Kent.

However, military experience was Thomas II's main personal asset. This his organisation of Southampton's defences had utilised and Richard's government was now to draw on it further, appointing him captain of Cherbourg in November 1384. With Brest and Calais, Cherbourg formed a line of English held bastions along the north French coast. The post tied in well geographically with his position at Southampton, being opposite it across the Channel. The Navarrese had leased it to England for three years at a time of desperation in June 1378. After withstanding an initial, sapping siege, the English were reluctant to relinquish such a strategic entry point to France. Thomas II was the first titled noble to be appointed to its custody, following Sir John Arundel, Sir John Harleston and Sir William Wyndsore, all militarily experienced knights. The post was by no means a sinecure, though profits were to be had from ransoming the local 3 districts. Thomas was appointed for three years at a salary of £4,000 per annum, with a further initial allowance of 1,000 marks for supplies, and provision to augment the artillery stocks if he found them insufficient on arrival. The size of the garrison was not specified in the indenture and the various exchequer payments to Thomas nowhere detail its numbers, so it was in Thomas' financial interests to keep it as small as possible if he was funding it out of his own pay.

3. M. de Masson d'Autume, <u>Cherbourg Pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans de 1354</u> à 1450, (Saint-Lô, 1948), 7-30.

4. Essex R.O., D/DRg 1/62, sealed at Westminster on 20 November 1384.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 72, 73, 75, 77; Thomas II was in Canterbury on 8 July, putting into effect a commission, actually issued two days later, to restore order in Kent. The Hollands left the royal party on 14 June. W.E.Flaherty, 'The Great Rebellion in Kent of 1381 Illustrated from the Public Records', <u>Archaeologia Cantiana</u>, iii (1860), 68-70. 2. P.R.O., C76/69, m.15; Essex R.O., D/DRg 1/62.

He did not obviously draw on his personal associates and officials for his garrison. This could be explained by his probable failure actually to go to Cherbourg at all during his short term of office; once again an experienced, capable deputy, Sir John Sonde, did much of the real work of the post. Some idea of the action Sonde saw as lieutenant can be gleaned from his account of the stores he handed over to his successor, Sir John Ouston, Sir William Scrope's lieutenant, who took over on 5 May 1386. Just 24 sheaves of arrows, 4 bows and one 28 pound bag of gunpowder had been expended in defending the town over some 18 months. Sonde's armoury had not been extensive, comprising but 18 crossbows, 60 bows, and 11 artillery pieces, scarcely sufficient to withstand another siege of the force of 1378. Yet Cherbourg was under less direct military threat now. The exchequer was not slow to recognise that there was little financial urgency and Thomas only received £200 in cash, specifically for his troops' wages, out of the £5,650 due, the rest being assigned in tallies. Unfortunately, no accounts have survived of Sonde's expenses and wages in guarding Cherbourg, yet Thomas was probably by no means out of pocket over its custody, given the potential for maintaining a smaller garrison than he was being paid for and the exaction of ransoms from the districts around Cherbourg.

Other commitments keeping Thomas away from Cherbourg included the death of his sister Joan late in 1384 which left him her English interests 4 to sort out. In July 1385, he served in Richard II's great Scottish

2. P.R.O., E364/20/1d.

3. An annual English profit of 5,000 marks on the custody of Brest and Cherbourg has been speculated at: Masson d'Autume, <u>Cherbourg</u>, 26. 4. Archives Départementales de la Loire-Atlantique, E24.

^{1.} He was in Scotland in June 1385, P.R.O., C71/65, m.9, and shipping was collected for Sonde and Dyngele, not Thomas, to sail to Cherbourg in October 1385, P.R.O., C76/70, m.38. If he did travel to Cherbourg, it was probably soon after his appointment.

expedition when his younger brother disgraced himself in murder, forfeited all and fled. Thomas cannot have been untainted by his brother's crime, though the two were not very close and the murder highlights the fact that they had both very much gone their own ways. As a consequence of this outrage, so the chroniclers imputed, the mother of the king, and the Hollands, Joan of Kent, died in August of 1385.

For Richard, this represented the removal of an oft cited stabilising 1 influence, though one that has not been properly quantified. Amongst the group of elder statesmen/close royal relatives overseeing his early years as king, Richard was probably closest to Joan. She spent much of her widowhood at Wallingford, so was not inaccessible to the royal court downstream at Windsor, Kennington or Westminster. Wallingford had been one of her last husband's administrative centres and the running of her dower estates as widow of the Black Prince seems to have continued smoothly. The same cannot really be said for her own lands as countess of Kent and lady Wake. During Richard's reign, commissions were issued to investigate incidents on her lands in Dartford, Cottingham, Essex, Deeping 3 and Bourn, Chesterfield and Barstable. This could reflect no more than a greater personal concern for her own estates than for those of her late husband where the royal influence may already have been permeating.

However much she was mourned, her death in August 1385 benefitted Thomas and Richard quite considerably. Richard II recouped a third of the principality of Wales, duchy of Cornwall and earldom of Chester, and Thomas

February 1385. 2. She was having a new barge built in 1381: <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 18. 3. <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 92-3, 357; <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 78, 201, 424; <u>C.C.R. 1381-5</u>, 634.

^{1.} A.Steel, <u>Richard II</u>, (Cambridge, 1941, reprinted 1962), 110, Joan encouraging Richard to pardon the 1381 rebels. J.A.Tuck, <u>Richard II and the</u> <u>English Nobility</u>, (1973), 95, Joan reconciling Richard II and Gaunt in

II gained Joan's two thirds of the Kent inheritance, including Blanche Wake's dower lands which had fallen in in 1380. Despite the loss to the 1 earl of Suffolk of the rents and manors he had been holding since 1380 and 2 his aunt Elizabeth's survival depriving him of a third of his inheritance, 1385 saw his propertied and financial position transformed; he now held an inheritance worthy of a 35 year old earl, half-brother to the king.

This new accession of estates, far from thrusting Thomas to greater prominence at court, saw him rather withdraw from the political limelight, especially during the great political upheavals of 1386-9. He lacked his father's drive and ambition and was content to serve his king in Hampshire; he had no quarrel with the court. With his mother's inheritance, he had no real further need of royal patronage to augment his landed power. On 30 June 1385, he lost the post of Marshal to the young earl of Nottingham, a stronger claimant through his Brotherton and Bigod ancestry. Thomas did hold the politically important marriage of the Mortimer heir, though it $\frac{4}{4}$

Thomas was not a major figure at court, but his influence in Hampshire was still valued and encouraged. The French threatened again in 1386, building up forces at Sluys, and so Thomas' authority in Southampton was confirmed in June, and Portsmouth was added to his brief in September. His <u>de facto</u> possession of Brockenhurst manor in the New Forest was made <u>de</u>

5. <u>C.P.R.</u> 1385-9, 177, 214; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1385-9, 60.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1385-9, 18, 32, 67.

^{2.} Including, significantly, the manors of Alton and Bedhampton and fee farms from Andover and Basingstoke in Hampshire: P.R.O., C137/83/35, no.11. 3. Ibid., 11.

^{4.} He was granted the marriage in August 1384, though the wardship was not given to him: C.P.R. 1381-5, 452; C.C.R. 1381-5, 572. Marriage payments were reduced to 500 marks a year in October 1388: C.P.R. 1385-9, 514.

iure in August and he began to sit in person on the peace commissions.

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Thomas' next major appointment confirms this solid reliability which so characterised him. The post of constable of the Tower was one of militarily strategic importance for London, as the Peasants' Revolt had shown, requiring an experienced and dependable holder. So Thomas was granted the post for life in May 1387 at a salary of £100 a year. His predecessor cannot have attended to his duties much as he was Thomas Morieux who had by now been away in Spain for a year. The grant was made by the king at Reading and represents part of Richard's efforts to control London, although he had himself felt obliged to flee his capital and the consequent impositions of the commission. Thomas was probably chosen as one who might be acceptable to the commission as he had assisted in mustering the earl of Arundel's naval force in March 1387. This could seem to imply a certain political equivocation, yet it seems rather to be a sign of neutrality and reluctance to take sides. Thomas was loyal to the crown and government and was not prepared to bind himself personally either to the king or his opponents. He should rather be grouped with such as the duke of York as an influence for moderation and accord, though not a very powerful one. In consequence, he neither lost nor gained much during the political crises of 1386-9 and emerged from them still firmly ensconced in his Hampshire base.

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3. <u>C.P.R.</u> 1385-9, 301; P.R.O., E403/518, m.2, being paid the £39 9s due from the time of his appointment until Michaelmas 1387. 4. P.R.O., C76/71, m.6.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>, 223. His youngest son Edmund had been born there in 1382. 2. P.R.O., JUST3/179, m.2, at Andover on 10 January 1387.

Part 3 Royal Supporter 1389-1397

The years between Richard II's assertion of his personal authority in May 1389 and his move against the old Appellants in June 1397 were something of a quiet period in the reign. The chroniclers have few dramatic incidents to record beyond the Irish expedition of 1394-5. The records of government, however, reveal that Richard II was far from politically inactive. 1386-9 had shown him the dangers of elevating supporters with no independent power and political weight. Now he was to rely less on the creatures of his household and turn more to those who were his natural supporters, already established members of the royal kin and the nobility; the list of counter-appellants in the Parliament of September 1397 reveals the extent of his magnate support. It also includes two Hollands. Thomas II was by then dead, yet his support had still been crucial to that build-up of royal confidence that presaged the strike of 1397.

In May 1389, Thomas II was an extensive landowner with estates scattered largely in the eastern half of England. His inheritance was constricted by just one dowager, his aunt Elizabeth, and her estates, when they did fall in, would considerably extend his influence in the south and west. As it was, he was now well established in Hampshire, probably residing mainly at Lyndhurst, also utilising his Surrey manor of Talworth and, when at court, probably the Tower.

This southern bias would not change, and it was complimented by his policy towards his more northern, distant, estates. His mother Joan had passed on to her younger son John I three Wake manors, which had fallen to her on Blanche's death in 1380: Long Marton in Cumberland, Langton in Yorkshire and Stevington in Bedfordshire. Only in the case of Stevington

did John have to receive confirmation of their mother's grant from Thomas

II after her death in 1385; indeed, John himself soon used the other two

expendable manors for his daughter Constance's dower. Similarly, the northern Yorkshire outposts of Ayton and Hemlington manors had long been granted to Donald Hesilrigg by Thomas I and, in December 1385, Thomas II confirmed Donald's widow in her seisin of the manors. Thomas II, for his marriage, had received the Yorkshire manors of Kirkbymoorside, Cropton and Buttercrambe in 1364. His eldest son, Thomas III, also received northern estates for his marriage to Joan Stafford in 1392: Chesterfield manor in Derbyshire, Whissendine manor in Rutland, Bourn manor and £30 rent from Kellingthorpe in Lincolnshire. Despite having his most extensive manors there, Cottingham in Yorkshire and Deeping in Lincolnshire, the north did not greatly attract Thomas II. There is little evidence he visited it at all and the estates there were deemed expendable; their distance from the south brought problems and costs in administration which meant granting them away was an act of patronage that did not cost the inheritance much.

The fact that Thomas had inherited almost all his estates from his mother, and she from her brother, and he from their father, meant that there were few disputed titles to his estates and few residual claimants threatening his seisin. The only hint of this came from the Despenser family, some of whose estates forfeited on Edward II's fall had gone to make up Edmund of Kent's original inheritance. Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester, quitclaimed all his right in these estates to Thomas III in 5February 1398.

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5,000 marks to preserve this enfeoffment. The marriage cost the earl of Stafford 4,000 marks: Staffordshire R.O., D641/1/2/5, m.2. 5. C.C.R. 1396-9, 284-5.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.F.R. 1437-45</u>, 29; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> xvi, 112; <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 13-14, 45; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 111. <u>2. C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 226; <u>Black Prince's Register iv</u>, 424.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1361-4, 480.

^{4.} C.P.R. 1391-6, 196; C.C.R. 1392-6, 111. Thomas entered into bonds worth

In May 1389, Thomas II was at Westminster, assisting in Richard's affirmation of his royal authority. Richard was careful not to make the change too dramatic; he was still feeling his way and could not yet completely distance himself from the Appellants. So neither could Thomas; he was again associated with his brother-in-law, the earl of Arundel, acting as his attorney in June 1389, and involved the earl of Warwick in bonds for Thomas III's marriage in 1393. Yet it was really his Hampshire authority, exercised in person, that was most evident during this last period of his life. He sustained Hampshire against the French threats, saw his heir married in Winchester in 1392, and had his control of the local defences further augmented in May 1391 by being appointed, with his wife, constable of Corfe castle for life. He sat in person on the Hampshire commissions of the peace though there is scant indication that his was a strident influence, with few identifiable Holland men also serving on the bench, or acting as sheriff, escheator, shire or borough m.p.. The holders of these positions all exhibited a consistency of local stature that left no room for outsiders and creatures of Thomas II to penetrate and overawe Hampshire society. Those who do appear in Thomas' service, going to Cherbourg or deputising in Southampton, John Sonde and Thomas Wortyng, were already established figures in Hampshire and served with Thomas because of that. He was also appointed to the Wiltshire bench from December 1390 and

2. P.R.O., C76/73, m.2; C.C.R. 1392-6, 111.

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in Proceedings Before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries Edward III to Richard III, ed. B.H.Putnam, (1938), 212-236.

5. <u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 344, 516; <u>C.P.R. 1391-6</u>, 587; <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 95-6.

^{1.} W.A.M., 9472; P.R.O., C53/162, m.15: Thomas witnessing grants at Westminster.

^{3.} Staffordshire R.O., D641/1/2/5, m.2; C.P.R. 1391-6, 90; C.P.R. 1388-92, 402.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 344; <u>C.P.R. 1391-6</u>, 438, 728-9; P.R.O., JUST3/179, mm.6d, 7, 8, 8d, 9d, 10, 10d. The bench moved about throughout the county. An analysis of the Hampshire j.p.s and their sessions 1385-6 and 1390-2 is

here, again, it is hard to find any salient Holland influence, amongst the 1 m.p.s, sheriffs or escheators.

The general lack of information about Thomas' associates undoubtedly accentuates this view, yet it does march with the impression already gained of Thomas' position as a leader in society. Even in Hampshire, his influence was dormant rather than dominant; he had been implanted in Hampshire without the raw power in patronage and influence that only extensive estates could bring. Yet he safeguarded Southampton and that part of the south coast and, with his brother John further west in Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, extended, indirectly, the king's authority through that part of southern England; Richard would have been grateful for that, albeit limited, service.

This was the limit of his authority envisaged by the king. He received few personal benefits from the royal patronage and the reversions of the offices he held, justice of the Forests south of the Trent and constable of the Tower, were granted to the young earl of Rutland, Edward, in November 1391 and January 1392 respectively. By then, Thomas II seems to have been becoming increasingly isolated in Hampshire, and even ignored. By May 1393, a his pay as constable of the Tower was three years in arrears. His estates were suffering from his sojourn in the south and the consequent absence of a vigilant lord. There were disturbances on his Lincolnshire lands in 1390 and he had to institute proceedings in February 1392 to regain a tenement in Oxford. In 1393 he was being cheated of his wardship rights in

1971), 147. 2. <u>C.P.R.</u> 1391-6, 12, 16. 3. P.R.O., E403/543, m.5.

^{1.} For the m.p.s, sheriffs and escheators in Hampshire and Wiltshire, see Accounts and Papers in 1878 xvii part 1, 198-224; List of Sheriffs for England and Wales, (Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898), 54-5 & 153; List of Eschaetors for England and Wales, A.C. Wood, (Lists and Indexes, lxxii,

Hertfordshire and troubled by his Cottingham tenants. Thomas II was increasingly moving little from his New Forest fastness and his responsibilities in Southampton. It looks as if his equivocation during the Appellant crisis meant he never fully regained his half-brother's confidence.

Further confirmation is available in the witness lists for the charter rolls. Of 83 enrolled charters between Richard's accession to authority and Thomas II's death, Thomas witnessed only ten: two were in May 1389 and the rest in a fairly consistent spell between May 1391 and April 1392. After that, he appears not at all and fades from the court scene. His eldest son, Thomas III, was coming to increasing prominence, serving on Richard II's expedition to Ireland when his father stayed at home. Richard II also had regard for Thomas II's second son, Richard, who entered the ecclesiastical world. Granted prebends at twelve and the archdeaconary of Lincoln at fourteen, he received an Oxford education and had a papal dispensation to be a bishop or archbishop at the age of eighteen. Yet early death in around 1396 forestalled this attempt to create another major royal cleric

3. P.R.O., C53/162-166.

^{1.} P.R.O., SC8/116/5762, a petition about attacks by Lord Willoughby, the abbot of Croyland and the prior of Spalding; Bod. Lib., Rolls Oxon 29, regaining seisin of Chekerhalle from William Shipton; Hertfordshire R.O., D/EAS 2068, Philip Boteler enfeoffed John Dyfford of Sele manor to deprive Thomas II of his wardship rights; Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V vii, ed. G.O.Sayles, (Selden Society, lxxviii, 1971), 83-5.

^{2.} P.R.O., E403/538, m.11; E403/551, m.13; E403/554, m.13, payments for repairs to Lyndhurst and Brockenhurst manors in 1392 and 1395; E368/167 Trin. Rec. r.7d, issuing letters patent from the New Forest; <u>Wykeham's</u> <u>Register</u> ii, ed. T.F.Kirby, (Hampshire Record Society, 1899), 426, licence for Thomas and Alice to have a child baptised in their private residence in the New Forest; P.R.O., C76/80, m.15, his ship, La Katerine, was based at Quarr on the Isle of Wight; <u>The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton</u> ii, ed. J.M.Kaye, (Southampton Records Series, xx, 1976), 325, Alice's influence prevalent in property transactions in Southampton.

contemporary with Henry Beaufort.

Meanwhile, in July 1396 Thomas II received his final award, custody of Carisbrooke castle on the Isle of Wight. Though not yet fifty, physical incapacity was probably restricting him to his southern base. His will, short and simple, granting all to his wife and eldest son, typified his unpretentious nature. It was proved on 10 May 1397 and, after a funeral in Westminster abbey, he was buried in Bourn abbey in Lincolnshire, for which, as one of his last acts, he had gained the local alien priory of Wilsford. The independence and financial security his substantial inheritance had brought him conversely meant that he had become less dependant on Richard II's patronage for income and influence. Combined with his natural reticence, this had allowed him to withdraw from court and carry out a useful service for his king in safeguarding one of the kingdom's vital entry points.

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Oxford in February 1395 are printed in J.E.T.Rogers, <u>A History of</u> <u>Agriculture and Prices in England ii 1259-1400</u>, (Oxford, 1866), 643-6. <u>2. A Collection of Royal Wills</u>, ed. J.Nichols, (1780), 118-9; P.R.O., E403/555, m.7; SC8/224/11198; <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 70.

^{1.} A.B.Emden, <u>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D.</u> 1500 ii, (Oxford, 1959), 951-2. The expenses for his determination feast at

CHAPTER III JOHN HOLLAND, FIRST EARL OF HUNTINGDON 1360-1397

Part 1 Violent Youth 1360-1389

John I is a shadowy figure in the years before 1377. His date of birth is unknown, though he was probably the youngest of Thomas I's four children. His stepfather, the Black Prince, assigned his yeoman John de la Haye as his guardian. Otherwise, he gained none of Thomas II's military experience, was still unmarried in 1377, unendowed with lands and had to be sustained as a member of the royal household. His resources and experience in 1377 were thus minimal, but the accession of his half-brother Richard II was important to him, as to his elder brother Thomas II, and brought some improvment.

A £100 exchequer annuity sustained him from March 1378, and was converted into a more secure landed grant nine months later. This took the form of the Berkshire manors of Ardington and Philberds Court at East Hanney which had been forfeited by Alice Perrers, Edward III's mistress. This award was indicative of the nature of several of the landed grants made to John; they were not always free of other claimants and so John's tenure was by no means always secure. For instance, after John's death, his widow Elizabeth would struggle to retain Philberds Court against the claims of John Windsor , the heir of Perrers' husband, and William Calceby. Yet John's life title was not initially disputed, though the award scarcely curtailed his heavy reliance on his half-brother's court for his

£100 for twelve months. He also received a straight £40 gift in March 1378: P.R.O., E403/465, m.17. 3. <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 324. 4. <u>V.C.H. Berkshire</u> iv, 288.

P.R.O., E101/397/5, ff.43r & 82r, receiving livery for 45-47 Edward III; E101/398/9, ff.4 & 27, receiving livery for 50 Edward III.
 <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 141; P.R.O., E403/468, m.2; E403/471, mm.4 & 9. Although he only held the annuity for nine months, he was actually paid the full

1 subsistence.

He was, at the same time, gradually emerging as a political factor, and so, like his elder brother, he was established in something of a regional enclave. This was in the north-west midlands and took the form of the wardship of Rees ap Griffiths' estates, valued at 250 marks, and concentrated especially in Staffordshire, and a life grant of Northwich town in Cheshire and Hope and Hopedale lordship, with rent from Overmarsh, in Flintshire in 1380. In May 1381, this interest was confirmed and extended by his first administrative appointment, as justice of Cheshire, for life. It is significant that the council thought it important that these estates and authority, bordering on the king's own as prince of Wales and earl of Chester, should go to a close royal relative. John's own administrative inexperience necessitated a good deputy to carry out many of the actual duties, so the local man Thomas Molyneux was appointed in October 1381. He was very much in the John I mould, being one of Gaunt's Lancashire officials of some ill repute, and he would later abet John in the Stafford murder in 1385, though he survived in his Cheshire office until at least November 1387.

The government was by no means sure of the future of this rather truculent royal scion. It is hard to discern, at this stage, a consistent

 P.R.O., E101/400/4, m.18 details some eight long gowns with various other garments provided for him by the royal household in August 1379.
 <u>Gaunt's Register 1379-83</u> ji, 417 attesting the Breton treaty at Westminster in March 1379, and witnessing its confirmation a year later: <u>Collection Générale des Documents Francais qui se Trouvent en Angleterre</u> i, ed. J.Delpit, (Paris, 1847), 200.
 <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 526; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> xv, 96-8, 274-5; <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 42; <u>C.F.R. 1377-83</u>, 200.
 <u>36</u> D.K.R., 241; <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 539; P.R.O., CHES 2/52.
 <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 624; <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 36; 36 D.K.R., 241.
 <u>Ibid.</u>, 347. Acting in November 1383, <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 296.
 <u>Gaunt's Register 1379-1383</u> j, 72, 100-1, 129-130; P.R.O., KE27/498, Rex ff. 5 & 18d; <u>36</u> D.K.R., 444.

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attitude towards John. His later extensive interests overseas were now initiated with the grant of the Marensin lordship in the Landes region of 1 Gascony in September 1380. It was also considered sending him to Ireland as lieutenant in August 1382; this was soon reneged on and the more 2 experienced and astute Sir Philip Courtenay was sent instead.

This Irish disappointment

marked something of a watershed in career. Thus far he had been largely dependant on the royal household for his livelihood and his employment. Rewards had not been showered on him, but he had not yet merited them, and, anyway, that reflected the restrained nature of the continual councils' disposal of patronage. However, at this stage there is no real evidence of a definite link with that other great source of patronage with whom John was now increasingly to be associated, John of Gaunt.

The young John I had his first military experience at Gaunt's abortive siege of St. Malo in 1378, when he would probably also first have come across the new earl of Arundel. John also gained his first diplomatic experience under Gaunt's aegis, serving on the embassy to Calais in November 1383 to February 1384, and then again in June to September 1384. It is significant that he was sent on the second embassy at all and, further, that he was then accorded the rank of banneret : the Salisbury

Also P.R.O., E403/499, mm.7, 13, 17, 18; E403/502, m.6; E403/505, mm.10, 17; C76/69, m.28, protections for two for three months in his company; <u>Froissart x, 274.</u> 6. P.R.O., E364/17/6.

^{1.} P.R.O., C61/94, m.9; M.G.A.Vale, English Gascony 1399-1453, (Oxford, 1970), 250.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 160, protection for John Croylboys going to Ireland with John I, lieutenant there; P.R.O., E401/550, m.18; E403/496, m.15, assigned £200 on the north Wales chamberlain (convenient for John as justice of Cheshire), for his expenses as lieutenant of Ireland. 3. P.R.O., E101/400/4, m.17, John receiving his winter issue of royal

livery in December 1379. 4. Froissart ix, 68.

^{5.} P.R.O., E364/17/5 & 6, paid for 86 and 89 days' service respectively.

Parliament of May 1384 had by then provided the first indication of his violent and tempestuous nature.

The incident of the murder of the Carmelite friar at Salisbury is a dramatic, appealing story that has vexed historians. The friar was introduced to the king and accused Gaunt of conspiring at regicide. Gaunt denied this and survived; the friar, despite his ruses, was not so lucky. Only Walsingham and the monk of Westminster record the story. Walsingham has the friar tortured and murdered at Gaunt's instigation and tells the instruments of this horrible act were John I 'propter amorem Ducis' and Sir Henry Grene. This has been seen as the first positive sign of a link between Gaunt and John, which was later to mature and be sealed by John's marriage to Gaunt's daughter. On the whole, however, it looks as if John acted rather as one of the household clique; this is the implication of the monk of Westminster's much fuller analysis which suggests that the friar was removed by John and a group of household knights. The politics of Richard II's court are not the concern here, yet John's first involvment in them is significant; its violent nature is even more so, as it illustrates a streak of rashness running in his line that comes again sharply in the case of his grandson Henry Holland.

After this incident, John I continued to receive the fruits of royal patronage as Richard II came to exert more of a personal influence on his government. 1384 should have sealed John's status as a landowner, albeit

4. <u>Polychronicon</u> ix, ed. J.R.Lumby, (R.S., 1886), 33-40. A marginal note has the knights Peter Courtenay, Simon Burley, William Elmham, Thomas Morieux and Henry Grene abetting John. This group is analysed in S.Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, (1904), 284-5.

^{1.} L.C.Hector, 'An Alleged Hysterical Outburst of Richard II', <u>E.H.R.</u>, lxviii (1953), 62-5.

^{2.} T.Walsingham, <u>Historia Anglicana</u> ii, ed. H.T.Riley, (R.S., 1864), 113-4. His account of the Salisbury Parliament is almost completely dominated by the friar incident.

^{3.} He was a banneret in September 1384: P.R.O., E364/17/6.

still only a knight, of some wealth. In June his Ardington grant was augmented from life to fee simple and his Hope grant had £40 worth of appurtenances added to it. The real plum came in December with the award of the reversions of thirteen manors held by Sir James Audley in Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and two manors of Sir Nigel Loryng. The deaths of both men were soon expected and, indeed, soon occured in April and March 1386 respectively. As they had outlived their heirs, these estates were due to revert to the crown by the terms of the original grants. This block of lands was a far more compact, manageable, powerful unit than any of John's previous grants.

It may well not have been a conscious decision to implant him in the south west, it just happened that a block of estates there was soon to fall vacant. It is just possible that the location may have a connection with his sister Maud's marriage in 1365 to Hugh Courtenay, the earl of Devon's grandson. In 1384, this trail was already somewhat cold though: Hugh had died in 1374, predeceasing his grandfather by three years, and Maud had been remarried to the count of St. Pol since 1380. Moreover, John would provide some threat to the strong, even dominating local influence of the Courtenays. In any case, it was an award which was to determine the background and interests of this branch of the Holland family until their extinction.

Richard II's grand Scottish expedition of July 1385 marked the end of this steady nurturing of a royal scion. The force had only reached York when John capped his Salisbury outrage by murdering the young Stafford

3. <u>G.E.C.</u> iv, 325. 4. M.Cherry, 'The Crown and the Political Community in Devonshire, 1377-1461', (Univ. of Wales Univ. College Swansea Ph.D. thesis 1981), 155.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1381-5, 433-4, 577.

^{2.} Ibid., 515-6; C.I.P.M. xvi, 72-7, 96-7.

heir, Sir Ralph, also one of Richard's favourite household knights. The details of the incident have been well discussed by John Leland, along with the legal significance of the subsequent case in the royal household court 1 of the verge.

Along with John I, some thirteen others were indicted for the murder and this provides the first opportunity to examine some of John's associates. Nicholas Clifton was the only knight and he had already been imprisoned in Winchester for the West rape, explored by J.B.Post, in 1382. He had actually enlisted in Thomas II's retinue for Scotland, and the West incident had occured at Thomas' New Forest manor of Lyndhurst. He was to go on to serve John I as lieutenant in the admiralty court. Robert, John and William Wyndsore are unknowns unless related to Sir William Wyndsore, with whom John had already had dealings over Philberds Court manor. John Verdon and Warin Waldegrave were and would remain very close associates of John. Peter and John Leygh were Cheshiremen, later to hold annuities of John, and Thomas Molyneux was John's deputy as justice of Cheshire. The other four are unknown. The indictment of these thirteen with John indicates that the crime was not all his fault alone. Yet only the last two of the four

1. J.L.Leland, 'Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: Royal Patronage and Royalist Politics', (Yale Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1979), 57-68.

3. <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 197; P.R.O., C71/65, m.9; <u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 159, 412, 425. 4. J.B.Post, 'Sir Thomas West and the Statute of Rapes, 1382', <u>B.I.H.R.</u>, 1iii (1980), 24-30.

was John's representative at the exchequer in 1378 and still held his Langton manor after the 1400 rebellion: P.R.O., E403/465, m.17; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 348. 7. 36 DKR, 289.

^{2.} P.R.O., KB9/167, nos.4 & 13; KB27/498, rex ff.5 & 18d; KB27/499, rex ff.3 & 21. John I's assistants in the Carmelite friar incident had been royal household men; now his accomplices were his own followers. This was a private quarrel wherein the lord and his followers were fulfilling their mutual duties to support one another.

^{5.} William Wyndsore held the reversion of John I's Philberds Court manor: C.P.R. 1377-81, 504.

^{6.} Verdon first appears in his service in February 1384 and is still with John in Calais in 1398: C.P.R. 1381-5, 383; P.R.O., C81/1079/21. Waldegrave

inquisitions held in York on 18, 20, 21 and 22 July 1385 cited the above 1thirteen as present with John I 'in auxilio et fortitudine'. They were always cited, admittedly in a separate writ, with John in the various summonses attempting to bring the case to court. John had fled to Beverley and so it was the Yorkshire sheriff who was required to produce him. He failed, until John presented himself in the royal court in February 1386 to 2be pardoned, along with his accomplices.

Knighton reports this pardon as being solicited through Gaunt's good offices, which would imply some attachment of John to Gaunt at the time of the Scottish expedition and before. John's attraction to Gaunt is hard to reason out, unless Gaunt, in the wake of rumoured plots and clashes over strategy abroad and against the Scots, was keen to cultivate some influence, seemingly close to the king. John I's influence in Cheshire also marched with Gaunt's Lancashire power, but John's unstable temperament was hardly an attraction.

The hopes for John I, represented in his employment in the royal household and his prospective accession to wealth in the south west, had now to be shelved as a result of his outrage. He forfeited the reversions 4 of the Audley and Loryng estates. The 1384 grant of estates additional to the Hope lordship was overturned and the earl of Arundel's claim to them now upheld. (John had illicitly been using his position as justice of Cheshire to advance his territorial claims in the area.) The duke of York 6 became justice of Cheshire. He also lost his Griffiths' wardship, his

57-68. 5. <u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>, 25-6; <u>Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales</u>, ed. W.Rees, (Cardiff, 1975), 417. 6. <u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>, 24.

^{1.} P.R.O., KB9/167, nos.3, 4, 7, 13.

^{2.} P.R.O., KB27/498, rex ff.5, 16, 18d; KB27/499, rex ff.3 & 21.

^{3.} Knighton ii, 206.

^{4.} R.P. iii, 177; Leland, Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: thesis,

Gascon lordship of Marensin was passed on to Matthew Gournay, and 1 Stevington manor was handed over to the keepership of Robert Greenacre. During his disgrace, and possibly as a result of it, his mother Joan died. This deprived him of a champion of his cause with his half-brother. Its timing, during his disgrace, meant that he had no chance to claim for any of her estates which now all went to his elder brother Thomas II. John lost both all his own lands and the chance of gaining more.

The forfeiture coincides with John's disappearance from the English political scene for some three years. He was pardoned in February 1386, but by then John of Gaunt was finally being allowed an attempt to realise his Spanish ambitions and John was appointing attornies in April preparatory to leaving for Spain with him as constable of his army. John and Gaunt were now both excluded from Richard's close courtier circle and their alliance was sealed by the marriage of John to Gaunt's eldest daughter Elizabeth, for a sealed by the marriage of John to Gaunt's eldest daughter Elizabeth, a characteristically for John, not without some scandal. No details survive of the arrangments for this marriage so it is impossible to assess the material benefits John gained from it. Yet it was a marriage that gave John a possible interest in the future of the immense Lancastrian inheritance, Bolingbroke being Gaunt's only legitimate son; it would also have great dynastic implications for the Hollands, elevating them to claimants to the throne on the destruction of the main Lancastrian line in 1471, and so necessitating their own extinction by Edward IV in 1475.

With one of his accomplices of 1384, Thomas Morieux, as marshal of the

necessitating divorce from Pembroke: <u>G.E.C.</u> x, 395-6; Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, 459-460.

^{1.} C.F.R. 1383-91, 110-1, 120; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 543.

^{2.} P.R.O., C76/70, m.17.

^{3. &}lt;u>Polychronicon</u> ix, 96-7. She had been married to the young earl of Pembroke in 1380. John I chased and seduced her, and got her pregnant,

army, John sailed with Gaunt's force from Plymouth. His part in the inept and inconclusive campaign in north-west Spain is hard to assess from Froissart's florid descriptions. Morieux undoubtedly dealt more with the direct administration of the army and its daily control. John's position of constable gave him some responsibilities in these areas, yet his close tie with Gaunt meant he was often with the duke and had a higher profile in the diplomatic and ceremonial engagements. His jousting prowess is lauded by Froissart, yet Gaunt's Portuguese allies were not impressed by this unprofessional approach to the war. Few came out of the Spanish campaign with credit and John's departure typifies his role. He advised Gaunt to disband the army, secured a safe conduct across Spain for himself from the king of Castile and so, having helped shepherd the stricken force back to the Portuguese frontier, he deserted it and had returned to England from $\frac{3}{2}$

Whatever the reality of his performance in Spain, the sort of stories that Froissart recorded obviously impressed those left in England and he was very rapidly wooed by the Appellants on his return in 1388. On 2 June, $\frac{4}{4}$ he was elevated to the status of earl of Huntingdon with a 2,000 mark

Holland's attainder in 1461, a Grey held it 1471-5, then a Herbert 1479-91, before the Hastings family established their long tenure from 1529: <u>G.E.C.</u> vi, 638-664.

See P.E.Russell, <u>English Intervention in Spain and Portugal</u>, (Oxford, 1955), 400-494 for campaign details. Russell is not complimentary about John's performance as constable.
 R.E.Archer, 'The Mowbrays; Earls of Nottingham and Dukes of Norfolk, to 1432', (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1984), 211-9 has a valuable description of a marshal's duties in Henry V's French campaigns.
 <u>Polychronicon</u> ix, 172; D.R.O., Exeter City Receivers Account Rolls, 11-12 Richard II.

^{4.} The title had something of a mixed history. The fourteenth century holders, John Clinton and Guichard d'Angle, had both died heirless in 1354 and 1380; both were awarded 1,000 marks on their respective creations in 1337 and 1377. Prior to them, the title had been held interchangeably by the St. Liz and Scottish royal families from 1090 to 1237. On Henry

income to match. 700 marks of this was assigned on the customs in London, Southampton and Bristol. The rest was secured by grant of the Perrers and Stafford estates he had formerly held, and the Audley estates of which he had held the reversions. Two Devon manors forfeited by judge John Cary and a Somerset manor of de la Pole were also included. Again, residual claimants meant that Holland tenure of these estates was not assured. Of the two Cary manors, Cockington was back under Cary ownership tempore Henry VI, though Holland seisin of Torrington was maintained. Restitution was ordered of the Pole manor, Haslebury Plucknett, to the earl of Suffolk in October 1398 but John, for seeing possible problems, had passed it on as part of his daughter Constance's dowry, and the Hollands were to retrieve seisin on her death in 1438. Haslebury was not the only benefit John received from Suffolk's fall: an inn in Lombard Street, London (April 1388), and two Suffolk manors (July 1389) were more additions to John's inheritance at de la Pole's expense. John was again aware of his tenuous title to these lands, so the inn was passed on to two of his affinity in June 1395. This ploy was not to be successful and only Haslebury was a permanent addition to the inheritance of the earls of Huntingdon with the rest being restored to the earl of Suffolk in 1398.

Along with the de la Pole manors, John also received in July 1389 a manor at Icklingham in Suffolk forfeited by Sir James Berners. The ploy of passing this manor on as dowry to Constance failed this time however as

E149/107/3, no.4. 4. C.F.R. 1383-91, 224; C.P.R. 1388-92, 91. 5. P.R.O., E42/19; C.C.R. 1396-9, 342.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1385-9</u>, 494-5; <u>C.Ch.R. 1341-1417</u>, 309; <u>Polychronicon</u> ix, 157 & 182; <u>Walsingham</u> ii, 177; <u>R.P. iii, 177 & 250-1</u>.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.I.P.M.</u> (Rec. Com.) iv, 184; P.R.O., E149/184/5, no.2; E152/544, m.1; J.J.Alexander, 'Early Barons of Torrington and Barnstaple', <u>T.D.A.</u>, lxxiii (1941), 164 & 174-6.

^{3.} C.C.R. 1396-9, 342; C.P.R. 1401-5, 111; C.F.R. 1437-45, 28-9; P.R.O.,

restitution, ordered to Thomas Blast and John Utford in February 1399, was 1 effected, though only after Constance's husband's death in 1405. This Suffolk interest was later augmented by the temporary acquisition of Lowestoft manor after Queen Anne's death in 1394, before its restoration to 2 the earl of Suffolk in 1398.

This series of Suffolk grants was something of a counter-balance to John's major concentration in the south west. They were possibly conceived as being only temporary, until de la Pole could be restored, as occurred. John was to be compensated for their loss by the grant of three other East Anglian manors, forfeited by the earl of Arundel in Essex, shortly prior to the Suffolk restoration. A compact grouping rather nearer to London, it indicates that John's interests were not just to be confined to Devon and Cornwall. It also represents a rapid turnover of estates falling to the crown and shows firstly the warmth of the Appellant welcome for him on his return to England and then the ardour with which Richard sought to woo his support after he had regained control in May 1389. This contrast is perplexing until John's links with Gaunt are remembered. These grants are a measure of the Appellants', and then Richard's, esteem and desire for Gaunt's influence and support. John was the first major figure close to Gaunt to return from Spain and the grants must have been an attempt to woo Gaunt through John.

1. <u>Ibid.</u>, 372; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1388-92, 91; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1401-5, 111; P.R.O., C137/51/44, no.10.

2. <u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 423; <u>C.C.R. 1392-6</u>, 443; <u>C.C.R. 1396-9</u>, 343. 3. <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 281, 288, 360.

Part 2 Royal Follower 1389-1397

The patrimony John I held was due almost entirely to royal patronage. It was made up of estates which had escheated to the crown, through lack of heirs, reversion or forfeiture and so often brought latent claims which would not always remain dormant. The Audley estates in the south west provide the most marked example of this.

Sir James Audley held eight of his manors only for life: Bovey Tracey, Northlew, Holsworthy and Langacre in Devon, Blagdon, West Lydford and Staunton in Somerset and Tackbeare in Cornwall. In 1353, Edward III had conveyed their reversion to feoffees to endow the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower, founded by him in 1350. This grant was confirmed on Edward III's death, but was ignored by Richard II who granted first the reversion, then actual seisin of the manors to John I. The abbey protested but was fobbed off with a 110 mark annuity. On Richard II's fall, the abbey pressed its claim again, but Holland seisin was confirmed on 16 November 1399. After John I's death and forfeiture in January 1400, its claim was unchallengeable and the abbey finally gained the manors. Profits over 200 marks were originally to be surrendered to the exchequer, but even this restriction was lifted in March 1401. The Holland claim would revive though and the dispute would continue until the family's extinction.

Complementary to the concentration of awards to John in the south west was the handover of duchy of Cornwall estates to his control on the 2expiration of the life grants of Richard or his father. The duchy castle

its endowment by Edward III but taken over by Simon Burley instead. See below p.182 for the continuation of the dispute in the fifteenth century. 2. J.Hatcher, <u>Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300-1500</u>, (Cambridge, 1970), 198.

^{1.} W.A.M., 9205 summarises the whole story of the dispute. See also P.R.O., E328/327, 380, 381; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 274-5, 457; V.C.H. London i, 461-2. N.B.Lewis, 'Simon Burley and Baldwin of Raddington', E.H.R., lii (1937), 664-9 explores the abbey's struggles to secure other lands earmarked for

of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire was granted to John, intially for one year, in October 1388 and then for life in January 1391, giving John a major residence near London. Custody of the duchy castle of Tintagel was granted for life in January 1389, followed by the late Sir William Nevill's Cornish duchy manors of Trematon, with the castle, Calstock and Saltash, and also Winkleigh in Devon and Stone and Catsash hundreds in Somerset, non-duchy estates, in June 1392. The Brienne wardship, comprising Northam manor in Devon, Dartmouth and Lundy island, was awarded in February 1393. The Cornish duchy manors of Tewington, Moresk and Tintagel which Sir Nicholas Sarnesfeld had held for life were granted in July 1395, with the reversion of Helston-in-Kerrier manor and Bossiney and Trevailly boroughs, more duchy estates and now his widow's dower. If Richard II were to beget an heir, then there would probably not be available the endowment that the Black Prince had held as duke of Cornwall. Despite his generosity, Richard was not unaware of this problem and was at least only granting the estates away for life, and to his half-brother and increasingly close ally.

John had now been provided with a major territorial base in the south west and Richard was vigov/rously encouraging his interests there, handing over much of his influence as duke of Cornwall. John also had interests in the north Wales/Cheshire march and Suffolk, with other liberally dispersed

interests not in the south west awarded to John during this period were the wardships of John Arundel in November 1390 and Robert Luton in February 1392: C.C.R. 1389-92, 213; C.P.R. 1388-92, 430; C.P.R. 1391-6, 20.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1385-9, 518; C.P.R. 1388-92, 369, 372.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1385-9, 537; C.P.R. 1391-6, 102, 218, 600; C.P.R. 1422-9, 33. Sarnesfeld had been thus rewarded as Richard's standard bearer in Scotland in 1385: C.P.R. 1385-9, 17; Dartmouth vol. i, Pre-Reformation, H.R. Watkin, (Parochial Histories of Devon no.5, 1935), 80, 84, 274. Sarnesfeld's widow was still claiming seisin of Helston in 1415, but John had taken seisin of Bossiney by December 1399 when he was being evicted from it by the prince of Wales: C.C.R. 1413-9, 247; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 58.

^{3.} Apart from the castles detailed below p. 92, the only other estate



holdings making up the rest of his inheritance. His lavish, and almost immediate building at Dartington in Devon indicates where his main interest was to be. It has been speculated that he returned from Spain a sick man. He certainly returned less temerarious and more consistent in his loyalty to his half-brother. There may also have been something of a disillusionment with the peripatetic court life; Spain may have dulled his interest in high politics. He now had a wife and family. A home was needed, a patrimony, a local interest. Richard needed his influence to secure the south west, and the opportunities were there.

John also had an active role to play at court, rather more so than Thomas II, and some measure of John's influence and attendance there can be gleaned from the witness lists of enrolled charters. He was still being identified with Gaunt initially as it was only when Gaunt was back from Spain that John reappears, with him, as a witness in December 1389. Thereafter he witnesses around half the charters up to mid 1397, appearing consistently late May 1390 to December 1392 and being absent from a year later, when he was probably out of the country, until September 1395. Not until March 1391 does he appear without Gaunt, whereafter they are less closely linked. John was one of the most frequent witnesses after the royal uncles. Mature and mellowed, superficially at least, John I was now a valued adviser of the king, to be trusted with positions of power and responsibility.

Almost at once on Richard II's reemergence, John I received two closely linked appointments of major import: on 18 May 1389, he was made 3 admiral of the west, and on 1 June captain of Brest. In both positions he

Emery, <u>Dartington Hall</u>, 30.
 P.R.O., C53/162-167.
 P.R.O., C76/73, mm.3 & 4.

was replacing Richard's implacable opponent, the earl of Arundel, so closely identifying John with the royal interest and confirming his personal alienation from one with whom he had already clashed over land 1 dealings in north Wales.

The post of admiral was both commensurate with John's extensive holdings in the south west and an aid to the extension of his authority there. John did not hold it for long though as Edward, earl of Rutland, already admiral of the north in March 1391, also appears as admiral of both 2the north and west in November 1391. John had little chance to carry out the military duties of his post, unlike his predecessor the earl of 3Arundel, yet his administration of admiralty jurisdiction at home, an 4aspect which was very much emphasised in his appointments, is assessable.

The admiralty court's jurisdiction had been expanding in Richard II's reign into areas beyond its original piracy brief. This had not been popular and the Commons had twice attempted to define and limit the admiral's jurisdiction by statute in 13 and 15 Richard II to cases occuring 5 at sea. Judgement in the admiralty court was delegated by John I to his lieutenants, Sir Nicholas Clifton, who had been indicted with him for the Stafford murder in 1385, William Mennesse and Nicholas Macclesfeld. The central court was held at the Wool Key in London, but sessions were also

3. A.Goodman, The Loyal Conspiracy, (1971), 128-9.

^{1.} For the dispute over appurtenances to the Hope lordship in Flintshire, see above p.75.

^{2.} F.M.Powicke & E.B.Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, (2nd edn., 1961), 130-1.

^{4.} P.R.O., C76/73, m.3; C76/74, m.26.

^{5.} Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, Vol. I, the Court of the Admiralty of the West (AD 1390-1404) and the High Court of Admiralty (AD 1527-1545), ed. R.G.Marsden, (Selden Society, vi, 1892), xiv-li; Statutes of the Realm ii, (1816), 62, 78.

held at Barnstaple, Bridgewater, Fowey, Lostwithiel and Plymouth. Appeals from the judgements of John's deputies were assigned to groups of commissioners. Both the variety of the cases and the rising proportion of lawyers appointed to the commissions illustrate the increasingly wide jurisdiction the admiralty court was acquiring. Only the earliest appeal in November 1389 was a legitimate high seas piracy case; others concerned, for example, ship ownership, shipping bonds and freighting contracts.

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No more new appeals were made from admiralty court judgements after 1391 and, generally, the recorded level of business of the admiralty of the west drops off quite markedly in the 1390s after John's removal from office. The successive complaints of the Commons had had some effect as the characteristically aggressive administration of John I was replaced by the far less controversial one of the earl of Rutland. This prerogative court 4 no doubt continued to function alongside the court of chivalry, but the earl of Rutland was careful not to antagonise people quite as his predecessor had done.

John I's appointment as captain of Brest in June 1389 was a more enduring one, and one more overtly military in its requirements. Situated on the north west corner of Brittany, Brest, with the admiralty, extended and built on John's overseas interests and experience. As with Cherbourg, Brest had been taken over by the English when the French threat was at its height, in 1372, and it almost immediately had to withstand a sustained

4. The Commons were still not satisfied and another statute was needed to reiterate the limits of admiralty jurisdiction in 2 Henry IV: Statutes of the Realm ii, 124.

^{1.} The removal of cases from the provincial to the central court was one of the Commons' complaints and is best illustrated in Sampson v. Curteys in Select Admiralty Pleas, ed. Marsden, 1-17.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1388-92, 159, 356, 412, 431, 473, 491.

^{3.} John's aggressive administration also antagonised the city of London against the admiralty in 1390: C.P.R. 1388-92, 436.

siege 1373-4. English control was maintained as the military threat receded and, with Cherbourg, Calais, Berwick and Roxburgh, it became an important part of the English barbican system of defences. The town required a commander of experience and stature, acceptable to the scheming duke of Brittany, so John I, half-brother to Richard II, son-in-law of John of Gaunt, and, most notably, brother-in-law to the duke of Brittany through his now dead sister Joan, was appointed.

The administration of Brest is hard to discern during John I's tenure, which lasted until its surrender to Brittany in 1397, as his command became increasingly self-sufficient. He was initially appointed for three years in This was paid by the June 1389 with a salary of 3,000 marks per annum. English exchequer for the first half year in 1389, but not thereafter as the financing of Brest disappears from English exchequer records: John I's administration was not expected to account there for it. The exchequer did pay up some £266 13s 4d in January 1391 for repairs to Brest's walls and fortifications but the garrison was expected to look to the local ransom districts for its pay. The only concessions the English government made towards supplying the town was to allow duty free shipments of munitions there from London. With little financial control from England, the administrative control of John I as captain of Brest was also fairly loose: recorded instructions to him were generally restricted to orders to proclaim successive truces with France throughout his domain, though

4. In April 1390, July 1391, November 1393 and August 1394: <u>C.C.R. 1389-92</u>, 134, 376; <u>C.C.R. 1392-6</u>, 174, 309; <u>Foedera vii</u>, 784-5. 5. P.R.O., <u>C76/74</u>, m.19; <u>C76/78</u>, m.17; <u>C76/79</u>, m.8; <u>Foedera</u> vii, 719, 748.

^{1.} P.R.O., C76/73, m.3.

P.R.O., E403/524, mm.7 & 14. See also Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany</u>, 143-171 for the English administration of Brest and particular details of the ransoming system of local parishes used to finance the garrison.
 P.R.O., E403/532, m.13. C76/73, m.1 & E101/68/11/270 detail the funds John was expected to draw upon.

communications over the presentation to a benefice in July 1389 give some 1 indication of the extent of local patronage available to John.

The amount of time John I actually spent in Brest is unknown but, with his many other concerns, it cannot have been great. An experienced deputy was needed actually to run the town. Sir Hugh Despenser and Sir Edward Dalyngregge both appear as John's lieutenant during 1389. Despenser was a professional soldier who had recently served at Berwick, in Flanders and at 3 sea. Dalyngregge was a Sussex knight, well versed in the latest fortification and artillery developments, embodied in his castle at Bodiam, and who had served as lieutenant of John I's predecessor, the earl of 4 Arundel.

John I's personal direction of the garrison was scarcely needed and, anyway, he soon had further duties to attend to at home as chief chamberlain of England. The grant of this to him for life in May 1390 confirmed his now complete acceptance by the royal court. It was a post that Robert de Vere, one of Richard II's closest favourites, had held at his fall, though it was Sir Peter Courtenay that John I was now replacing. The authority that de Vere had wielded was vested in John in the life regrant of September 1393. Once again, John required an experienced deputy and so, with his appointment as chief chamberlain, the office of under chamberlain, which Simon Burley had held, reappeared, to be held by Thomas Percy, then William le Scrope from 1393, both intimate courtiers of

 P.R.O., C76/74, m.24. His officials in Brest were probably a combination of his and royal appointees, though the constable of the castle, John Hobeldod, was certainly his man: Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany</u>, 156-7.
 P.R.O., C76/73, m.3; <u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 49, 118.
 P.R.O., C71/65, m.6; C76/69, m.5; C76/70, m.32; C76/72, m.7.
 Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany</u>, 151, 160.
 P.R.O., C81/516/6361; <u>C.P.R. 1388-92</u>, 252. John I was entitled king's chamberlain in February 1390, and was paid wages as such for Easter 1390: ibid., 194; P.R.O., E101/402/5, f.33r.

Richard. These under chamberlains wielded much of the office's influence $\frac{2}{2}$ within the royal household though John I did draw a twenty mark salary and receive a winter and summer clothing allowance of £10 13s 4d along with, in $\frac{3}{1395}$, the bonus of two tuns of Gascon wine.

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The honorific and ceremonial nature of the post matched well John I's chivalric inclinations, well recorded and lauded in Spain by Froissart. He continued to extol and record in detail John's chivalric enterprises after the return from Spain, with the jousts at St. Inglevert near Calais in May 1390 and the Smithfield tournament of October 1390 copiously described. At the latter, the prize for the best English knight went to John I and that for the best foreign knight to his brother-in-law, the count of St. Pol, his sister Maud's second husband, indicative of the favour the Holland kin now held at Richard's court. Froissart's view of the jousting, chivalrous, renowned John I has eternally coloured and enhanced John's reputation, covering up his essentially aggressive and unpleasant nature. Froissart was not alone in his assessment of John I though and his fame allowed the perhaps more knowing royal court to endorse his employment on distant, glamorous projects.

Late in 1393, it was mooted that John I was to go to visit Hungary,

^{1.} Tout, Chapters in Administrative History iv, 339-341.

^{2.} For a description of the chamberlain's ceremonial coronation duties, see Bod. Lib., Tanner 14, f.74.

^{3.} P.R.O., E101/402/5, f.33r; E101/403/22, ff.12r & 15r; E101/403/10, f.43r.

^{4.} P.R.O., C76/74, m.2, John I had to obtain permission from the captain of Calais, the earl of Northumberland, to joust in the Calais marches with the French; <u>Military Service Performed by Staffordshire Tenants During the Reign of Richard II</u>, ed. G.Wrottesley, (W.S.A.S., xiv, 1893), 249-250; <u>Froissart xiv</u>, 106-150, 256-261. He also jousted with the Scots at Berwick in August 1392: Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland 1357-1509, 98.

the homeland of Richard's queen, and then travel to Jerusalem. Hungary was under increasing Turkish threat, the Nicopolis crisis was imminent, and Richard was sending his half brother to indicate his concern; Jerusalem was a crusading goal that many aspired to but few attained. Preparations for John's departure were advanced in January 1394: protections were issued and asked for from Germany, a licence to be abroad for two years was granted, attornies, a receiver-general and receivers for his estates were appointed and a 700 mark allowance was advanced to John I for the trip in 4 February. After that, no confirmation exists that John made the trip, though his definite movements are hard to establish for the rest of 1394, and he did turn up late for the Irish expedition.

1

A similar extraordinary, and more probably unrealised, project arose in March 1397. John I was appointed gonfalonier of the Roman church and captain-general of the papal troops, being granted an indulgence and a tenth on all English and Irish benefices towards his expenses in ridding 6 Italy of schismatics. The earl Marshal and another Holland, possibly John's elder brother, Thomas, were also involved in the expedition of 150

1. The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II, ed. E. Perroy, (Camden Society, Third Series, xlviii, 1933), 244 (citing P.R.O., E403/546, m.16), payments to John Marche, herald, on 4 December 1393, for gaining John I a safe conduct through France to Hungary and Jerusalem. 2. A.S.Atiya, Crusade of Nicopolis, (1934), 47 actually has John leading an English contingent at the battle of Nicopolis, but C.L.Tipton, 'The English at Nicopolis', Speculum, xxxvii (1962), 528-540 has firmly scotched any English involvment there, revealing the English element as English tongue knights of St. John from Rhodes. 3. On the survival of crusading ideals amongst the fourteenth century English aristocracy, see M.H.Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, ed. V.J.Scattergood & J.W.Sherborne, (1983), 45-61. 4. P.R.O., C76/78, m.11; Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II, 145; C.P.R. 1391-6, 348, 351, 363; P.R.O., E368/166, Pasch. Rec. m.5d, Hil. Rec. m.8; E403/546, m.21.

5. A papal indult for him to attack Turks and other enemies of Christ was only issued in June 1394: <u>C.P.L. 1362-1404</u>, 489. 6. Ibid., 294-5, 300.

archers and 500 men-at-arms that was being organised in January to assist the Florentine friends of Richard II's new French allies. Yet such official physical English intervention in the papal conflict in Italy never became a reality. The prestige that John I's involvment would have brought indicates the seriousness that Richard was giving to his Italian plans. However, lack of funds, French exhaustion after Nicopolis and his own problems in England 1 caused Richard to shelve this project.

Such foreign missions utilised the prestige that John I's blood accorded him, and this also brought him employment on more strictly diplomatic journeys abroad. This was not extensive though as his violent nature hardly made him the ideal diplomat and it is significant that, once again, it was under Gaunt's auspices that John I travelled to France to treat for a truce in February 1392. Richard II considered sending him to France in 1395 to view prospective brides amongst Charles VI's daughters, yet, in the absence of Gaunt, it was John I's young nephew Thomas III who went with the earl Marshal and the earl of Rutland in August/September 1396 to seal the French alliance.

John I's ties with his father-in-law John of Gaunt were still strong and had been put on a formal footing by March 1391 when John was holding a 200 mark annuity from the duchy revenues in Norfolk. John had already been largely accepted into the royal court before Gaunt's return to England in

255-6; P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12, Richard Seymour of Cary in Somerset was retained to serve Thomas III from 21 June to 20 December 1396 with two men-at-arms, four valets, three boys and ten horses. 4. P.R.O., DL29/310/4980, m.2d.

^{1.} D.M.Bueno de Mesquita, 'The Foreign Policy of Richard II in 1397: some Italian Letters', <u>E.H.R.</u>, lvi (1941), 628-637; E.Perroy, <u>L'Angleterre et le</u> <u>Grand Schisme d'Orient</u>, (Paris, 1933), 341-3.

^{2.} P.R.O., C76/76, mm.7 & 9; E403/536, m.21.

^{3.} Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls Ms 182, ed. M.D.Legge, (Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford, 1941), 159; <u>Itineraires de Philippe le</u> Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, Ducs de Bourgogne 1363-1419, ed. E.Petit, (Collection de Documents Inedits sur l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1888),

November 1389, yet Gaunt's own massive support for Richard cannot have 1 hindered John I's own closer identification with the Ricardian cause. Consequently, John's relations with Gaunt do not have a high profile in the 1390s, a 1396 New Year's Day gift of a jewel from the earl of Derby being 2 one of the few signs of amity. No Holland features in Gaunt's will of 3 February 1398 as benefactor or executor. The signs seem to be that relationships between the two had cooled; two incidents may have contributed to this. The Cheshire rising in early 1393 attacked Gaunt's implementation of peace with France and threatened his estates in Lancashire. A Holland man, Sir Nicholas Clifton, was a principal agitator, and John I's inability to deal with the rising had necessitated Gaunt's 4 recall from France. Secondly, Gaunt and John I had rival marital plans in Brittany involving Duke John IV's children, based on their respective 5 interest in Gascony and Brest; neither plan came to fruition.

Gaunt in fact left for Gascony in 1394, whilst much of the rest of the English nobility was also leaving England, but for Ireland, accompanying Richard II on his attempt to sort out the deteriorating English situation there. John I, possibly away in Hungary, did not travel with the main force. His nephew, Thomas III, heir to the earl of Kent, did though, 6 attending on the king in August 1394. Born in 1371, he was a banneret on the expedition and took a knight, ten squires and twenty mounted archers,

6. P.R.O., E403/548, m.20, a royal gift of £40 for his journey to Ireland in the royal company.

^{1.} Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English Nobility</u>, 138-140 for the significance of Gaunt's support for Richard from 1389.

^{2.} P.R.O., DL28/1/5, f.24.

^{3.} Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, 420-433.

^{4.} J.G.Bellamy, 'The Northern Rebellions in the Later Years of Richard II', B.J.R.L., xlvii (1964-5), 254-274; Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English</u> Nobility, 165-8.

^{5.} Jones, Ducal Brittany, 135-6; Anglo-Norman Letters, 328-9.

being paid for service from 7 September 1394 to 21 April 1395. His father did not go, but Thomas III so impressed that he was awarded a royal annuity of 200 marks during his father's lifetime in June 1395. John I only mobilised his force in February 1395, bringing reinforcements of four knights, ten squires and forty mounted archers, in shipping from the south west, and being paid for service from 7 March 1395 to 21 April 1395, just 45 days. So John I only arrived after the expedition had finished its aggressive phase, and when Richard was trying to extract suitable homage oaths from the Irish chiefs.

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The military support that John I could provide the crown was nevertheless still valued and trusted by Richard. A steady stream of strategically important castles was entrusted to John's custody during the 1390s: Berkhamsted, already mentioned, in January 1391; Rockingham, with stewardship of the forest, in April 1391; Horeston in Derbyshire in September 1391; Haverford, close to his Pembrokeshire estates, in January 1392; and Conway, initially granted him by Queen Anne, confirmed by Richard in September 1394. Richard was gradually concentrating the significant strongholds of the realm amongst his close magnate supporters such as John I and especially William le Scrope. They had significant independent authority outside the royal court, unlike the earlier great collector of

2. P.R.O., E403/551, m.10.

3. P.R.O., E403/549, m.10, 100 mark payment for his journey there; E101/402/20, f.32r; C.P.R. 1391-6, 535, 587. He probably sailed from the south west, possibly Bristol, having appointed a new receiver-general at Dartington on 4 March 1395: P.R.O., E368/167, Pas. Rec. r.5d. 4. C.P.R. 1388-92, 369, 372, 394, 483, 488; C.P.R. 1391-6, 15, 501. Haverford and Conway had been part of Richard II's father's endowment as prince of Wales in 1343: Report on the Dignity of a Peer v, Appendix, 43-4.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/402/20, f.32r, he was owed £295 2s for the 227 days' service.

castles, Simon Burley.

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Custody of all these castles, and especially the town of Brest, showed how highly Richard valued John's military experience which he seems to have considered could best be utilised away from court. On Lord Beaumont's death in September 1396, and with Brest soon to be restored to the Bretons as part of the rapprochement with France, Richard was quick to redeploy John I to his northern frontier in the important post of warden of the west march towards Scotland and custodian of Carlisle. John had no interest in the north, other than Long Marton manor in Westmorland which he had passed on to his daughter Constance as her marriage portion, and so it was hoped he would be above the petty local quarrels. He was also very much a court man and would make royal authority on the border much more of a reality for Richard than the too locally powerful and independent Percies and Nevilles, though he still needed the local assistance of Sir Peter Tilliol actually to run the march. John I was well paid for his service on the border: £1,500 per annum was his salary in peace time, but there was no stipulation about garrison numbers attached to this, so there was some scope for profit by only maintaining small garrisons. His nine year appointment lasted only until February 1398 when he was replaced, as at the admiralty, by Edward, now duke of Albermarle.

service: P.R.O., E403/559, mm.1 & 6; E403/555, m.13; E401/608; E401/609. 6. Rotuli Scotiae ii, 140. Albermarle had by then acceded to Thomas II's offices of justice of the forests south of the Trent and constable of the Tower.

^{1.} Leland, Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: thesis, 109-110 details Scrope's penchant for castles. He even took Conway from John in February 1398: C.P.R. 1396-9, 322.

^{2.} Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi ii, ed. J.Caley et al, (1819), 135; R.L.Storey, 'Wardens of the Marches of England Towards Scotland 1377-1489', E.H.R., lxxii (1957), 612; P.R.O., SC8/253/12639.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1401-5, 111.

^{4.} J.A.Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', Northern History, iii (1968), 49-51.

^{5.} Storey, 'Wardens', 602-3. John was assigned some £2,564 1s 8d for his

This practical military employment reflected the high chivalric renown that John I held. Despite his posts, he frequented the royal court more than his staid elder brother. His flamboyance and influence with the king encouraged the earnest Philip de Mézières to enlist his support as a patron for his Order of the Passion and present him with Bod. Lib. Ashmole 813, an abridgement of the Order's rule and a propaganda document to entice recruits. John I's violent intemperance makes him a somewhat repulsive character to modern sensibilities, yet physical rashness, or being outrageous, was a quality that was not at all despised in the later fourteenth century. This helps to elucidate the attractiveness of his exploits to Froissart and de Mézières. Yet his renown lacked something in substance, exemplified by the empty title of papal gonfalonier. Experienced, unconnected deputies administered his posts and, overall, he had leant much on Gaunt and, latterly, the king, during his rise. He fell short of the independent stature, the weight of support and influence that came from long-standing, extensive local ties to be a really invaluable prop for his half-brother's regime. What he could, and did, offer was his wide experience and his service, whose value was perhaps a shade compromised by the sharpness of his tongue.

 M.V.Clarke, Fourteenth Century Studies, ed. L.S.Sutherland and M.McKisack, (Oxford, 1937), 287-290.
 G.Mathew, The Court of Richard II, (1968), 22.

CHAPTER IV ROYAL DUKES: TOOLS OF A TYRANT? 1397-AUGUST 1399

La Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart II opens with the garrison of Brest in Brittany returning home to England, to Richard's feast at Bristol. The chronicler records that the duke of Gloucester, stirred by this visual result of Richard's surrender of his French possession, berated him for his shameful policy. Richard's rapprochement with France, sealed by his marriage to Charles VI's daughter Isabel in 1396, was seen by the French chroniclers as a catalyst for Richard's revenge on Gloucester and his fellow Appellants in the summer of 1397. Yet that analysis ignores another important character in the handover of Brest to the duke of Brittany. John Holland was also at that feast in Bristol. He may well have actually returned with the garrison from Brest where he had been constable since 1389. His interest in Brittany was considerable: his sister Joan had married its duke, John IV, in 1366, and his influence on the tortuous Anglo-Breton negotiations of the 1390s was extensive. For surrendering Brest, not only did Richard receive handsome payment, 120,000 francs, despite the 1378 agreement for its return free, but John I also received some 65,066 écus to satisfy the wages of himself and his garrison. John

2. Idem; Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, ed. M.L.Bellaguet,

that John I made 34,000 ecus profit on the handover, based on his interpretation of Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany</u>, 139 n.2, should be treated with sceptism.

^{1.} Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre, ed. B.Williams, (1846), 117-121.

⁽Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1840), 477-8; Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English Nobility</u>, 156.

^{3. &}lt;u>Collection of Documents Relating to Scotland</u> iv, ed. J.Bain, (Edinburgh, 1888), 106.

^{4.} Jones, <u>Ducal Brittany</u>, 114-141. Jones acknowledges his influence, though even he finds it less than clear.

^{5. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 138, 139 n.2; P.Levot, <u>Histoire de la Ville et du Port de Brest</u> i, la Ville et la Port Jusqu'en 1681, (Brest/Paris, 1864), 36-8; Leland, Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: thesis, 289-291. Leland's assertion

was certainly not losing out on this further dismantlement of the barbican policy and Richard cannot have acted without at least his half-brother's acquiescence or, more probably, his active encouragment.

The restoration of Brest serves as a suitable introduction to this attempt to view Richard's last years from the perspective of two of his principal supporters, John I, his half-brother, and Thomas III, his nephew, also of the half-blood. Historians have naturally focussed on Richard's own motives and aims in the climax of his reign. To some, the events of the September 1397 parliament are the working out of a personal vendetta by Richard and his subsequent rule is at best an absolutism, at worst a 1 tyranny. Others view these last years as showing a king whose mind was increasingly unstable, or see him engaged in the consistent pursuit of same ideals in an increasingly insensitive manner. The purpose here is not to overturn any of these views, but rather to assess them from a different angle by looking at the contributions of two of Richard's staunchest supporters, John and Thomas Holland.

So a study of the rewards the Hollands received, the areas they were employed in, and their own ambitions, hopes and fears can show how interdependent were Richard and his courtiers, his counter-appellants. Much used by Richard, the Hollands were part of a group of magnates who benefitted considerably from Richard's tyranny; yet did they perhaps have some particular influence with their kinsman? They have been seen as tools of Richard's tyranny, but might they not have been more essential props of his regime?

Richard was careful to surround himself in his final years with a

 R.H.Jones, <u>The Royal Policy of Richard II: Absolutism in the Later</u> <u>Middle Ages</u>, (Oxford, 1968), the very title indicates his approach; <u>H.F.Hutchinson</u>, <u>The Hollow Crown</u>, (1961).
 Steel, <u>Richard II</u>; Tuck, <u>Richard II</u> and the English Nobility.

substantial group of high-ranking nobles, several of them naturally connected to him by blood, in marked contrast to his earlier, less socially acceptable supporters, so ruthlessly destroyed in 1388. There have been attempts to analyse this group, its background, wealth and personalities, but its membership was so diverse that this has rather tended to distract attention from the central theme of Richard's own actions. Mrs. Mott's Leeds thesis of 1971 fills in the background of Richard's supporters without really assessing their role in the implementation of Richard's policy in the last years of his reign. John Leland's Yale thesis of 1979 turned to printed government records to provide a fuller explanation of Richard's strategy in the years preceding 1397. It illustrates well the individual nobles' attachment to the king, yet reveals little of how far there was an attempt by Richard to bind his supporters among the nobility together as a group. In this respect, an analysis of the use Richard made of his Holland kin, especially through their marriages, is very revealing.

Between them, Richard's two half-brothers, Thomas II and John I, produced some six sons and eight daughters. Only one of these sons, Thomas III, who succeeded his father as earl of Kent in 1397, was married in Richard's lifetime. His bride in 1392 was Joan Stafford. She may well represent an attempt to heal the rift between the two families caused by John I's murder of her eldest brother Ralph in 1385. Her marriage may also have been intended to bind her young Stafford brothers closer to Richard. Elsewhere, John of Gaunt's connection with the Hollands had of course

took place in Winchester and cost 4,000 marks, half of which was paid immediately and the rest was to be paid off over four years in 500 marks instalments.

^{1.} R.A.K.Mott, 'Richard II's Relations with the Magnates 1396-9', (Leeds Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1971). 2. Leland, Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: thesis, passim.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1391-6, 196; Staffordshire R.O., D641/1/2/5, m.2, the marriage

already been affirmed by John I's marriage to his daughter Elizabeth in 1386. Yet marriages did not automatically mean alliance and friendship: Alice FitzAlan, wife of Thomas II, failed to prevent the destruction by Richard, with Holland complicity, of her brothers Richard and Thomas FitzAlan in 1397. However, it was more especially with his Holland nieces of the half-blood that Richard sought to bring disparate elements of the nobility into the closer connection of his kin.

Thomas II had produced six daughters. The youngest, Bridget, went into a nunnery. The eldest, Eleanor, married Roger Mortimer, later fourth earl of March, in 1388. This most valuable marriage Thomas II had bought for 6,000 marks in 1384. It was a major mark of favour for Thomas, and his eldest son's subsequent service in Ireland in 1395 and his eventual replacement of his Mortimer brother-in-law as lieutenant of that country cannot have been uninfluenced by this family tie. Roger Mortimer was killed in Ireland in 1398 and this made Eleanor available again on the marriage market, now with a valuable dower of a third of the Mortimer inheritance, including estates in her brother Thomas' domain of Ireland. Eleanor's second marriage, to Edward lord Charleton of Powis, in late June 1399, was not so illustrious, but was again not without its political implications. Her second husband was, like Mortimer, a marcher lord and this marriage enhanced the Holland interest in the marches as Eleanor's uncle, John I, had three months earlier been granted Gaunt's important South Wales lordships, whilst already holding the wardship of the Mortimer south Wales estates. Eleanor's influence in the marches was a by no means passive one.

being baptised in his New Forest chapel early in 1390: Wykeham's Register ii, 423. 3. C.F.R. 1391-9, 293-4.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 452. 2. <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 457, 476. Thomas II's granddaughter by this marriage was

During Bolingbroke's invasion, Adam of Usk notes that he had to intercede with Henry to have his home town of Usk spared as Henry had intended to 1retaliate against it because of Eleanor's resistance. If Eleanor had been married to marcher lords in a deliberate attempt to augment Ricardian influence in the area, she had at least tried to reward her king's 2confidence in her.

Thomas II's second daughter, Joan, also had a marital history of considerable consequence. Richard's uncle, Edmund duke of York, lost his first wife, Isabella of Castile, in 1392. Two years later, he was married to the nubile Joan Holland. He was by then aged fifty-three, she was thirteen. The implications for the York inheritance scarcely need detailing . York's son and heir, Edward, was already of age on his father's remarriage and he must have realised his stepmother would outlive him and so potentially deprive him of a third of his inheritance. York may have looked to Joan to affirm his links with the king and so maintain the material benefits his first wife had provided. Richard's excessive favouring of Edward could thus have partly been by way of compensation. Here is not the place to analyse the peculiar stances of York and his eldest son, though the marriage may even have been a sympathetic effort by Richard II to provide his uncle with a comforting nurse in his last painful years. Also Joan's own voracity should not be discounted. In true pernicious Holland style, she married thrice more after 1402, gained a

2. Richard's trust in her is further illustrated by her appointment as his young wife's governess in 1398: Traison et Mort, 166. 3. I am grateful to Mr. T.B.Pugh for this inference.

wounds might help to explain his often half-hearted political performances.

^{1. &}lt;u>Chronicon Adae de Usk 1377-1421</u>, ed. E.M.Thompson, (2nd edn., 1904), 174-5.

^{4.} G.E.C. xii part 2, 899 n.e. York's possibly crippling and painful war

portion of the Kent inheritance and so died a very wealthy woman in 1434.

The other three daughters of Thomas II were married less controversially. Margaret's marriage represents the complete acceptance of John of Gaunt's illegitimate offspring, the Beauforts, as she was wedded to the eldest, John, in the summer of 1397 after his legitimation and creation as earl of Somerset at the parliament earlier in the year. On his death in 1410, Margaret continued her close royal connections by wedding Henry IV's second son, Thomas, in the same year. The next Holland daughter, another Eleanor, was the bride of Thomas Montague, heir to the new earl of Salisbury, in May 1399. This was at a time when Salisbury was one of Richard's main supporters, shortly to be entrusted with raising north Wales and Cheshire against Henry Bolingbroke. The fifth Holland daughter, Elizabeth, had been married in August 1394 to John Neville, the eldest son of Ralph Neville, later earl of Westmorland. Along with Ralph's elevation to the earldom in 1397, this attempt to bring the Nevilles into the Ricardian camp and counter the northern influence of the Percies was not successful as Ralph was in dispute with Richard II over the honour of Richmond and he promptly joined Bolingbroke to become one of the main supporters of his early regime. Thomas II agreed to pay Ralph some 1,700 marks for the marriage, over six years. Taken with the 6,000 marks price tag of the Mortimer marriage and the unknown costs of the other three marriages, this illustrates that it was not a cheap business finding husbands of a suitable status for such a brood of daughters. The financial

3. Berkshire R.O., D/EN F1, a 1394 pre-nuptial settlement between Ralph lord Neville and Thomas II.

4. Thomas II did gain 4,000 marks from his heir's marriage to Joan Stafford: Staffordshire R.O., D641/1/2/5, m.2.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 898-9; C.D.Ross, The Yorkshire Baronage 1399-1435, (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis), 184-8, 434.

^{2.} H.A.Kelly, The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII, (Stanford California, 1976), 9-13 discusses the issues thrown up by this marriage.

burden these marriages placed on the estates conditioned still further the Hollands' adherence to Richard's cause and their dependence on the financial benefits of his consequent patronage.

John I had only two daughters, and the name of one of those is unknown as she died young, having been betrothed even younger. John I's sister Joan had married the duke of Brittany and there had been a proposal for this unknown daughter to marry the duke's son and heir. This did not materialise and her eventual husband was Richard de Vere, son and heir of the earl of 1 Oxford, sometime before 1400. John I had his own reasons for espousing this match, as he was king's chamberlain, a position the earls of Oxford had traditionally held. The earl of Oxford had released all his interest in this post to John in February 1398 and this marriage to a royal half-niece was both a reward for and confirmation of that agreement. The alliance this betrothal represents was evidently real as it was to Hadleigh castle, the de Veres' home, that John I fled for a brief respite in January 1400 after the collapse of the rebellion against Henry IV.

Yet another comital house was brought into the Holland and so royal family circle by the marriage of John I's other daughter, Constance. Thomas Mowbray had already proved himself an ambitious, unscrupulous politician, sympathising first with the king, then supporting the Appellants, when Richard II tried to confirm Mowbray's now royalist tendencies in 1391 by encouraging the betrothal of his son and heir, Thomas, to the royal halfniece, Constance Holland. The betrothal indenture of 27 June 1391 was more a political alliance than a marriage as Constance was but four and Thomas

3. <u>Annales Ricardi II et Henrici IV</u>, J.de Trokelowe in <u>Chronica et Annales</u>, ed. H.T.Riley, (R.S., 1866), 327. 4. P.R.O., E41/202.

^{1.} G.E.C. x, 235.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 290.

only six. The king had backed the papal dispensation, and the trustees for the enfeoffment of £300 worth of lands by each party included five bishops $\frac{2}{2}$ and the earls of Derby and Rutland and Lord Lovell. The marriage was again not cheap costing John I some £1,000, half of which he had to pay immediately and half at the time of the actual betrothal.

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By the time of Richard's fall, the Holland family thus had marital connections with the royal dukes of Lancaster and York and the comital houses of Stafford, Mortimer, Beaufort, Montague, Neville, de Vere, and Mowbray; no Holland had been initially married to anyone of less than earl's rank. That all these connections could not have been established through the influence of the senior Hollands alone is plain; a royal desire, in the absence of his own immediate family, to use the descendants of his mother's first husband to bring much of the nobility within a royal familial cicle is clearly at work here. The policy was not an unqualified success as Rutland's loyalty was not absolute, perhaps in part because of his father's curious second marriage, and Neville's son's betrothal did not ultimately reconcile him to Richard. Mowbray saw his father banished, Mortimer died just as his rule in Ireland was being terminated and it was to be John I's brother-in-law Henry Bolingbroke who was to depose Richard. Richard was attempting though to broaden his basis of support amongst the nobility. Further, it is noticeable that neither Gloucester's son, nor any young male FitzAlan nor Beauchamp figure in these marriages. This all lends weight to the thesis that Richard's cultivation of the nobility was selective, and purposeful. Richard wanted to rule in concert with his nobility, but the three original Appellants were never quite accepted

 C.P.L. 1362-1404, 396.
 C.P.R. 1399-1401, 294; C.P.R. 1401-5, 111. For subsequent developments in this marriage, see Archer, The Mowbrays: thesis, 100-101.
 Leland, Richard II and the Counter-Appellants: thesis, 431-8.

again.

Before analysing more chronologically the Hollands' roles 1397-9, some attention should be paid to some of the sources for these last years of Richard II's reign, to reveal some of the problems attendant on assessing the Hollands' contributions, and provide some initial pointers to their influence with the king.

The chroniclers are naturally concerned with the central villain/hero of the piece and such as the Hollands are often represented as no more than supporters or partners in crime. The Traison et Mort chronicler might be expected to provide a more intimate and sympathetic view of the Hollands' role as, although a Frenchman, he was probably attached to John I's household during his stay in England. Yet this does not mean he colours his attitude towards the Hollands in their favour, rather the opposite is the case as he no doubt had first hand experience of his temporary master's unpleasant, impetuous nature; there is certainly none of the adulation towards a patron that characterises Adam of Usk's treatment of the La Traison et Mort has been shown to be badly defective on Mortimers. certain major points, but it still has value as a more informed view of the Hollands. Further partiality towards the Hollands might be anticipated from the chronicle of the monks of Kirkstall abbey as they were tenants of the earls of Kent, but little evidence of this connection appears in their writings. The chroniclers' bare recordings of Holland participation in the main events of Richard's last years thus need considerable augmentation from the records of government, printed and unprinted.

 <u>Usk</u>, 164-8.
 Palmer, 'French Chronicles', 399-413.
 M.V.Clarke & N.Denholm-Young, 'The Kirkstall Chronicle 1355-1400', B.J.R.L., xv (1931), 106.

^{1.} J.J.N.Palmer, 'The Authorship, Date and Historical Value of the French Chronicles on the Lancastrian Revolution', <u>B.J.R.L.</u>, lxi (1978-8), 164-9.

Any attempt to assess the Hollands' influence with the king should look to council records, yet these are scarce for the last two years of the reign. However the two petitions that Nicolas prints both concern John I, then duke of Exeter; one is sponsored by him and in the other he is the 1 petitioner. The council records' paucity can be offset by an analysis of the witness lists of royal charters. The lists are not infallible as 2 evidence of presence at the court, and so political influence, and only seventeen charters are enrolled from September 1397 until Richard's fall, 4 yet they do provide some further idea of the make-up of Richard's council.

The ecclesiastical element dominates with some six or seven clerics generally signing. Amongst the magnates, John of Gaunt is always present until his death and the duke of York does not miss any. John I, with his responsibility on the Scottish marches and in Calais, is only present five times, on 23/24 April 1398 and 24 April to 9 May 1399 at Westminster and Windsor. This is less than the earls of Salisbury (nine), Rutland (six), Wiltshire (ten), Worcester (twelve), Gloucester (eight), and Somerset (six), as many as the earl of Northumberland and only one more than the earl of Oxford, John Lovell and Reginald Grey of Ruthin, which accounts for all the lay magnate witnesses in this period. Thomas III, so relatively youthful and inexperienced, and with his duties in Ireland, appears not at all. John I had been valued as a councillor, witnessing 25 consecutive

T.R.H.S., Fifth Series, xix (1969), 101-2. 5. The two archbishops, the long serving bishops of London and Winchester, and the great officers, Stafford (chancellor), Mone (treasurer), and Clifford (keeper of the privy seal).

^{1. &}lt;u>P.P.C.</u> i, 77-78; J.F.Baldwin, <u>The King's Council in England During the</u> Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1913), 285.

^{2.} A.L.Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', in <u>Fifteenth-Century England 1399-1509</u>, ed. S.B.Chrimes, C.D.Ross & R.A.Griffiths, (Manchester, 1972), 1-2; J.L.Kirby, 'Councils and Councillors of Henry IV, 1399-1413', <u>T.R.H.S.</u>, Fifth Series, xiv (1964), 44-5.

^{3.} P.R.O., C53/167.

^{4.} A.L.Brown, 'The King's Councillors in Fifteenth-Century England',

charters 28 May 1390 to 11 December 1392 inclusive, and his advice was 2 still respected by Richard. His intimacy with his half-brother was reflected by his position as Richard's chamberlain. Yet John I's experience and authority could best serve his king in strategically vital posts on the kingdom's borders: formerly Brest, now Carlisle, and later Calais. The admittedly less experienced Thomas III was similarly looked to by Richard 3 in the area of defence, being entrusted with Southampton, and then Ireland.

In July 1397, both Hollands were soon involved in the more immediate defence of the royal person itself, or rather, in the removal of its threatening enemies as they rode with the king to arrest his uncle of Gloucester at Pleshey; the earls of Arundel and Warwick were similarly 4 seized. Richard II's hasty actions were probably born of a smouldering revenge against the Appellants' impositions of 1386-8. This was exacerbated by new tensions which had arisen by July 1397, highlighted by Gloucester and Arundel's non-attendance at the council of February 1397 and Gloucester's disapproval of Richard's rapprochement with France in general and his return of Brest in particular.

John I, offended personally both by Gloucester's attitude to Brest and the grudge Gloucester still bore for John's murder of his ward Sir Ralph Stafford, may have encouraged Richard's strike; the king had even been dining at John's London house before going off to Pleshey, having thus

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in Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English Nobility</u>, 184-5; Goodman, <u>The Loyal</u> <u>Conspiracy</u>, 65-6; Palmer, 'French Chronicles', 400-5. The Appellants were appealed for their actions in 1386-8: <u>R.P.</u> iii, 349-353. 6. Tuck, Richard II and the English Nobility, 184.

^{1.} P.R.O., C53/162, mm.1 & 2; C53/163; C53/164, mm.24-35.

^{2.} Annales, 223-4.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 151.

^{4.} Annales, 203-5; Traison et Mort, 128-9; Eulogium iii, 371-2; Walsingham ii, 223.

^{5.} The new plot theory of Traison et Mort, 122-7 has been firmly scotched

sounded John for his advice. Thomas III, though Arundel's nephew, may likewise have looked for his fall, being covetous of the FitzAlan estates, 2 though this is admittedly reported by the hostile Adam of Usk. Other Lancastrian chroniclers record what must be apocryphal details of Arundel's death, taunted to the end by Thomas III with Mowbray. Details such as 4 these, with Thomas III's presence at the exhumation of Arundel's body and the very formal nature of both Thomas and John Holland's roles as 5 Appellants as recorded in the parliament roll, indicate that Richard's employment of his magnates was something of a front; after the debacle of 1386-8, he needed to be seen acting in concert with and through his nobility. There is no doubt where the impetus was coming from, but Richard needed eight Appellants to give an image of extensive magnate cooperation.

The Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick inheritances, entailed, enfeoffed to uses or held in fee simple, were now all forfeit. Richard adopted a policy he was to pursue again later when the Mowbray, Mortimer and Gaunt inheritances came into his hands in the greatest redistribution of landed wealth since 1265: he divided them up to create new great landowners in areas of his choosing. His Appellants were well rewarded with new lands and titles, the Hollands included. Thomas was raised to a dukedom with his FitzAlan uncle's title of Surrey, though, curiously in view of his Hampshire interests, the estates he received were chiefly the Warwick west midlands patrimony. It was John, now duke of Exeter, who gained FitzAlan's southern lordships of Arundel, with later Lewes on Mowbray's banishment,

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5. <u>R.P.</u> iii, 350-2. 6. C.D.Ross, 'Forfeiture for Treason in the Reign of Richard II', <u>E.H.R.</u>, 1xxi (1956), 574-5.

^{1.} Traison et Mort, 127-8.

^{2.} Usk, 158-9.

^{3.} Annales, 216-8.

^{4.} Ibid., 219.

and then Reigate. With his south west patrimony, and his later appointment to Calais, John was being established as a major force in the south of the country.

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Richard's fears for his own security had not been totally allayed by the Westminster session of parliament in September 1397 and parliament repaired to Shrewsbury for January 1398. It was there, so the parliament roll records, that Norfolk, one of Richard's Appellants of four months prior, was reported by Hereford as fearful of Richard's intentions towards The well-known consequence was the duel between Hereford and Norfolk them. scheduled for Coventry in September 1398. Even before then, in January 1398, Norfolk had already lost his post as Marshal, being replaced by Thomas III, whose father had held it during Norfolk's minority. This was Thomas's first major appointment and he was to work in tandem with the constable Albemarle as presidents of the increasingly busy court of chivalry. This court's encroachments on the common law courts' jurisdiction had been complained about in 1389, but Richard continued to use it, perhaps not intentionally, to subvert the common law and so alienate his nonsupporters further.

Richard also attempted to control local government by the extensive appointment of magnates to commissions of the peace. Their personal presence on the benches cannot have been expected, but it was hoped their

5. G.D.Squibb, The High Court of Chivalry, (Oxford, 1959), 17-22; Tuck, Richard II and the English Nobility, 198-9.

^{1.} P.R.O., SC8/269/13406 & 13421; C.P.R. 1396-9, 176, 215-6, 280-1, 421-2, 467.

^{2.} Thomas now relinquished custody of Lord Cobham held since the 1397 appeal: P.R.O., E403/559, m.6; E403/561, m.12, satisfaction of 100 mark expenses.

^{3.} R.P. iii, 382

^{4.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 339. Thomas is depicted as Marshal in J.Rous, The Rous Roll, ed. C.D.Ross, (Gloucester, 1980), no.49.

latent authority would ensure compliance with royal wishes. Richard's magnates also had a role to play in ensuring a parliament acquiescent to royal wishes in 1397. Possibly three Holland knights of the shire were elected to the September 1397 assembly to assist the 22 royal and seven Lancastrian knights in engineering the fall of Gloucester, Arundel and 2 Warwick. Richard was seeking to confirm and extend his authority in parliament and local government, areas not normally dominated by the crown, and not likely to accept such dominance willingly. If Gaunt was unable, or unwilling, to gainsay this strategy, then the less politically experienced and astute John and Thomas Holland can scarcely be criticised for giving Richard the advice he wanted and implementing his policy.

Ireland was to be where Thomas III was to have his greatest role in these last years of Richard II's reign. There are payments to him from late May 1397 detailed as being in compensation for the withdrawl of his appointment as lieutenant of Ireland. This was over a year before he was to be successfully appointed lieutenant and indicates Richard was already dissatisfied with Mortimer in Ireland. However, the recent demise of Thomas II at the end of April 1397 meant that Richard was not prepared yet to lose the personal support of Thomas III to distant Ireland. Thomas had already served there as a banneret on the 1394-5 expedition and he was given some personal interest there with the grant of the wardship of Thomas Talbot of Molaghide in May 1398. The incumbent lieutenant, Mortimer, was of course his brother-in-law and he was to receive advice and support from William

- 1. C.P.R. 1396-9, 227, 230-240. John I was appointed to 11 separate
- benches, Thomas to 14, in the autumn of 1397.
- 2. Mott, Richard II's Relations: thesis, 341-2.
- 3. P.R.O., E403/555, m.5; E403/556, m.1. He was awarded £1,000

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compensation.

- 4. P.R.O., E101/402/20, f.32r; E403/548, m.20.
- 5. C.P.R. 1396-9, 344.
- 6. Thomas was one of March's attornies in 1398: jbid., 349.

le Scrope who had considerable experience of Irish affairs as chamberlain there. Yet all this was no great preparation for the young Thomas III being thrust into the maelstrom of Irish politics with his appointment as lieutenant there in place of Roger Mortimer on 26 July 1398. It was fortunate for both Thomas and his king that, unknown to Richard, Mortimer had been killed by the Irish six days earlier.

Royal policy towards Ireland had been at best inconsistent during Richard's reign. The lieutenants had varied from Robert de Vere, with Ireland as his ducal palatinate, to adventurers with woefully inadequate royal forces, such as John Stanley and Philip Courtenay, to local lords using their own retinues, such as the earls of Ormond and March, to even the local episcopacy, such as Alexander Balscot, bishop of Meath, when others refused or else failed . None had been successful in stemming the deterioration of There had also been two abortive attempts to install English influence. other members of the royal family as lieutenants there: John I in 1382 and the duke of Gloucester in 1392. Richard's own expedition of 1394-5 had utilised diplomacy, after initial military setbacks, to considerable temporary success, based on the authority of his sizeable army. His personal impact in Ireland had been considerable as many of the Gaelic Irish came in to swear personal oaths of homage to him in the hope of protection against the Anglo-Irish. Once Richard had gone and the personal contact was broken, the Anglo-Irish reasserted themselves and the old disputes continued. Mortimer had been left as lieutenant, still with an unresolved claim with O'Neill over Ulster. To the Gaelic Irish, he was no

3. J.T.Gilbert, History of the Viceroys of Ireland, (Dublin, 1865), 242-279; A.J.Otway-Ruthven, <u>A History of Medieval Ireland</u>, (1968), 309-338. 4. J.F.Lydon, 'Richard II's Expeditions to Ireland', <u>Journal of the Royal</u> Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, xciii part 2 (1963), 135-148.

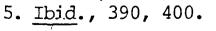
^{1.} Ibid., 402.

^{2.} Usk, 165-6.

substitute for royal authority and their faith in the promises of royal protection was destroyed. Some attempt to reestablish something of this royal authority through an outsider with no Irish interests of his own to pursue or protect and with the prestige of one more obviously close to the throne may have been Richard's thinking behind his replacement of Mortimer with Thomas III. Richard's own desire to return to Ireland was known, but he could ill afford the personal investment of time necessary when he feared so for his position in England, and Thomas III was an effort to send a suitable substitute.

Thomas III's appointment was for three years and was not scheduled to start until 1 September 1398. However, he was already being assigned £1,916 13s 4d on 23 August and John Drax, the royal serjeant-at-arms, had received letters patent of two days prior to Thomas' appointment instructing him to collect ships for the expedition. This task he had completed by 19 September when he accounted for some 42 vessels containing 549 sailors from Dartmouth, Fowey, Saltash, Plymouth, Barnstaple and Bristol now assembled at Liverpool. Protections were issued for the retinue from 27 July and on that day a four man advance party was detailed to prepare the way for Thomas' household in Ireland. No indenture for his original appointment survives, but his three year commission was reissued on 10 April 1399: he was to take 150 men-at-arms and 100 archers with a mason and a carpenter in every 20 archers, indicating the amount of

^{4.} P.R.O., E364/32/7; C.C.R. 1396-9, 327-331; C.P.R. 1396-9, 438.



^{1.} E.Curtis, Richard II in Ireland 1394-5, (Oxford, 1927), 26-54; D.Johnston, 'Richard II and the Submissions of Gaelic Ireland', Irish Historical Studies, xxii (1980), 1-20.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 402.

^{3.} P.R.O., E403/559, m.16.

rebuilding work anticipated in the fortresses they were to garrison. In spite of all these arrangements, Thomas was in no great hurry to take up his post. He was still in London on 20 August and on 19 September he was at Coventry supervising the Hereford/Norfolk duel in his capacity as Marshal. When he did sail for Ireland, he took a new chancellor and archbishop of Uublin, Thomas Cranley, and a new treasurer, Robert Faryngton. On Mortimer's death, the Irish council had appointed Reginald lord Grey of Ruthin as justiciar, but there is no record of his opposing Thomas III's takeover. Thomas finally landed in Ireland on 7 October, having sailed from Liverpool, but his activities until Richard's own arrival six months later have not been extensively recorded.

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Thomas III was exercising his powers to grant lands on 18 October, but those powers were only defined on 22 January 1399. As lieutenant, Thomas could receive rebels against the king, grant pardons, issue letters patent, receive fines and ransoms, grant lands conquered in war, demise to farm lands devastated in war, appoint to offices except the chancellor and treasurer, and, perhaps most indicative of the state of Ireland, move the

4. The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland i, ed. W.Harris, (Dublin, 1764), 336-7; C.P.R. 1396-9, 409.

5. Handbook of British Chronology, 153.

1399: 'Courts, Councils and Arbitrators in the Ladbroke Manor Dispute, 1382-1400', ed. J.B.Post, in <u>Medieval Legal Records Edited in Memory of</u> C.A.F.Meekings, (1978), 322.

^{1.} B.L., Harleian 5805, f.392. There may well be an error in the eighteenth century transcription and 800 archers might have been intended. See also P.R.O., E403/562, m.10.

^{2.} P.R.O., SC1/63/282. This is not necessarily intended as a criticism of Thomas as he certainly took up his duties sooner than some: de Vere never even reached Ireland at all.

^{3. &}lt;u>Traison et Mort</u>, 150. Four days later, with Thomas off to Ireland, his duties as Marshal were handed over to the earl of Salisbury: <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 413. His retainer Richard Seymour only left home in Somerset on 20 September; he brought three men-at-arms, six valets, six 'garcons' with sixteen horses: P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12.

^{6.} He may well even have returned to England for Christmas 1398 as, going to Ireland, a signet seal letter of his was issued at Ludlow on 31 January

Common Bench and Exchequer to wherever necessary. He was further entitled to take fealties for Irish estates and appoint to benefices worth up to To assist his authority, he had already been granted the forty marks. wardship of his predecessor's Irish estates in September 1398 and on 1 March 1399, William le Scrope advised Richard to grant Thomas his three Leinster castles, Uriell county and Drogheda town and the custody of Dublin castle, saving only his own rights in the last, as the independent authority he had held as justiciar under Mortimer was finally totally dismantled. Thomas installed garrisons of 14 archers under one man-at-arms in each of the three castles and promptly set about repairing Dublin castle. However, he seems to have established his residence at the Mortimer castle of Trim, the better to supervise the income from his ward's estates. His stipulated pay of 11,500 marks a year was actually assigned in full at the English exchequer from 23 August 1398 to 12 July 1399, though from 1 June 1399 he was maintaining a further retinue of 150 men-atarms and 800 archers in the royal service. This salary was some 7,500 marks more than Mortimer's, and shows how much Richard was having to pay to install a royal scion in Ireland who had no landed interest of his own there as a possible financial reserve to draw on. His powers had also been further augmented on 24 March 1399 by the authority to appoint to all benefices in Ireland. Richard was certainly trying to support his lieutenant as far as he could, but Thomas III, like Mortimer, was no

2. C.P.R. 1396-9, 429, 480, 483, 498.

instalments on nine separate dates.

6. <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 501. The hostile Usk even reports a proposal to crown Thomas III king of Ireland in Dublin; Thomas did draw out a coronet worth £200 from the exchequer in March 1399: <u>Usk</u>, 190; P.R.O., E401/611.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 188; C.P.R. 1396-9, 472, 476; C.F.R. 1391-9, 293.

^{3.} P.R.O., E404/15/101; E101/247/4.

^{4.} P.R.O., E364/36/6.

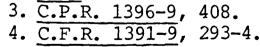
^{5.} P.R.O., E403/559, m.16; E403/561, mm.4, 12, 16; E403/562, mm.10, 12, 13, 16; E401/611; E401/614. He was paid a total of £7,863 19s 6 1/2d in ten

substitute for the royal presence and lacked the authority and respect it could command. Art MacMurrough was still at large in Leinster and it was to this particular problem that Richard addressed himself when he arrived in Ireland for the second time in early June 1399.

The main event in England during Thomas III's absence was John of Gaunt's death on 3 February 1399. This would have brought about the, for Richard, inconceivable combination of Gaunt's massive estates with the exiled Hereford's own not inconsiderable patrimony. Richard revoked the letters patent by which he had allowed Hereford's attornies to take over any estates he might inherit during his exile and rewarded his supporting magnates by granting them sizeable chunks of Gaunt's lands. John I, already established in south Wales with the wardship of the Mortimer 3 estates there, now had this interest augmented by the custody of the important series of Gaunt castles and lordships there. Thomas III took over the Gaunt interest in Lancaster, Liverpool, Cliderow, Blackburnshire, Rochdale, Halton, Tutbury, Kenilworth and Melbourne. With Ireland and this new power in Lancashire, Thomas was a strong adjunct to Richard's own enclave in north west England, the principality of Chester.

These and Richard's earlier massive grants had considerably readjusted the focus of the territorial bases of the two Hollands. The numbers and extent of the lands granted would have caused great reorganisation in the Holland estate administrations and stretched their manpower resources considerably. Thomas III's estates were under particular strain, coping also with the accession of a new lord and the apportionment of dower to his

^{1. &#}x27;Creton's Chronicle', ed. J.Webb, <u>Archaeologia</u>, xx (1824), 13-28. 2. <u>R.P.</u> iii, 372.



mother. With service being expected from the Hollands on the peripheries of the kingdom, it is small wonder that these new estates retained the officials and allegiances of their former owners: there was no interruption in the Lancastrian administration in south Wales in the last year of the reign and Thomas III was heavily reliant on Beauchamp's appointees in the west Midlands. The Holland influence would take time to permeate the Beauchamp estates, but Thomas did make some effort to emphasise the changeover: publicly, in a stone representation of Richard II's badge on the gates of Warwick castle, and privately, by becoming heavily embroiled in the protracted dispute over Ladbroke manor between the Cardians and John Catesby. The financial benefits of the grants would take time to materialise; Thomas' resources in particular were still stretched and he had to procure rewards for his followers from royal patronage. Yet even from Gaunt's estates the Hollands made something. However, Richard II's great redistribution of landed power was largely a nominal transference that alienated much of the landowning community without really augmenting the power of his close supporters.

How far the Hollands may have encouraged Richard to break up Gaunt's inheritance it is impossible to say. Neither was especially close to Gaunt by 1399, not featuring in his will, and John I may have felt he ought to

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5. P.R.O., E401/614. On 30 June 1399, Thomas paid in £80 as part of his farm for Gaunt's estates; it was assigned back to him for his Irish wages. 6. R.R.Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships in Wales in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1965), 329-330.

^{1.} Naturally, some of Thomas' father's officials stayed on in his mother's service: Anglo-Norman Letters, 268.

^{2.} Beauchamp's man continued to control Warwick castle and Thomas Lutterworth was a Beauchamp messenger employed by Thomas III: 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 322.

^{3.} Ibid., 324.

^{4.} Several of his men were awarded royal annuities: <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 177, 197, 415; <u>Anglo-Norman Letters</u>, 260, W.Bawdweyn offering his services as a retainer at reduced rates; <u>ibid.</u>, 274, a Lincolnshire receiver unpaid for eighteen months.

have something as Gaunt's son-in-law, having received no recorded endowment for his marriage in 1386. Probably neither was in the country at the time of Gaunt's death, Thomas being in Ireland and John in Calais. Whatever their influence over Richard and their desires towards Gaunt's estates may have been, the responsibility and initiative for seizure lay firmly with the king.

This latest arbitrary act in denying Hereford his father's estates attacked the sanctity of the inheritance and threatened all men of property not totally committed to Richard's cause. The Lancastrian chroniclers are full of the rising pitch of discontent with Richard's regime. Though Gaunt's estates were only taken into temporary custody, not forfeited, many of his annuitants clearly felt insecure and some 96 of them, holding some £1,400 worth of annual pensions, sought confirmation of their awards before Richard's fall. Many clerics too felt insecure and sought ratification of their appointments to their benefices. This clerical unease had also been prevalent in October 1397, though it was by no means confined to the appointees of those who had forfeited their estates; the uncertain political climate affected everyone.

Yet the great political vacuum that Gaunt's death left is something that is not so clear from the chronicles and government records. Richard may have relied on eight other nobles for his Appellants in 1397, but it was the great weight of Gaunt's political experience and his massive landed power that was the main prop guaranteeing Richard's regime. For all these attempts to illuminate the roles of the Hollands, the rapid onset of crisis after February 1399 indicates the force that was Gaunt's influence and the vacuum that its removal left. Thomas and John Holland, with relatively

1. Walsingham ii, 230-1; Annales, 229-230. 2. C.P.R. 1396-9, passim.

insubstantial landed possessions and too closely identified with Richard to have much independent authority, could not fill that vacuum.

Richard II's policy towards France also cost him support. The rapprochement of 1396 was not a great success. The French were not happy at the treatment of Charles VI's young daughter by Richard's council in 1399: her French household had been restricted and her governess Mary de Coucy 1 replaced by Eleanor Holland. On the English side too, there were 2 suspicions of Richard's attitude towards France: Mowbray's replacement as captain of Calais in February 1398 was the man who had helped return Brest to the Bretons, John I.

John was by now Richard's most trusted frontier lieutenant having previously held Brest and Carlisle. The vital post of Calais was not a financial boon for John with the arrears of the garrison's pay for the last ³ years of Richard II having to be cleared on Henry IV's accession. Yet John certainly took up residence there by 17 September 1398 as he then sent letters to Guy Mone, the English treasurer, requesting payment of his wages ⁴ as per his indenture. On his return to England to prepare for the second Irish expedition, John I left behind as his deputy the experienced knight ⁵ William Farendon; another of a series of soldier/administrators who carried out much of the actual work in John I's various military appointments.

For the second Irish expedition, John I indented for 140 men-at-arms 6 and 500 archers. Thomas III, having returned to England to join it, took

2. <u>Annales</u>, 235-6.

correspondence over Calais is between John I and Mone, the treasurer: <u>Anglo-Norman Letters</u>, 257-8, 265, 272, 278. <u>5. C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 589. <u>6. P.R.O., E101/69/1/300</u>.

^{1.} Chronique de Saint-Denys, 705; Traison et Mort, 179.

^{3.} P.R.O., E404/15/117.

^{4.} Mone was replaced as treasurer on 17 September 1398 and all the

some 950 troops, so it was not a small force that Richard led to 2 reestablish his authority in Ireland. Also taken along amongst various 3 young noble offspring was Edmund, Thomas III's younger brother. Richard's departure for Ireland has generally been hailed as his biggest error, but he might well have trusted his father-in-law, Charles VI, to keep an eye on Hereford in France. He must also have been increasingly isolated from the general mood of his people by his close circle of supporters, and his obsession for fawning oaths. He obviously felt a duty to settle Ireland and he had been successful there before. He may have even considered a strong, loyal Ireland as a useful adjunct to his bastions of power in Wales and north western England.

Whatever his hopes, Richard had been in Ireland barely a month when news came of Hereford's landing at Ravenspur, probably in late June 1399. Even before then, the Irish expedition had not been a great success as MacMurrough proved elusive and the Irish guerilla tactics frustrated the English troops, though Richard was impressed by Thomas III's raiding forays. Creton's information on Ireland is unchallengeable and he depicts the English army in some disarray from lack of supplies, with Richard being confined to Dublin, at least until 13 July. Once Richard heard of Henry's invasion and was resolved to return to England immediately to oppose it, a sense of panic surrounds his actions. Richard's precise knowledge of Henry's whereabouts and support is not known but he obviously felt that the earliest possible confrontation was necessary. Albemarle's advice to him to

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Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English Nobility</u>, 214.
 <u>Anglo-Norman Letters</u>, 346-7.
 <u>Creton</u>, 27-46; Johnston, 'Richard II's Departure', 792.

^{1.} P.R.O., E403/562, mm.2, 10.

^{2.} Johnston calculates 5,000: D.Johnston, 'Richard II's Departure from Ireland, July 1399', E.H.R., xcviii (1983), 801.

^{3.} P.R.O., E403/562, mm.1, 7.

wait and regroup was by no means treacherous. Creton reports that three companies were sent out in the first half of July to scour for ² MacMurrough. These troops may well still have been out in the field. If anything like the 1394-5 policy of establishing control in Leinster by a ring of garrisons had been followed in 1399 then these troops would need to ³ be recalled as well. Some token of royal presence was needed in England though to maintain morale and provide a temporary check on Henry's progress. The swift despatch of a holding force to north Wales/Cheshire under Salisbury was no bad move. It suffered though from inactivity and lack of communication with Richard so that morale plummeted and it ⁴ disintegrated.

Salisbury had sailed from Dublin and Richard now moved down to Waterford, with the Hollands, probably collecting his troops scattered throughout Leinster as he went. His tactics in landing in Pembroke have to 5 be questioned. It should be emphasised that his intelligence of Henry was probably poor, but then Henry's must have been likewise, although, with the regency council disposed of, he astutely reasoned that Cheshire would be crucial and promptly made for there from Bristol. Richard may well have landed at Pembroke out of necessity because of the bad weather prevalent at 6 the time. He may have been encouraged by the proximity of John I's new influences in the Mortimer and Gaunt estates in south Wales and it had been from Milford Haven that the expedition had sailed earlier in the year. He was clearly expected in this area of the country as it was on Bristol that

2. Ibid., 45.

5. Ibid., 75; J.W.Sherborne, 'Richard II's Return to Wales, July 1399', Welsh History Review, vii (1975), 392-5. 6. Creton, 46.

^{1. &}lt;u>Creton</u>, 55-6.

^{3.} Lydon, 'Richard II's Expeditions', 145.

^{4.} Creton, 61-72.

the forces of York and Henry were converging. Yet he was still far from his bastion of Cheshire and, if rapid confrontation was his aim, still far from the action marconed in farthest Wales.

On his landing, most of the chroniclers report that, with Glamorgan held against him, Richard fled north with a few companions and the vast majority of his army deserted. The last statement needs qualifying. Despite his delay, Richard had still left Ireland in a rush. He almost certainly expected to return there after dealing with Henry. Large quantities of treasure were left in the care of Joan countess of Kent at Trim, John I left goods behind, Thomas III left men, horses and arrows, and military supplies and heavy baggage were abandoned in Dublin castle; Thomas' wife and young brother Edmund were left in charge. Thomas did take care to ensure £1,000 worth of his personal effects were shipped, but these ended up on the Somerset coast. Ships were still leaving Ireland after Richard had landed and the Eulogium confirms what must have happened: far from deserting en masse in south west Wales, much of Richard's army never actually made it there with Richard but was dispersed along the coast, arrived late, never left Ireland at all or had already gone to north Wales with Salisbury to desert there.

Having lost his own army, Richard now tried to reach Salisbury's or at least recruit another one in Cheshire. Time was against him though as the fast thinking Henry had beaten him to Cheshire and, despairing of Richard,

1399. 5. Usk, 175-7; Creton, 70-72.

^{1.} Sherborne, 'Richard II's Return', 394.

^{2.} Johnston, 'Richard II's Departure', 793-801; P.R.O., E101/691/20; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1399-1402, 145; P.R.O., E404/17/469.

^{3.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 77.

^{4.} Eulogium iii, 381; P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12, Thomas III's retainer Richard Seymour was paid for service in Ireland up to 15 October

Salisbury's force had disappeared. Thomas and John Holland were still with Richard though and the militarily experienced John I must have been of some influence in deciding Richard's moves. His absence from Richard's fateful meeting with Northumberland in Conway deprived Richard of an adviser who might well have cautioned against leaving such a stronghold with such shaky assurances, but John I had already been sent with Thomas III to determine Henry's intentions, and be imprisoned in Chester.

Thomas and John Holland were Richard's constant companions for his final few months as king. Their attachment to the king was never in doubt but they do not come out of his fall with great credit. Besides being so closely related, Richard had tied their interests too intimately to his own for them to be able to give him the objective advice he perhaps needed. Thomas, young and impressionable, was very much the instrument of his royal uncle's policy which built him up as a close ally to Richard's own power base in north west England. John had the experience, and past history, to remain a little more aloof, with his interests concentrated in the southern part of the country. Neither Holland had previously had much to do with Bolingbroke; it remained to be seen whether they would try and trim to preserve something of their gains or loyally stand by Richard.

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<u>Ibid.</u>, 109-110. Johnston, 'Richard II's Departure', 800-802.

CHAPTER V DEPOSITION AND DISASTER, SEPTEMBER 1399-1400

Part 1 Henry IV and the Hollands, September-December 1399

September 1399 opened with John and Thomas Holland, like Richard II, prisoners of Henry. Like their king, they must have feared for their positions and even possibly their lives. How much of the important grants and offices they had gained in the previous two years, and before, would they lose? Would they be able to reconcile themselves to the change of regime? Such uncertainty and nervousness Henry never really calmed, nor perhaps appreciated. The Hollands were to lose lands and offices, but Henry's eagerness for their support meant they kept much of Richard's largesse of before 1397; far from buying their support, this enticed them to rebell, and lose everything.

Yet after Richard was brought down to London from Flint by the beginning of the month, September 1399 is something of an interlude, waiting for the parliament, summoned on 19 August, to assemble on 30 September and confirm Richard's fate. Little information has surivived as to what was going on in London at this time. Undoubtedly there were earnest discussions amongst the lay and temporal magnates about the political situation. It must have been evident before he reached London that Henry 1 was going for the throne and he would surely have been engaged on much canvassing to secure support. The chronicles, even the London compilers, are frustratingly thin on this vital period of political manoeuvring. The invaluable Creton had now returned to France and Usk is our only definitely involved recorder; his details are not as full as they might be and deal only with Henry's contacts with Richard, now in the Tower, and the concern

1. 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 323 for the earliest indication of his intent, 24 July 1399.

over the terminology of the deposition. The <u>Traison et Mort</u> writer was probably also in London, still attached to John I's household, and he provides some more details, though none of any activities of John I. Central government was in some turmoil and its recorded outpourings, in the patent, close and fine rolls, are very slight for August and September. The exchequer, in its assiduous pursuit of the wealth forfeited by the rebels of January 1400, is one source that can reveal something of the atmosphere, away from the central figures of Henry and Richard, at this time of great turbulence. It is from this source that many of the following details are gleaned.

Richard's departure for Ireland had left his uncle, Edmund, duke of York, in charge in England; it fell to him initially to attempt to repell Henry's invasion. Tuck has well described the assembling of his army and his efforts to frustrate Henry, but the service of Sir John Holland of Thorpe Waterville, cousin to John I, from 7 to 31 July, journeying from Thorpe Waterville to the gathering point at Bedford, then on to Gloucester and Bristol, illustrates one knight's contribution to that force. The disbandment of York's force was important as it represented the collapse of

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5. Tuck, <u>Richard II and the English Nobility</u>, 215-6; P.R.O., E364/35/1. He brought one man-at-arms and eight archers and suffered no recorded consequences for his service.

^{1.} Usk, 179-186. He was appointed to the committee to decide the best way of deposing Richard.

^{2. &}lt;u>Traison et Mort</u>, 212-219. The chronicle jumps straight from a 3 September confrontation in the Tower to the 30 September parliament. Some incidental details are provided by such as John Catesby: 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 323-4.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 587-597; <u>C.C.R. 1396-9</u>, 508-525; <u>C.F.R. 1391-9</u>, 305-9. These few pages contain all the business for August and September, generally minor routine administrative instructions with a few significant appointments, but very few grants.

^{4.} The general hostility of London towards Richard II in later 1399 is sketched in R.Bird, <u>The Turbulent London of Richard II</u>, (1949), 110-113. Modern commentators have focussed on the actual problems of the deposition resolved by Henry, such as in Steel, <u>Richard II</u>, 269-285.

central authority, with Richard still not back in control and Henry's position unclear. Some now took advantage of this, to their personal profit, as events moved against Richard and his supporters during August. At the time of the surrender in Conway, John Guppehay was taking three horses from Dartington, robbing John I's retainer John Proudefote of gold and looting property of John I's intimate Thomas Shelley in Taunton. Walter Tilly utilised the confusion to realize forcibly his claim to John I's manor of Barford St. Martin in Wiltshire at the end of the month. Henry himself, on his march through Warwick, had encouraged this climate of disorder, ripping down Thomas III's public display of his Ricardian allegiance from the castle gates, and so giving a symbolic indication of his future strategy as early as 24 July.

Meanwhile, John and Thomas Holland were seized with Richard. Thomas, with the earl of Salisbury, was committed to the earl of Westmorland's care in the north; John was probably allowed off on probation as his wife was 4 expecting. At some stage, possibly with Richard, they travelled to London. Once there, their status is unclear. They may have been kept with Richard in the Tower, but John I's administration, if not the lord himself, was certainly still active and functioning during September and Thomas III's

3. 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 323. 4. A child was born between 15 August and 8 September; this may have been John I's youngest son Edward: <u>ibid</u>., 324.

^{1.} P.R.O., E159/179, Com. Mic. r.38d, valued in total at £121 18s 4d. 2. P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Pas. r.10. John Blaunchard had granted it to John Milborne who had passed it on to John I. The nature of Blaunchard's grant to Milborne was the crux: Tilly claimed it was for life, the Hollands in fee simple. Tilly had married Blaunchard's widow Joan. He was appointed the manor's keeper on 16 November 1399 during his stepson John's minority. John I's widow, Elizabeth, agitated for and regained seisin on 2 February 1404. This understood her joint enfeoffment of the manor with John I, but another unresolved commission appearing in May 1411 was to investigate the seisin of John I and Thomas Shelley. The manor did remain in Holland seisin. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 97; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 9, 130-1; C.P.R. 1401-5, 282, 368; C.C.R. 1409-13, 213, 409, 426; P.R.O., C139/127/25, no.18.

influence still pervaded in Ireland until even after the deposition. Henry had not yet moved to take over any of the lands of Richard's supporters as he was keen to have at least their notional support during parliament to secure his own position. Thus John I's duchy of Cornwall castle of Perkhamsted was still being used by his receiver-general on 24 September. Nor had Henry taken over any of the possessions of Richard's supporters; these were still filtering back from Ireland, for instance, into the possession of John I's household servants in the south west during 3 September.

At the same time as Henry was trying to secure the support, or at least acquiescence, of Ricardians such as the Hollands, so they, in turn, were keen to guarantee their own positions. The only two retaining indentures that survive for John I date from this time, 22 and 24 4 September. That John still had the freedom, and political attraction, to be able to recruit support less than a week before Richard's formal deposition is some indication that Richard's supporters were not powerless prisoners at this time. John I's receiver-general, the cleric John Holland (no relation), was also very busy now.

Between 15 September and 1 October, he was satisfying some nineteen

Relations: thesis, 463-4. John I was still titling himself duke of Exeter and chamberlain of England.

^{1.} Henry had sent John Waterton and Robert Hethcote from Chester on 16 August to take over Ireland; they returned on 13 October. Yet Thomas III's retainer Richard Seymour only terminated his service two days later and Thomas' treasury at Trim continued to dispense cash long after Richard's departure: P.R.O., E364/36/6; E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12, Com. Pas. r.31. 2. Ibid., Com. Pas. r.36.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, Com. Pas. r.33; E159/178, Com. Tri. r.5: the valet of his robes returning clothing to his chamberlain at Dartington on 9 September and his squire John Verdon receiving various possessions of his at Congresbury in Somerset on 19 September.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 244, 255, being confirmation in March and April 1400. Full details are in P.R.O., C66/359, mm.9 & 18, cited in Mott, Richard II's

creditors of John I's to the tune of £2,096 16s 6d. This sum was made up from valuables from John I's household, itemised, valued and recorded in the exchequer, and they represented only partial satisfaction of total debts to these nineteen of £3,151 12s 7d. The majority of this was owed to merchants: Bartholomew Bosane, (possibly of the Exeter merchant family) Bartholomew Lumbard (E600), and Marcus Markat (E253 12s). The rest (£962), was owed to London suppliers including goldsmiths, a skinner, saddler, mercer, ironmonger, hawker, waxchandler, vintner, painter and stockfishmonger. Despite all Richard II's beneficence in the form of land grants, John I had had to borrow heavily to maintain the lifestyle of a royal duke. Indeed, it should be remembered that these figures are probably but an indication of the level of his spending as no accounts have survived for his extravagant building at Dartington. Counter to that, there is no indication as to over how long a period these debts had been run up. The debt of £512 19s 11 1/2d to a skinner/furrier is by far the most owed to a supplier and probably represents not only clothes for John I himself, but also livery for his household and retinue. Now, in September 1399, with Richard II's deposition probable and imminent, his receiver-general was keen to satisfy these creditors with his master's goods whilst he still held them, as he must have feared the possibility of forfeiting them all to Henry when and if he became king. Should this subsequently happen, as it did in 1400, the exchequer's task in taking over John I's possessions would be all the harder as they were now so dispersed. Should things calm down however, or the forfeiture not occur, then these valuables could possibly

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2. P.R.O., E404/15/154; C.J.Tyldesley, 'The Crown and the Local Communities in Devon and Cornwall from 1377-1422', (Exeter Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1978), 82.

^{1.} A butcher's account for £44 was settled on 6 November and a mason's of £6 on 1 December 1399.

be redeemed by paying the debts off in cash. John I's shrewd receivergeneral was both satisfying some of his creditors and pawning, and so securing, some of his valuables as the discussions in the Tower intensified 1 and Richard's deposition, and so disaster for his supporters, loomed.

With the format of the deposition decided upon and parliament assembled, the Hollands were now used to lend some credibility to Henry's actions, attending at parliament and assisting at the subsequent coronation. Their denouncements of Richard's actions recorded, and acquiescence in Henry's accession displayed, they were now finally consigned to prison on 20 October, John I to Hertford and Thomas III to the 3 Tower and then Wallingford. Brought out and tried on 3 November, they lost only the titles and lands awarded them by Richard since Gloucester's arrest in the summer of 1397, and they were forbidden to maintain retinues other than household and estate servants.

This leniency was not well received, but Henry did not have too many options. He had very few experienced magnate supporters and his two initial allies, Neville and Percy, were both northerners. Other potential noble props, such as Stafford, Mortimer, FitzAlan, Mowbray, were too young, or as York, or Warwick, too old and indecisive. Experienced nobles such as

4. R.P. iii, 451-2. Both pleaded they had been coerced into participating in Richard's appeal plans in 1397 on fear of death; Thomas also asked for his youth and inexperience to be taken into account: <u>ibid</u>., 450. 5. <u>Annales</u>, 320; <u>Walsingham</u> ii, 242.

^{1.} P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. rr.35-46; E159/177, Com. Mic. r.7d, Com. Pas. r.21.

Traison et Mort, 219; The Great Chronicle of London, ed. A.H.Thomas & I.D.Thornley, (1938, repub. 1983), 74; Chronicles of London, ed.
 C.L.Kingsford, (Oxford, 1905), 49. The Hollands, with other Ricardians, had been summoned to the 30 September parliament under their ducal titles, and were again likewise summoned on 30 September to the 6 October meeting:
 Report on the Dignity of a Peer jij, 766, 769.
 C.C.R. 1399-1402, 28. Thomas III, with the earl of Salisbury, was

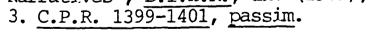
arrested whilst dining with Hugh Despenser of Colly Weston: 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 324. They were to be produced to hear their sentences on 28 (John) and 29 (Thomas) October: <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 28, 29.

the Hollands, Montague and Despenser, would be valuable buttresses for his regime if they could be won over. It would also mark the acceptance of Henry's rule if the more notable of Richard's supporters could be seen to be reconciled to Henry. This propaganda theme is especially prevalent in the parliament roll where not only Richard's nobles, but also his judges, such as Thirning, have their actions in repudiating Richard's deeds highlighted; Thirning is even utilised as one of the architects of 2 Richard's deposition.

Henry was also keen to secure the support of many of the lesser servants of Richard's regime. Only the top ranks of the civil service in the chancery and exchequer were changed and confirmation of Richard's appointments accelerated in the last months of 1399. Confirmations of annuities granted by Richard run at approximately twice the rate of new awards by Henry to his followers at this stage, and even some of these new awards were replacements for Ricardian grants of lands and offices which a had now been repossessed for the crown or their original owners.

The new government was taking time to find its feet; the changeover was not necessarily as smooth as the large scale preservation of Richard's civil service might imply. Issued commissions and granted pardons only begin to reemerge on the patent rolls right at the end of 1399; there had been a hiatus in this normal administrative business of government since the previous July and even before. It was not until the end of the year that Ireland was taken in hand with John Stanley appointed lieutenant on 10

^{1.} Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', 2-4; K.B.MacFarlane, <u>Lancastrian Kings</u> and <u>Lollard Knights</u>, (Oxford, 1972), 66-73. 2. G.O.Sayles, 'The Deposition of Richard II: Three Lancastrian Narratives', B.I.H.R., liv (1981), 257-270; <u>R.P.</u> jij, 422-6, 450-2.



December. The Lancastrian regime was beginning to assert itself and grow in confidence in the last month of the year and so the reality of Richard's deposition came home to his supporters. They decided they had to act to remove Henry before he was irretrievably established.

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More directly personal motives also underlay Henry IV's evident failure to reconcile Richard's close supporters. Just as Richard had lost much of his credibility through his attack on the sanctity of the inheritance, so, likewise, it was the constriction of the Holland inheritances that encouraged the Hollands to try and restore Richard; Henry took away estates without leaving them powerless, though it is hard to see what else he could have done.

Thus all the lands gained by Richard's supporters since the summer of 1397 were repossessed. These were not disastrous losses for the Hollands as the benefits they had received from them had probably been at best limited, but the potential they had held out had been immense. Thomas III lost vast tracts in the west and north and Ireland, John I gave up influence in the south-east and south Wales. John also lost the south western Beauchamp manors, perhaps of more import to him, but still scarcely affecting his influence there. His duchy of Cornwall estates were a different matter though. He must have anticipated their loss as his brother-in-law had a ready made prince of Wales, also created duke of Cornwall, who would require endowment. John's residence of Berkhamsted castle was taken away almost immediately, going to Robert Corbet in October 1399.

2. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 13. He certainly resided there, perhaps until Dartington was ready, issuing letters patent from there in 1389: <u>ibid</u>., 261.

^{1. &}lt;u>Handbook of British Chronology</u>, 153. On 15 December, an order was issued to change the seals in Ireland, replacing Richard's with Henry's, as Ricardian ones had still been used since 30 September: <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 4-5.

Yet, after these initial losses, the Hollands may have had reason to believe they would keep the rest: John was readmitted to the royal council on 4 December and both witnessed royal charters on 10 December. 12 days later, however, John's duchy of Cornwall estates in Cornwall were repossessed for the prince of Wales. Thanks to Richard II's policy of passing on his duchy manors to his half-brother when the life grants to his retainers expired, John at that point held nine of the seventeen Cornish duchy manors, with the reversion of a tenth, and four of the eight boroughs, with the reversion of a fifth. Their loss was a considerable blow to John, leaving him with Tackbeare manor his only possession in Cornwall. Nor was this free from threat.

The prior claim of the abbey of St. Mary Graces to the Audley estates a has already been noted. In November 1399 the claim was raised again, but Henry rebuffed it and John's seisin of the eight south western manors was a confirmed. He was nervous about the security of his tenure there and passed on various parcels of Lydford manor in Somerset to his retainer William Yerde on 22 November to secure further his allegiance at this time 5 of uncertainty. John also sold his interest in Tytherington manor in Gloucestershire in November 1399 to a group of four for 600 marks. He evidently feared for his insecure seisin and was keen to dispose of it as he offered a generous 10% return on investment to the purchasers; Sir William Clinton had had seisin in February 1393 and was to dispute it after

- 3. See above p.80.
- 4. P.R.O., E328/327.

5. P.R.O., E149/107/3, m.4.

^{1.} J.L.Kirby, Henry IV of England, (1970), 82, 84.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.I.M.</u> 1399-1422, 58; P.R.O., E142/42. See Hatcher, <u>Duchy of Cornwall</u>, 53-7, 87 for the duchy's manors' peculiar system of rent and assession fines.

John's death. John's control of Barford St. Martin manor in Wiltshire had already been attacked by Walter Tilly; Tilly's takeover of August being confirmed in November 1399.

John I clearly had good reason to feel insecure in the tenure of his estates. His south western influence had been dramatically cut and a revitalised royal duchy of Cornwall was now emerging. There was the renascent threat to some of his Devon estates, he had to dispose hurriedly of his Gloucestershire interest and he was being attacked in Wiltshire. He was vulnerable. The great rewards of the last years of Richard's reign had been swept away, that he could understand, accept. Threats to his south western heartlands were not so easy to brook. He was now reaping the consequences of Richard's policy of passing on to him dubiously titled estates. Yet his half-brother had still been a more beneficent relative than his brother-in-law was proving to be; so he chose to help remove the latter.

After the initial deprivations, Thomas III had lost no more estates; 3his title to the Kent estates was unchallengeable. Yet, with the initial turmoil of the deposition over, he may have harboured hopes at the end of the year that he would be allowed to continue his control of Ireland, at present in the charge of his young brother Edmund. Stanley's appointment on 10 December dashed these hopes. The peace commissions of 28 November and commissions of array issued on 18 December also belied the political rehabilitation of the Ricardians: none who were to lead the January 4 rebellion were appointed.

C.P.R. 1399-1401, 97; C.P.R. 1401-5, 282; above p.123 n.2.
 The duchy of Lancaster claim to certain Kent estates was only to emerge after the 1400 rebellion.
 C.P.R. 1399-1401, 209-214, 556-567.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1405-8, 155; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 175; P.R.O., C137/51/60; E149/85/7; C.C.R. 1392-6, 47; C.C.R. 1405-9, 109.

Part 2 The January 1400 Rebellion

The rebellion in January 1400 was undoubtedly a potent, if brief, threat, to the new Lancastrian dynasty. As such, and because it was schemed in and around London, it attracted the attention of many of the contemporary chroniclers. They readily embellished its drama, heightened by the importance of its leaders. Both Wylie's very full and still very useful narrative, and Rogers' more recent account, make full use of these sources. Yet this chronicle framework needs to be filled out, especially by the returns of a commission, issued on 11 January 1400, immediately the rebellion was suppressed, to discover the lands and goods forfeited by the rebels. In a like vein, this information can be augmented by the returns of a commission of fifteen appointed in May 1400 to ascertain the nature and present resting place of goods of Richard II and his court which had been brought back from Ireland. McNiven has already utilised similar inquisition returns to provide a valuable sidelight on the rebellion in Cheshire.

Such valuable information from inquisitions can be further enhanced by such as the patent and close rolls, recording the orders issued by the government to smash the rising, so showing how serious it was thought to be. Payments at the exchequer also elaborate details of those involved on the government side. Besides the chronicles, the events are revealed in various accounts by those inadvertently caught up in the confused series of events around Epiphany 1400. Further inquisitions held in London, inventories of goods returned into the exchequer, and recorded reactions in

xviii (1968), 277-283. 2. C.F.R. 1399-1405, 35. 3. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 312. 4. P.McNiven, 'The Cheshire Rising of 1400', B.J.R.L., lii (1970), 375-396.

^{1.} J.H.Wylie, <u>History of England Under Henry the Fourth</u> i, (1898), 91-107; A.Rogers, 'Henry IV and the Revolt of the Earls, 1400', <u>History Today</u>,



France all detail the dramatic story to be gleaned from the chronicles to give some better idea of the involvment in, extent and effect of the first major threat to Henry IV's regime.

Before turning to the details, a brief summary of the rebellion's progress will help provide the background. The conspiracy was hatched in December 1399 in London by prominent ex-Ricardians, the earls of Kent, Huntingdon, Rutland and Salisbury and the bishop of Carlisle. They were to meet at Kingston on 4 January 1400, preparatory to surprising Henry IV and his sons at a tournament at Windsor on the feast of the Epiphany. The conspirators duly assembled at Kingston on the fourth, but Rutland was absent. His discovery by his father with written details of the plot and his subsequent dash to Windsor to warn Henry in an effort to save his own skin may be apocryphal, but Henry certainly was, somehow, forewarned and fled Windsor on the fourth for the greater security of London. The rebellion was officially denounced on the fifth and forces were rapidly mobilised to suppress it. The rebels had meanwhile struck on the fourth to find Windsor deserted. They advanced next day to Colnbrook before retreating westwards, reaching Cirencester on the seventh. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were imprisoned in the abbey and their army disappeared. On the eighth confusion arose in the town after a fire and the mob sprung the two earls from prison and despatched them. The king had meanwhile reached Oxford with his army and it was there that the lesser rebels were tried and executed or imprisoned on the twelth. John I had been waiting to seize London on the successful despatch of the king, and he fled east from there on the sixth. Adverse winds drove him ashore in Essex where he was arrested, put in FitzAlan custody but executed by mob demand. The other

1. The rebels forfeited from this day: <u>R.P.</u> iii, 459. 2. P.R.O., E37/28.

main leader, Thomas lord Despenser, had been raising Wales but he was also captured and executed by popular demand in Bristol on 15 January.

Bearing in mind this brief outline from the chronicles, the rebellion will now be analysed in rather more depth to reveal more of its course, motives, extent and aftermath. Events will be viewed first from the rebels' standpoint, outside London.

John I was awaiting developments in London, so his nephew Thomas III was the man very much in charge at the flashpoint. On 4 January, he was mobilising support from the Kent estates in Surrey, principally Woking. Some of his followers apparently only joined reluctantly, though this was no doubt an impression they were keen to foster for the inquisition $\frac{1}{2}$ juries. The chroniclers give 4-500 mustered at Kingston. The standard practice of dividing that by ten might seem to leave the force perhaps too small. Yet it should be remembered that this rebellion was conceived as a rapid surprise blow with the prime objective of despatching an unsuspecting king. For that, great numbers would be a hindrance, forfeiting speed, surprise and secrecy. It should also be noted that the whole force was nounted, (Thomas' adherents "rode" with him against the king); Colnbrook to Cirencester in two days, at least 65 miles, was good going, even for a $\frac{3}{1000}$ horsed rebel.

2. Annales, 323; Walsingham ii, 243; Hall reports small numbers envisaged in an admittedly probably spurtious plan: E.Hall, <u>Chronicle</u>, ed. H.Ellis, (1809), 16. The Surrey inquisition juries named 22, besides the knights, rebelling with Thomas III: <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 65-6. 3. Similarly, the insurgents of 1381 were probably mounted, given the speed of their assault on London, and Richard III's army congregating for Bosworth in 1485 arrived by horse: N.Brooks, 'The Organisation and Achievments of the Peasants of Kent and Essex in 1381', in <u>Studies in</u> <u>Medieval History Presented to R.H.C.Davis</u>, ed. H.Mayr-Harting & R.I.Moore, (1985), 268-9; C.D.Ross, <u>Richard III</u>, (1981), 214-5. The Cirencester inquisitions detailed some 50 rebels' horses then held by locals: <u>C.I.M.</u> <u>1399-1422</u>, 29-30.

^{1.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 65-6.

The rebels mustering at Kingston in the evening on 4 January nearly surprised the archbishop of Canterbury who was on his way to join the king at Windsor from Croydon. He was apparently shocked to discover his nephew Thomas III amongst their leaders; evidently no hint of the conspiracy had reached his ears. Another actually caught up in the rebellion here was John Fouke. He was the governor of the young Courtenay boys Edward and Hugh, and he has left an account of their expenses whilst they accompanied the royal court from July 1395 to February 1400. Like the archbishop, he was travelling to Windsor for the festivities and arrived there on 3 January. On the fourth, as well as fleeing to London, Henry IV had dispatched Robert Messang from Windsor to alert the earl of Devon and Sir Robert Chalons. On the fifth, Fouke intended to join the king, but he ran into Thomas III at Colnbrook, was swept up with the rebels and taken off through Maidenhead to Reading. There, he gave the rebels the slip and fled on the sixth south west to Kingsclear, to Shaftesbury on the seventh and Crewkerne on the eighth.

Thomas III and his followers had realised they had missed the king. They considered moving on London on the fifth but, possibly advised of Henry's preparations there, decided that their chance of a rapid strike was now gone. They had to change their strategy and transform the rebellion into a more general rising. Two things had to be done: the expected rapid counter-stike of their known, redoubtable opponent had to be avoided, and a much larger force had to be raised. So the rebels fled west, away from London and Thomas' original recruiting ground of Surrey. Westwards lay John I's patrimony in the south west, Despenser's strongholds in south Wales

 Literae Cantuariensis, the Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church Canterbury jij, ed. J.B.Sheppard, (R.S., 1889), 73-4, written on 10 January in London, after the deaths at Cirencester.
 D.R.O., CR1466, m.5.

and, perhaps most significantly, the still devoutly Ricardian Cheshire. John I was abandoned in London.

On the fifth, Thomas sent two messengers, John and Adam Hesketh, to Cheshire to raise Richard's former principality and then rendezvous with the earls at Shrewsbury on the fourteenth. Rebellion sparked in Cheshire on the tenth but flared only briefly as news of the earls' demise followed fairly shortly after the initial exhortation to rise. Messengers were probably similarly sent to the south west as it was again on the tenth that insurgency first broke out in Exeter when canon John Cheyny raised 40 archers. Incidents occurred two days later at Plympton and Saltash as the call to rise travelled further south west. Undated outbreaks also followed at Combe Martin, Dartmouth and Lostwithiel. However, all recorded incidences of trouble either happened on John I's estates or involved his retainers and there are no reports of prolonged insurgency, other than John Cheyny reputedly still holding out on 5 March. So, many of John I's followers just did not have the time to mobilise, several being reported as ready to ride, if he had had his purpose. The main rebellion collapsed too rapidly for any widespread insurgency to break out. There was no major figure in Devon and Cornwall to coordinate what outbursts there were; this wider movement was unorganised and unforeseen.

Leaving the rebels trying to raise the north west and south west, what of events in London, and what of the government's reaction to them, and its fear of French intervention? On the extent of the rebellion in London, an

4. The city of Exeter did not even incur any expenses in suppressing the rising: D.R.O., Exeter City Receiver's Account Roll, 1-2 Henry IV. For a more detailed assessment of the rebellion in Devon, see Cherry, The Crown in Devonshire: thesis, 166-173.

^{1.} McNiven, 'The Cheshire Rising of 1400', 386-8. The Privy Council viewed the two risings as one and the same: <u>P.P.C.</u> i, 107, 109. 2. <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 46, 51, 58, 48, 55, 59.

^{3.} Ibid., 46, 55.

inquisition at Newgate in early February, unfortunately incomplete, found that a group of ten, including the known rebels, Walden, Merkes, Brocas, Shelley and Maudelyn, but none of the earls, had been plotting in London from 6 December. Only the testimony of a Scottish squire, Gilbert Purveys, survives. He confessed to being part of a plot to kill the king at Kennington, or Sutton in Middlesex, or between Sonning and Windsor. He failed to save himself by claiming that the reason for his delay in revealing the plot was to find out more about it, and so he was condemned to be hanged at Tyburn.

If the rebels were so unsure of their objectives, then the government was even more in the dark about the aims and extent of the rebellion. Henry IV's instant flight to London, ignoring the perils of a possible ambush en route, indicates how much importance he attached to the retention of his capital. Ten men-at-arms and twenty archers under the mayor were installed in the Tower to secure it, being paid for ten days' service. The London conspirators had already been discovered on the fourth and the mayor was ordered to arrest five of them, including Richard Maudelyn, and commit them to the Tower. On the fifth, the greater spread of the rebellion was realised. The ports were closed, 25 being specifically instructed to allow neither liege man nor alien out of the realm. Troops were summoned from towns in the Lancastrian midlands, Stafford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham and Shrewsbury, to join the king as soon as possible. The earl of Rutland and the treasurer John Norbury, an experienced soldier, were dispatched

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gradually relaxed, with merchants allowed to leave through Dover on 18 January, and others having to secure special permission, before it was lifted on 28 March: ibid., 29, 40, 43, 46, 49, 61, 76.

^{1. &}lt;u>Calendar of the Letter-Books of the City of London</u>, Letter Book I c.1400-1422, ed. R.R.Sharpe, (1909), 1-3.

^{2.} P.R.O., E404/15/142; E403/564, m.9.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 214; C.C.R. 1399-1402, 34, 37. This blockade was only

from London towards Cheshire and the Welsh Marches.

Given Richard II's French rapprochement, there was some justified fear that Charles VI would assist his son-in-law, so a watch was kept off the Channel Isles for French movements. The count of St. Pol, John I's brotherin-law, was preparing a fleet as the French had been greatly shocked by Richard's deposition and were probably aware and approving of the conspiracy. Fear of a French reaction persisted after the rebellion had been quelled with Frenchmen specifically being banned from leaving the country on 14 January, reiterated on 23 January, and Southampton being hurriedly put in a state of defence on 27 January. No physical French threat materialised, the rebellion was quelled so swiftly, but the precautions were wise as the French reaction was hostile, though more out of concern for the possible fate of Richard's queen than of the former king and his confederates.

With the government summoning troops and taking precautions against the French, the earls and their force headed west along the Thames valley. Thomas III was trying to gather in recruits as he went, at the same time as he was actaully losing some of his followers. Seven of his Woking adherents deserted at Abingdon, yet Edmund Staparde, the earl of Salisbury's tenant at Cassington in Oxfordshire, and Sir Thomas Blount's retainer Robert Cokerell were pulled in. John Holcote of Abingdon and John Gibbes of

 F.C.Wilson, 'Anglo-French Relations in the Reign of King Henry IV of England (1399-1413)', (McGill Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1973), 32-36.
 P.R.O., E403/564, m.9, Matthew Guylmyne was paid for five weeks' patrol off the Channel Isles watching the congregation of the French fleet. <u>C.C.R.</u> <u>1399-1402</u>, 38, 39, 58; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 186.
 <u>Choix de Pièces Inédites Relatives au Règne de Charles VI i, ed.</u> L.Douet-d'Arcq, (S.H.F., 1863), 196, Charles VI's instructions to his

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ambassadors in September 1400, addressing Henry IV as only 'cellui qui se dit roy d'Angleterre'. The French danger was prominent in subsequent official English pronouncements: <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 385; <u>R.P. iji</u>, 459. Coastal defences were still being alerted in February: <u>P.P.C.</u> i, 108.

^{1.} Ibid., 34; P.R.O., E404/15/157; E403/564, m.13.

Cirencester also joined Thomas. Sir Walter Hungerford was the most significant addition to the rebel force, possibly captured and coerced into 2 In the light of this, his actions at Cirencester, in aiding the rebels against the locals whilst taking his share of the rebels' goods, are at best equivocal. The rebellion does seem to have regained some momentum as the rebels moved through Oxfordshire on 6 January; trouble 4 was reported at Bampton, Wantage and Farendon, as well as Cirencester. Even Cirencester, rewarded by Henry IV for suppressing the rebellion, was not unanimously loyal to the king: Reynold Spyser, one of the town's constables, reportedly aided Hungerford against his own neighbours. However, any assessment of the rebellion's end in Cirencester is confused by the local dispute between the abbey and the town. The rebels became pawns in this and the townsmen's success in destroying them encouraged the king to support them against the abbey.

John I had meanwhile been lying low in London whilst Henry IV had been 7 gathering his forces there. With the king heading west, John slipped out eastwards, making for France. He reached no further than Essex. There he received temporary shelter at the de Vere castle of Hadleigh. The families 8 were probably tied by marriage and Richard de Vere had left goods at

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7. John I's flight and end are well detailed in L.W.V.Harcourt, <u>His Grace</u> the Steward and Trial of Peers, (1907), 419-429 & 444-459.

8. See above p.101.

^{1.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 66, 27, 28, 60, 29.

^{2.} Anglo-Norman Letters, 116; J.S.Roskell, 'Sir Walter Hungerford', Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, lvi (1956), 306-7.
3. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 30; P.R.O., E368/174, Pas. Rec. r.30; KB29/44, mm.7 & 10d: Hungerford and Spyser being indicted for taking rebels' goods and for their actions at Cirencester. See also E159/177, Com. Hil. r.27.
4. Calendar of Letter Books Letter Book I, 1-3; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 385.
5. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 30.

^{6.} E.A.Fuller, 'Cirencester - its Manor and Town', <u>Transactions of the</u> Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, ix (1884-5), 329-330; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 218 (25 February commission to investigate abuses by the abbey).

Dartington when returning from Ireland. This amity nearly cost de Vere his castle, but Henry relented by the end of January from his plan to install there his mother-in-law, the countess of Hereford. John then fell into less amicable hands, those of his former captive, the new, young earl of Arundel. He was expected as a prisoner in the Tower, but was executed in Essex at the insistence of another incensed mob. Unlike his nephew Thomas, John I had few followers with him beyond close household servants. The royal advance west from London cut off any escape by land to the south west, so the efforts of his household and officials to raise his estates there were leaderless, uncoordinated and unsuccessful. As an intimate of Richard II, brother-in-law of the count of St. Pol and former captain of Brest, he would have been well known and welcomed in France; he even fled with a collar of the French king's livery. Yet, whatever part had been envisaged for him in the rebellion, he had failed to fulfill it; the Newgate inquisition of 2 February did not even credit him with conspiring against the king in London. Thomas III was thus left pretty much on his own in raising the rebellion.

As the rebellion collapsed with the deaths of the leaders, so reaction set in. The main figures, the Hollands, Thomas Montague and Thomas Despenser, had been despatched by the mob. This threat to order Henry IV $_{6}$ was keen to suppress, denouncing such mob violence. Few other insurgents

<u>Ibid.</u>, 34; <u>Foedera</u> viii, 121; <u>Calendar of Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V (1399-1422)</u>, ed. J.L.Kirby, (1978), 188, (John I reported in the custody of the countess of Hereford on 11 January).
 Principally, the master of his household, Sir Thomas Shelley, and his butler Hugh Cade: Harcourt, <u>His Grace the Steward</u>, 449.
 P.R.O., E101/335/7. The Essex escheator herein detailed £301 11s 4d worth of John I's goods; no weapons or armour are listed, rather jewels, clothes, silver and books.
 <u>Calendar of Letter Books Letter Book I</u>, 1-3.
 <u>P.P.C. i</u>, 107, 109; <u>Foedera</u> viii, 124-5.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1399-1402, 58-9, 43.

actually suffered death in this way, but many lost goods thus. The possessions left at Cirencester soon disappeared into the hands of various locals; Thomas Shelley's property in Aylesbury was looted; gold left behind at Woking by Robert Porter and Robert Swallow was stolen. Robert Chalons' estates of Cockington and Torrington in Devon were attacked in what was probably an example of the rebellion masking the settlement of a private quarrel. The manors had been Cary property, Robert Cary was of John I's affinity, and a servant of his was cited as an attacker. Several incidents were reported of estate documents being carried off by the earls' officials to frustrate the beneficiaries of the forfeitures, at Castle Donington 4 (Thomas III's), Calstock (John I's), and Cassington (Thomas Montague's). The accounts of Thomas III's substantial interests in Lincolnshire were handed over in order, yet his officials there were under suspicion: orders to arrest John Pavy, his receiver, and Henry Goldsmyth of Bourn were issued on 22 January. Thomas' wife Joan and younger brother Edmund had now finally been brought back from Ireland, landing at Liverpool on 13 January, to be greeted with the news of the rebellion and then to be taken into custody. The rebels rounded up at Cirencester were taken to Oxford, tried there before the steward of the household and sentenced on 12 January, most to prison before being pardoned, some to death. Some of the leaders rounded up elsewhere were committed to the Tower: Alan Buxhill on 16

2. Ibid., 29-30, 66; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 189.

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of Canterbury, for help); <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 182. Their lavish travelling household goods were seized, inventoried and stored at Liverpool: P.R.O., E364/34/9; E364/38/5. 7. P.R.O., E37/28; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 228-9; <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 61.

^{1.} William Fulbourn, Thomas III's receiver at Castle Donington, was said to be dead by 24 February 1400, so he possibly met his death in this way: C.I.M. 1399-1422, 32.

^{3.} Ibid., 267.

^{4.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 32, 60, 26.

^{5.} Ibid., 40; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 216.

^{6.} Anglo-Norman Letters, 86, (Edmund writing to his uncle, the archbishop

January, the abbot of Westminster on 25 January, (transferred from 1 Reigate), and Gilbert Purveys on the next day. The government was still taking measures against widespread disaffection in February with commissions in every county to suppress unlawful assemblies and a general pardon to the rebels to stop personal revenge being taken. Yet it has already been pointed out that the rebellion was conceived as a palatial coup, and this was reflected in Henry IV's reaction, ruthlessly merciless towards the leaders and lenient towards their followers. He was soon exhibiting this leniency by restoring goods to the widows of those executed: Thomas Wyntershulle, Bernard Brocas, Ralph Lumley, William 3 Berkwey and Andrew Bradeston.

Turning from the narrative, some assessment is now necessary of the rebels themselves to show not only who rebelled and why, but also where they came from, to elucidate the extent and motivation of the reblion.

The names of nearly 200 can be gleaned from public records as involved to a greater or lesser degree in the rebellion, extending from leading it, to holding goods for one of its participants. Most of the information comes from two sources: the indictment of 75 at Oxford on 12 January with the subsequent pardons of 19 February, and the returns of the inquisition 4 juries from January through to May.

The four magnate leaders, the two Hollands, Montague and Despenser, all perished in the course of the revolt by instigation of the mob with thus no official trial or inquisition being made on the actions and motives

figures, and the following analysis, do not include those involved in the Cheshire rising. That has already been well dealt with and, though linked to the main rebellion, was very much a separate affair: McNiven, 'The Chesire Rising of 1400', 375-396.

^{1.} Ibid., 38, 41-2, 45.

^{2.} P.P.C. i, 107, 109.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1399–1401</u>, 207, 219, 240, 255.

^{4.} P.R.O., E37/28; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 228-9; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 26-77. These

of the rebellion's leaders. However the Hollands' motives are already clear and defined; it was they who were the driving force behind the rebellion. Montague's motivation was less positive. He had lost no title and no great estates to Henry IV. Yet his estates were under threat from his uncle's widow, he had been close to Richard II at the end and also possibly to 1 Thomas III. Despenser had lost his earldom and had, like the other three, suffered imprisonment in the early days of Henry IV's regime.

Some ten knights were also drawn into the rebels' cause, with seven of them perishing as a result. The survivors were John I's chamberlain, William Coggeshale, who never left Devon, Walter Hungerford, who was a coerced insurgent, and Andrew Hake, a Gloucestershire man, also possibly dragooned into rebelling and able to slip away home easily from Cirencester. Only Bernard Brocas, from Yorkshire, and Ralph Lumley, from Durham, were not men of the home counties or the south; none from the Lancastrian midlands rebelled. Brocas and Lumley were possibly alienated by the augmented northern influence of the Nevilles and Percies; they had not been prominent Ricardians. The motives of the others are varied. Alan Buxhill was Montague's 19 year old stepson by his wife's second husband. Thomas Shelley was a major prop of John I as master of his household and his frequent feoffee. Richard Abberbury also had links with John and had even been reappointed j.p. by Henry IV in Berkshire in December 1399.

 C.I.M. 1399-1422, 5; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 124. He had been entrusted by Richard with raising north Wales and Cheshire against Henry Bolingbroke in the summer of 1399. With Thomas III, he was placed in the earl of Westmorland's custody in the summer of 1399 and then arrested dining with Despenser in October: 'Ladbroke Manor Dispute', 324.
 C.C.R. 1399-1402, 28. His and Montague's estates are detailed in, respectively: P.R.O., SC6/1122/13 & SC6/1122/2.
 G.E.C. xi, 392-3; C.F.R. 1377-83, 304.

| 4. Harcourt, His Grace the Steward, | 448; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u> , 275, 282, 453; |
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| C.I.M. 1399-1422, 38, 47. | |
| 5. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 348, 211. | |

Benedict Cely had been marshal of Richard II's household. It is significant that several held estates around the route of the rebels' flight from Windsor: Abberbury, Hake, Shelley and Thomas Blount the 2 younger. Blount however is the only one to have significant numbers of 3 followers recorded as insurgents, five in all. What has already thus emerged is that the 1400 rising was not an attempt by a mass of disaffected Ricardians to regain their former positions. The knights embroiled in it were most commonly brought to rebel by ties to the magnate leaders or physical proximity to the area of campaigning.

The great mass of rebels below the knightly class are far less readily distinguished in the records. Many are no more than names, yet useful conclusions can be drawn from what information the documents are prepared to yield up, to give a fuller picture of the character and extent of the rebellion.

The easiest group to deal with is the rebels in Devon and Cornwall. Described in the inquisition returns of John Lokyngton and Richard Kays, 4 they were almost exclusively John I's estate officials and followers. William Burleston and John Brakkelegh were his stewards in Devon, Geoffrey Penkrich was his Trematon bailiff, John Rodewylle the same at Fremington and John Malwyn his receiver and Simon Ball his feodary, both at 5 Barnstaple. Amongst his followers, John Yhurde was his squire, Ralph Govely wore his livery and John Carsewell, with his two sons, dwelt with

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possible Devon man amongst those indicted at Oxford: P.R.O., E37/28; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1396-9, 438. 5. P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. rr.25 & 25d; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 51, 47, 48.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 469.

^{2.} In Berkshire/Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire respectively.

^{3.} Thomas Bullok, Robert Cokerell of Henley, Roger Cotheworthe, John Hunte and Matthew Hunte.

^{4.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 48-60. John Belchaumbre is the only identifiable

him. The returns are however not as full of names as they might be: John 2 Cheyny's 40 archers at Exeter are unnamed. The jurors were probably only naming the local ringleaders and agitators; the lord's tenants who might have formed the mass of a rebel force are not detailed. Either the rebellion collapsed too quickly for the Holland tenantry to be mobilised or those that did answer the officials' exhortations soon melted away.

Throughout all the considerable number of inquisition returns from Devon and Cornwall, no one is mentioned as an adherent of Montague or 4Despenser, despite their several estates in the area, and no caches of arms are found on their manors. True, the Montagues had not shown much concern for their influence in the south west but this low Montague profile is reflected throughout the areas of rebellion, whilst Despenser is almost a complete enigma. This leaves the Hollands as the main agitators and recruiters of rebels. The course of the rebellion isolated John I in London and his supporters in the south west. It is to Thomas III that we should look for the leadership, drive and resources that motivated the rebellion.

A strong Holland area of influence in Hampshire and Surreyhas already been intimated above, and it was from here that many rebels were recorded as originating. Around a dozen hailed from Hampshire, generally of the

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6. There is only one highly dubious assertion that lord Despenser had 10,000 men in Wales: <u>ibid.</u>, 51. £545 8s 11d worth of his goods were found in Bristol, but these could have come there en route back from Ireland: P.R.O., E364/39/1.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., 47, 54, 55.

^{2.} Ibid., 46.

^{3.} Only at most 39 names are listed as involved in the rebellion; many more may have stirred but remained unnoted by the jurors. 4. Montague held Clyst St. Mary, Wonford, Stokenham, Yealmpton, Pyworthy and Oakford manors in Devon, with Lantyan in Cornwall; Despenser had the Devon manors of Chittlehampton and Langtree: P.R.O., SC6/1122/2 & 13. 5. John I's chamberlain had three chests with ten bows and three sheaves of arrows in Exeter and Thomas Cuddemour had more at Dartmouth. Thomas III's goods seized at Queen Camel in Somerset included 12 bows, 30 bundles of arrows and two guns with pellets: <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 51, 55, 61. 6. There is only one highly dubious assertion that lord Despenser had

lesser gentry level, squires, holders of some property and goods. They were fairly evenly spread around the county, from Lymington, Southampton, 1 Romsey, Whitchurch, Winchester, Alton and Kingsclear. The pattern is not so easy to delineate in Surrey, though here the majority rode with Thomas 2 from the Kent manor of Woking. The residual influence of Thomas III's father must have been a powerful factor here as, though continuing his father's position as governor of Southampton, Thomas' own influence and interest in the area was not nearly so marked.

Non-Holland associations also exist amongst the known rebels. Some $\frac{3}{3}$ were from London and/or had held pensions of Richard II. Some were from the area of the rebels' retreat: Edmund Staparde from Cassington, Oxfordshire and John Bailly from Risborough, Buckinghamshire, along with the only so far identified Montague men in the force, William Ryner and $\frac{4}{3}$ John Daccombe from Reading. John Waleys was a servant of John I indicted at Oxford. Others had no obvious reason for being mixed up: Richard Abraham was an Irishman and Richard Hoker came from Calais. Some clerics were present: John Godalmyng, Thomas III's confessor, brother John Loweyn and $\frac{6}{3}$ William Sawtre. None of these groupings was of any great significance; the main rebel force was largely recruited by Thomas III from his immediate areas of influence to the south west of London and hastily augmented as it fled westwards.

This Holland predominance probably brought suspicion on those Holland

11, 84, 86, 307; P.R.O., E37/28.
4. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 27; C.C.R. 1399-1402, 36, 133.
5. P.R.O., E37/28.
6. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 65.

^{1.} Robert Porter of Romsey had £40 and Thomas Botiller of Hampshire had £19 worth of goods seized by the sheriff of Hampshire: P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Hil. r.23.

^{2.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 66.

^{3.} Richard Armorer, William Burnell of London, John Elys, John Ferrour of Southwark, John Horne of London: C.P.R. 1396-9, 6, 92; C.P.R. 1399-1401,

followers not directly involved at all. They suffered from the atmosphere of fear and confusion created. Richard Shelley, probably a relative of Thomas Shelley, had to be granted a protection. Robert Cryse and Stephen le Scrope had their goods wrongfully seized and Thomas III's widow Joan had to seek protection for her goods and servants. On Thomas' estates, William Fulbourn, an official at Castle Donington, was dead, though how is not specified, by 24 February, having fled with the estate records; Alan Parker had his goods looted at Bourn, and Henry Goldsmyth suffered likewise. None of them would have propagated or advanced rebellion in such isolation, but some must have suffered from the settlement of private quarrels in the chaos of the rebellion.

With the rebellion quashed and order being restored, the king's great windfall of forfeited estates and goods had now to be ascertained. Commissions were issued on 11 January to do this, dividing the country in five. The sheriffs took over the estates, inventoried and evaluated the goods and handed them on to the escheators who passed them on to the exchequer. Keepers were appointed to the estates until restoration or grant took them out of royal control again. The estates of the rebels were soon under royal control, but discovering the goods of the rebels due to be

4. P.R.O., SC8/189/21.

^{1.} Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, felt it necessary to disclaim any involvment in the rebellion in which his nephew Thomas lost his life: Anglo-Norman Letters, 113-4.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 197.

^{3.} Ibid., 186; C.C.R. 1399-1402, 36, 47.

^{5.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 32, 36, 40. Despite Fulbourn's efforts, two Castle Donington accounts tempore Richard II did come into royal possession: P.R.O., DL29/183/2901 & 2902.

^{6.} C.F.R. 1399-1405, 35. The surviving inquisition returns and indentures between sheriffs and escheators over forfeited goods are printed in C.I.M. 1399-1422, 26-46.

forfeited to the king proved a long and tiresome affair. Yet the assiduousness of the exchequer on this score reveals more of the rebellion's extent and nature.

Much that John and Thomas Holland had with them when they died was practical: horses, armour, clothes, money. These items fell easily to royal hands as the rebellion expired. For their significant part in foiling the rebels, the men of Cirencester were allotted their share of the spoils. One cache of goods and horses at Cirencester, total valuation some £843 9s 4d, was split between 45 men, the biggest share of £182 13s 4d going to Reynold Spyser. Further analysis of this windfall confirms the leading role that Thomas III and his retinue played in the rebellion: well over half of it was the personal property of Thomas or of Thomas and his servants. The mounted nature of the force is also confirmed with some 76 horses being distributed. Some £273 6s 8d of the total valuation was not goods or horses but ready money, gold, £207 of it Thomas III's. This is but one indication that the rebels were probably hoping to recruit troops by the immediate payment of wages. An inquisition of September 1401 reported that the abbey of Cirencester, on Thomas' capture, gained some 4,000 marks in gold of his along with a jewel valued at 2,000 marks. The abbey denied all knowledge of this windfall. An inquisition of July 1401 in Cornwall further reported that John I's master of his household, Thomas Shelley, had sent 500 marks to John's steward, Sir John Herle, at Trewolowan to raise troops. Herle

2. P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Hil. rr.24-34d. This is not the only inventory and distribution of rebel goods at Cirencester, but it is the biggest and so most illustrative.

3. <u>Ibid.</u>, Com. Hil. r.23.

^{1.} Various commissions to discover rebel goods were issued in January, February, May and December 1400, May 1402 and March 1403: <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 180, 218, 313, 415; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 124, 274; <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 62-4, 106, 225, 293; <u>C.C.R. 1402-5</u>, 165. Inquisitions in August 1414 were reporting on rebel goods, and commissions were still being issued as late as June 1441: P.R.O., E153/653; <u>C.P.R. 1436-41</u>, 574.

denied it and the dispute was only settled in his favour in April 1410. The original inquest recorded that Herle had received the cash on 8 January 1400, two days before the first otherwise recorded spark of rebellion in the area at Exeter. This would indicate that a rising in the south west was preplanned and timed to coincide with the strike at Windsor. However, lack of confirmatory evidence suggests that the Lostwithiel jury of 1410 was 1 right to reject the case against Herle, so the point remains speculative.

Other potential goods and sums of money were also assiduously tracked down. Thomas I's treasurer in Ireland, John Heryng, was several times called to account for expenditures there; pledges of valuables for debts with London suppliers by both Hollands were investigated; arrears of farms 4 were claimed; goods in the hands of servants and followers were chased 5 up. The result is a valuable inventory of a magnate's wardrobe, stable, chapel, library, treasury and armoury and some indication of the state of his finances. (John I had to pledge a gold cup to a London fishmonger in September 1399 to satisfy a debt when some £3,000 of his in gold was reputedly being held at Congresbury, Somerset, possibly stranded there on $\frac{6}{1000}$

This tenacity in tracking down the forfeited goods of the rebels is more indicative of the assiduousness of the exchequer than the king, yet its efficiency is commensurate with the king's own reaction to the rebellion. Henry IV was never really under threat once the rebels had lost their initial advantage of surprise. Without it, the rebellion was doomed.

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4. <u>Ibid.</u>, Com. Mic. r.21; E159/178, Com. Mic. rr.23-33.
5. P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. rr.8d, 10d, 23; E159/177, Com. Pas. rr.32 & 32d; E159/178, Com. Trj. r.5.
6. Idem; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.7d.

^{1.} Ibid., Com. Pas. rr.27 & 27d.

^{2.} P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12, Com. Pas. r.31; E159/177, Com. Mic. r.23; E159/178, Com. Mic. r.19d.

^{3.} P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. rr.7d & 21, Com. Pas. r.21.

The rebels had made the mistake of attacking Henry near London, so that he could quickly withdraw to the capital, use the machinery of government to mobilise the country against the rebels, rapidly gather his own force and move on to the counter. It did not matter that the rebellion had been sprung so early in the reign, before disaffection against the new king had had time to fester. The plan of the initial strike, and Henry's characteristically swift response left little time for the mobilisation of a large rebel army, had there even been one forthcoming. The Percies in the north and Owen Glendower in Wales were more distant from Henry and so their movements had time to gather momentum and pose a greater threat. Furthermore, essentially what they planned was a coup, rather than a full scale rebellion. The Hollands had no such strong, territorial basis as had, say, the Percies, and probably this was the only kind of strike that, as court aristocrats connected with a discredited regime, they could hope to engineer with success. That was part of the reason why, when the coup failed, they were unable to transform their none too well planned scheme into a larger movement. They lost out, in the event, on all counts.

CHAPTER VI RESTORATION AND THE END OF THE KENT LINE 1400-1413

Part 1 The Kent Dowagers and Edmund Holland 1400-1404

Henry IV's potential support amongst the nobility was seriously depleted with the loss of the two Hollands, Despenser and Montague in the 1400 rebellion. All had been staunch Ricardians yet they might have mellowed, given time, and, like the earl of Rutland, used their political weight and experience to the benefit of Henry's regime. The northern Percy and Neville families and inexperienced magnates such as FitzAlan and Stafford were an insufficient basis of support to sustain Henry against the hostile reactions to his usurpation from outside, and within, his kingdom. He would now have to look to the lesser tiers of his nobility to fill the military and administrative posts of government and to groom his own sons for high office perhaps earlier than he might have wished. In this regard, the sometimes summarily dismissed 1400 rebellion had a lasting effect on the politics of Henry's reign.

If the rebellion was a setback for Henry IV, it was a disaster for the Holland family. Thomas III and John I had been the only mature male Hollands in 1400. Thomas' heir was his younger and only surviving brother, Edmund. He was still only 17, so still some way off his majority, though he had been coming to the fore in the last years of Richard's reign, holding a royal annuity, going to Ireland and being involved with Thomas in the protracted Ladbroke manor dispute. However, his inheritance was now at once forfeit, as far as the fee simple estates were concerned, and burdened with three dowager countesses of Kent: his aged great-aunt Elizabeth, (widow of John who had died in 1352), his mother Alice and his sister-in-law Joan.

Joan was at present undowered and so it was in her interests to agitate for

the restoration of the Kent inheritance. Her noble relatives must have been

of some assistance; her brother, the earl of Stafford, was to die for Henry at Shrewsbury and her five sisters-in-law were married to the houses of Beaufort, York, Neville, Montague and Powis. Yet the story of the restoration of the Kent inheritance does not reveal Joan being as tenacious or hard-headed as either her mother-in-law Alice or her fellow Holland widow of 1400, Elizabeth of Lancaster. With a mature male influence now dormant in both Holland lines, it is on these various dowager countesses that attention must for a time be focussed. The story will reveal the important roles that widows had to fulfill at such times of family disaster and may, besides, provide some insight into royal policy in Henry IV's early years.

Alice countess of Kent, mother of Thomas III, can be dealt with first. By 1400, she was mature in years having been married in 1364. The assignment of her dower in 1397 had given her the southern and eastern estates of the Kent inheritance, along with properties in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Worcestershire. The inquisition juries at her death in 1416 gave her dower a total value of £1,139 15s 2d. In the aftermath of the 1400 rebellion, she had some trouble retaining seisin of Woking manor in Surrey which her son had used as one of his revolt's gathering points, and John Chidioke reactivated an eventually successful assize of novel disseisin over Kingston manor in Somerset. Thereafter, her inheritance remained unchanged.

Like her husband, she maintained her interest on the central southern

successfully, to be restored in 1400: P.R.O., E152/360/2; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 313-4, 392. Chidioke gained Kingston in May 1402, dropping a 600 mark damages claim and paying off a 200 mark debt of Alice's in return: <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 558-9.

Some estates she had held jointly with her husband. P.R.O., C138/22/51; E149/106/2; E152/464; <u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 285; <u>C.C.R. 1396-9</u>, 248-9, 250-1, 256.
 The royal commissioners seized Woking and Alice had to petition,

coast. The 1391 joint grant to her and Thomas II of the important castle of Corfe in Dorset was confirmed to her in October 1399. She was well established there, having closed down Talworth in 1398, yet her son's actions three months later made Henry IV think again about the advisability of Holland tenure of such a strategically important castle; Alice was replaced by John Lovell on 19 January. However, as with many of Henry's awards at this time, it turned out to be only temporary as Alice was receiving instructions about Corfe in April and May 1401. The restoration of her local influence was further recognised and augmented in April 1401 with the grant to her of the Montague manors of Ringwood and Christchurch, for a £200 rent, as her son-in-law Thomas, heir to the earl of Salisbury, awas still a minor. Moreover, her four tun wine annuity granted in 1400 was transferred from London to Southampton in March 1405.

Her assistance in the restoration of her youngest son is nowhere specified, yet she was undoubtedly the most significant of the three dowager countesses of Kent in this respect. In the absence of his own adult male relatives, Edmund looked to his mother's FitzAlan kin for assistance; two begging letters from him to his uncle, the archbishop of Canterbury, 5 survive. The evidence that this looked-for FitzAlan help was provided is not strong, the best indication is Edmund's association with four of his FitzAlan kin, and others, in the enfeoffment of Ewyas Harold and

E368/181/11, Mic. Rec. r.2. 4. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 382; <u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 11. 5. <u>Anglo-Norman Letters</u>, 86, 438.

^{1.} P.R.O., SC6/1282/6, an inventory of bedding transferred from Talworth to Corfe.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 337; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 42, 182, 476, an order to cull the ravenous game in Purbeck warren in response to her petition in P.R.O., C81/608/2532.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.F.R. 1399-1405</u>, 124. Only on 28 March 1403 did Alice attain seisin from the widowed Elizabeth countess of Salisbury: P.R.O., C81/608/2531;

Abergavenny castles in April 1407. Archbishop Arundel and the earl of Arundel were of course major figures in Henry IV's reign and it is perhaps ironic that Edmund should look for help to the family which his elder brother and uncle had done so much to destroy in the last years of Richard's reign. It looks nevertheless as though the family amity hoped for in the marriage of Thomas II and Alice FitzAlan in 1364 was at last coming to fruition, in unexpected circumstances.

With Edmund attaining his majority in 1404, Alice thence gradually withdrew from public life. One son-in-law, Thomas Montague, took over Ringwood in December 1404 and Christchurch in January 1406; another, John Beaufort, replaced her as constable of Corfe in July 1407 and her second widowed daughter-in-law, Lucia Visconti, was assigned her four tun wine annuity in March 1409. With all her sons dead and the Kent line extinct, she was now allowed to live out her remaining days in graceful seclusion at Beaulieu Abbey, which her husband had been putting in order at his death in 1397 and which her son Edmund was still trying to sort out in 1405. She was still respected enough to be guardian of her grandson Henry Beaufort, heir to the earl of Somerset, and present him at court in 1410. She died on 17 March 1416 leaving her dower estates to be split between her five married daughters and their heirs.

Joan, Thomas III's widow, had rather more trouble from 1400 securing a dowry for herself and the restoration of the remainder of the Kent inheritance for her young brother-in-law Edmund. By 1400, the inheritance

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decline see S.F.Hockey, Beaulieu - King John's Abbey, (Old Woking, 1976), 106-116. 4. P.R.O., E404/25/370.

5. P.R.O., C138/22/51, no.2.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1405-8, 320.

^{2.} P.R.O., E368/181/11, Mic. Rec. r.2; C.P.R. 1405-8, 142, 335; C.P.R. 1408-13, 68.

^{3.} Ibid., 89, 98; C.I.M. 1392-9, 73; C.P.R. 1401-5, 488. For Beaulieu's

had been extant as a relatively unchanged entity for over eighty years. Even after that length of time, there were still alternative claimants to some of the estates. Thomas Despenser might have been one such disputant, but he had quitclaimed his rights two years before and had been on Thomas 1 III's side in the rebellion, also losing his life and lands. The king was in a much more advantageous position. As duke of Lancaster, Henry IV laid claim to Castle Donington manor in Leicestershire, Risley wapentake in Derbyshire, Ollerton manor in Nottinghamshire and Greetham manor, with parcels, in Lincolnshire. These were all repossessed for the duchy on 20 February 1400 as being originally estates of Thomas earl of Lancaster and wrongly forfeited by him to Edward II and then granted to Edward's halfbrother, Edmund, earl of Kent. They were never restored to the Kent inheritance.

The immutability of the rest of the inheritance was only gradually recognised by Henry IV. His first grants from it, Brattleby manor to his nephew Henry Beaufort on 12 February 1400 and Greetham manor to William Willoughby the next day, were only for the duration of the heir's ³ minority. However, on 16 February, Ware manor was granted to prince John during pleasure and Louis Recoches received property in Stepney for life on 22 February. Two days later, the rest of all the rebels' lands were assigned to Robert Rempston and Thomas Tuttebury to pay off royal household ⁴ expenses, during the heirs' minorities. However, on 29 February, Sir

3. Greetham manor was repossessed for the duchy of Lancaster a week later. 4. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 195, 228. £100 paid in by Rempston and Tuttebury from Cottingham's issues was assigned to the household on 10 July 1400: P.R.O., E401/619.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1396-9, 284.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 59-60. Brattleby manor and other Lincolnshire appurtenances were also repossessed for the duchy of Lancaster, after Edmund Holland's death, in November 1408: <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 207-8 (September 1408 inquisition); C.P.R. 1408-13, 79-80.

Francis Court received a substantial portion of the inheritance for life, comprised of the fee farms of Collingham, Chichester and Blisworth with the manors of Torpell, Upton, Easton, Castle Donington and Chesterfield, valued at £294 13s 4d. Yet Castle Donington was to be reclaimed for the duchy of Lancaster, and Joan countess of Kent was jointly enfeoffed of Chesterfield, so on 13 March, these were replaced by other midlands properties of almost equal value: Caistor, Ryhall, Beesby, Kelby and Caldecote manors. Ashford manor to Thomas Beaufort for life on 24 March was the last of this initial series of grants Henry IV made out of the Kent inheritance. Henry's policy was erratic and inconsistent in the nature, size and direction of the grants, with some hurriedly amended or overruled. His decisiveness in suppressing the rebellion evaporated when faced with the subtler task of distributing his now augmented patronage.

It was also in these early days after the forfeiture that the king was appointing the officers on several of the estates, the last by patent being John Dessex as porter of Bourn castle on 4 March 1400. The commissioners appointed on 11 January also often recorded the officials they had installed, many being former Holland men allowed to continue in their 4 posts. Thomas III's goods, which had fallen into royal hands after the rebellion or on their being brought back from Ireland, were being distributed to reward royal supporters in the immediate post rebellion period: shipping was granted away on 21 January and 6 February, silverware on 10 February, former Warwick castle adornments on 21 February,

C.P.R. 1399-1401, 194, 222, 232, 245, 247.
 Ibid., 195, 196, 199, 201, 231.
 Such as John Repynghale, Thomas III's steward in Kesteven, who was reappointed by the commissioners: P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Pas. r.6d; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 39.

^{1.} Hugh Despenser had been granted Ryhall's keeping eight days previously: C.F.R. 1399-1405, 47.

possessions in Liverpool on 24 March and swans on 13 July.

As the situation began to normalise again from April 1400, so old Holland annuitants and followers emerged to have their status confirmed or The process of recovering Thomas III's goods and cash was to restored. continue for some years though efforts to retrieve Kent estate documents were somewhat less persistent and successful. In June 1400, Joan began to agitate for her share of her husband's inheritance. She first had to establish her rights to those estates with which she and her husband had been jointly enfeoffed: the manors of Whissendine, Bourn and Chesterfield 5 with rent from Skellingthorpe. She was successful a month later. In September 1400 she was awarded a dowry for her maintenance comprising the fee farm of Chichester and the manors of Ashford, Ollerton, Sutton, Thorley and Deeping. These two groups of estates were officially valued at £623 3s Though she did gain some control over Ollerton, Henry 1 1/2d per annum. IV had overlooked the fact that all the dower lands except Deeping had already been granted elsewhere, so they were replaced in December 1401 by an exchequer annuity of £158 8s. Her financial situation was thus not healthy and Henry was having to grant her a 200 marks lump sum for her

4. Thomas III's receiver-general, John Pavy, was commissioned to produce estate documents, but the commission of 24 February 1400 had still not actually been issued by the following October: <u>C.F.R. 1399-1405</u>, 55; <u>C.C.R.</u> <u>1399-1402</u>, 275. Only accounts for Richard II's final year for Colne Wake, Kersey and Talworth manors, all dower estates of Alice countess of Kent, survive at the P.R.O.: P.R.O., SC6/839/21; SC6/1001/3; SC6/1015/4. 5. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 346; <u>C.F.R. 1399-1405</u>, 69-70; <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 14-15. 6. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 339; P.R.O., C81/603/2023, 2024.

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7. Cited at Michaelmas 1 Henry IV as occupied by 'madame de Kent'; Thorley was then farmed by Lord Willoughby: P.R.O., DL29/728/11987, mm.8, 9. 8. C.P.R. 1401-5, 29-30; P.R.O., E404/17/483, warrant for its issue on 4 April 1402.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 179, 189, 202, 206, 328; P.R.O., E404/15/165, 168. 2. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 261, 264, 285, 287.

^{3.} Richard Seymour, on 13 February 1400, was one of the first to be chased for cash drawn from Thomas III in Ireland: P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Hil. r.12.

maintenance a month later from funds still held by her husband's treasurer, 1 John Heryng.

With his dead brother's widow enduring some financial hardship and most of his inheritance held in various hands, not to his use, the emerging Edmund Holland was also in some need of financial help from the king. He initially subsisted on a 100 marks exchequer annuity granted in May 1398 and confirmed by Henry IV in October 1400. Edmund had been untainted by his brother's rebellion, as he was just returning from representing royal authority in Ireland at the time of its outbreak, so payment of his annuity was unaffected by Thomas' forfeiture. The biggest plum in his inheritance, Cottingham manor, had been granted, together with Ayton manor, at a valuation of £484 12s 6d, to Hotspur in December 1400 to reward his support of Henry IV and augment his Yorkshire influence. As with many of his awards from the Kent inheritance, Henry IV soon began to reconsider this major accession to the Percy power and to cast around for some alternative magnate influence to cultivate. So, in January 1401, Edmund Holland was awarded Ayton manor, with its attendant Hemlington manor, to hold during his minority. In September 1401, he was awarded a 200 marks annuity out of Cottingham's issues. The Percy profits were diminished still further in December 1402 when Edmund was awarded £100 per annum from Cottingham, raising his total claimed income to £340. After the battle of Shrewsbury, he received custody of the whole manor in August 1403 during

4. P.R.O., E404/15/266, (11 May 1400 warrant for issue). 5. C.F.R. 1399-1405, 98.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1401-5, 31.

Henry IV did not grant away all the inheritance; specifically at least
 Kent fees in Lindsey were retained in royal seisin: <u>Feudal Aids iii</u>,
 243, 245, 247, 253, (January 1402 inquisitions).
 C.P.R. 1396-9, 347; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 31.

his minority. The continual whittling away of the December 1400 grant is but one further instance of the steady deterioration of relations between 2 the Percies and the king which encouraged the 1403 rebellion.

By contrast, Henry IV was keen to win the support of the rising generation of former opposition families, including the young Edmund Holland, whose minority was due to end in the first days of 1404. Francis Court stood to lose most from Edmund's accession to his inheritance, so in June 1403 he was being appeased with the promise of other estates, when ³ Edmund was to be restored. Livery of his estates, except for those withheld for the duchy of Lancaster, was actually given to Edmund on 1 July 1403, when he was also restored to his brother's title earl of Kent. At the same time, Joan was having her exchequer annuity replaced by the implementation of her dower assignment of September 1400 except for Ollerton and Thorley manors, repossessed for the duchy of Lancaster.

Edmund was however not satisfied; he was financially embarassed by the small inheritance that the demands of three dowager countesses left him. He was especially keen to gain control of Deeping manor in Lincolnshire, the largest Kent estate after Cottingham. At the Westminster parliament in January 1404, he came to an agreement with his sister-in-law Joan to secure Deeping for himself. She had in fact been petitoning for fulfilment of her 1,000 marks dowry promised in September 1400. Edmund, however, encouraged her to surrender her dower estates to him, principally Deeping, but retaining the estates she had held jointly. He then granted back to her a

the minority in August 1401: <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 540; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 239, 315.

4. <u>Ibid</u>., 260. 5. <u>P.R.O.</u>, E404/19/293.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 540, 425; <u>Calendar of Signet Letters</u>, 30; <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 273; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 184, 257.

^{2.} J.M.W.Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', History, xliv (1959), 221-6.

^{3.} Court's grant of Kent estates had been downgraded to be held only during

series of smaller manors in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and 1 Huntingdonshire, including £5 rent from Deeping, valued in total at £190 8s 2d. This was in excess of the 300 marks in dower lands Joan had agreed to accept, and she was also to be given 100 marks of further lands whenever, in the future, Edmund received 200 marks worth of estates on the deaths of his mother Alice or great aunt Elizabeth. Edmund's zeal in recovering his estates led him into dispute with the king, or, more precisely, the duchy of Lancaster administration, as he tried, unsuccessfully, to recover those Kent estates repossessed for the duchy. 3

After this unusual surrender of a dower entitlement, Joan retired to her manor of Bourn in Lincolnshire and took little active part in public life thereafter. Her estates were not vigorously, or personally, managed, 4 Chesterfield being leased and Blisworth fee farm sold. In fact, Joan had not the stature, respect or acumen of Alice. She lived on as a childless widow for 42 years, showing little of the capricious desire for husbands and dowers of such as her sister-in-law Joan duchess of York. On her eventual death on 1 October 1442, her estates were divided up between the heirs of the four Holland Kent female lines still surviving: John Beaufort earl of Somerset, Richard Neville earl of Salisbury, Ralph Neville earl of Westmorland and Richard duke of York with Sir Henry Grey of Powis and John lord Tiptoft. Her whole inheritance, manors, fees and advowsons, was then 5 valued at £367 0s 4d and was split equally four ways. She had made some

lawyers involved in the dispute.

4. Records of the Borough of Chesterfield, ed. J.P.Yeatman, (Chesterfield & Sheffield, 1884), 118-120; B.L., Add. Ch. 21543.

5. P.R.O., C139/109/36; C47/9/36.

^{1.} Its payment by her niece, Margaret Holland duchess of Clarence, for 7 & 8 Henry V is recorded in W.A.M., 12163, f.11.

^{2.} R.P. iii, 535.

^{3.} P.R.O., DL28/4/5, ff.12 & 27: expenses listed in the duchy of Lancaster's receiver general's account for 7-8 Henry IV for clerks and

effort to assist the financial and so political position of her husband's heir by her generous agreement of 1404. Thereafter, for 34 years, she kept the heirs of Edmund waiting for their full entitlements of the Kent inheritance, so depriving them of access to its concomitant financial and political power.

Part 2 The Last Holland Earl of Kent, Edmund 1404-1408

Edmund of Kent has already loomed large in the preceding section. He was a young man with problems, stemming from the forfeiture of Thomas III in 1400. The younger brother Edmund thereby inherited no estates, and so was not assigned a guardian. He was taken care of at the royal court, and, indeed, was still being described as a minor in royal custody in January 1405, when he was given licence to marry whomever he wished. After returning from Ireland in January 1400, he disappears from view until Henry IV's Scandinavian marriage plans in May 1402 for his son Henry and daughter Philippa reveal Edmund as a witness. He supported Henry more strenuously in 1403, fighting at Shrewsbury, and being given an independent mission 3 during the campaign.

With his majority and restoration to his estates, he came to be more widely employed by the king. He first appeared in council early in 1405, was first summoned to parliament at the end of that year and witnessed his first royal charter on 8 April 1406. Henry IV was at this time very short of substantial lay magnate support. Only seven dukes and earls, besides Edmund, were summoned to the Coventry parliament of February 1406: the earls of Warwick and Arundel were both barely older than Edmund, the earl of Devon was fading physically, the earl of Suffolk was insignificant and only the duke of York, and the earls of Somerset and Westmorland could offer the king solid, experienced support. With the heirs to the junior Holland, Montague, Mowbray, Stafford and de Vere families all under age,

days on certain business of the king. 4. <u>P.P.C.</u> i, 246; <u>Report on the Dignity of a Peer iii</u>, 794; P.R.O., C53/175, m.1.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 478. Awarded two tuns of wine 3-4 Henry IV: P.R.O., E101/404/21, f.49v.

^{2.} Foedera viii, 258, 260.

^{3. &}lt;u>R.P.</u> iv, 143; <u>C.P.R. 1401-5</u>, 298, commissioned to take horses for 12

Henry needed magnates such as Edmund to mature rapidly and assist him in 1 council, court and the field.

In this last area, it was on the south coast that, as with his father, and possibly under the auspices of his mother, Edmund's main interests were to lie and be encouraged. He was appointed a j.p. in early 1406 and early 1407 in Dorset, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex. Beaulieu abbey was still suffering financial difficulties and internal disputes, despite the intervention of Edmund's father in 1397. Edmund headed a second commission appointed to try and put its affairs straight in May 1407. Yet he was not vested with his father's authority in Southampton, nor did he regain his father's position in the forests. His employments were more directly military, and he could not yet afford to leave the royal court, with its patronage potential, for a settled life in Hampshire.

The occasion of his first appearance at council early in 1405 was significant. The earl of Somerset's proposed expedition to Gascony was discussed and the two admirals, Thomas Beaufort and Thomas Berkeley, were $\begin{array}{c}4\\amongst the others present. In that summer, Edmund himself was to go to sea, with Henry IV's second son Thomas, and distinguish himself at Sluys and along the Normandy coast. With the royal sons, Edmund was being given military responsibility early, and, two years later, this naval experience was substantiated with his appointment as admiral of the west and north during pleasure. The patent carefully defined his powers of jurisdiction,$

 Between 8 April 1406 and his death, he witnessed twelve of the recorded twenty-two royal charters. Some of these were fabrications, such as 3 September 1408, yet it illustrated the importance that was soon attached to his recorded, supposed presence: P.R.O., C53/175-177.
 <u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 491, 493, 497, 498.
 <u>Ibid.</u>, 354; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 187-8. One of his servants was John

Marnham, rector of Havant in Hampshire: <u>41 D.K.R.</u>, 768. 4. P.P.C. i, 246. 5. <u>Annales</u>, 401.

yet it was for his military activity that his term of office was most 1 noteworthy. His worth as a knight had already been exhibited at jousts at Smithfield against the Scottish earl of Mar in April 1406 and rewarded with membership of the Order of the Garter by the time he indented for his first 2 and only major independent command on 5 March 1408.

The indenture records a planned system of naval defence in the Channel running from 1 April to 26 October 1408. Three patrols of increasing size were to be sent out. The first two, smaller ones, were to operate out of Winchelses in April and May under Edmund's vice-admiral. In July, Edmund himself was to lead to sea a force of 390 men-at-arms, 600 archers and 1,210 sailors from Southampton in 34 assorted vessels until 26 October 1408. The whole project was scheduled to cost £10,000, with a prest of £1,530 7s payable on 1 May and the rest specifically assigned on the counties of England south of the Thames and up the east coast to Lindsey, all to come out of the tenth and fifteenth subsidy granted in the previous parliament at Gloucester in December 1407. That parliament had also demanded increased attention be paid to safeguarding the seas. The Staple merchants had reinforced this in their petition to the council, which had resolved on 2 March 1408 to stir the admiral to action in response to these requests. There was officially a truce between England and France, with the threat to Gascony now receded, but the piracy menace was ever prevalent in the Channel and the extent of these naval measures show how earnestly

subsidy was also used to pay the duke of Clarence £3,671 13s 4d for Ireland and the earl of Somerset £1,500 for Calais. 4. <u>R.P. iii, 553; P.P.C.</u> i, 305-8, Edmund was not recorded as present.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1405-8, 323. He was granted the keeping of the forfeited ship La Marie in June 1407: ibid., 331.

^{2.} Foedera viii, 437, 450; Calendar of Signet Letters, 124; Polychronicon viii, 543; P.R.O., E101/405/14, f.21, issued with Garter robes 8-10 Henry IV.

^{3.} P.R.O., E101/69/2/319; E404/23/305; E403/594, m.18; E401/644. The

Henry's government was now setting about the problem.

Protections were being issued for Edmund's force from 16 March 1408 and commissioners were appointed on 4 April to muster his troops, at 2 various times, echoing the plan for several short patrols. The south-east was strongly represented in Edmund's force with those with geographical origins cited coming from either Kent or Sussex, though a muster was also taken at Orwell in Suffolk. Edmund had to pawn £200 worth of his valuables 4 to Southampton burgesses to help finance the expedition.

The indenture did not detail the strategy the various forces were to pursue; general harassment of the French coast occurred, as was perhaps envisaged. Edmund's operation was obviously intended to be more than a passing patrol, given the numbers he was to take. His first objective was the island of Bréhat, off the northern coast of Brittany, which had refused to make its contribution to Queen Joan's dowry. Edmund was to remind it of its obligation, forcibly; this very personal mission is an indication of Henry's trust in him. In September 1408, Edmund was successful; yet it cost him his life. He was shot in the head by a crossbow quarrel as he discarded his helmet in a moment of typical Holland recklessness. His body was brought back to England and buried beside his father at Bourn abbey in $\frac{6}{1000}$ Lincolnshire. Henry IV's hopes for this dashing young magnate's support were nullified and the Holland Kent line was extinguished.

Edmund's estates at his death were officially valued at a little over

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6. Wylie, <u>Henry IV</u> jij, 102-4; <u>G.E.C.</u> vij, 162 n.b; <u>The Brut or the</u> <u>Chronicles of England</u>, ed. F.W.D.Brie, (Early English Text Society, cxxxvi, 1908), 369.

^{1.} On Anglo-French relations in general at this time, see Wilson, Anglo-French Relations: thesis, 330-390.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 473; P.R.O., C76/91, m.13.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, mm.6, 10, 13, 14; <u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 429, 447, 449, 453, 460-2, 476. 4. <u>C.P.R. 1408-13</u>, 147.

^{5.} Wilson, Anglo-French Relations: thesis, 337-9.

E1,200, about the same as the valuation given to his great-aunt Elizabeth's estates at her death three years later. Moreover, debts of over 4,000 marks show how he suffered financially from the demands on his inheritance of three dowager countesses, despite Joan's generous agreement of 1404. In fact, he had received no more direct landed or financial concessions after his restoration from the also financially constricted Henry IV.

Henry did however try to assist Edmund in the financially important matter of his marriage. He procured for Edmund the hand of Lucy Visconti, one of the ten daughters of Bernabo Visconti, sometime lord of Milan. They were married in July 1407 at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark, with Lucy bringing a dowry of 70,000 florins. Interestingly, both Edmund and Lucy had pasts. Edmund had sired a daughter, Eleanor, from an illicit relationship with Constance, daughter of Edmund duke of York. Lucy was rising 28 at her wedding, and had been involved in the 1390s with Henry himself, Louis II of Anjou and Frederick, elector of Saxony. As a mark of his compassion, if not still affection, Henry now secured for her this dashing young English magnate protégé of his. The marriage, and especially its prospective financial benefits, represents the high favour Edmund was

2. Brut, 367; Foedera x, 136-142.

Lombardo, xx (1893), 603-6; G.Romano, 'Gian Galeazzo Visconti e Gli Eredi di Bernabo', <u>Archivio Storico Lombardo</u>, xviii (1891), 302. 5. One of Henry's reasons for seeking the marriage was '. . ob affectionis intimae . .' Lucy: Foedera x, 137.

^{1.} Edmund's total of £1,219 7s 2d breaks down into £1,048 5s 2d directly from lands, £139 from advowsons and £32 2s worth of knights' fees. Elizabeth's £1,231 19s 1d comprised £870 5s 9d from lands, £278 13s 4d from advowsons and £83 from fees. P.R.O., C137/74/51; C137/83/35. Alice's share of the Kent inheritance was officially valued in 1416 at £1,139 15s 1d: P.R.O., C138/22/51.

^{3.} She was to marry James lord Audley and dispute, unsuccessfully, the succession to the Kent inheritance: Wylie, <u>Henry IV</u> ji, 29; <u>R.P.</u> jv, 375; <u>G.E.C.</u> iv, 281 n.d; <u>G.E.C.</u> vii, 161 n.h.

^{4.} Calendar of State Papers (Milan) 1385-1618, 1-2; K.Wenck, 'Lucia Visconti, Konig Heinrich von England und Edmund von Kent', Mittheilungen des Instituts fur Öesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, xviii (1897), 112-8; G.Romano, 'Primo Matrimonio di Lucia Visconti', Archivio Storico

held in by Henry, and the hopes the king evidently had for his useful, sustained support. Edmund might well have prospered if he had survived.

The fatal results of the Bréhat expedition were a blow to Henry, and they spelt the end for the Holland house of Kent. Edmund and Lucy had not yet produced any children and Edmund's nearest male relative was his cousin, John II. However John was still a minor, still under the cloud of his father's forfeiture, and, besides, was hereditarily irrelevant as none of the Kent inheritance was in tail male, and five of Edmund's six sisters survived or had produced heirs. The estates were thus broken up into five segments, not forgetting also the claims of a now fourth dowager countess of Kent, Lucy.

Despite having been married for only fourteen months, Lucy chose to remain in her husband's country and was assigned dower out of Cottingham and some Lincolnshire lands. Henry IV also allowed her the wardship of that fifth share of the Kent inheritance which was due to the young earl of March through his now deceased mother Eleanor, Edmund's eldest sister. The rest of Edmund's estates were divided up between his four surviving married sisters, Margaret countess of Somerset, Joan duchess of York, Eleanor countess of Salisbury and Elizabeth Neville. These four sisters and their heirs, with Mortimer and his heirs, also divided up the portions of the Kent estates that fell in on the deaths of the various dowager countesses of Kent: 1411 (Elizabeth), 1416 (Alice), 1424 (Lucy), 1442 (Joan).

Lucy experienced some considerable financial trouble after her

3. C.F.R. 1405-13, 135-7.

4. Ibid., 211-3; C.C.R. 1409-13, 247-250, 251-2, (Elizabeth's fees and advowsons); C.C.R. 1422-9, 158-9, 167, 169, (Lucy); P.R.O., C47/9/36 (Joan). Joan duchess of York's share of the Kent inheritance was divided up between the remaining Kent heirs on her childless death in 1434: C47/9/35.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1405-9, 422-3; Foedera viii, 561; P.R.O., C139/12/35.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1408-13, 35; C.C.R. 1405-9, 422-3, 431. He came of age in June 1413: C.C.R. 1413-9, 20.

husband's death because of his debts and the Milanese failure to honour the marriage agreement. No one was willing to take on the thankless task of being Edmund's executor. His uncle, archbishop Arundel, had to appoint John Bache to administer his effects and Lucy was pursued through the courts, 1 and even into parliament, by his creditors. She could not afford to maintain herself on her estates, being allowed to stay at nunneries, with $\frac{2}{2}$ six servants, from 1411.

She had more verve and drive than her fellow Kent dowager Joan, and 3 was helped by Henry IV's special affection for her in her efforts to chase up her dowry. Yet, despite petitions for letters of marque against Milan, it was still unpaid when she died on 14 April 1424, being buried in the 5 Augustine Friars' church in Broad Street London. Claims for her dowry continued to be made by her executor, and then by his executor, disrupting Anglo-Milanese trade in the 1470s, and only being finally dropped at Henry 6 VII's insistence. The dowry had been unrealistic, though indicative of the probably mutual affection of the English and Milanese at the time. The unrecorded hopes that the marriage may have represented, based on Edmund's burgeoning military career, may have made the marriage more attractive to the Milanese. Their refusal to pay up the dowry reflected their disappointment at these hopes being dashed so soon after the wedding.

4. Idem; Foedera jx, 121.

(Oxford, 1908, repub. 1971), 178. 6. <u>Calendar of State Papers (Milan)</u> 1385-1618, 146-7, 247-8, 250, 252, 254, 263, 266-278.

 <u>R.P.</u> iv, 143; <u>C.P.R. 1408-13</u>, 147; <u>Foedera</u> ix, 121; <u>R.P.</u> iv, 29.
 <u>C.P.L. 1404-15</u>, 293. Her 1421 petition was drawn up at the abbey of St. Clare beyond the walls: Foedera x, 135.

^{3.} It was at her supplication that Joan was allowed to rebury her husband at Mount Grace in 1412: <u>C.P.R. 1408-13</u>, 416. Henry IV had been making unrecorded diplomatic representations on her behalf about the dowry; Edmund had, after all, been killed trying to enforce Henry's own dower claims: <u>R.P.</u> iv, 29.

^{5.} P.R.O., C139/12/35; J.Stow, A Survey of London j., ed. C.L.Kingsford,

Part 3 The Huntingdon Inheritance 1400-1413

John I's death and forfeiture in 1400 fully exposed the insecure foundations of his inheritance. Richard II had passed on to his halfbrother various lands where the title was not totally secure. John, anxious for any form of inheritance, had accepted these estates, and had been relatively unchallenged during his and Richard's ascendancy. Now his widow Elizabeth was to need all the assets of her blood and persistence to rebut the various previously domant claimants who now appeared, keen to benefit from John I's fall and press their suits to his estates. The new king was the biggest and most irrefutable of these. As already shown, he repossessed Kent estates for the duchy of Lancaster and he had already, before John's rebellion, adopted the same policy towards lands granted more recently to John out of the duchy of Cornwall patrimony, reducing his Cornish interest by December 1399 to the single manor of Tackbeare. Other losses were less permanent, but the initial effects of the forfeiture were devastating.

For instance, one claimant to John I's estates who now received some satisfaction was John Windsor. His family had disputed Philberds Court manor in Berkshire with John I, and John Windsor was now granted this, with the manors of Manorbier and Penally in Pembrokeshire on 19 January. The tortuous history of these latter two estates in the fourteenth century is well characterised by this latest dispute between the Windsors and the Hollands. The dispute turned on the nature of the undoubted tenure of the Windsors. William Windsor had thought he had held them alone in fee simple, so he had enfeoffed them to his own use, and they passed on to his nephew and heir John Windsor on his death in 1384. However John Windsor sought the new grant of January 1400 on the basis of a different story: William's

widow Alice Perrers, considering they had held the manors jointly, had sold

them to John I, who had enfeoffed John Stevenes and Richard Shelley of them

before his death. These feoffees then passed them on to Elizabeth and John Cornwall, and, after Elizabeth's death, to John II. John Windsor however continued to dispute their seisin, physically and legally, until at least 1 1411.

Another threat, from the abbey of St. Mary Graces towards a major part of the Holland south western inheritance in the last months of 1399, has already been touched on. With John I dead, the abbey at last won its case in March 1400, Richard's award to John being revoked and the eight Audley manors in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset going to the abbey.

The rest of John I's property was withheld in royal custody, to be used to pay household expenses; there was no extensive redistribution of the estates as with the Kent inheritance. All the rebels' forfeited lands in Devon, of which John I's formed the bulk, were placed in the stewardship of John Prestecote in May 1400; he had been the earl of Salisbury's Devon 4 steward. Only in September 1401 was John Beaufort to be awarded, for life, John I's London property in All Hallows the less, including La Tour inn. Keepers were appointed of various of his remaining estates at specified 6 rents. His illicit acquisition of Harbertonford manor in Devon was revealed and reverted. As the various commissioners and escheators accumulated and handed over to the exchequer the considerable amount of moveables of John I, so these too were handed out, mainly to Henry IV's

6. Langton, Fremington, Long Marton, Winkleigh manors and Stone and Catsash hundreds, May 1400 to February 1402: <u>C.F.R. 1399-1405</u>, 58, 59, 104, 153. The Fremington farmers paid in £125 7s 2d in 2 Henry IV: P.R.O., E401/621. 7. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 516; <u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 462.

^{1.} The complex history of the manors is detailed in D.J.C.King & J.C.Perks, 'Manorbier Castle, Pembrokeshire', <u>Archaeologia Cambrensis</u>, cxix (1970), 84-93.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 274; P.R.O., E328/380 & 381.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 245.

^{4.} Ibid., 294; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.25.

^{5.} C.P.R. 1399-1401, 546.

relations, his sons John and Humphrey and the Beauforts, in late 1400 and 1 early 1401.

Yet, as with the Kent estates, some of Henry's initial actions were hasty and unmindful at once of some of John I's perfectly legal arrangements for his estates and the significance, in the future, of his heir. The commissioners of January 1400 had sometimes been overzealous in their task. Langton and Long Marton manors were part of the marriage dowry 2 of Constance Holland and Thomas Mowbray and had to be restored to them. Tytherington manor in Gloucestershire had been sold by John I shortly before his death and the king had no right to grant it away. Initially, here again, Henry had refused to allow John's family any interest in his estates. His widow Elizabeth, also Henry's sister, was allowed dower of 1,000 marks, but it was assigned on the London customs in February 1400. The eldest son and heir, Richard, saw none of his father's estates, dying, probably in his mother's care, at Dartington, whilst still a minor on 3 September 1400. His two younger brothers, John and Edward, survived though and it was their mother's persistence and influence that gradually regained the inheritance for John II to accede to when he was restored on his majority in 1416. Her task was not easy as the royal escheators' and her dead husband's opponents' takeover had been assiduous, but she showed herself determined.

On John I's death, Elizabeth remarried with almost suspicious speed the young Lancastrian knight Sir John Cornwall. Henry IV did not initially

3. <u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 155, 174; <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 175; P.R.O., C137/51/60.
4. <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 201.
5. <u>Ibid.</u>, 241, protection for John I's children staying at Dartington;
P.R.O., E149/107/3.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 387, 394, 435, 439, 511. John's widow was allowed to retain some of her husband's possessions: <u>ibid</u>., 206, 398, 513, 514. 2. P.R.O., C137/51/44, nos.2 & 19.

approve of his new brother-in-law and had him locked in the Tower in April 1 1400. Controversy had surrounded Elizabeth's previous two betrothals: she had opposed the first to the young earl of Pembroke and had probably been seduced by John I before their face-saving marriage, then to be whisked away to Spain. Subsequent cordiality of relations with Johniis nowhere specified, but she certainly did her duty by him, producing three sons and two daughters. Her third marriage was her longest and probably most felicitous. The keeping or grants of Holland estates that she secured were all to her and John Cornwall jointly. Cornwall would play a major role in the early development of John II's military career and it was in his family church of Burford in Shropshire that Elizabeth was finally laid to rest in 1424.

Her affinity with the king undoubtedly helped her overturn the effects of her dead husband's forfeiture, though it was to be a lengthy process. She first secured repossession in August 1400 of the manors they had held jointly, Stevington in Bedfordshire and Ardington in Berkshire. In May 1401, she was granted, jointly with John Cornwall, seven Devon manors to 5 hold during her son's minority. The abbey of St. Mary Graces was now concerned at the durability of its grant, and sought confirmation of it $\frac{6}{1000}$ twice, in March 1401 and September 1402. They had good reason to be worried. The Windsor attempt to take over Manorbier and Penally manors was

Molton, Dartington, Winkleigh and Blackbornboty, valued at £218 15s 8d, to be deducted from the 1,000 marks annuity from the London customs. 6. Ibid., 457; C.P.R. 1401-5, 122.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1399-1402</u>, 78. For Cornwall's career, see A.C.Reeves, <u>Lancastrian</u> Englishmen, (Washington DC, 1981), 139-184.

^{2.} P.R.O., SC8/224/11176.

^{3.} History from Marble Compiled in the Reign of Charles II by Thomas Dingley, ed. J.G.Nichols, (Camden Society, xcvii, 1868), 310-312. 4. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 348; C.C.R. 1399-1402, 168; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 6, 14. 5. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 483, 550: Fremington, Combe Martin, Barnstaple, South

thwarted by their grant to Elizabeth and Cornwall in January 1402. In March 1403, the two were awarded custody of the abbey of Fécamp's English estates during the minority of John II, rent free, their value to be deducted from the London customs award. Elizabeth's petition for dower to be assigned was accepted, being exemplified in May 1404. She was given thirds of estates in Devon, Somerset and Huntingdonshire. Further petitions to the council and legal actions were necessary to secure the restoration of her previously jointly held manor of Barford St. Martin in Wiltshire and an assignment of dower in the Cary manors of Torrington and Cockington in Devon in February 1404 and February 1405 respectively. In November 1405, the last part of the London customs award was converted into more realisable rents: E281 4s 4d from ecclesiastical farms in Cornwall, Sussex and Warwickshire. Two years later, the reversion of Fleet Daumarle and a third of Holbeton manors in Devon fell in to Elizabeth; this had been 6 granted to her and John I by Isabel Daumarle's feoffees in April 1395. Midst all this, the abbey of St. Mary Graces was probably allowed to hold on to jts share of John I's estates as jt was only when John II's restoration was imminent in 1416 that desperate measures were taken to try and ensure their seisin.

4. C.C.R. 1402-5, 266, 424-5.

Moelys', <u>Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries</u>, xiv (1926-7), 307-8. 7. P.R.O., C1/9/357-361. In March 1416, Arnold Chagesty held the Devon and Cornwall manors; the Somerset ones were held by Roger Ilwyke (Blagdon), Thomas Chalor (Lydford), and John Milward (Staunton): E149/107/3.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 44.

^{2.} Ibid., 205.

^{3. &}lt;u>R.P.</u> iii, 533; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1401-5, 386; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1402-5, 342-3; P.R.O., E149/85/7; SC8/332/15706.

^{5.} Reiterated in May 1406 and December 1407: <u>C.P.R. 1405-8</u>, 98, 175, 381. 6. P.R.O., C137/68/43, no.2, (Isabel's inquisition <u>post mortem</u>); E40/6964 for the 1395 agreement. Isabel and her feoffees were engaged on various acquisitive property transactions in Devon at this time, buying out some claims and being somewhat less courteous towards others. Passing on the reversions to the Hollands was a means of securing their own immediate interest: P.R.O., CP25 (1) 45/68/156, 157, 168; F.B.Prideaux, 'Alicia de

The story of the Huntingdon inheritance in Henry IV's reign has both interesting analogies and contrasts with that of the Kent inheritance. In both cases Henry's early instinct of severity (and perhaps greed) was soon tempered by his wise sense of the need to avoid souring family relations and to secure future potential support. Neither inheritance was taken over wholesale, though the less secure Huntingdon one could have been. In the Kent case he appreciated the advantage of securing the loyalty of the young Edmund. In the Huntingdon case he showed some sympathy for his nephew John II, to whom he granted Newton Tracey in November 1403 for his maintenance during his minority, yet here it was rather the kinship and vigorous efforts of his sister the dowager countess Elizabeth that saw the inheritance restored. Elizabeth's aims, however, were more concerned with her own interests and those of her new husband John Cornwall, and what she won bettered them, certainly, but did nothing much to recover for her son his father's erstwhile influence in the south west. In consequence, when John II came of age, he inherited no local power base, and was dependent, like his mother, on court favour. He could only hope to prosper through crown patronage, and this, as we shall see, kept him in London and France for long spells. That would probably have been the shape of Edmund of Kent's career, had he lived: but the local south western base of the influence of the Huntingdon Hollands was more seriously interrupted than his south eastern one had been, which meant that, in this next generation, once again, the Hollands' importance was curialist rather than territorial.

سيبكنه واعبروا الهانجية ويوركن والترج والخطية والتكري المتكالة

1. C.P.R. 1401-5, 324.

CHAPTER VII THE LOYAL LANCASTRIAN SOLDIER - JOHN HOLLAND 1413-1447

Part 1 The Young Soldier 1413-1421

The lack of years of John II, and his brother Edward, meant that they had played no part in the turmoil of Henry IV's reign; they could emerge in 1413 untainted by any prior connections or prejudices to play a full part in Henry V's dramatic plans. The new king had no cause to remember any hostility on their part towards his father, yet neither did Henry go out of his way to heap rewards on his young cousins. Like others of their ilk, such as Mowbray and Percy, they were allowed to restore the family fortune and reputation by loyal service which, in turn, added strength to Henry's 1 crown.

John II was knighted, aged eighteen, on 8 April 1413, possibly with 2his brother Edward, on Henry V's accession. During his minority, John was sustained by 100 marks from Frompton priory and the revenues of Newton 3Tracey manor in Devon. He was brought up by his mother at the family home of Dartington, built by his father, a place John II was not to show any 4great subsequent affection for. He was not fully restored to his father's title, earl of Huntingdon, until his majority in 1417, yet contemporary 5writers cite him by the title before that date. He was nurtured at the for our of the first years of the reign and received his first

iv, 66.

6. Present at Henry V's coronation and at the archbishop of Canterbury's installation at Sutton on 29 July 1414: The Register of Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-43 j, ed. E.F.Jacob, (Oxford, 1937), 17.

G.L.Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', in <u>Henry V the Practice of Kingship</u>, ed. G.L.Harriss, (Oxford, 1985), 35-36.
 J.H.Wylie, <u>The Reign of Henry the Fifth</u> i, (Cambridge, 1914), 3.
 C.P.R. 1405-8, 385; C.P.R. 1413-6, 136; P.R.O., E368/186/48;

C.P.R. 1401-5, 324.

^{4.} One year protection for John I's children dwelling at Dartington issued on 1 March 1400: C.P.R. 1399-1401, 241.

^{5.} H.Nicolas, The Battle of Agincourt, (2nd edn., 1832), appendix, 66; R.P.

administrative commission in February 1415. His younger brother Edward also made a favourable impression on Henry; enough to be awarded 2,500 marks and a pair of horses in the king's will of July 1415 as he had not the landed prospects of his elder brother. However, both were to be little employed on government service in England during the rest of the reign as Henry V's ambitions in France dictated careers as professional soldiers for these aspiring, inexperienced magnates.

John II's youth meant he had not the resources nor reputation, despite his lineage, to recruit and sustain a substantial retinue for the Agincourt campaign and he indented to serve with 20 men-at-arms and 60 archers in April 1415. The indenture detailed that if the expedition sailed to France, rather than Gascony, John II should be paid the first quarter's wages on mustering and the second quarter's in jewels, to be held for seven months until redeemed. This occurred, with John receiving £288 18s 9 1/2d in two instalments on 6 June and 6 July for the first quarter and also indenting with the treasurer for £302 5s 6d worth of jewels as surety for his second quarter's wages on 15 June. France, or rather Normandy, was thus already decided upon as the objective, or at least the treasurer and John II knew of it, by 15 June, as there were different payment arrangements if the expedition was to make for Gascony: the first quarter's wages to be paid at the sealing of the indenture and the second quarter's on mustering. Henry may well have divulged his destination to only a select group, the treasurer was one of the three principal officers of state and John was to play a leading role in the initial stages of the expedition, and the common

1. <u>44 D.K.R.</u>, 559, to administer the union of the collegiate and parish

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churches of Fotheringay. 2. Foedera ix, 291-2. 3. P.R.O., E101/45/7; E404/31/295; Foedera ix, 250. An earlier indenture cited only 40 archers: P.R.O., E404/31/89; Foedera ix, 223.

soldier may well have embarked unaware of how far he might be expected to sail.

John II was supposed to muster at Southampton on 1 July 1415. He did so a week late, but the correct quota of names was returned. However, originally entered on the muster roll were 21 names for the men-at-arms and 62 for the archers, the excess ones being cancelled out. (The 'extra' manat-arms, John Broune, was later to serve with John in 1417.) John II was not the only retinue leader who attracted more than he originally indented for and the extra men, crossed off the official pay-roll, may well have been taken along at his own expense. On the expedition's return to England in November 1415, the muster roll was updated with details of the casualties: two archers died at Harfleur; one man-at-arms, Henry Strete, and four archers were killed at Agincourt; one archer was killed at Calais. 19 men-at-arms and 53 archers returned to England. John had also indented to take a total of 162 horses to France, over double the number of men: 24 for himself, six for Sir Andrew Acton, his only knight, four each for the men-at-arms and one each for the archers. There is no indication if this number was shipped to France, but 72 horses were brought back, still some way in excess of the number of men that returned.

4. This problem of the equine requirements of medieval armies has rarely been illuminated: Ross, <u>Richard III</u>, 214-5. The requirements for transporting horses are illuminated in Hewitt, <u>The Organisation of War</u> under Edward III, 79, 86-8, 180-1.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/45/7, document C.

^{2.} The earl Marshal indented for 200 but actually took 248: Archer, The Mowbrays: thesis, 223. Henry V punished his commanders who mustered late or with insufficient troops; John II and Mowbray were ensuring they had the right number, and some spare: Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', 40-41. 3. B.L., Harleian 782, ff.74v-75, printed in Nicolas, <u>Agincourt</u>, 337, is John II's retinue at Agincourt. It lists 16 lances and 35 archers, with only eight of the lances also appearing in the P.R.O. muster roll, with another lance detailed there under the archers. If John had originally mustered the full complement he had indented for, this roll suggests far greater casualties at Harfleur than the P.R.O. document does, though the incompatibility of names is suspicious.

Amongst his retinue, three of the men-at-arms, John Warner, Thomas pell and Willjam Junnyng, were later to maintain their connections with John II in England, especially Junnyng, who served with John in 1417 and 1439 and held a 10 marks annuity from Blagdon manor. A total of seven menat-arms, including John Broune, were to return to France with John II in 1417, so probably representing the professional military element. Laurence and William Dutton were possibly relatives of Sir Peter Dutton of Cheshire to whom the Holland manor of Northwich was leased in 1410. Nicholas Lovell may have been a distant relative, sharing Robert I as a common ancestor. Personal ties of one sort or another and a professional military occupation attracted men to John II's service. The lure of booty must have been amongst the other inducements, especially after the profitable service of such as John's stepfather John Cornwall with the duke of Clarence in France 4 in 1412.

Henry V's expedition sailed from Southampton on 10 August, yet John II had already been heavily involved in the preliminaries before then. Despite his youth, his presence had been valued on the council during the spedition preparations in the spring. Naval patrols were also required in the Channel, before the expedition set out, to ensure its unimpeded crossing. John II was engaged on this, being at sea in early July. He was to be much employed on naval duties in the next couple of years. The precedent of his father's appointment as admiral, his Devon background that

Beaufort Family and the War in France, 1421-1450', (Bristol Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1982), 25, 57. 5. P.P.C. ii, 156. 6. Nicolas, Agincourt, appendix, 66.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/51/2; E101/53/22; E163/7/31/2/30; C139/127/25, no.22.

^{2.} P.R.O., E101/51/2.

^{3.} J.T.Driver, Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages 1399-1540, (Chester, 1971), 50.

^{4.} He was awarded 21,375 éscus: Wylie, Henry IV iv, 83; M.K.Jones, 'The

gave him the shipping and personal contacts, and his own verve and dash, would all have encouraged this early responsibility. This initial confidence in him shown by Henry V was maintained when the expedition reached the French coast. On 15 August 1415, John II was sent ashore on a 1 pre-dawn reconnaisance. The bestowal of the great honour of being first ashore on enemy land was a further mark of Henry's faith in his young cousin. The after John played a less prominent role, though his valour at Harfleur in storming a barbican was noted and he continued to serve 3 throughout the Agincourt campaign.

The rewards for his service in France were not great, being only the 4 grant of the wardship of William Zouche's heir in February 1416. A far greater accretion of estates was imminent though with writs being issued on 16 February to establish his elder brother's inheritance, preparatory to 5 his own restoration. He continued to be closely associated with the court being part of the elaborate reception committee to meet the Holy Roman 6 Emperor at Dartford in April. Yet diplomacy and the council chamber were not his preferred spheres and Henry V recognised this.

In the spring of 1416, the French were threatening Harfleur, worsting a foraging party at Valmont on 11 March; the port now needed resupplying by

6. <u>P.P.C.</u> ii, 194. Both John and Edward Holland were being extensively clothed at the royal wardrobe's expense in the year from Michaelmas 1415: P.R.O., E101/406/26, m.3.

^{1. &}lt;u>Gesta Henrici Quinti</u>, ed. F.Taylor & J.S.Roskell, (Oxford, 1975), 23. 2. M.H.Keen, <u>Chivalry</u>, (1984), 170. John II had already endeared himself to his more distant cousin the duke of York, signified by the gift of a coat of mail: Royal Wills, 221.

^{3. &}lt;u>Gesta Henrici Quinti</u>, 47; Wylie, <u>Henry V</u> ii, 88, 185; <u>Chronicles of</u> <u>London</u>, ed. Kingsford, 120; Nicolas, <u>Agincourt</u>, 185, 203, 214, 282, 315, <u>323</u>, 369, 370.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1413-6</u>, 394; P.R.O., E101/406/26, m.6. Neither he nor any of his retinue apparently gained financially from ransoms from Agincourt: Nicolas, Agincourt, appendix, 61-3.

^{5.} P.R.O., E149/107/3.

sea. John II had obviously impressed the previous year and he was rapidly gaining experience, although still very young. He now indented on 14 April for a major force of 350 men-at-arms and 700 archers, a great increase on his force of 80 the previous year. It was to be only a short term relief expedition, the indenture being for just one quarter's service, to be paid in two instalments, the money being assigned on the second part of the tenth and fifteenth granted in 1415. John was to muster at Sandwich on 11 May. On 30 April he duly received his £1,467 6s 8d as wages for the first forty days. He was also accorded the honour of elevation to the Order of the Garter in recognition of his already notable military exploits. His appointment as king's lieutenant, admiral of the south and west and leader of the men-at-arms and archers in the south and west came on 5 May although his command excluded him from authority over the earl of Devon's heir, Edward Courtenay, and John lord Clifford, who also served with him with retinues of 1,050 and 600 respectively. This force of 2,700, not including sailors, mustered in Winchelsea, Sandwich, Gravesend and Southampton and was evidently meant as a reinforcement in strength for the hard-pressed earl of Dorset, John II's uncle, in Harfleur. The emphasis was laid on supplying in his orders of 12 May and the London part of the force was ordered to be ready to sail at 11 o'clock on 28 May. No clashes were reported with the French by the chroniclers and the expedition was

151.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/71/2/821; E404/32/12. A higher concentration of men-at-arms was required for naval service than the usual one to three ratio. 2. P.R.O., E403/624, m.1.

^{3.} Foedera ix, 335.

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 344-5; <u>P.P.C.</u> ii, 199; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1416-22, 11; P.R.O., E403/624, m.1. 5. <u>Ibid.</u>, m.2, the transport included some German ships; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1416-22, 71, 72; <u>P.P.C.</u> ii, 198.

^{6.} Ibid., 200-202; Foedera ix, 345; Calendar of Letter Books Letter Book I,

evidently successful in its limited objective of revictualling Harfleur.

Despite the reinforcement, Harfleur was still under pressure from the persistent count of Armagnac. Another larger naval force, under the duke of Bedford, with John II and Hungerford as his lieutenants, fitted out to relieve the port. This force did leave a record in the chronicles as it clashed with the French outside Harfleur in August 1416 and brushed them $\frac{2}{2}$ aside to attain its objective.

This success encouraged Henry to appoint John II his lieutenant at sea $\frac{3}{3}$ under their uncle Thomas Beaufort, now duke of Exeter. Henry's elevation of Beaufort to the ducal title of Exeter, which John II's father had held 1397-9, with no murmur of dissent from the rising John, has been cited as an example of the king's control over his nobility and the respect he now $\frac{4}{4}$ commanded. John II was still under age and had not yet even been officially restored to his comital title of Huntingdon. The titles Beaufort held, earl of Dorset and duke of Exeter, did not represent any territorial threat to John II in the south west as Beaufort held no lands there.

Meanwhile, John II's coming of age was imminent and he petitioned the parliament of October 1416 for restoration. This was granted, when he should come of age, but he was only restored to the entailed estates; $_{6}$ excluded were the lands his mother held by jointure and in dower and all

5. C.I.P.M. (Rec. Comm.) jv, 111-3.

6. The scattered manors of Manorbier and Penally (Pembrokeshire), Ardington and Philberds Court (Berkshire), Barford St. Martin (Wiltshire) and Fleet Daumarle (Devon).

R.A.Newhall, <u>The English Conquest of Normandy 1416-1424</u>, (Yale, 1924 repub. 1971), 26-7.
 <u>Gesta Henrici Quinti</u>, 145-9; Newhall, <u>English Conquest of Normandy</u>, 28-35. John II joined the force late on his return from his own expedition to Harfleur as he had not originally indented. These indentures in P.R.O., E101/69/8/532-550 and E101/70/1/551-569 and the initial payments are tabulated in R.A.Newhall, 'The English in Normandy, 1416-1424', (Harvard Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1917), 179-182.
 C.P.R. 1416-22, 112.

^{4.} Wylie & Waugh, Henry V jij, 37-38.

the duchy of Cornwall estates his father had held. He came of age on 29March 1417, yet the restoration was not immediately effective as writs of livery were only issued for Devon, Somerset and Huntingdonshire on 24 October and for Flintshire and Cheshire on 14 December 1418. Nor was the restoration totally unchallenged. Others had been aware of its imminence and had been taking measures to avert its full implications.

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The dispute between the Hollands and the abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower over Sir James Audley's inheritance in the south west has been ³ referred to elsewhere. In July 1416, the abbot and his council, realising John II's favour with the king, decided their title based on Henry IV's grant of March 1401 was inadequate and so a forged release of the estates by the original feoffees was commissioned to reinforce their title and thwart John II's livery. A silver seal with the arms of the relevant feoffee, the bishop of Lincoln, was also manufactured and the release was enrolled on the abbey's chancery roll for 19 Richard II. The efforts of the resourceful abbot Paschal Giliot did not cease on John II's majority. In the parliament of December 1417, he petitioned, with the Countess Marshal, that John II had not sued out writs of scire facias for the lands they held and so demanded his livery be forestalled. The king had

461-2. 4. P.R.O., C1/9/357-361. The case came up in chancery in December 1442 when Paschal Giliot, formerly abbot, and Robert Rydon, clerk in the abbey's chancery, confessed all. 5. R.P. jv, 110.

^{1. &}lt;u>R.P.</u> iv, 100-101. The government had his restoration in mind as inquisitions had been held into his elder brother Richard's entitlement to estates in the south west in March 1416 and in Berkshire in June: P.R.O., E149/107/3.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1413-9</u>, 483-6; <u>37 D.K.R.</u>, 393. These were lands held by royal farmers. For the others, held by the abbey of St. Mary Graces and the Countess Marshal, he had to sue out writs of <u>scire facias</u>: <u>R.P.</u> iv, 110. However, Sir Peter Dutton had leased Northwich for six years in October 1415 and he must have been ousted by John II's restoration, though his opposition is not recorded: <u>37 D.K.R.</u>, 379, 393. 3. A summary of the grants is in W.A.M., 9205; see also <u>V.C.H. London</u> i,

apparently handed over John II's lands in royal farmers' hands with no fuss, but had instructed John to sue out writs of <u>scire facias</u> for those held otherwise. This John had omitted to do, being heavily involved in preparations for the French expedition, and he was now instructed to rectify it. In September 1418, Giliot wrote to Henry V at Rouen reiterating his request, complaining further of the great suffering caused to the abbey by this dispute and even claiming his predecessor Roger Grenaway had died worn out by his efforts against John II. Their efforts seem to have been in vain, yet the abbey was evidently in dire need of the revenues as it was petitoning in 1427 to be put into commission because of poor governance. Richard II had certainly flouted his grandfather's wishes by granting the Audley estates to John I, but the Holland interest was now too well established to be dislodged easily. The abbey, having never actually attained seisin before Richard's grant, had now to make do with custody of the estates during Holland minorities.

This latest round of the dispute arose mainly during John II's absence abroad, assisting Henry V's conquest of Normandy. Henry's army of conquest sailed in late July 1417. However, as in 1415, the Channel had to be swept clear of enemy shipping first and Harfleur still required supplying by sea as Henry's initial objective was Lower Normandy. John II, by now Henry's most experienced naval commander, was again called upon. Leaving Henry mustering at Southampton, he sailed for Harfleur and clashed with the French fleet under the bastard of Bourbon on 29 June. The addition of nine Genoese carracks did not help the French: four of these carracks, the bastard and the payroll for a quarter of a year were captured by John and

<u>Calendar of Signet Letters</u>, 167, 172; P.R.O., C81/1364, no.69. P.R.O., E28/49, no.24; C.P.R. 1422-9, 394.

taken back to Southampton in his greatest military triumph.

Henry V's calculating military mind had recognised the necessity of domination of the Channel to the security of his expeditions to France. It had also recognised in John II the dash and drive necessary to bring an enemy fleet to action, and then overcome it. John II had now served on four naval expeditions in two years; these, added to the cost of supplies for the port, meant that Harfleur was proving an expensive outpost of English influence in France, of great strategic, but not commercial value. Yet its defence, and the now imminent conquest of Normandy, were burdens of which John II for one was willing to bear his share. His military involvment in Henry V's policies in France had now been more than that of most other peers. He was to maintain this loyalty to Henry's war aims well after Henry's death and well after most of his contemporaries had also fallen away. This loyalty had not been bought by Henry as John received few material rewards for his service, despite the limited nature of his restored patrimony which was not helped by his mother's survival to 1425. Rather his loyalty was won through the identity of purpose that the king shared with his magnates and the devotion he inspired in such as John II. Maintained in the king's household and rewarded early with the responsibility of command, John II was growing up as a professional soldier, devoted to Henry V and his objectives.

For the main expedition of 1417, John II indented on 8 February to serve with 40 men-at-arms and 120 archers, for one year, mustering at

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2. C.T.Allmand, 'Henry V the Soldier, and the War in France', in <u>Henry V</u> the Practice of Kingship, ed. G.L.Harriss, (Oxford, 1985), 126-7; Newhall, <u>English Conquest of Normandy</u>, 53. 3. Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', 50-1.

^{1. &}lt;u>A Chronicle of London 1089-1483</u>, ed. N.H.Nicolas, (1827), 105-6; <u>The</u> <u>Boke of Noblesse</u>, ed. J.G.Nichols, (Roxburghe Club, 1860), 16; <u>Hardyng</u>, 377-8; C.L.Kingsford, 'An Historical Collection of the Fifteenth Century', E.H.B., xxix (1914), 512.

Southampton on 15 April. That the army was not to be the mobile raiding force of 1415 is indicated by the fact that 40 of the archers were now to be on foot. This would cut down the equine transportation problems a little, but John II still indented to take 260 horses for his force of 160 1 men. Again, John II actually mustered more than he had indented for, 138 archers being entered on the roll although only the required 40 men-at-arms 2 turned up. Seven of the men-at-arms had served with him on the Agincourt campaign, although it is unfortunately impossible to tell how many had seen 3 naval service with him since then.

John II was again one of the first ashore in France, taking the castle 4 of Touques on 3 August, just inland from the landing site. Thereafter, his activities become little distinguished from those of Henry V and the main army. He served before Caen, being thence detached to secure the south west flank by taking Villers-Bocage, which agreed on 25 August 1417 to surrender 5 on 2 September. He then reappeared at the siege of Falaise in January 6 1418.

At the siege of Caen in August 1417, John was occupying a position together with Sir Gilbert Umfraville, Sir John Neville, Sir John Grey and 7 Sir John Cornwall. This grouping was to reappear several times in the campaigns of the next four years, representing the comradeship in arms engendered in Henry's army. It was a logical grouping, based on family

286-7; Foedera ix, 486-7.
6. Calendar of Signet Letters, 167.
7. Walsingham ii, 322. Synopses of their military careers 1416-1424 can be found in Newhall, 'English in Normandy': thesis, 199-209.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/70/1/583.

^{2.} P.R.O., E101/51/2.

^{3.} Unfortunately no details have survived of the force he took to sea in June 1417; it would presumably have been considerably larger than his very modest retinue for Normandy.

^{4.} Calendar of Signet Letters, 197-8.

^{5.} Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londiniensi Asservati, ed. T.D.Hardy, (1835),

links. Cornwall was John II's step-father and must have provided him with much valuable military guidance based on his service in Wales and France under the duke of Clarence. Grey, of Ruthyn, was John II's brother-in-law, married by 1413 to his sister Constance, the widowed Countess Marshal. Neville was married to John II's cousin Elizabeth, one of the Kent heiresses, and this friendship established in France was to lead to John II's daughter Anne marrying into the Neville family. Umfraville was married to Neville's sister Anne and he had already served under John II at Harfleur.

Meantime, John's younger brother Edward was also serving with distinction. He had not mustered with John II and may have arrived after the main force in 1417, not being recorded in France before December. Then he was awarded the Norman estates of William de Mountenay in tail male. Henry V was evidently hoping to establish Edward, with few English ties, as a landed magnate in France who might be prepared to stay there permanently, with a strong interest in the maintenance of the English conquest. Edward was also the first to be granted a French county by Henry; the award has not survived but he first appears as count of Mortain on 3 March 1418. This was when he was back in England, preparing to serve in the 2,000 strong reinforcement expedition in the spring with 40 men-at-arms and 120 4 archers.

The force mustered at Southampton in April and, with its arrival, and

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1415-1450, (Oxford, 1983), 71. 4. P.R.O., E404/33/218, the indenture of 22 February 1418. The whole force is detailed in Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, 354. 5. C.P.R. 1416-22, 201.

^{1.} Reeves, Lancastrian Englishmen, 139-184.

^{2.} Rotuli Normanniae, 228. The award was reissued on 29 March 1418: <u>41</u> D.K.R., 690.

^{3. &}lt;u>Issues of the Exchequer Henry III to Henry VI</u>, ed. F.Devon, (Record Commission, 1837), 354. Henry V awarded at least six other counties over the next two years: <u>G.E.C.</u> v, 177 n.f; C.T.Allmand, <u>Lancastrian Normandy</u>

with English control established on the Lower Norman littoral, Henry V's forces began to fan out into the hinterland. John II received an independent commission to isolate the Cotentin peninsula by subduing the bailiwick of Coutances on 10 March, and it was agreeing terms six days 1 later. For his achievments there, he was rewarded with the castle and lordship of Bricqueville-sur-Mer, south west of Coutances, with property in Caen in April as Henry began to implant among his commanders an even 2 greater interest in his conquests.

John II was present with most of Henry V's major commanders at the climax to the Norman campaign, the siege of Rouen, where his alertness and 3 initiative were noted. Umfraville and Neville were again in attendance. Edward Holland also served at Rouen and it was there that his promising career ended. As a final mark of Henry V's esteem and affection, his 4 funeral costs and masses for his soul were defrayed by the crown. He left no family, indeed, he probably died under age, and no English estates. He did leave a retinue behind and this continued to muster separately for the 5

Thereafter, Edward's retinue may have been taken over by his elder

Issues of the Exchequer, 357; 41 D.K.R., 711, 715, 718. He was alive on 6 October but dead on 18 October when a receiver-general for his Norman estates was appointed: ibid., 700, 717. 5. Ibid., 718, 720.

Rotuli Normanniae, 296-8, 381-3; Foedera ix, 553, 556; Archives Nationale, Dom Lenoir Collection 26, no.23267, Henry V confirming John II's terms. B.L., Add. Ch. 11447 records in October 1418 John's acceptance of Thasse de Laceville's homage for her lands in Coutances.
 <u>41 D.K.R.</u>, 680.
 'Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V 1414-1422', ed.
 F.Taylor, <u>B.J.R.L.</u>, xvi (1932), 169-171; <u>La Chronique d'Enguerran de</u> Monstrelet iii, ed. L.Douet-d'Arcq, (S.H.F., 1860), 284; <u>The Historical</u> <u>Collection of a London Citizen</u>, ed. J.Gairdner, (Camden Society, New Series, xviii, 1876), 9-11, 17, 22; M.L.Puiseux, <u>Siège et Prise de Rouen</u>, (Caen, 1867), 55-68; Bod. Lib., Digby 201, f.285v. John II suggested a ruse for enticing the French out from their walls and it was only at his position that French pleas for a parley were heard.
 <u>Gesta Henrici Quinti</u>, 160 n.2; B.L., Add. Ms. 38525, f.72v. Devon,

brother though, unfortunately, few details have survived of variations in John II's retinue during the Norman campaign. There was a fairly steady stream of replacements from England for those killed, dead from disease, deserted, left behind in garrisons or transferred to other retinues. John's retinue was mustered regularly at Rouen from June to December 1418, with those of John Neville, William Philip and the deceased Edward Courtenay. Yet such musterings of field forces w_{gre} carried out for military rather than financial reasons, unlike the garrison troops, so there was not such a necessity to preserve a record of those present. The war was still a mobile, aggressive operation and had not yet become a static, defensive a campaign.

May 1419 saw the enhancement of John II's holding in the Cotentin with the grant of lands John Paniel had held in Annoville, Maydry and Notre Dame de Deully, together with the fiefs of Buyssain and Marchevieux. Established thus in a major frontier enclave in the south west corner of Normandy, John's military activities now took him to the other end of the province as the English advance fanned out from Rouen up the Seine and into Upper Normandy. The fall of Gournay saw him appointed to his first captaincy in this important post on the Rouen-Beauvais road in February 1419, with his friend Umfraville holding Neufchâtel to the north west. The Gournay captaincy also embodied some sort of wider responsibility for the

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ii, lxxxvi, cviv. I am grateful to Dr. Curry for allowing me to see copies of her appendices before her work was finalised, and for her advice on French sources.

^{1.} John Rous of Edward's retinue appears in John's garrison at Neufchâtel in 1430: <u>44 D.K.R.</u>, 603; Archives Nationales, K63/10/36.

^{2. &}lt;u>41</u> D.K.R., 711, 715, 717, 718, 720.

^{3.} R.A.Newhall, Muster and Review, (Harvard, 1940), 4-20.

^{4. 41} D.K.R., 781.

^{5.} They combined to capture Chateau Gaillard: Monstrelet jij, 338;

⁴¹ D.K.R., 730; A.E.Curry, 'Military Organisation in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422-1450', (Council for National Academic Awards Ph.D. thesis 1985) vol.

defence of that area of the frontier and John II now operated in that part 1 of east Normandy for the rest of the year.

On something of an old style <u>chevauchée</u> from Gournay, the first sign of his dash and drive manifesting itself as impetuosity and vindictive rashness appears when, at Breteuil, the death of a few of his men caused 2 him to have the whole town fired. Again, at Pontoise in August 1419, he arrived after the town had fallen to the Captal de Buch, but he still took his vengeance on the garrison that was withdrawing to Paris. He was now also appointed captain of Pontoise in a further extension of his authority in the area. In another violent incident at the end of the year, instructed to assist the Burgundian attack on Roye, he arrived with his stepfather Cornwall after the town had surrendered. Enraged at missing out on its fall, he set off to overtake the garrison withdrawing, with Burgundian safe conducts, towards Complègne and exacted due retribution 5 from them, killing and capturing many. He later performed rather more useful service with this force, capturing Fontaine-Lavagne, in north eastern Normandy, with Neville and Cornwall.

With his brother-in-law John Grey superseding him at Gournay in 7 December 1419, John II's area of operations moved to more central Normandy. He assisted the earl Marshal in overwhelming a French and Scottish force seeking to raise the earl of Salisbury's siege of Fresnay on

ed. K.de Lettenhove, (Brussels, 1863), 98-101. 6. Ibid. j., 102-3; Monstrelet jjj, 372. 7. <u>42 D.K.R.</u>, 384.

^{1.} Issuing instructions from Gournay, referring to the 'frontier dont nous avons la charge de par nostre souvain'; Bibliothèque Nationale, PO 1529/34859/2.

^{2.} Monstrelet j.j.j., 336.

^{3. &}lt;u>Walsingham</u> ii, 330.

^{4. 41} D.K.R., 791.

^{5. &}lt;u>42 D.K.R.</u>, 355; <u>Mémoires de Pierre de Fenin</u>, ed. L.M-E.Dupont, (S.H.F., 1837), 122-4; <u>Monstrelet</u> j.j., 368-371; <u>Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain</u> j.,

the borders of Maine. His disregard for Burgundian honour at Roye does not seem to have affected his relations with the Burgundians too aversely as he was stationed with Duke Philip at the siege of Melun in 1420. This connection with the Burgundians, to be continued some ten years later, indicates the co-operation and lia(s on that could exist between the two powers; a more cynical view might see it as Henry skilfully palming off a now somewhat unreliable and irascible commander on his allies.

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On Melun's fall, Umfraville became its captain, with John II being charged with Bois de Vincennes, south east of Paris, as the two close 4 comrades were again used to stabilise a recently conquered area. In this war of thrust and counter, John II had never been far from the action. He had received no major independent commands or responsibility and had been used by Henry V for limited subordinate campaigns. This was somewhat in contrast with his earlier naval service, but then the long slog of the Norman campaign required different qualities of resilience and motivation to the short actions at sea. Besides the temperamental John II, Henry had, on land, other senior, experienced magnate commanders available.

One of these was the king's eldest brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence, whom John joined on his strike south through Maine in March 1421. The objective, Angers, proved too resilient and it was on the retreat to Normandy that the English clashed with a Franco-Scottish force at Baugé. John had had little experience of serving with Clarence, and his advice, for once, of caution, supprorted by his comrade Umfraville, was rejected by the duke, who plunged into the attack, leaving behind his archers under

3. See below p.204. 4. Monstrelet iv, 23; Chastellain i, 203; Chronique de Jean le Fèvre ii, ed. F.Morand, (S.H.F., 1876), 27.

^{1.} Walsingham ii, 331; Bod. Lib., Digby 201, f.281.

^{2.} Pierre de Fenin, 143.

Salisbury. Admittedly the enemy was not expecting an immediate assault, but their local superiority in numbers meant that Clarence's force was overwhelmed.

The tactical advantages the victory brought the French were not great as Salisbury skilfully extricated the rest of the force and withdrew to 1 Normandy. Yet Baugé had wider repercussions: Henry V hurried back to France, probably sconer than he had anticipated, to his death in a little over a year. He had lost his militarily very vigorous brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, also then his heir. Also lost, but only captured, was John II. The battle was something of a personal disaster for John as amongst the dead was his close companion of the Norman campaigns since the first landing at Harfleur, Sir Gilbert Umfraville. John was joined in captivity by the brothers John and Thomas Beaufort, sons of his cousin Margaret Holland, who also lost her second husband Clarence. John II initially fell into the hands of the Scottish knight John Sibbald and was taken with the rest of the English prisoners to Tours. He probably remained in Anjou for $\frac{2}{4}$

^{2.} Johanni de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis ac Continuatione

| Walteri Boweri ii, ed. W.Goodall, (Edinburgh, 1759), 461; Liber |
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| Pluscardensis ji, ed. F.J.H.Skene, (Edinburgh, 1880), 268; Calendar of |
| Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London 1413-1437, ed. A.H. Thomas, |
| (Cambridge, 1943), 182-7. |

^{1.} Wylie & Waugh, Henry V iii, 293-310.

Part 2 Released - the Mature Soldier 1421-1440

With no wife, his brother Edward dead, and his cousin and evidently sympathetic commander Henry V soon to pass away, it was left to his stepfather Sir John Cornwall to negotiate and gather John II's ransom. (He and John II's mother Elizabeth had already aided John much by vigorously maintaining his inheritance during his long minority.) Cornwall's role was in fact to be crucial as he had captured Louis de Bourbon comte de Vendôme at Agincourt. Vendôme, being such a senior French noble, (brother to the A 25,000 marks ransom was duke of Bourbon), was then claimed by the crown. agreed in March 1417, to be paid over eighteen months. Henry V realised this was a little optimistic, so Vendôme's custody was restored to Cornwall in May 1417 for 7,500 marks, Cornwall sharing payment with two Florentine financiers. Cornwall thence going to France, Vendome was restored to the safety of the Tower. Vendome was still in contact with France, but no further progress appears to have been made with ransom negotiations by 1423. By then, John II had made few efforts to purchase his freedom with no contacts being recorded with England, though his captors may well have

financier in the prisoner/ransom market 1404-40: Reeves, Lancastrian Englishmen, 168-172. 5. Safe conducts were issued regularly for his servants up to 1423: Foedera

ix, 588, 625, 675; <u>44 D.K.R.</u>, 633; <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 222, 223, 225.

^{1.} John II had also lost his half-brother, John Cornwall, son and namesake of his stepfather, at the siege of Meaux in 1421: Hall, <u>Chronicle</u>, 108. 2. <u>P.P.C. iii</u>, 122. For ransom procedures in general, see M.H.Keen, <u>The</u> <u>Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages</u>, (1965), 156-185, and during the Hundred Years' War in particular Warra, Prisoners of War: thesis, 206-299. 3. <u>Foedera</u> ix, 442-5; <u>P.P.C. ii</u>, 342, his pledges detailed. In negotiations over the ransoms of Vendôme and John II sums were variously cited in pounds sterling, marks, crowns and scuti; for clarity, all have been converted to marks.

^{4.} A.Steel, The Receipt of the Exchequer 1377-1485, (Cambridge, 1954), 156; Foedera ix, 450, 529; C.P.R. 1416-22, 89. Over fifty of Vendôme's servants had safe conducts to bring cash to England in April 1417 and Vendôme himself returned to France in May: Foedera ix, 446, 456. Further details of Vendôme's ransom are in E.F.Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1961), 222-3 and A.D.Carr, 'Sir Lewis John - a Medieval London Welshman', Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies, xxii (1967), 268. Cornwall was a pretty active

been reluctant to let him go home on parole to sort out his ransom, given his record of not always honourable conduct. Things were to change however in 1423.

Cornwall then returned to England. He there sought repayment of 5,500 marks paid by him to the crown in the May 1417 bond which had restored Vendôme's person to Cornwall; Cornwall was supposed to recoup this from the ransom. He also claimed 600 marks expenses incurred in regaining control of Vendôme. (Henry V had been within his rights to claim such an eminent French noble, though a little more than discourteous not to compensate Cornwall.) Cornwall's claim was allowed, part to be assigned on the Arundel wardship and part on a source to be decided by parliament. In November 1423, the council further recognised Cornwall's efforts and costs over Vendôme's ransom and handed over all interest in his person and ransom to Cornwall, along with licence to grant Vendôme safe conducts to return to France to sort out the financing of his liberation.

Cornwall took immediate advantage of this and Vendôme returned to France in November. It was probably then that Vendôme bought John II from a his Scottish captor. There is no indication that Sibbald had made any headway before then with his captive's ransom, so he might have been quite ready to receive some return for his capture and sell out to Vendôme, though how much Vendôme paid is not known. The purchase greatly enhanced Vendôme's own hopes for release as it meant that an exchange deal could now be set up with John II. It also meant that John was now effectively negotiating with his stepfather Cornwall over his ransom. Yet Cornwall was

2. <u>Ibid.</u>, 122-3; <u>C.P.R. 1422-9</u>, 142. 3. Safe conducts were issued for Vendôme going to France on 28 November 1423 and for coming back to England on 15 July 1424: <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 229, 231; <u>Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda</u>, 184.

^{1.} P.P.C. jij, 108-110, 122.

not likely to let his stepson off lightly as he had already been put to some trouble and expense over Vendôme's ransom. Conversely, John II quite simply could not afford to pay a large ransom. Although an eminent English earl, he was hardly the most attractive investment on the prisoner market; only fully restored shortly before sailing for France in 1417, he had had little chance to establish his authority on his estates, still constricted by his mother's dower. There is no sign he gained financially from any ransoms, though he was involved at the profitable engagements at Agincourt in 1415 and Fresnay in 1420 and had reputedly captured the bastard of Bourbon off Harfleur in June 1417, though such war profits are hard to 1 verify. He had indeed served Henry V loyally and long in his French campaigns, and that had also meant expensively. The crown was in his debt to a considerable extent; it would seem that only if these debts were met could John II afford any sort of ransom.

An accommodation was reached in the February 1424 parliament. There John II detailed his financial claims on the crown as £8,157 14s 11d in war wages, 2,000 marks bequeathed to him in Henry V's will of June 1421, and £1,000 promised prize money for Genoese carracks captured in 1417. In return for John dropping 3,500 marks of these claims, the crown handed over to Cornwall the prisoners the Sire de Gaucourt and the Sire d'Éstouteville as a contribution to the ransom. (Like Cornwall, they had suffered from Henry V's unchivalrous use of prisoners, incurring 3,250 marks of expenses

from the king. 3. <u>R.P.</u> iv, 247; P.R.O., SC8/85/4229. Gaucourt and Estouteville had previously been in the charge of Sir Thomas Burton and Sir John Bolde respectively: <u>P.P.C.</u> iii, 38, 85, 96.

^{1.} He should have gleaned his third share from the ransom of Stephen Saundre, the prisoner of two of his soldiers in 1417: <u>Rotuli Normanniae</u>, 149.

^{2.} P.Strong & F.Strong, 'The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V', <u>E.H.R.</u>, xcvi (1981), 95. No other individual had received as large a cash bequest

in running errands for him in France which ultimately counted nothing 1 towards their ransoms.) The pace of negotiation now accelerated.

John II petitioned the May 1425 parliament for the duke of Exeter to be allowed to treat with the two French lords over their ransoms and for them to be allowed home to sort out raising the cash; the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon and the comte d'Eu were to act as their pledges. All this was allowed and the reimburgment of Cornwall from the Arundel wardship was also reiterated. Agreement was reached for the two Frenchmen to be ransomed together for 5,000 marks. All appeared settled in July 1425 when John II signed a deed on the 6th detailing the breakdown of ransom payments and, at the same time, safe conducts were being issued for Vendôme and others to bring John II back into English territory whilst others were settling the final details. Gaucourt was also allowed back to France, with authority from Estouteville to sell off his 'Hontot' estate to help realise his part of the ransom. Yet negotiations still dragged. John II confirmed the July agreement on 2 August and Denis Rogier, a servant of Vendôme's brother, the duke of Bourbon, travelled to England in the same month to finalise his release. However, John II was still at Loudon in Anjou on 28 October, writing a covering letter for his two ransom deeds. These documents were only produced in London just before Christmas and this was probably about the time when he was finally released, though he does not reemerge in England before the spring of 1426.

^{3.} Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda, 182-7; 48 D.K.R., 238.

| 4 | Idem; Nicolas, Agincourt, appendix, 25-8. |
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| 1 • | ruan, Nicoras, Agricourc, appendix, 25-0. |
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| D . | (alendar of Pleas and Memoranda 182-7, 10 D V D 220 House annaly 1 |
| | Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda, 182-7; 48 D.K.R., 239. He was appointed |
| . . | privy councillor on 20 March 1426: P.R.O., E404/43/164. |
| a | PLIVY COUNCILION ON ZU March 1426; P. R.O. FA04/A3/16A |
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^{1.} The French lords had been taken on the fall of Harfleur in 1415; Gaucourt had then been sent back to France to chase up jewels Henry had lost at Agincourt: Nicolas, Agincourt, appendix, 25-8; Foedera ix, 337. 2. R.P. iv, 283-4.

The July deed detailed the breakdown of the ransom, but laid down no timetable for payment, nor any penalties for default. At that stage, Vendôme owed Cornwall 11,665 marks for his ransom. Out of consideration for his stepson's financial straights, and no doubt also out of family amity, Cornwall agreed to remit 2,665 marks of that. Whether or not John II paid anything to Vendôme above this final figure of 9,000 marks is unknown. The majority of the 9,000 marks was made up of the ransoms of the French lords Gaucourt and Éstouteville, (5,000 marks). A further 1,750 marks came from Arundel's wardship. 1,150 marks was pledged by various colleagues and associates of John II, who himself only directly contributed 500 marks from his estate revenues and 450 marks from his pay as constable of the Tower; 150 marks had no source specified. All this was probably actually paid in full. Gaucourt himself paid up the whole of his and Estouteville's ransom and was still chasing Estouteville's son for repayment some years later. Cornwall received John II's Tower pay in full just three days after the July agreement was signed and he was also being assigned various payments made into the exchequer from the Arundel wardship.

At first glance, John II appears to have been greatly assisted by the

governor of Orleans in 1425: McLeod, <u>Charles of Orleans</u>, 174. 6. P.R.O., E403/671, m.11, (the warrant was issued on 1 June: E404/41/327); E401/712 & 713.

^{1.} Unlike, for instance, Vendôme's ransom agreement of March 1417: Foedera ix, 442-5.

^{2.} Ransoms were theoretically fixed at a year's expected income. John II's importance meant that he was charged with a sum well in excess of this. Vendôme, although unable to raise his ransom of 1417, was not thereby impoverished, offering to let the duke of Orleans raise cash on his estates two years later: Keen, The Laws of War, 158-9; E.McLeod, Charles of Orleans, (1969), 152.

^{3.} The earls of Stafford and Northumberland and Richard Neville, (650 marks); John Hals justice and William Alyngton, (200 marks); William Halle serjeant-at-law, (100 marks); William Yerde, (100 marks); John Mason cleric and Richard Ketford saddler, (100 marks).

^{4.} Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda, 182-7.

^{5.} Nicolas, Agincourt, appendix, 25-8. Gaucourt was back in France as

crown over his ransom, with no great financial contribution being required from himself. Yet that ignores the 1424 accommodation. John II had claimed some 15,376 marks of arrears from the crown; he had accepted two French lords in satisfaction of 3,500 marks of these debts, and then ransomed them for 5,000 marks, so apparently making a profit. Yet that still left outstanding nearly 12,000 marks which he must now have had a diminishing hope of ever seeing. Furthermore, in the parliament of January 1431, he claimed his ransom had cost him 20,000 marks. The variance between this and the sum he agreed to pay in 1425 can be probably made up by unknown payments to his initial Scottish captor and, mostly, the costs of his detention for nearly five years in France and the expenses of communication with England to secure his release. He might also have included in that figure the loss of income he might otherwise have expected to gain from his estates and through royal service. He was not just detailing the actual cost of the purchase of his freedom, but the figure represented the total expense of nearly five years' captivity.

1425 marked a complete break for John II. He now returned to England, probably for the first time in eight years. Over thirty, he was unmarried and had had little experience of administering his estates or acting in government, either at Westminster or in the south west. He was very much a professional soldier, yet his considerable wage arrears and the burden of his ransom meant a period of some financial recuperation was necessary

Jones, The Beauforts: thesis, 20-56. 4. He was only first summoned to parliament in July 1427, aged over 30: Report on the Dignity of a Peer iii, 867.

^{1. &}lt;u>R.P.</u> iv, 247.

^{2.} Ibid., 385.

^{3.} John II was released well before his fellow Baugé captives, the Beaufort brothers; Thomas was only free in 1430, John not until 1438. They had been involved in tortuous negotiations for exchanges with the counts of Eu and Angôulème. John Beaufort claimed his captivity cost him £24,000 in total:

before he could afford to go soldiering again. He also had a dynastic significance as, after the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, he was the closest relative of the infant Henry VI.

The minority council recognised all this and appointed him one of 1their number as a privy councillor in March 1426. This was also a recognition of his now increased landed and financial power. His mother Elizabeth had died on 24 November 1425, writs for inquisitions being issued 2two days later. Her second husband Sir John Cornwall kept her Cornish estates for his life, but John II received livery of the rest on 8 March 31427.

Between July and Michaelmas 1426, John II further greatly improved his landed position by marrying Anne Stafford, then the widow of Edmund ⁴ Mortimer, the last earl of March. Complications had arisen over her late husband's inquisitions, yet she had been allowed to sue for livery of her dower in June 1425 in spite of this, as long as she gained a royal licence ⁵ before remarrying. The council recognised that her remarriage would be an important event, given the likely extent of her dower. In the event, her marriage to John Holland was concluded without a royal licence, so John was fined 1,200 marks in 1427. Curiously, gaining a licence for the marriage was one of the conditions John II had undertaken in a recognisance he entered into for the marriage in July 1426, the recognisance being later cancelled. Anne was still evidently very much a Stafford and her brother

II's cousin, Thomas III.
5. C.P.R. 1422-9, 290; R.P. iv, 285-6.
6. P.P.C. iii, 252-3; C.C.R. 1422-9, 408. Half was to be paid over the next
three years, the rest when Henry VI came of age.

^{1.} P.R.O., E404/43/164.

^{2.} P.R.O., C139/24/32, no.1.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1422-9</u>, 283-5. The estates which Elizabeth had been granted jointly with her first husband, John I, and those she had held as her dower were valued, less than generously, at £187 7s 11 1/2d: P.R.O., C139/24/32. 4. C.C.R. 1422-9, 273-4. Her aunt, Joan Stafford, was the widow of John

Humphrey, earl of Stafford, and her kinsman, John, bishop of Bath and Wells, and a couple of Stafford officials had been keen to secure a favourable agreement for her, exacting a 10,000 mark recognisance from John II. They were to be enfeoffed of all his estates, to regrant to John and his new wife jointly, with John undertaking to secure all the necessary licences and pardons. John could not fund such a recognisance himself and he looked to his military and family friends for support: his sister's son, Sir John Grey, his cousin, Sir John Holland, and John lord Talbot.

The marriage was an additional indirect contribution towards John II's ransom and wage arrears. However, Anne did now have problems securing livery of her dower, some estates only being released to her shortly before 2^{2} her death in 1432. The duke of York was the heir directly affected by Anne's remarriage, though Anne's death, just as he was realising his majority, meant he was not forestalled from acceding to the full extent of 3^{3} his inheritance in 1432. Anne's dower lands extended into seventeen counties of England and much of Wales, as well as Ireland, and so dramatically expanded John II's areas of local influence into the traditional Mortimer strongholds. This was reflected by his appointments to commissions of the peace, not only in his own areas of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, but also in Essex, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire,

control over some estates his grandfather Thomas I had died seised of in 1360; these were the Mortimer share of the Kent inheritance.

^{1.} C.C.R. 1422-9, 273-5; C.Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521, (Cambridge, 1978), 19-20, 208, 224. 2. C.C.R. 1422-9, 415, 436-7; C.C.R. 1429-35, 5-6, 146-7.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1429-36, 242. The duke of York had confirmed her dower in July 1432: C.C.R. 1429-35, 186.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.C.R. 1422-9</u>, 218-9, 222-3, 248-256, 415-6, 436-7; <u>C.F.R. 1430-7</u>, 102; <u>C.I.P.M. (Rec. Comm.)</u> iv, 140-5; P.R.O., C139/59/39; C139/67/51; <u>C.P.R.</u> <u>1422-9</u>, 414 (appointment of attornies for Irish estates). Especially significant to John II's own interests were estates in Somerset and Dorset, as well as a major concentration in Essex. He also now gained temporary

Hertfordshire and Herefordshire from July 1426.

John II now needed to consolidate this dramatic accretion of estates and establish a coherent administration for them. He repossessed his own estates from his attornies, the bishop of Durham, William Halle, John Mason and William Yerde, rewarded some of his old military retainers with estate posts, and established his authority in Devon. Yet these two big influxes of estates from his mother and wife, coming so soon after he had returned home to sort out for the first time the inheritance he had gained in 1417, and also to be followed by two more large additions of dower lands in 1433 and 1442 on his later marriages to widows, meant that the make-up and concentration of his landed holdings was frequently changing. The administration of his estates had to be adapted to accommodate a series of officals of his mother, then Mortimer, then FitzAlan, then Hankford and John. The basis of the purely Holland estates may have been in Devon, but a great proportion of the income was also coming in from now the Welsh Marches and Essex, now Sussex. With the weight of estates shifting so, it is small wonder that he seems to have little favoured his father's Devon retreat, and shown limited interest in local politics in Devon. Much of his time was spent in London, at Pulteney's inn and another inn in Coldharbour Lane. Another residence he showed much affection for was the Tower, of which he had been appointed constable in August 1420, and near which he was buried, with his first and third wives and sister, in the adjacent church

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London property market and acquired houses there from a clothier John Higham: Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda, 196; P.R.O., Cl39/127/25, no.20.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1422-9, 559-569.

^{2.} Such as William Junnyng, veteran of 1415 and 1417, as bailiff of Blagdon and West Lydford manors in Somerset in 1426: P.R.O., E152/544, m.6. John II was taking homage at Dartington in August 1426: D.R.O., 1262 M/T 515. 3. P.Norman, 'Sir John de Pulteney and his Two Residences in London', Archaeologia, lvii (1900), 257-284. He also showed some aggression in the

of St. Katherine.

His preference for living in London allowed him to attend council with 2 some regularity. His was not a strident political voice, but there was more cause for him to favour Gloucester and his uncompromising attitude towards France, than Beaufort in the increasingly polarised council discussions. His elevation to the council marked the beginning of an increase in its lay element, yet on the 163 occasions when he attended up to 1436, his was the lone magnate voice, excluding Bedford and Gloucester and the council barons, on 45 occasions. Otherwise, with such as especially the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, his was part of the moderate eminent magnate influence that provided some foil to the Beaufort/Gloucester clashes. Policy towards France was his main interest and jts active implementation took him away from England too often for him to have any continuous role in council politics.

Council service did have the additional attraction for John of being paid. This was originally fixed at 200 marks a year in 1426, but was apparently cut to £100 in 1437, although his attendance was beginning to fall off then, with Gloucester's influence beginning to decline and that of the household men increasing. He also had a steady income of £100 annually from the exchequer because of his position as constable of the Tower. This was a very important political and military post, especially at times of crisis in London, and John's loyalty and military capabilities were essential qualities in a constable. He had control over a major storehouse

seal records declines as the incidence of councillors' signatures falls off. 3. P.R.O., E404/43/164; R.P. v, 439. 4. 42 D.K.R., 383; P.R.O., E404/37/168. His post was confirmed in January 1427: P.R.O., E28/49, no.2.

^{1. &}lt;u>42 D.K.R.</u>, 383; J.Nichols, <u>History of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate</u> <u>Church of St. Katherine near the Tower of London</u>, (Bibliotheca Topographica Britannia no.V, 1782), appendix, 2. 2. P.R.O., E28/48-58. After 1436 the importance of these council and privy

of royal arms, armour and artillery, as well as government records, and 1 prisoners, both criminal and of war; it was also a major royal mint. Indeed, the Tower's importance was such that, although John had his own 2 lieutenant as constable, Bedford still felt it necessary, in John's absence, to appoint his own custodian of the Tower, Sir Richard Woodville, in February 1425 to maintain his influence in the Beaufort/Gloucester 3 dispute.

Even with council and Tower pay, John II was still evidently financially somewhat embarassed. So in 1428, he was petitioning for an exchequer annuity of £133 6s 8d. With a £10 reduction for Winkleigh manor in Devon which was now restored to him, this was granted. The reasons stated for it were that it was partly as compensation for duchy of Cornwall estates that his father had held which were not restored and partly for his good service in France. Another reason for his financial impecuniosity was delay in his attaining seisin of his wife's dower estates caused partly by their unlicensed marriage and partly by the inadequacy of inquisitions post mortem on the last earl of March. Dower was still only being assigned in October 1429 and royal farmers were still in possession of Welsh estates in March 1430. Even so, soon after his return to England, John II was receiving an income of £366 13s 4d from the exchequer in addition to his

^{3.} R.A.Griffiths, The Reign of King Henry VI, (1981), 72.

| 4. C.P.R. 1422-9, 465; P.R.O., SC8/117/5839, 5841, 5842; E404/45/120. | |
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| 5. C.C.R. 1429-35, 6; P.R.O., E404/46/301; E404/47/180; Catalogue of | |
| | |
| Ancient Deeds ii, 536. Over £348 of income had to be handed over with the | |
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| weisn estates. | |
| Welsh estates. | |

^{1.} There was scope for profit from the custody of important prisoners. He charged £160 for keeping the Comte d'Eu from 5 June 1432 to 25 February 1435: P.R.O., E404/51/272; E28/55, no.35. 150 Frenchmen were dispersed from the Tower to castles in Wales and the north in July 1422: <u>C.P.R. 1416-22</u>, 446.

^{2.} Robert Scot was lieutenant in July 1423; William Yerde had lost the post by October 1423 for allowing prisoners to escape: <u>C.C.R. 1422-9</u>, 73; <u>C.P.R. 1422-9</u>, 186.

own landed revenues.

By February 1430, when he indented for Henry VI's French coronation expedition, it had been over four years since he had last been in France. During that time, he had not been totally estranged from the war effort, mustering part of Bedford's expedition at Sandwich in March 1427 and, as a further indirect contribution towards his ransom, being awarded the French county of Ivry in tail male in July 1427. Yet this was a long lay-off for such a professional soldier and it may well have been boredom and impatience with political procedure and his English responsibilities, as well as his natural high-handedness, that brought on the feud with the duke of Norfolk in Bedfordshire in July 1428 and nearly led to an armed clash in parliament with his brother-in-law, the earl of Stafford in September 1429. So it was under something of a cloud that John II was being sent to France again, there to serve, not with the main English army, but with Henry VI's Burgundian allies.

John II indented to serve with 80 men-at-arms and 240 archers and received his first quarter's wages of £1,131 15s 2 1/2d on sealing the 3 indenture, with the second quarter to come on mustering. Only the marshal, the duke of Norfolk, had a larger retinue in the total force of 4,792. John II now kept a high profile at council in March and April 1430 as 4 preparations and plans for the expedition were being made. Remembering his recent indisciplined past, there were worries over violence between the

Griffiths, <u>Henry VI</u>, 135; Archer, The Mowbrays: thesis, 258-262.
 P.R.O., E404/46/243.
 P.R.O., E28/51.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1422-9</u>, 404; Archives Nationale Collection Dom Lenoir 22, f.65; JJ173, no.752. His personal supervision of his French county was at best limited; postponements of homage being recorded for 1437, 1439 and 1440: Bibliothèque Nationale, PO 1550/35418/2; Archives Nationale Collection Dom Lenoir 4, f.279; Collection Dom Lenoir 26, f.399.

retinues, so, with Norfolk and Warwick, John II had to guarantee his troops' discipline and agree to refer any disputes to the proper 1 authorities.

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John II landed with Henry VI at Calais, but he was soon detached from the main army to assist the Burgundians at the siege of Compiègne in May 1430. He was subordinate to the Burgundian commanders, Duke Philip and then Jean de Luxemburg, whom John had antagonised at Roye ten years before. The English allowed the Burgundians to sustain the siege, and capture Joan of Arc, whilst John II engaged on forays south to Verberie and north west, with Duke Philip and the duke of Norfolk, to capture Gournay-sur-Aronde. The Compiègne siege was eventually abandoned early in November 1430. The official reason given by Duke Philip in his complaint to Henry VI was that the Burgundian and English troops had deserted because of lack of pay, with the Burgundian chroniclers careful to attribute the initiation of this to the English forces. Poor pay may have lowered the besiegers' morale, but it was Marshal Boussac's outflanking of the besiegers, getting a relief force into Compiègne and then sallying out to destroy three of the four Burgundian bastides, which had really broken the siege.

From Compiègne, John II withdrew to Gournay-en-Bray, of which, with 4 Neufchâtel, he was captain by early 1431. Although no official appointment survives, John is referred to as lieutenant of the Marches in 1430 and this

4. Curry, Lancastrian Normandy: thesis, vol. jj, lxxxvi, cviv; B.L., Add. Ch. 3677 (messenger paid on 9 January 1431 for taking letters to him at Gournay).

^{1. &}lt;u>R.P.</u> v, 415.

^{2.} Chroniques . . . par Waurin 1422-31, ed. W.Hardy, (R.S., 1879), 360.
3. Procès de Condemnation et de Rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc v, ed.
J.Quicherat, (S.H.F., 1849), 175-7; Jean le Fèvre ii, 181-7; Monstrelet iv, 396-421; Chastellain ii, 64-123; Waurin 1422-1431, 361-393; P.Champion, Guillaume de Flavy, Capitaine de Complègne, (Paris, 1906, reprinted Geneva, 1975), 42-59; Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France ii part 1, ed. J.Stevenson, (R.S., 1861-4), 156-160, 167-9.

would certainly be commensurate with his considerable activity on the 1 borders of north east Normandy and Picardy. From there, he hurried to 2 relieve the Burgundians besieged in Clermont by Boussac's forces. This spirit of cooperation with the Burgundians continued as Duke Philip requested John's assistance when he was in some trouble at Garmigny. John had now however withdrawn to Rouen and Bedford was not keen for him to become permanently attached to the Burgundians, so Thomas Beaufort and 3 Louis Robessart were sent instead. John II remained with Bedford, travelling with him to Paris in the early days of 1431, when his responsibilities in the defence of Rouen's north eastern approaches were increased with the captaincy of Gisors.

John II's retinue in the field was now down to some 50 men-at-arms and 4 150 archers. He also had, in late December 1430, some 24 men-at-arms mustering in his Neufchâtel garrison, together with 70 archers. A muster roll also survives for Neufchâtel for 31 March 1431 when the men-at-arms in the garrison numbered 33; an additional 16 men-at-arms, with 55 archers, mustered as the <u>creu</u>, ready for field service. The garrison included seven Frenchmen; John had recruited locals to his retinue once in France, and had also probably inherited members of the garrison of the previous captain, professional soldiers who would virtually have made their homes in the 6 town. Yet the continuous military service in France embodied in such

5. Archives Nationales K63/10/18. A receipt on 27 February 1431 for £575 4s 2d for this muster, with eight men-at-arms on foot and only 60 archers: Bibliothèque Nationale, PO 1529/34859/3. 6. Archives Nationales K63/10/36.

^{1.} Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI Concernant la Normandie sous la Domination Anglaise 1422-1435 ii, ed. P.Le Cacheux, (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, 1908), 297.

^{2.} Monstrelet jv, 420-1.

^{3.} Chastellain ii, 131-3; Archives Nationales, Collection Lenoir 22, ff.155 & 211, (John II at the royal council in Rouen on 29 November and 3 December).

^{4.} B.L., Add. Ch. 3681; Stevenson's Letters and Papers ii part 2, 425-6.

appointments to captaincies and area commands, was evidently not appealing to John, possibly for financial reasons, as he was back in England again in 1 November 1431.

Back in England, John II resumed his council attendance. There were still problems over his wife's dower with seisin of further estates only being delivered in February 1432. John's now considerable prestige, experience and seniority brought him continued frequent appointments to 3 commissions of the peace, proposed attendance at the council of Basle in 4 July 1432, (although it is doubtful if this was realised), and appointment as Marshal in November 1432 during John Mowbray's minority. These appointments all reflect creditably on John II's loyal service in France. His royal blood undoubtedly helped and the minority council was seeking to utilise the prestige and respect that it commanded, as well as rewarding John for his service, by assigning him these posts.

John's wife Anne died in September 1432, only just after he had 6 secured his full entitlement from her dower. His only son and heir, Henry, had been born two years before, but John now moved quickly to secure another well dowered widow. With compensation for his French service again being cited as a reason, he was allowed to marry Beatrice of Portugal, the widowed countess of Arundel, in January 1433 for a 500 marks fine, to be 7paid in three instalments. Beatrice's first husband, Thomas FitzAlan, earl

5. <u>C.P.R. 1429-36</u>, 242. 6. P.R.O., C139/59/39. 7. <u>C.P.R. 1429-36</u>, 250; P.R.O., E28/53, no.22.

^{1.} P.R.O., E28/53, no.11. He would never again hold any local command in Normandy. A protection for him in the royal retinue issued on 31 May is in <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 282.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.C.R.</u> 1429-35, 146-7.

^{3. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1429-36</u>, 613-626.

^{4.} An order of 19 July 1432 to pay him 5 marks a day for attending is the last that is heard of the project: Foedera x, 519; P.P.C. iv, 123.

of Arundel, had died in 1415. Thereafter Beatrice, an illegitimate daughter of the king of Portugal, had had something of a battle to secure her 1 dower, mixed up with the dispute over her husband's extensive estates between his heirs general, his sisters Elizabeth, Joan and Margaret, and his heir male, his cousin John. Beatrice's eighteen years without remarrying may not have been entirely by choice, but the positive influence of the council and a desire to compensate John II for the loss of his ² Mortimer lands to the duke of York should be seen behind the disposal of this no longer young widow. It was certainly an advantageous match for John, Beatrice bringing dower lands in nine English counties and in Wales, concentrated in Sussex and on the Welsh marches and featuring the castles of Arundel, Reigate, Lewes, Castle Acre, Oswestry and Holt.

John II now attended council assiduously during the first months of 1433. The French situation was presumably under much discussion, for he was commissioned to lead a force to France on 18 February. He was to take 300 men-at-arms and 900 archers, of which Sir John Neville, probably the second son of his old comrade of Henry V's campaigns, indented to provide 60 menat-arms and 180 archers. His force, mustering at Winchelsea in late April, achieved its specific objective of bolstering the south west borders of 6 Normandy and so provided a check on the deteriorating military situation. Yet, symptomatic of the deteriorating financial position of Lancastrian France, it was not extensively employed elsewhere as its second quarter's

counties. 4. P.R.O., E28/53; E28/54, no.28. 5. P.R.O., E404/49/15. 6. <u>C.C.R. 1429-35</u>, 243; <u>Stevenson's Letters and Papers</u> ii part 1, 256-8.

^{1. &}lt;u>G.E.C.</u> j, 246; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1419-22, 172-3, an order to the Wiltshire escheator to assign her dower in July 1421.

^{2.} In July 1432, the duke of York had emphasised his right to Anne's dower Mortimer lands, confirming her rights in them for life: <u>C.C.R. 1429-35</u>, 186.

^{3.} C.I.P.M. (Rec. Comm.) jv, 197-9. The dower included 105 fees in four

wages were not paid, though John II was not definitely back in England 1 until late November.

His next return to France was in diplomatic guise, accompanying Cardinal Beaufort to the Arras congress in August 1435. John II added prestige and royal blood to the embassy, and also provided, from Gloucester's viewpoint, some counter to Beaufort's influence and views; he had also previously had a fair amount of contact with the Burgundians, especially on the 1430 expedition. Yet his was not a vital role in the eventually unsuccessful negotiations.

As he left for Arras, John II was indenting to serve, with the earl of 3Northumberland, as warden of the marches towards Scotland, in July 1435. John had no prior connection with the north and his appointment attempted to establish some sort of government influence in an area which was rapidly becoming the preserve of the Nevilles and Percies alone. As explained above, he was in France in August 1435, and was attending council at Westminster in November and infrequently during the early months of 1436, so it is unlikely that he served on the border in person; he seems to have left his more locally familiar colleagues to undertake the 4responsibilities.

John II's military experience was further utilised in his appointment as admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine on 2 October 1435, though only 5during pleasure. It was a post his father had held and was commensurate

iv, 305-6.
3. P.R.O., E404/51/350; Rotuli Scotiae ii, 291.
4. P.R.O., E28/56, no.6.
5. C.P.R. 1429-36, 488.

H.L.Ratcliffe, 'The Military Expenditure of the English Crown 1422-1435', (Oxford Univ. M.Litt. thesis 1979), 84-8; <u>Chronicles of London</u>, ed. Kingsford, 136; <u>R.P.</u> v, 435.
 P.R.O., E404/51/341; J.G.Dickinson, <u>The Congress of Arras 1435</u>, (Oxford, 1955), 20-52; Foedera x, 619; P.R.O., E28/55, no.19; 48 D.K.R., 305; P.P.C.

with his distinguished naval service and his shipping interests. During his tenure, he was little called upon to carry out any military duties, nor is there much indication he made any initiatives to halt the spread of piracy and offset the demise of the royal navy. Yet the enforcement of the admiralty's jurisdiction was a more active aspect of his tenure of the spost. His administration was not marked by the contentiousness of his father's time of around 1390, yet signs survive that his officials were not everywhere popular.

Under the court of his deputy in London, the country was divided into areas, (such as the dioceses of York and Lincoln, and East Anglia), under a lieutenant or deputy or commissary. Other officials, marshals, submarshals, messengers, abounded and courts were held all over the areas, (in $\frac{5}{100}$ East Anglia at Lowestoft, Cromer, Yarmouth and Bishop's Lynn). Cases covered all aspects of maritime activity and appeals could be made from

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found in a salt water river, ballast jettisoning in port, pressganging a boy, unlicensed seizure of an abandoned ship and murder at sea: <u>jbjd.</u>, 255, 272-3.

^{1.} Two balingers of his were rumoured to be off Queenborough in 1437, enforcing his jurisdiction: <u>C.P.R. 1436-41</u>, 310. His 200 ton ship the Antony was used to transport William Basset to Bordeaux in 1441: P.R.O., E28/69, no.71; <u>P.P.C.</u> v, 169. His 'La Barge Seint John' was interred in Hull: P.R.O., Cl/68/40. The distinction between commerce and piracy was often blurred; failure in the former could be offset by some dabbling in the latter, and John II was not averse to this: P.R.O., E28/62, no.100. 2. After a probable naval expedition of 1436, the government's attempt at licensed naval patrols thereafter degenerated into privateering; John II probably had the shipping but not the funds to contribute much to safeguarding the Channel: P.R.O., E403/724; C.F.Richmond, 'Royal Administration and the Keeping of the Seas 1422-1485', (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1962), 26-253. Richmond dwells not at all on admiralty jurisdiction.

^{3.} No indication can be found of his responsibilities towards Ireland and Aquitaine in this respect.

^{4.} Successively John Tylney, Richard Mannyng, John Hopwode and Hugh Payne. 5. C.P.R. 1441-6, 94; The Black Book of the Admiralty j, ed. T.Twiss,

⁽R.S., 1871), 246-275. The last is a compendium of documents from the last three years of his administration relating to East Anglia.

^{6.} Cases recorded in the Black Book include the unlicensed burial of a body

the local to the London court, and then to a royal commission, and even a further commission. Appeals were not just made over the rights and wrongs of the cases, but also over the illicit extension of admiralty jurisdiction and the actual procedure of the court. Some found John II's officials increasingly irksome and exemption from admiralty jurisdiction was a boon which would be conferred in 1446 on first the city and county of Bristol and then the bishop of Chichester's estates. Profit was to be had from the courts' proceeds and the admiral's right to a share of the spoils of the sea, though this last was difficult to enforce. The admiralty was not a sinecure, yet it was not a post that commanded anything like John II's unwavering attention.

John II's links with Gloucester continued when, with his brother-inlaw Grey and John Gaergrave, he acted as surety for Gloucester and his wife for the payment of bonds in November 1435. In 1436, on 18 June, orders were issued for the assembling of shipping to take his retinue to France again, now in Gloucester's service, to relieve Calais from the Burgundian siege. Again, he appeared in council a lot in July to finalise the plans before sailing to Calais in August. The Burgundians raised the siege and the force indulged in a brief <u>chevauchée</u> into Flanders: John II burnt Poperyng and Belle, before returning to England, and being back in council at Westminster on 21 October.

The Burgundian threat had however only been repulsed, not destroyed.

4. <u>Calendar of Letter Books</u> Letter Book K, 205; <u>Foedera</u> x, 646; P.R.O., E28/57, no.83.

5. John Benet's Chronicle, ed. G.L.Harris & M.A.Harris, (Camden Society, Fourth Series, ix, 1972), 185; P.R.O., E28/58, no.74.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1441-6, 439, 456.

^{2.} The Black Book contains a release of his right to flotsam as well as a receipt for an anchor and cable: Black Book i, 266, 271-2. The dean and chapter of Exeter disputed his right to wreck of the sea on the Devon coast: Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 934 & 2330. 3. P.R.O., E28/55, no.34.

Early in 1438, it reappeared to threaten the Calais march again, this time the castle of Guines being besieged. John II, with the young duke of Norfolk, was commissioned to relieve the castle and his force was to muster in Sandwich with the treasurer of Calais being ordered to supply provisions for the relief troops on 28 March. No further details of this quick reaction force remain, but the Burgundian siege was not successful.

So far, since his release, John II's involvent in the war in France had been on a strictly short term basis with specific objectives. His experience under Henry V had been gained as a field commander and he was not so conditioned to the more defensive, static warfare necessary to maintain the original conquests. His ransom also perhaps put him off from the financial risks of long term service in France. Yet he continued to serve in France when called upon and never really lost interest in the French war.

In the later 1430s though, there was a change in the command structure in Lancastrian Normandy. On Bedford's death in 1435, there had been an attempt to maintain a top magnate as the head of the regime in France, but York had been too young and Warwick too old and their stays in France had been separated by long gaps. So the personal authority that the regent had enjoyed had been allowed to dissipate. In 1439-40, this was to be rectified, and in Gascony as well as Normandy. John II was appointed Lieutenant in the former for six years and York lieutenant in the latter for five. A single authority was to be given chance to assert and establish itself and build up a strong and effective administration and defence over a number of years. There was also to be a change in the

1. <u>C.P.R. 1436-41</u>, 149; <u>Foedera x</u>, 686-7; <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 321. 2. <u>A.Marshall</u>, 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436-61', (Univ. of Wales, Univ. College Swansea M.A. thesis 1974), 1-23.

English administration in France in that it was to become more English with both John and York increasingly excluding Frenchmen from their grants. This allowed York to build up a body of household men who would later play vital parts in assisting his political plans in England. John II was not allowed the time to establish such connections, nor did he have later either the political inclinations, or the youth, to use men so connected by Gascon service.

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John II received his commission for Gascony in late March 1439. Its details and his preparations have been well analysed by Dr. Vale, but his retinue, mustering on 29 June, deserves further comment. Although John took no noble captains with him, several of his retinue leaders were noble cadets. Robert and Richard de Vere were younger brothers of the earl of Oxford and Robert especially was a professional soldier who was to serve for the rest of the English presence in Normandy. Edmund and Thomas Grey were John II's nephews by his sister Constance. Edmund was to inherit his grandfather's title as Lord Grey of Ruthyn in 1440. Thomas was granted a 40 marks annuity from John II's manor of Stevington in February 1434 and he would be accorded the title Lord Richemont-Grey in 1450. Sir John Holland may have been a relative from the cadet branch of the senior Holland line that settled in Northamptonshire in the mid-fourteenth century. Equally, he may have come from one of the at least four other Holland families in Devon, (there were another three Hollands serving in John II's own retinue alone). Thomas Rempston, Robert Clyfton and Philip Chetwynd were all professional soldiers who stayed out in Gascony after John II returned home. Louis Despoy was a native Gascon who was now returning to Gascony in

P.R.O., C61/129.
 Vale, English Gascony, 108-117.
 P.R.O., E101/53/22.

the hope of regaining the lordship of Doazit.

On 20 May, before he left, John II enfeoffed estates to provide for 1 his son should he not return. John had only indented for 300 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers, but again the muster roll totals exceed those quotas. The overall ratio of men-at-arms to archers was something under one to seven. Within the individual retinues it varied from one to three to nearly one to nine. These variations from what had been a standard one to three ware probably brought on by several factors: archers were cheaper, there was a change in tactics whereby archers were more useful in defending fortresses and there may well have been by this time a shortage of men-atarms willing to serve in France.

This force was the largest specific effort mounted by the Lancastrian regime for the defence of Gascony. It was not only a response to the increasing French threat and the complement to York's establishment in Normandy, it was also an effort to retrieve the allegiance of several Gascon nobles, such as Albret and Foix, who were drifting towards the French. Sending such an experienced and prestigious military commander and such a close royal relative as John II was an attempt to establish the ³ personal authority lacking there since the last years of Henry V.

John II's arrival and his initial successes against La Roquette and Bazas stirred the French to action. Albret and Foix were amongst those 4 appointed captains-general against the English in October 1439. Albret was to be besieged by John in Tartas in July 1440 but the English still had

3. Vale, <u>English Gascony</u>, 81-108. 4. G.du Fresne de Beaucourt, <u>Histoire de Charles VII iii</u>, (Paris, 1887), 19-20.

^{1.} P.R.O., C139/127/25.

^{2.} P.R.O., E101/53/22; Allmand, <u>Lancastrian Normandy</u>, 199-200. By 1442, the general ratio was down to one to ten.

hopes of cultivating Foix and several grants were made to him in an effort 1to induce him to affirm his English allegiance. John established himself at first at Bordeaux, but in mid-December he moved to Lesparre in the Médoc before returning to Bordeaux in late January 1440. Thus the grant to him of Lesparre, with Peunce, in February was something of a recognition of his already <u>de facto</u> possession of the place. He was back in the Médoc in May 1440, at Fronsac, then Lesparre in June and July. In August, he moved to the southern Landes to besiege Tartas and advance English control off the littoral plain. This was only partially successful as the town agreed to surrender depending on the outcome of a journée to be held in June 1442. The fate of the town itself was not so important as the fate of its lord, Albret; the recovery of him for the English cause would be a major blow to Charles VII's defences in the south west. So it was Charles who made the greater effort and appeared at the journée and so deprived the English of a big opportunity to advance.

The agreement at Tartas effectively ended John II's involvment in 4Gascony as he was home attending a council at Westminster on 7 November. 5Financial reasons have been cited for his early return, but not all of his retinue returned with him: Rempston, Clyfton and Chetwynd stayed on to be seneschal of Gascony, constable of Bordeaux and mayor of Bayonne 6respectively. John II had lost his second wife Beatrice in Gascony and he may have been concerned to clarify the position on his estates. He did not lose all authority over Gascony on his return as he was still making grants

- 2. P.R.O., E28/63, no.23; C61/129, m.9.
- 3. M.G.A.Vale, Charles VII, (1974), 85-6.
- 4. P.R.O., E28/65, no.20.

5. Vale, English Gascony, 116. 6. Griffiths, <u>Henry VI</u>, 464-5.

^{1.} P.R.O., C61/129 & 130.

in Gascony from London in July 1441. Whatever the precise reasons for his return home, there was not a great deal he could do to repulse the advance of a resurgent French crown. The Gascon nobility were losing their English inclinations and because of this and also encouraging this, the Gascon administration was being increasingly anglicised. This had been started by Gloucester before John II arrived and was to be increased after he had left $\frac{2}{2}$

John II is not known to have gone back to France after his return from Gascony, but there is an intriguing postscript to his French career concerning Calais. His brother-in-law, Humphrey earl of Stafford, is always cited as holding the post of captain of Calais from 1442 to 1450. Yet an indenture survives for John II of 8 February 1443 for him to serve as captain for fifteen years with 230 men-at-arms and 230 archers. The Calais garrison was in a mutinous state, their wages being much in arrears, and John's experience and prestige may have been deemed necessary to calm the situation. He evidently did not take up the post though, probably being put off by its financial unattractiveness.

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P.R.O., C61/130, m.8.
 Vale, English Gascony, 99-119.
 Rawcliffe, The Staffords, 24.
 P.R.O., E101/71/4/915.

Part 3 The Respected Magnate 1440-1447

Back in England, John II's performance in Gascony was not held against him. The now mature Henry VI, conscious of his lack of immediate family, and keen to reward John for his French efforts, restored the dukedom of 1 Exeter to him on 6 January 1444. The title brought a £40 annuity from Devon and recognised John's landed power there, as well as being part of a wider effort by the king to affirm the allegiance to the crown of various members of the royal kin, including John's close associate Humphrey Stafford.

John II had by now married his third wife, Anne Montague, another wealthy widow of prestigious stock, in late 1442. She was the eldest sister of the last Montague earl of Salisbury (died 1428) and had already been married twice. Her first husband, Sir Richard Hankford, had died in February 1431, leaving her with a sizeable dowry in Somerset and especially 2 Devon. Her second husband was Sir Lewis John who died in October 1442, 3 having built up extensive interests in Essex. Anne's father had died in the abortive rebellion of January 1400, so she was at least into her mid forties when she married John II. For the third time, he had made a match of great advantage to himself. Anne may not have been quite so well dowered as his previous two wives, but the estates she did hold in Devon and Somerset were a more valuable adjunct to John's holdings there.

Yet he had not maintained a high profile in the south west, preferring largely to distance himself from the local political disputes of the Courtenays and Bonvilles. His influence was but an intermittent factor, looked to on occasion, by the bishop of Exeter, and reflected by the

<u>C.Ch.R. 1427-1516</u>, 39; P.R.O., E152/544, m.1.
 His inquisition post mortem is in D.R.O., 47/5; several of Anne's dower lands were held of John II.
 His career is analysed in Carr, 'Sir Lewis John', 260-270.

attraction of such a local notable as Nicholas Radford to his service as 1 steward of his Devon estates in October 1435. His landed power was not overwhelming, his granting of annuities was never overtly political, and his long absences in France and London meant his presence was too 2 infrequent for his influence to be dominant.

Overall, he was concerned about his inheritance, and a desire to safeguard and expand it is evident in many of his activities. His marriages highlight his voracity for lands, encouraged by the desire of the council, and the fledgling king, to compensate him for his French costs and expand the standing of one so close to the crown. His own landed holding was not sufficiently substantial and he must have relied heavily on his wives for financial support. Estimates of his landed income can be no more than guesses in the absence of estate accounts or valors. On the eve of his first marriage he agreed to enfeciff what then probably amounted to all his inheritance to members of his bride's family and their associates, for them to enfeciff himself and his new wife jointly, the enfecifments to be carried out within a year of the wedding. The joint seisin of John and Anne was established in some seventeen manors, a couple of hundreds and a manorial a rent. Based on inquisitions post mortem of over twenty years later and odd leases, these estates were worth just £381 16s 2d a year. Such

hundreds were in Somerset: C.C.R. 1422-9, 273-4. 4. P.R.O., C139/127/25; E149/184/5; E152/544; <u>37 D.K.R.</u>, 379, 566, (Hope lordship leased in 1413 at £40 6s 8d per annum and Northwich in 1415 at £48). No figures have been found for Manorbier.

^{1.} In 1436, seven annuities were charged on his Devon estates and four on those in Somerset: P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30; E152/544, m.1; Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 3498/18.

^{2.} John II is not a central figure in Dr. Cherry's survey of Devon's political community; as an absent magnate, he but flits in and out of the Courtenay/Bonville conflict: Cherry, The Crown in Devonshire: thesis, 218-273.

^{3.} The main block was in Devon; single manors were also in Pembrokeshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Cheshire, Flintshire, and Bedfordshire and the

inquisitions are generally acknowledged to undervalue considerably, yet the contribution to John II's ransom from his estates' revenues in the previous year was only 500 marks. This figure approximates to the valuation, and 1 ransoms were reputed to be set at a year's theoretical income. This evidence is admittedly by no means conclusive, yet it does show that John II did not have the massive landed wealth perhaps expected of a magnate of his pedigree and repute.

Some further tentative support is provided for this summise by the income tax returns of 1436. Again, these are questionable forms of evidence, yet the cited taxable income of John II of £1,002 deserves consideration. It purports to be the income of John and his then wife Beatrice, countess of Arundel. Beatrice's share of this figure from her Arundel dower estates is not detailed, yet it cannot have been small and 2 may even have been the major part. Again, the figure is probably an undervaluation, yet it is significant in relation to the incomes cited of the other major magnates: only John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, was receiving less from his estates, yet his income from other sources, the accument to these low figures, John was allowed to take up to £6,000 worth of goods to Arras in 1435 and his executors were able to satisfy his acceditors with £2,131 18s 11d worth of gold and silver alone in 1450.

John II was not demonstrably active in the property market, augmenting his inheritance little by purchase and accumulating few estates by royal

- 3. P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30; H.L.Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', E.H.R., xlix (1934), 614-5. John II's stepfather John Cornwall was valued at £800.
- 4. Foedera x, 619; P.R.O., E28/55, no.19; W.A.M., 6643.

^{1.} Warra, Prisoners of War: thesis, 206.

^{2.} Yet of 26 annuitiants listed, only eight were charged on FitzAlan estates.

grant. Yet he did profit from the continual demise of his relatives. Like his cousin the king, John II accumulated lands from them, whilst producing few offspring of his own to provide for. His brother Edward had died in 1418, his mother Elizabeth in 1425, and now his sister Constance, Countess Marshal, died in November 1437, 32 years after her husband had been executed by Henry IV. Her death returned to John II her dowry manors of Langton (Yorkshire), Long Marton (Westmorland), Gaddesden (Hertfordshire), and Haselbury (Somerset). Nothing more is heard of the first two in Holland seisin and John may well have hurriedly passed on these distant outposts to 'reward' some deserving retainer; the more useful Gaddesden and Haselbury were held on to.

John II's stepfather Sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, died in 1443. This released various duchy of Cornwall estates which the crown was happy to allow to remain alienated. Berkhamsted castle went to John II for a 40 marks rent in December 1443 and the Cornish castle of Trematon with Calstock and Saltash manors were granted to him in June 1444, though John had already appointed his own constable to Trematon in January. However, the Cornish grant did entail the surrender of his £123 6s 8d exchequer 2 annuity.

If not an ambitious landowner, John II was certainly a prudent one. His own troubled accession to his inheritance had set him against the acquisitive intrusion into local society practised by his father. John II was keen to avert the struggles his mother had endured to restore and defend the often legally dubious and entangled landed claims of his father and he was careful to consolidate his family's tenure of its estates.

1. <u>C.I.P.M.</u> (Rec.Comm.) jv, 185-6; <u>C.F.R.</u> 1437-45, 28-30. 2. P.R.O., C139/127/25, no.16; E149/184/5, m.3; E152/544, m.4; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1441-6, 267.

On his first marriage in 1426, he enfeoffed half his estates to his wife and himself and their heirs and the rest to himself and his wife for her life, and then to his heirs male to allow his son an inheritance on Anne's death as, should that situation arise, John II then presumably expected the courtesy of England to allow him to keep his wife's dower estates for life. With the actual birth of his son Henry in 1430, this latter eventuality became more of a possibility. Yet the duke of York was evidently not prepared to be frustrated thus of his full inheritance when Anne was to die. A new arrangement was necessary. In two separate deeds in July and November 1430, the first half of the original enfeoffment was preserved; the second was now altered to be to John and Anne with reversion to John's heirs, then his parents' heirs, then the king's heirs. No fine was made for the award as John II claimed he was still impoverished from his ransom and other war costs. Both arrangements had been very much family affairs, John leaning heavily on his wife's family for the feoffees.

Preparing to embark for Gascony, John II made arrangements in May 1439 for his estates should he not return. The scattered Holland manors of Stevington (Bedfordshire), Gaddesden (Hertfordshire), Barford St. Martin (Wiltshire), Manorbier and Penally (Pembrokeshire), with his two London inns and his wife's manor of Littelworth in Sussex were put in the trust of seven, headed by his magnate associates, the moderate earls of Stafford and Northumberland. His son only regained seisin of these estates in 1459, when

3. Principally Anne's brother Humphrey earl of Stafford and her kinsman John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wells.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.C.R.</u> 1422-9, 273-4.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1429-36, 4, 114-5; R.P. jv, 384-5; P.R.O., SC8/25/1244. He was actually charged 40 marks for the smaller enfeoffment in July.

just two of the feofees were still alive. John II took his wife Beatrice to Gascony in 1439 and she died there before the year was out. Their marriage had produced no children, so Beatrice's estates were restored to the main FitzAlan line, 24 years after her first husband's death. Yet this restoration was not without its complications and Holland officials were still administering certain of her dower lands for the king into 1443.

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As John II approached his final days, he made a series of further enfeoffments which served to put much of the Holland inheritance beyond the reach of the royal escheator. The two north Devon manors of Barnstaple and Winkleigh were entrusted to his erstwhile colleagues the duke of Buckingham and the bishop of Bath and Wells and six others in February 1447. Four more north Devon manors, including the valuable Fremington, along with odd manors in Somerset, Bedfordshire, Cheshire and Flintshire, also went to seven feoffees, headed by the two archbishops and including Peter Paule, in February. These feoffees were but intermediaries, passing on at least Torrington, Fremington and Haselbury to a further group of eleven on 1 March. This group was something of an all party committee being headed by the major royal household men, Lyhert, bishop of Norwich, and Pole, marquis of Suffolk, supported by the important government officials John Prysot and Peter Ardern. Also included were the duke of York's men, William Oldhall, Andrew Ogard and Edmund Mulso, and John II's own connections, John Holland, Richard Caudray, William Burley and Thomas Bodulgate. The plan to pass on all the manors in this second enfeoffment was not fulfilled. In November

also been feoffees in May 1439; they administered estates in Wiltshire, Shropshire and the Welsh marches.

3. P.R.O., E149/184/5, m.2; E152/544, mm.1 & 5. 4. P.R.O., E149/184/5, mm.2 & 5; E152/544, m.1.

P.R.O., DL41/2/8, mm.1 & 2; C139/127/25, nos.14, 16, 18, 20. The other five feoffees were Holland officials, principally Richard Caudray and Peter Paule.
 P.R.O., E364/76/2; E364/77/17. Four of the five Holland officials had

1447, the archbishop of Canterbury, one of the seven feoffees of February, and the duke of Buckingham, the supervisor of John II's will, appointed John Troutebek as supervisor of the Cheshire/north Wales group of lands. The manor of Ardington may also have been omitted from the second enfeoffment since it was at some stage leased by John II to John Chancy. It was only to Torrington, Fremington, and Haselbury that Holland seisin was restored in May 1459 by the six surviving feoffees: Lyhert, Scales, Oldhall, Prysot, Ardern and Bodulgate.

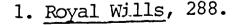
The extent of these enfeoffments, taking over half (15) of the 29 manors his son was due to inherit out of Holland hands shortly before he died requires some further explanation. That it was done with royal connivance, and allowed as a mark of royal favour, is highly probable. This view is strengthened by the absence from the enfeoffments of any of the manors that the abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower laid claim to. The keeping of these eight south western manors was duly granted to the abbey, for Henry Holland's minority, in October 1447. If John II had been worried about the strength of the Holland hold on these estates once he was gone, (the abbey had already shown the persistence of their claim during his own minority), then granting them to multiple owners, enfeoffment, might have helped lessen the threat. As it was, leaving these manors untrammelled by feoffees, and so available to royal patronage, may have been Henry VI's price for John II's lavish enfeoffments.

- 1. B.L., Add. Ch. 72497.
- 2. B.L., Royal 17 B xlviji, ff.68-9.
- 3. C.P.R. 1452-61, 513.
- 4. C.P.R. 1446-52, 109.
- 5. P.R.O., C1/9/357-361.

6. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, had employed somewhat similar tactics in Edward II's time, handing on estates where his legal claim was less than watertight to his close associate Robert I: Maddicott, 'Lancaster and Holland', 449-472.

These enfeoffments show up John II as shrewder than he has generally been given credit for. A clause in his 1447 will provides the clue, where he instructs the feoffees of 1439 to sell up if Henry Holland contravenes any part of the will. John II was already well aware of the tempestuous nature of his heir. The feoffees did not sell up, but they only delivered up the estates to Henry Holland in 1459, when Fremington, Torrington and Haselbury were also belatedly delivered to him. Henry Holland's hot-headed behaviour, of which more presently, had discouraged his father's feoffees from restoring to him more landed power to fuel his ambitions.

John II had made some less restrictive provision for his son by securing a potentially highly beneficial marriage for him. That John managed to persuade the wealthiest magnate in the kingdom, the duke of York, to give his daughter Anne and 4,500 marks in marriage is indicative of just how highly respected John II was. York may not have been unaware of the dynastic implications as, after Gloucester, John II was Henry VI's nearest male relative. The agreement of 10 August 1445 between John ${\rm I\!I}$ and York's representatives, Lords Scales and Cronwell, John Fastolf and Andrew Ogard, fixed the marriage date to be in six months, once dispensation had been received. John II was to enfeoff 400 marks worth of lands to go to Henry when he was 16, with Anne. Provisions were made should either partner die early, or should Anne back out before she was 14. Of the 4,500 marks, York was to pay 1,500 marks on the wedding day and 1,000 marks annually thereafter. As to the wedding itself, John would fund Henry's clothing, but York had to pay for all the rest. John was to maintain the couple until Henry's twentieth birthday, with wardship rights over the



estates he would have enfeoffed for their maintenance.

The marriage took place in the bishop of Ely's chapel at Hatfield on 30 January 1446. Richard Caudray officiated at the service when the couple pledged themselves to each other in English: 'Here I take you for my weddyd husbond and alle other forsake and conly you take terme of my lyfe' (<u>sic</u>). At the reading of the bans, Thomas Mannyng had objected on grounds of consanguinity, which John de Obizis quashed by reading out the papal bull $\frac{2}{2}$

By 1441, John II had also made provision for his only other child, his daughter Anne, by his first wife Anne Mortimer. She was married off to John Neville, only son and heir of the earl of Westmorland. The marriage was probably born of John II's comradeship with John Neville's grandfather in France under Henry V. It also allowed the distant earl of Westmorland to maintain some influence at court; John II was instrumental in gaining official clearance for the necessary enfeoffments, and providing most of 3the officials to execute them.

John II also begot various bastard sons: Thomas, who only features in his will, Robert and William. William was to be the most significant, being active in the Lancastrian cause and dying for it at Towton.

In these last years, after his return from Gascony, John II was thus making careful provision for the future of his offspring. His own future, with his elevation to the dukedom of Exeter, was firmly at court. His influence, as always, was not strident, but it was now more consistent, not being interrupted by expeditions to France. His presence in the council and as a charter witness was intermittent but, allowing for the erratic

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1. P.R.O., DL41/2/8, m.3, printed in J.T.Rosenthal, <u>Nobles and the Noble Life</u> <u>1295-1500</u>, (1976), 171-3.

Bod. Lib., Rawlinson A 146, ff.37v, 68, 68v, 69v.
 C.C.R. 1435-41, 478, 481; P.P.C. v, 179-180.

evidence, the gaps were not lengthy. His status as constable of the Tower, admural, royal cousin and veteran of the French war from its inception by Henry V brought him influence, made his favour worth cultivating, and allowed him a share of the royal largesse. To augment his admiralty authority and give him more control over a port which he used much for his wine trade with Gascony, he succeeded Sir John Popham as constable of Southampton in November 1441. Despite his third marriage to a wealthy widow, the loss of the Arundel dower still left him short of funds, so he was allowed to keep a 500 mark annuity charged on the customs of London, Southampton, Bristol and Hull in July 1441. Particularly with Gloucester increasingly eclipsed, there are signs of contact with the duke of York; the only association with the Beauforts is a dispute over East Cranmer manor in Somerset with the first duke of Somerset. The best guide to John II's stance in these years is his appointment of the duke of Buckingham as the supervisor of his will; they were old colleagues, brothers-in-law, and not inclined to faction.

John II remained fit to near the end of his life, but by 1446 he was aware his end was near and made careful arrangements. His posts of admiral and constable of the Tower were regranted to him and his son in

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 5. P.R.O., E28/73, no.45.
 6. Royal Wills, 285.
 7. He practised with his crossbow at the Tower in November 1446: C.P.R. 1446-52, 18-9.

 <u>Ibid.</u> v, <u>passim</u>; <u>P.P.C.</u> vi, 16, 18, 19, 32, 39; P.R.O., C53/187-189.
 He was now involved in several grants of goods and property by people otherwise unconnected with him: <u>C.C.R. 1435-41</u>, 426, 452, 454, 455; <u>C.C.R. 1441-7</u>, 270, 274-5, 351-2.
 <u>P.P.C.</u> v, 179. 27 pipes of wine passed through Southampton en route to him in London in early May 1444: <u>The Brokage Book of Southampton 1443-4</u> i, ed. O.Coleman, (Southampton Records Series, vi, 1961), 202-5. His minstrels had been active there since 1433: <u>The Stewards' Books of Southampton from 1428</u>, ed. H.W.Gidden, (Southampton Records Series, xxxv & xxxix, 1935 & 1939), i, 44, 102; ii, 24, 30, 70.
 C.P.R. 1436-41, 565; <u>C.P.R. 1441-6</u>, 242.

survivorship. He made detailed enfeoffments of his estates in July 1446, February and March 1447 to guard against the avarice of royal farmers and 2the rashness of his own son. He died at Combes in Kent on 5 August 1447.

He was perhaps fortunate in dying when he did, before the York/Beaufort quarrel completely polarised politics. Buckingham, just five years his junior, survived to find himself increasingly isolated as a moderate and, forced to chose sides, eventually lost his life at Northampton fighting for the king. John II's was one of three highly significant deaths in 1447, with the duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, the old protagonists, accompanying him to the grave. This left few men politically active who had served Henry V and who had shared his ambitions and been instilled with the respect for the monarchy that he engendered. John II certainly had this respect, and the loyalty it induced can be seen as a continuous theme in his career. He served at Agincourt whilst still a teenager and this military baptism was very important for him, shaping the rest of his life as a professional soldier. He was only restrained from serving more by his financial incapacity. He captured ships, prisoners and towns, but his large wage claims and the ransom expenses he had to meet probably more than offset any profits he made from booty. This financial impecuniosity and his frequent service with the king on Henry V's campaigns conditioned him to a life at court, or at least in London. This must have helped him gain commands and it also allowed him to keep a close watch on the annuities he was due from the exchequer. He had no great political ambition, which had been allowed little chance to grow in his early formative years when he was away so much in France.

<u>C.P.R. 1441-6</u>, 405; <u>C.P.R. 1446-52</u>, 32.
 <u>C.P.R. 1441-6</u>, 454; <u>P.R.O.</u>, E149/184/5, m.2; E152/544, m.1.
 Kingsford, 'Historical Collection of the Fifteenth Century', 514.

His son was not to be so politically dormant, nor so widely esteemed for his military record. Henry Holland's blood put him close to the throne and the tempestuous political climate encouraged him to exploit this. He lacked his father's military background though and the traditional Holland hot-headedness, which had only afflicted his father occasionally, lost him any political respect his father's reputation might have preserved for him. Conflict, not consensus, was increasingly the nature of political manoexrings around the inept Henry VI. The crown would fail to rise above faction and the naturally tempestuous Holland temperament was unchecked by the atmosphere of deficient strong central control.



CHAPTER VIII THE LAST OF THE HOLLANDS: HENRY, THIRD DUKE OF EXETER

Part 1 Fuel for a Firebrand: Background

Henry Holland's activities and attitudes were considerably affected by his dynastic significance. With Gloucester's death at Bury St. Edmunds in February 1447, Henry VI lost his last male Lancastrian relative; the Hollands were now his closest cousins, in England. Heir to the throne was an honour never formally accorded to Henry Holland as the king was not long married in 1447 and an heir was certainly anticipated. That this heir took some eight years to produce did not focus attention so much on Henry's dynastic claims as on the duke of York's, and Henry's royal significance disappeared completely on the birth of Edward, prince of Wales, in 1453. Yet Henry's royal blood, if not his political acumen and weight, continued to ensure his prominence amongst the Lancastrian supporters. It may also have hastened his death in 1475 as, with the destruction of the main Lancastrian line in 1471, he became the main Lancastrian claimant to the throne. It is within this context of dynastic proximity that any consideration of his career must be set. It helps to explain his natural and implacable hostility towards the duke of York and his son. Furthermore, York's own royal expectations helped to encourage Henry Holland's and lead him to political actions he had neither the power nor the ability to make succeed.

Henry Holland's career was also greatly conditioned by the limitations of his landed inheritance. The Holland dukes of Exeter were never massive landowners, but Henry's father had compensated for this by marrying well to

1. Alfonso V, king of Portugal, was the grandson of Henry IV's elder sister Philippa; Henry Holland's grandmother, Elizabeth, had been Henry IV's younger sister. The Beauforts were closest through the direct male line.

wealthy dowager widows, thrice. Henry Holland stood to inherit none of their landed wealth and his own marriage brought him only the uncertain prospect of a lump sum from the duke of York, with little chance of a profitable second marriage, his bride being so young. Furthermore, the Holland ancestral lands he was due to inherit had been constricted by the extensive preparations his father had made before his death, removing direct Holland seisin from over half of the manors his son was due to inherit. Fears over his son's uncertain temper and conduct and the possibility of his contravening his father's will undoubtedly motivated the old John II to take these extensive precautions. The reluctance of John II's feoffees to relinquish their hold on many of the estates entrusted to them meant that only when the Lancastrian dynasty was approaching its final crisis was Henry Holland able to bring his full landed wealth to bear in its support. Lack of lands obliged the young Henry to look avidly to the king for landed patronage, and must have fuelled his violent ambitions firstly towards the Bedfordshire inheritance of Sir John Cornwall, his step-grandfather, and then against the political authority of the duke of York, his father-in-law, in the north of England in 1454.

Henry Holland was also further deprived by the dower estates his stepmother, Anne, held until her death in November 1457. She had held no estates jointly with John II; her dower consisted principally of a third share in the manors whose keeping was entrusted to the abbey of St. Mary Graces, thirds of the Holland comital and ducal farms from Huntingdonshire and Exeter respectively and a third of her husband's 500 mark annuity from

held Barnstaple and Winkleigh; eleven held Torrington, Fremington and Haselbury; seven held South Molton, Combe Martin, Ardington, Northwich, Hope and Overmarsh.

^{1.} The lands were held by four groups of feoffees: seven held Stevington, Gaddesden, Barford St. Martin, Manorbier and Le Tour inn in London; eight

the customs. In September 1452, Henry tried to concentrate her holding in six of the manors previously held by the abbey of St. Mary Graces; yet this was not the situation recorded at her death. Provisions had been made for the agreement's invalidation by any encroachment on the specified manors; Henry Holland's record elsewhere makes him the likely culprit and confirms the wisdom of Anne's precautions. Anne was also already a major west country landowner by virtue of the joint and dower estates she held from her first husband, Sir Richard Hankford, who had died in 1431. Significantly, it was only as she was passing away that her stepson showed any real interest in the natural area of Holland interest in the south west; previously his stepmother had been a stronger, if more passive, influence there.

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Of the remaining Holland property not held by feoffees or in dower, six west country manors, including Dartington, and the Coldharbour inn in London, were entrusted to the Holland associates Sir William Bourchier, Thomas Bodulgate, men of the west country, and Thomas Mannyng clerk in November 1447. The lands were to be held during Henry Holland's minority for a yearly rent of £96 19s 6d with a 10 mark annual increase. John Chancy was allowed to look after the Holland property in St. Albans, and this was later to be granted to him for life by Henry. The Holland Aquitaine estates, principally the lordship of Lesparre, were assigned to offset household expenses.

The estates that fell in to Henry Holland during his minority were

Almiston Anne held of her son Henry. 4. <u>C.F.R. 1445-52</u>, 77. 5. <u>Ibid.</u>, 84; P.R.O., C81/762/9227; B.L., Add. Ch. 18188. 6. <u>C.P.R. 1446-52</u>, 84.

^{1.} P.R.O., C139/170/41; C.C.R. 1447-54, 14-16.

^{2.} D.R.O., no.12 part i (Bishop Neville's Register), ff.76v-77v. 3. D.R.O., 47/5, Hankford's inquisition post mortem. In the Hankford lands in Horton Ernescombe, Mullingar, Hill, Badcot, Torrington, Beam, and

similarly variously farmed out. By the terms of his father's original grant of 1429, John Chalons' heirless death in November 1447 meant that Fleet Daumarle manor and a third of Holbeton manor in Devon reverted to Henry Holland. These were farmed first to Sir John Fortescue in February 1448 and then to John Nicholl and Thomas Povy three months later at their value of 1 55 11d. Henry Holland's position as overlord brought him the wardship and marriage of the underage William Cary in 1448 on the death of William's grandmother Joan. Yet Henry's own minority meant the benefits were awarded instead to Cardinal Kemp in March 1448. Henry Holland's estates had thus not been granted wholesale during his minority to reward any one royal supporter but had been variously farmed out in parcels, some even remaining within the Holland miljeu.

All of this left the duke of York, Henry Holland's father-in-law and guardian, with only the Holland Norman estates to draw revenues from, 4 whatever their value. (Henry did accede to his father's title count of Ivry, and continued to use it after all English authority in Normandy had 5 been wiped out.) This highlights the problem of relations between York and his son-in-law, to be so fractious in 1454; some further background is required.

York may well have been attracted to Henry Holland as a son-in-law by his royal pedigree, and so political potential. The price of this allegiance was high, some 4,500 marks. By the time of John II's death, just eighteen months after the marriage, York, having evidently paid out the

4. York received £200 from the Norman exchequer for the expenses of Henry's wardship in February 1448: B.L., Add. Ch. 1511. 5. Pierpoint Morgan Library, R of E Box I.

^{1.} P.R.O., C139/131/22; C.F.R. 1445-52, 86, 88-9.

^{2.} Ibid., 100.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1446-52, 86.

initial £1,000 at the marriage, had defaulted on the 1,000 marks due twelve months later. York gained the keeping of his son-in-law Henry in August 1447, after John II had held it since the marriage, yet he patently failed to establish any bond of personal friendship or sense of common purpose with his young charge. Nor was York's daughter Anne ever able to reconcile her father and husband. Indeed, her loyalty to her family proved the stronger: she refused to join her husband in exile in 1461 and was eventually divorced from him ten years later. Yet the inclusion of three close supporters of York, (Oldhall, Ogard and Mulso), in the enfeoffment of 1 March 1447 illustrates the amity of John II with York which lay behind the marriage. These three were also able, in November 1447, to induce their tellow teoffees to allow York, poorly provided for in his role as guardian, to draw on the revenues of the Holland estates they held until Henry Holland's majority. Thereby, they also delivered up to John II's executors a 3,550 marks obligation of John to York, possibly as York was now to be more sufficiently rewarded for his duties.

Along with all these arrangments for his estates, John II also burdened his son, or at least his own executors, with considerable debts. Some £3,112 7s 8d had to be repaid to his creditors, mainly London traders. They had to wait until November 1450, after Henry Holland had had his pick of his father's jewels and furnishings, to be reimbursed by Richard Caudray from the same store of precious objects. During the next month, a string of satisfied creditors then formally released all actions against Henry

revenues from them after Henry had livery of his other lands, then Henry's enmity against York is further comprehensible. 3. W.A.M., 6643.

^{1. &}lt;u>Royal Wills</u>, 289, John II assigning 3,000 marks still owed by York. 2. P.R.O., DL41/2/8; B.L., Harl. Ch. 51 F 32. These estates were in fact only restored to Henry Holland in May 1459. If York continued to draw

Holland and his wife, with Caudray and Thomas Mannyng. Financially impecunious Henry was not though, as in January of 1450, with his wife, Caudray, and three others, he lent £5,970 to Henry VI's impoverished government. He did not then have livery of his lands and some of the money may well have come from the 500 mark annuity from the customs which his father had held and which he and Anne had had confirmed in September 1448. Certainly, it was the customs that provided the repayment, although the exchequer was even disputing the existence of the loan in July 1459. The exchequer was then ordered to drop all its actions about the loan but Henry Holland was still having difficulty securing repayment as in May 1460 he was allowed to appoint his own collectors of tunnage and poundage in six ports.

Henry Holland must also have had a sizeable income from his shipping activities. He contributed two ships to Lord Rivers' Gascony fleet in July 1451, the Christopher and the Katherine, total tonnage 295, which, by Scammell's estimates, represents an investment of some £368 15s. That was by no means the limit of his shipping investment as his barge Makerell was trading as far as Barcelona in January 1449 and his ship Le Galiet was trading in Harfleur in July of the same year.

His lordship of Lesparre in the Médoc region of Gascony was of course a valuable asset in the wine trade. This trade was still buoyant in the last years of English rule in Gascony and considerable quantities were

Series, xij (1962), 111; P.R.O., E101/54/15, nos. 30-41; C.P.R. 1446-52, 447. 4. C.C.R. 1447-54, 169, 174; C.P.R. 1446-52, 441.

^{1.} Catalogue of Ancient Deeds i, 476-7, 514, 558; jbid. ji, 450, 457, 467, 510, 561; jbjd. jjj, 355; P.R.O., E40/A15312, A15384. 2. C.P.R. 1446-52, 332, 201; P.R.O., E28/88, no.38; Letters of the

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, ed. R.C.Anderson, (Southampton Record Society, xxii, 1921), 19-20; C.P.R. 1452-61, 583. 3. G.V.Scammell, 'Shipowning in England c.1450-1550', T.R.H.S., Fifth

being shipped to England for Henry, over 98 tuns in October and November 1448 alone. The 1450s saw this trade slacken off and the French takeover of Gascony meant Henry Holland lost a healthy trade in wine as well his territorial hold over Lesparre.

All this shipping activity reflected and was aided by Henry's position as admiral. This post he had been granted with his father in survivorship 2in February 1446, the marquis of Suffolk holding it during his minority. Quite how much authority it brought is not clear as Henry was employed on few naval commissions before 1460, Henry VI prefering household men and 3 York his supporters the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. The Hollands were not the only magnate shipowners, (the earl of Shrewsbury contributed a ship to Rivers' Gascon expedition), but the ability to produce a naval force from their own resources was clearly a factor in their holding the post of admiral. The position was also commensurate with the Hollands' landed base in the already important shipping region of the west country, and with their other major post as constable of the Tower, controlling the river approach to London and also bringing in a £100 annuity.

Much of the admiralty's affairs, especially the administration of its 5jurisdiction, were left to Hugh Payn, based at Southampton. Commissions to hear appeals from his judgments mainly disputed the extension of his jurisdiction into civil cases, a continually common complaint against the

3. Griffiths, Henry VI, 428-433.

Limousin merchants at Southampton in 1449. See also P.R.O., C49/50/6; B.L., Cotton Otho E ix, f.21.

^{1.} M.K.James, <u>Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade</u>, ed. E.M.Veale, (Oxford, 1971), 41-5; <u>C.C.R. 1447-54</u>, 9, 86, 145; P.R.O., E101/195/19, ff.14v, 16, 23v, 24, 25, 28, 41. In March 1452, he was licensed to remove two final shiploads of wine and other effects from Bordeaux: <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 391.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1441-6, 405; C.P.R. 1446-52, 85.

^{4.} P.R.O., E101/54/15, no.16.

^{5.} P.R.O., C1/19/483; SC8/46/2278 where Payn supervises the detention of

admiralty. How far Henry Holland used the admiralty to supplement legitimate trade with some profitable piracy is impossible to gauge; yet it was a fifteenth century trait that he was not immune from. Payn, acting with the master of Henry's ship Le Galiet, was taken to chancery over the illicit seizure of a Dutch wheat-laden ship in Harfleur and its removal to the Isle of Wight for its cargo to be disposed of. In December 1450, a In December 1450, a Flemish cargo barge was attacked in Portsmouth by another of his ships. There was nothing too unusual about such relatively minor acts of piracy, but they do help to colour the background to this irresponsible and temerarious young royal scion.

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^{2.} C.P.R. 1446-52, 441; Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met

| Enceland, Schottland en Ierland ji 1435-1485, ed. H.J.Smit, (Rijks |
|--|
| Geschiedkundige Publication 1xvi, 'S-Gravenhage, 1928), 885; P.R.O., |
| C49/50/6 & 7. |
| 3. <u>C.P.R. 1446-52</u> , 435. |

^{1.} C.P.R. 1446-52, 142, 417, 564; C.P.R. 1452-61, 246, 346, 369; E.Coke, The Fourth Part of the Institution of the Laws of England Concerning the Jurisdiction of the Courts, (1644), 138-9.

Part 2 The Firebrand Alight: Henry Holland 1430-1475

Royal hopes must have been high for the valuable support this young royal scion would provide, his father having been a loyal servant of the crown for many years. Henry Holland had the benefit of some Cambridge education (1440-2) behind him and royal confidence in him had already been indicated by the regranting of John II's offices of admiral and constable of the Tower to father and son in survivorship in February 1446 and 1 February 1447. Henry had first appeared in royal circles, witnessing a grant in Cambridge, in April 1448 and his first summons to parliament in 2 September 1450 placed him at the head of the magnates.

He emerged politically on 23 July 1450 when he was given livery of his estates without proof of his age. This had been foreseen in the marriage agreement with York when John II was appointed his guardian until he was twenty, rather than the accepted twenty-one. Yet it took some time for him to establish control of his estates as the abbey of St. Mary Graces was still exercising its right, as keeper, to appoint to the benefice of West Lydford in Somerset some two months later. In November 1449, Henry Holland had already been granted some control over the estates that had been farmed out to Bourchier, Bodulgate and Mannyng two years before. Bourchier remained to assist Henry through his south western contacts, and the Holland men John Chancy and Hugh Payn, with Thomas Calwodeley, were also

5. The Register of Thomas Bekyngton Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-1465 j, ed. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte & M.C.B.Dawes, (Somerset Record Society, xlix, 1934), 153.

A.B.Cobban, <u>The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the Late Middle Ages</u>, (Cambridge, 1969), 75-6, 276; <u>C.P.R. 1441-6</u>, 405; <u>C.P.R. 1446-52</u>, 32.
 <u>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</u> iv, A6816; <u>Report on the Dignity of a Peer</u> iii, 928.
 P.R.O., C81/762/9227; <u>C.P.R. 1446-52</u>, 333. He had been born in the Tower on 27 June 1430.
 P.R.O., DL41/2/8, m.5.

included in the regrant, now at a reduced rent of £69 12s 6d with a £7 annual increment. Shortly before he was granted livery of his own estates, his landed power in the south west was increased considerably in June 1450. With four of his close associates, John Holland, John Chancy, Thomas Mannyng and Peter Paule, he was granted the keeping of the Gurney inheritance with a couple of former Bedford estates for ten years at a rent 2 of their extent of 470 marks. In September, the keeping of the late duke of Gloucester's castle of Hadleigh in Essex was granted to him for ten 3 years, increased two months later to twenty, at £14 per annum. November 1451 saw him, with John Trevilian, accede to the keeping of duchy of Cornwall estates John I had once held: the manors of Restormel, Penlyn, Penknight, Tintagel, Moresk and Tewington with the boroughs of Lostwithiel 4 and Camelford for ten years at £90 per annum with a 20s annual increment.

All these grants came at a time when Henry Holland's violent irresponsibility was not yet patent. With the duke of Suffolk gone, Henry VI and his close advisers were clearly casting about for support to counter the increasingly forceful duke of York. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was the prime favourite, but Henry Holland's youthful support was also being cultivated. Henry, though, was by no means a creature of the king, having refused to obey his secret order to release Lord Say from the Tower at the height of the Cade rebellion. The Holland herald, William Ballard, was also closely involved in the events of June 1450, though unwillingly, as a Cade partisan. Ballard's position may well have allowed him to liase

Paule: <u>ibid.</u>, 182, 238. 3. <u>Ibid.</u>, 179, 180. 4. <u>Ibid.</u>, 241. 5. <u>Benet's Chronicle</u>, 199.

^{1.} C.F.R. 1445-52, 147.

^{2.} Ibid., 175. The majority were concentrated in north east Somerset. The award was repeated in December 1450 and September 1451 with first John Holland disappearing from the grantees, then Thomas Hugan replacing Peter

for his master with the rebels and so assist Henry Holland's coordination 1 of the defence of London with the city fathers. Henry Holland had then 2 supported Henry VI on his judicial progress through Kent early in 1451 but his absence from the second judicial progress and contemporary questionmarks over his allegiance reflect the lack of years and experience of one still technically under-age.

Henry Holland's somewhat nebulous political position at this stage may well be explained by a lack of close political associates. He appears to have had little close personal contact with the duke of York, not travelling with him to Ireland. His natural position would be with Henry VI, and he was to be well enticed with patronage, but the strong favour shown to the duke of Suffolk and the Beauforts may have seemed to leave little room for him. The only really close associate of his father still alive and active was the duke of Buckingham, but his position was very much non-partisan.

His aggressive methods first came to notice in Bedfordshire in a land dispute with Ralph lord Cromwell over Ampthill and Millbrook manors. The estates had been held by John Cornwall lord Fanhope, Henry Holland's stepgrandfather, who had only died in 1443. Henry had no direct claim on them. Cornwall died without heirs and he had willed that Cromwell should have 3 first refusal on their purchase. This offer was taken up and, despite some

Canterbury in February 1451. I am grateful to Isobel Harvey for the last two references. 3. Ampthill and Millbrook's clear value in 1468 was £121 9s 5d: The Grey of Ruthin Valor, ed. R.I.Jack, (Sydney, 1965), 105-110.

Paston Letters 1422-1509 jij, ed. J.Gairdner, (1904), 154; Griffiths, Henry VI, 625. Ballard had to secure a pardon after the rebellion: C.P.R. 1446-52, 358.
 P.R.O., E404/67/234, Thomas Crayton, clerk of the Bench, being paid for 24 days' service under him at Canterbury, Rochester and Dartford; C.P.R. 1446-52, 423; Benet's Chronicle, 204; P.R.O., KB9/267, m.93; KB27/765, rex m.26d, Henry Holland present on the commission sitting in

reluctance to sell on the part of Cornwall's feoffees, the situation appeared resolved in Cromwell's favour by the time of the death of John II 1 in 1447.

Henry Holland's interest in the lands may well have been awakened by his accession in June 1451 to the important inheritance in the north and midlands of a more distant relative, Sir John Holland of Thorpe Waterville, their common ancestor being Robert I. It included five manors in Northamptonshire which gave Henry Holland some influence in the area. He may well have been keen to extend this, feeling the recent royal favour towards him, exhibited by various land grants, would allow him to realise his rather distant claim to Cornwall's lands. The Holland landed interest in Bedfordshire consisted only of Stevington manor, but Henry's father had shown enough concern for the county to perform in person his duties as commissioner of the peace at least seven times 1426-9. Something of this concern may have passed on to his son who was anxious enough to acquire Cornwall's estates to send in Caudray to attack Millbrook and seize £1,000 worth of goods of Cromwell's in June 1452. Henry Holland's claims were strengthened by the cleric John Walcote quitclaiming all his interests in Cornwall's Bedfordshire manors to Henry in July 1452. Later in the same

Archer, The Mowbrays: thesis, 260-262.
 P.R.O., E13/145B, m.78.
 W.A.M., 3393.

^{1.} R.L.Friedrichs, 'The Career and Influence of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, 1393-1456', (Columbia Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1974), 266-269. No antagonism existed between John II and Cromwell as Cromwell acted as his feoffee in 1446: P.R.O., E152/544, m.1.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.F.R. 1445-52</u>, 178. The inheritance comprised eleven manors: Newton aand Haydock in Lancashire; Dalbury, Dalburylees and Wrixworth in Derbyshire; Ridlington in Rutland; Thorpe Waterville, Achurch, Aldewinkle, Chelvaston and Caldecote in Northamptonshire. The only direct evidence of Henry's seisin is his appointment to the advowson of Thorpe Waterville in 1453 and 1454: J.Bridges, <u>The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire</u> ji, ed. P.Whalley, (Oxford, 1791), 365.

month, recognisances were taken for the dispute to be settled by 1 arbitration. Cromwell's expectations for the success of this cannot have been high as he claimed Bedfordshire was practically lawless under Henry Holland's influence, with no one coming forward to be sheriff and jury 2 service proving equally unpopular.

A further family factor in the dispute was the introduction of Henry's cousins the Greys of Ruthyn. The younger, Thomas, created Lord Richemont-Grey in 1450, was a staunch Holland man, holding an annuity from Stevington. His base was at Symston in Buckinghamshire and it was in concert with him that a group of some nineteen Holland men and supporters, including Henry's bastard brothers Robert and William, seized Ampthill for Henry in the spring of 1453. Edmund lord Grey of Ruthyn was not such a fervent supporter of Henry Holland and sided with Cromwell. The outcome was considerable legal expenses for Cromwell and Henry's first brief spell in prison in Windsor in July 1453. Despite the violence and imprisonment, Henry Holland seems to have succeeded in acquiring the manors: 24 of those present at the Spofforth gathering in May 1454, including Henry himself and his two bastard brothers Robert and William, were cited as being from Ampthill, with a further two from Millbrook. Too much should not be made of this though as Henry Holland undoubtedly resided mainly in London, in his Coldharbour inn or the Tower, and his bastard brother William was certainly more of a Devon man.

4. P.R.O., C139/127/25, no.4.
5. P.R.O., KB27/775, m.48.
6. Friedrichs, Lord Cromwell: thesis, 267-9; <u>Benet's Chronicle</u>, 210.
7. P.R.O., KB9/149/1, nos.4 m.27 & 5 m.3. An undated letter written by Henry at Ampthill survives in Dean and Chapter of Exeter, 3498/10.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.C.R.</u> 1447-54, 360.

^{2.} P.R.O., SC8/40/1993. No sheriff was appointed in November 1453: List of Sheriffs, 2.

^{3.} Edmund and Thomas were sons of Henry's aunt Constance and her second husband Sir John Grey of Ruthyn.

Henry Holland's activities in the north in the first half of 1454 have provided the main basis for doubts about his capabilities. With the disaffected Percy scion, Lord Egremont, Henry raised rebellion at Spofforth in May 1454, reportedly claiming the duchy of Lancaster and even York's position as protector. York felt sufficiently threatened to travel north and personally quash the risings in Yorkshire and Lancashire by July 1454. Henry's role in the northern disturbances should be kept in perspective though; the Nevilles and Percies were quite capable of causing trouble 1 without his encouragement.

In Henry's force that joined with the large gathering of Percy 2 tenantry at Spofforth were at least six of the nineteen on the Ampthill raid. Significantly, virtually none of his fellow rebels was detailed as from the south west. Caution has already been advised over accepting Henry's following in 1454 as being purely from his new interests in 4 Bedfordshire, as recorded in the oyer and terminer records. Nicholas and Thomas Philip, yeomen, there cited as of Stevington, may well be identical with two of the same name of Tiverton causing trouble in Devon two years later. Indeed the origins recorded by the oyer and terminer commissioners may well just reflect the place of assembly of Henry's supporters: Richard

3. P.R.O., KB27/775, m.48; KB9/149/1. 4. Idem. 5. P.R.O., KB9/149/1, no.5 m.3; C.P.R. 1452-61, 310.

^{1.} R.A.Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: the Percies, Nevilles and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-5', <u>Speculum</u>, xliji (1968), 589-632: R.L.Storey, <u>The End of the House of Lancaster</u>, (1966), 142-9; P.A.Johnson, 'The Political Career of Richard, Duke of York, to 1456', (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1981), 281-7. His newly acquired estates in Lancashire gave him a perhaps previously unappreciated interest in the north: <u>V.C.H.</u> Lancashire iv, 138 n.11.

^{2.} Henry maintained his Percy links after the rebellion, twice using a Cockermouth tenant as a mainprise in 1456 and joining the countess of Northumberland in a recognisance in 1457: <u>C.F.R. 1452-61</u>, 179, 182; <u>C.C.R.</u> 1454-61, 223.

Gower was actually from Clapham in Surrey and William Asshe and Richard 1 Dawne both originated from London.

Cogent reasons for Henry Holland's actions in these disputes in Bedfordshire and the north have been hard to find, yet a certain land hunger should be recognised. He must have been disappointed by the restricted landed inheritance he came into in 1450. Though steadily compensated out of royal patronage up to the end of 1451, this source then dried up and resumptions saw him lose the extensive grants of Gurney/Bedford estates to the duke of Somerset in September 1452 and Hadleigh castle in Essex to Queen Margaret in March 1453. All this was compounded by the loss of evidently still remunerative lands in Normandy and Gascony. The lack of favour that this marks was confirmed by his demotion to fourth in the list of dukes summoned in January 1453 to the Reading parliament and his continuing absence from conciliar deliberations during the crucial period after Henry VI's first relapse. Some clue to his present affiliations can be had from the two charters he witnessed in May 1453: Somerset was present, but Norfolk, Buckingham and, most significantly, York were not. His petulant assault on first Ampthill and then York's protectorship was not necessarily a personal grudge against anyone, but was born of a desire to rectify his landed paucity and seize total control of patronage.

Henry Holland's attempt to avoid the full consequence of his stirrings in the north failed when York extracted him from the sanctuary of

3. Report on the Dignity of a Peer iji, 932; R.A.Griffiths, 'The King's Council and the First Protectorate of the Duke of York', E.H.R., xcix (1984), 71; Johnson, Richard Duke of York: thesis, 258-262. 4. P.R.O., C53/190, mm.14 & 16.

^{1.} P.R.O., KB27/775, m.48.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1452-61</u>, 18-19; <u>C.C.R. 1447-54</u>, 391. The resumption of an earlier grant to Somerset had facilitated the original award to Henry. Somerset was now granted the estates rent free: Wolffe, <u>Royal Demesne</u>, 102-3.

Westminster abbey on 23 July 1454. He was then moved from London to imprisonment in Pontefract castle. Taking advantage of his disgrace, Lord Grey of Ruthyn now moved in to seize Ampthill manor by 11 July. Henry was not to recover it. In February 1455 his case was reviewed by council and he was ordered to report to Wallingford. This was not carried out as he was released from Pontefract a month later.

He was absent from the St. Albans crisis and, though summoned to the July Westminster parliament four days later, he did not attend, being 4 instead back in custody at Wallingford. His subsequent status and movements during the period of York's ascendancy after St. Albans are uncertain. At the very least he was out of favour, and, if not physically 5 incarcerated, he certainly lay low.

He only really reemerges in May 1456 when he headed, in person, a $_{6}^{6}$ London commission of over and terminer. He was now gradually to retrieve his influence and, to mark his restoration to the Lancastrian fold, he began to receive awards from royal patronage. Trematon, Saltash and Calstock manors were granted to him, with two others, for ten years at a rent of the extent in July 1456. In September, he had his duchy of Cornwall estates award of November 1451 restored. In December he received the late $_{7}^{7}$ With the birth of his daughter Anne in November, he also began to consider the

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C.C.R. 1454-61, 109. 6. C.P.R. 1452-61, 306; Six Town Chronicles of England, ed. R.Flenley, (Oxford, 1911), 143. 7. C.F.R. 1452-61, 163, 179, 182-3.

^{1.} Benet's Chronicle, 212.

^{2.} Paston Letters ii, 329; P.P.C. vi, 218. He continued to administer his estates from Pontefract, ordering payment of an annuity from Manorbier on 23 November 1454: Pierpoint Morgan Library, R of E Box I.

^{3.} P.P.C. vi, 234; Foedera xi, 365; C.C.R. 1454-61, 13.

^{4.} Report on the Dignity of a Peer iii, 936; P.P.C. vi, 246.

^{5.} He was bound in January 1456 to appear before the king by November:

welfare of some of his family, setting up his bastard brother Robert in the Pembrokeshire manors of Manorbier and Penally in 1457 and West Lydford in 1 Somerset in 1458.

In his later twenties, Henry Holland was now beginning to mellow and restrain his independence of action. As the government removed to the midlands, it required the support of all its natural allies and Henry was now being steadily reestablished as a prime Lancastrian supporter. His record did not encourage great trust in his abilities and his role was largely restricted to commissions for the south west, his natural area of influence but one which he had hitherto neglected.

Before 1455, he had preferred to pursue his quest for patronage and power in and around the royal court, rather than build up isolated influence in Devon. His long absences, during a period of some turmoil for the region, did leave it lacking the perhaps dominating and calming force of a major outside figure. Henry Holland's own aggressive record does not however encourage the view that he might have been able to compose the Courtenay/Bonville differences; indeed, his more active interference may well have exacerbated them further. His lack of involvment in the south west did however allow the two sides to clash unimpeded by the consideration of a major third party, until their violence provoked a

Representation of Devon', T.D.A., 1xxi, (1939), 145. 4. See Griffiths, Henry VI, 563 for the effect on Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire of the removal of the stabilising influence of John of Gaunt in 1399.

^{1.} Bod. Lib., Digby 57, f.2 (born in Chelsea); C.G.Henderson, <u>A History of the Parish of Constantine in Cornwall</u>, ed. G.H.Dale, (Royal Institution of Cornwall, Long Compton, 1937), 97.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1452-61, 402, 489, 490, 518.

^{3.} None of the usual beneficence from the city of Exeter towards the Hollands is recorded before D.R.O., Exeter City Receiver's Roll, 34-35 Henry VI (1455-56). Henry's efforts to secure the election of his admiralty deputy Hugh Payne as Exeter M.P. in 1450 should be seen as a personal favour to Payne rather than part of an effort to advance his influence in the south west: J.J.Alexander, 'Seventh Report on the Parliamentary

positive intervention from the duke of York.

This absenteeism was now being reversed: he paid his first visit to Exeter; Bridgewater now felt it politic to send gifts to his wife in 1457 and 1458; the new earl of Devon's friendship was cultivated at Dartington in 1458; Henry first appears on a peace commission in the area in Devon in ² May 1457. This revived interest in the south west, confirmed by the leasing of his Lancashire interests, may well have been encouraged by the death of Henry's stepmother Anne in November 1457 and his need to oversee the reintegration of her estates within his own inheritance. It may also have been initiated by the murder of Nicholas Radford in October 1455; as well as being Bonville's councillor, Radford had been the Devon steward of Henry's father. With a new earl of Devon acceding in 1458, Henry Holland could no longer abstain from promoting the court's influence in the south west. It also behove the court to encourage this as it isolated the violent Henry from the central political scene, whilst augmenting its own influence in this troubled part of the country.

Henry Holland's close identification with Henry VI's cause, encouraged by his dispute with York, was now strengthened further by the challenge to his position as admiral by the earl of Warwick. In the face of the

1458); Bridgewater Borough Archives 1445-1468, ed. T.B.Dilks, (Somerset Record Society, 1x, 1948), 98, 103; Griffiths, Henry VI, 802; C.P.R. 1452-61, 664. Also H.P.R.Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, (Cambridge, 1951), 130 for gifts from the abbey to Henry Holland in 1459.
3. All his Lancashire estates were leased in September 1458 to two associates for 39 years at £19 6s 8d per annum: V.C.H. Lancashire iv, 138

4. P.R.O., C139/170/41, no.2. He performed fealty for his estates in June 1458: <u>C.F.R. 1452-61</u>, 209. 5. P.R.O., E152/544, m.1. This appointment was in 1435; he was still an annuitant in 1452: D.R.O., no.12 part i. (Bishop Neville's Register), f.77.

Cherry, The Crown in Devonshire: thesis, 262-321; M.Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth Century Devonshire', in <u>Patronage</u>, the <u>Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England</u>, ed. R.A.Griffiths, (Gloucester, 1981), 127-140.
 D.R.O., Exeter City Receiver's Rolls, 35-36 & 36-37 Henry VI (1456-

considerable French threat that had seen Sandwich sacked in August 1457, Henry was at last ordered to sea in October. In a direct reprisal for Brézé's attack, he pillaged the distant island of Ré, off La Rochelle, on 1 November, exacting a 6,500 écus ransom and hostages. The earl of Warwick was however well established in Calais and the government attempted to use his sizeable naval power for its own benefit, commissioning Warwick to keep the seas in November. Henry was being opposed rather than superseded at sea. Warwick, unpaid by the government, consequently felt himself free of its control and used his ships for his own benefit. This personal dispute, when transferred to land, added to the rising tension being suffered $\frac{2}{2}$

Whilst the general situation was gradually deteriorating towards another armed clash, Henry Holland was involved in a further curious incident which brought him his third spell in prison. For some unknown reason he incarcerated a lawyer Eyrkham in the Tower and reputedly interrupted the proceedings of King's Bench for two terms. Whatever the background, Henry had again exhibited his unreasoning impetuosity and, despite the general turbulent situation, he had had the misfortune to commit his offence in London where some royal authority still existed. He was ordered to prison in Queen Margaret's Berkhamsted castle on pain of forfeiting a £10,000 recognisance in February 1459. Two months later, he

opposite" in the 1458 love-day: P.M.Kendall, Warwick the Kingmaker, (1957), 49. 3. <u>Benet's Chronicle</u>, 222 & n.249; <u>Stevenson's Letters and Papers</u> i, 367-8. 4. <u>C.C.R. 1454-61</u>, 318.

^{1.} M.Vallet de Viriville, <u>Histoire de Charles VII Roj de France et de son</u> <u>Époch 1403-1461 j.j.</u>, (Paris, 1865), 396-7; D.R.O., Exeter City Receiver's Roll, 36-37 Henry VI (1457-58), m.2d. The ransom may well have been paid as Charles VII remitted all taxes from the island for two years to facilitate it.

^{2.} Richmond, Keeping of the Seas: thesis, 260-5; Paston Letters iii, 125, 127; Six Town Chronicles, 159. Henry Holland was Warwick's "special

entered into another recognisance for 10,000 marks to appear before council 1 by 15 May. He was reconciled to the king and allowed to be enfeoffed of 2 those lands of his inheritance of which he still did not have seisin. His misdemeanour was now overlooked as Henry VI was keen not to alienate the support of one of his premier magnates.

Henry Holland's part in the military campaigns of 1459-1461 was not noteworthy, but he was still not averse to taking advantage of the generally lawless situation. Sir John Fastolf's death in 1459 released an extensive inheritance and Henry, with no conceivable basis for a claim, was one of the first to attempt to seize part of it, property in Southwark in November 1459. Otherwise his activities can be closely identified with those of the court party. His most notorious involvment in military events was his naval confrontation with the earl of Warwick. Henry Holland was being mobilised at Sandwich from March 1460 with a force including his own La Marie of Totnes, Warwick's forfeitella Trinite and two Genoese carracks, to prevent Warwick's return from Ireland. The two forces met off Dartmouth, a remarkable achievment itself in fifteenth century naval warfare. Warwick's utilisation of reconnaisance pinnaces and his holding of the weather-gauge gave him some advantage, but neither side was keen on a fleet action on the open sea, (Henry lacking his father's decisive drive); neither side may even have been too sure as to how to go about it, the occurence was so rare. Contemporaries accused Henry Holland of retreating because of the low morale of his troops through lack of pay, or their

Thomas Bekyngton j, 333. 5. C.P.R. 1452-61, 554, 566, 577, 602, 607; <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 440, 443; <u>Foedera</u> xj, 449-451; P.R.O., E404/71/4/36 & 38.

^{1.} Ibid., 350.

^{2.} See above p.223.

^{3.} Paston Letters jij, 192.

^{4.} A letter of 10 December 1459 written at Coventry survives in Register of

greater fear and respect for Warwick than for Henry. So Warwick was able to make for Calais with his private fleet unmolested and discredit further the government and its impressed naval force. It must be said that it was hardly in Warwick's interest to have risked a chancy naval clash on the open sea and responsibility should be attached to both sides for the lack 1 of a decisive battle.

In common with many Lancastrian families, the Hollands lost heavily at Towton: Henry Holland survived, but his bastard brother Robert and his cousin and erstwhile supporter Thomas lord Richemont-Grey did not. The Holland stronghold of Thorpe Waterville castle in Northamptonshire probably held out briefly thereafter. Henry himself served at the siege of Carlisle in June 1461, then reappeared in Wales, continuing the fight with the earl of Pembroke before defeat at Twt Hill in October forced him to rejoin the main Lancastrian party in Scotland. Now defeated and attainted, Henry Holland, with the other leading Lancastrian lords including, eventually, the duke of Somerset, refused to desert his king and seek an accommodation with Edward IV. For many, Henry VI, king <u>de jure</u>, still commanded their allegiance and loyalty and the strength of this sentiment was something $\frac{4}{4}$

Henry Holland initially spent his long years of exile, separated from his wife, in attendance on Queen Margaret, in Scotland, then at Bruges and Koeur from 1463. When conditions there deteriorated unacceptably, he moved on to Burgundian hospitality at Utrecht in 1466, where he was little better

3. Paston Letters jij, 312; Benet's Chronicle, 230. 4. M.A.Hicks, 'Edward IV, the Duke of Somerset, and Lancastrian Loyalism in the North', Northern History, xx (1984), 33-6.

^{1.} Anchiennes Chronicques d'Angleterre par Jehan de Waurin ii, ed. M.Dupont, (S.H.F., 1860), 210; Chronicles of London, ed. Kingsford, 170-1; Benet's Chronicle, 225; Richmond, Keeping of the Seas: thesis, 280-3. 2. C.P.R. 1461-7, 28; A.E.Goodman, The Wars of the Roses, (1981), 186.

off. In common with most of the senior Lancastrian supporters, Henry delayed his return to England after Warwick's seizure of power, in his case until February 1471.

Then he joined Warwick in London and was reestablished in his old area of interest as j.p. in Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. Unlike other Lancastrians, no Yorkist lord had benefitted from his attainder in 1461 by being granted his forfeita(estates. These had been all vested by Edward IV in his sister Anne, Henry's wife, though he had been careful to appoint the trustworthy Ralph Hastings constable of the troublesome Holland castle of Thorpe Waterville. The restoration of Henry Holland would thus alienate no prominent Yorkist lord from Warwick's cause. However, Warwick could afford no rewards beyond that. It is against a background of friction over Clarence's claim to the succession and Warwick's claim to the lieutenancy of England, compounded by the enmity of Henry VI's last years, that Henry Holland's close adherence to Warwick during the last weeks of the Readeption should be viewed.

On Edward IV's landing, Henry Holland moved north with a force probably largely recruited and paid for from his Northamptonshire and 7 Bedfordshire estates, which had still been indirectly under his influence

2. C.P.R. 1467-77, 607, 617, 624.

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3. Lancashire R.O., DDK 1746/14, m.7.

4. The shortage of patronage to reward his Lancastrian friends with was a big problem for Warwick: C.D.Ross, Edward IV, (1974), 156. 5. M.A.Hicks, False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence, (Gloucester, 1980), 98-102.

6. As well as the naval clashes, Warwick had had several of Henry's men executed on the fall of the Tower in 1461: <u>Stevenson's Letters and Papers</u> is part 2, 773.
7. Lancashire R.O., DDK 1746/14.

^{1. &}lt;u>Stevenson's Letters and Papers</u> *ii* part 2, 781; 'Original Documents in the National Library at Paris', ed. E.Green, <u>Archaeological Journal</u>, vii (1850), 171; C.J.M.McGovern, 'Lancastrian Diplomacy and Queen Margaret's Court in Exile 1461-71', (Keele Univ. B.A. dissertation 1973), 39; <u>Mémoires</u> <u>de Philippe de Commynes</u> *i*, ed. B.de Mandrot, (Paris, 1901), 195, his oft cited portrayl of the begging Exeter.

through his wife's lordship during Edward IV's first reign. He was accompanied by the earl of Oxford and his brothers, including Robert, formerly Henry's chamberlain, and Viscount Beaumont. Edward IV's force had escaped destruction in Yorkshire with all who could have destroyed it abstaining from direct action. However it was still highly vulnerable when it moved into Nottinghamshire. Henry had reached Newark but there his resolve was broken by Edward's aggressive advance; again he failed to engage and missed his chance to annihilate his brother-in-law and withdrew to join Warwick at Coventry. As the senior Lancastrian present, he suffered near death at Barnet in Warwick's cause. Here his long exile probably saved him as few now knew him by sight, so he was allowed to lie unmolested until one of his men found him and he was removed to sanctuary at Westminster.

Again, he was sprung thence and removed to the Tower in May, now technically the Lancastrian heir to the throne with the deaths of the prince of Wales at Tewkesbury and Henry VI on Edward IV's return to London; Henry Holland may even have been lucky to escape a similar fate himself. He now suffered the further indignity of being divorced by his wife Anne. Henry had never been reconciled to her family and she had not joined him in exile in 1461, keeping their daughter, Anne, with her in England. The duchess Anne had been granted all her husband's lands in December 1461, with a regrant of August 1467 giving the remainder to her daughter Anne,

1. Thomas Langton, his appointee as customs collector in Kings Lynn in 1460, joined his force and John Fyssher, John II's treasurer, forfeited his holdings in Stevington for his activities: <u>ibid.</u>, mm.4 & 7d; <u>C.P.R. 1452-</u> <u>61</u>, 583; W.A.M., 6643, m.5. 2. Waurin jij, 110; <u>The Chronicles of the White Rose of York</u>, ed.

J.A.Giles, (1845), 46; <u>Hanserecesse von 1431-1476</u> vi, ed. G.F.von der Ropp, (Leipzig, 1892), 415. 3. <u>Waurin iii, 127</u>; <u>Chronicles of the White Rose</u>, 66.

with the revenues of Fremington being assigned to the duchess' will for seven years after her death.

Divorce proceedings were initiated by Anne in London on 18 January 1471 when Henry Holland was still probably not yet back in the country. The timing is intriguing. It indicates the divorce was not just a favour from Edward IV to allow his sister to marry her lover Sir Thomas St. Leger. Anne was probably hopeful of her brother's restoration but it was hardly assured in January 1471. She may well have been fearful of her husband's imminent return and his repossession of his estates; divorced, he would have no automatic hold over them. She was affirming her Yorkist loyalties and her abhorrence of the Lancastrian cause her husband so fervently represented. A personal reversion to such an unamiable character as Henry, hard to find evidence for, must however also have been a major factor in Anne's attempts to avoid being reunited with her husband.

After the initial appointment of proctors in the duke of Clarence's London house, little progress was made in the divorce whilst Edward IV regained his kingdom. June 1471 saw the case begin in earnest, with Henry Holland now a prisoner in the Tower. Despite the impotence of his position, the case was to be no formality. Henry was summoned to appear at Lambeth on 19 June, where he found his old associate Hugn Payn amongst those present. The grounds for divorce were consanguinity in the fourth and fifth degrees, which required positive confirmation by several witnesses. Nine, eight men and one woman, were examined on behalf of Anne. Each witness was asked the same set of questions to find out how long they had known the two parties,

3. Ross, Edward IV, 184. 4. R.H.Helmholz, Marriage Litigation in Medieval England, (Cambridge, 1974), 81-2.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1461-7</u>, 104-5; <u>C.P.R. 1467-77</u>, 32-3. 2. Bod. Lib., Rawlinson A 146, f.2.

what they knew of their consanguinity, the dispensation allowing their marriage and their age at the time of the marriage. Anne's witnesses were all over fifty and included old servants of Richard, duke of York, (Agatha Flegge), various now royal household men, (John Profoot, king's secretary, Galfrid Spryng, clerk of the royal jewels, William Gryffith, king's farrier) and also some of Clarence's household men, (John Pury, controller of his household, and Thomas Gryme, keeper of his jewels). Gryme had been present at Anne's birth and baptism in Fotheringhay and several had attended the marriage in the bishop of Ely's chapel at Hatfield on 30 January 1446. Their answers emphasised the consanguinity of the couple and the witnesses were careful to cite the sources of their information. Several claimed they had known both parties from well before the marriage, illustrating how close was the circle of associates and friends amongst the greatest magnates. The examination of Anne's witnesses had begun in July, with a break for August and September, and was completed in October.

Henry was only allowed to call four witnesses, their examination being completed by 2 August. His witnesses, all men, were asked the same series of questions as Anne's. Their replies stressed the legality of the papal dispensation and give valuable details of the marriage ceremony conducted by Caudray, including the actual vows made by Henry and Anne. However, the archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the marriage annulled on 5 November on the grounds of consanguinity, leaving Anne free to carry Henry's estates to her new husband Sir Thomas St. Leger. An account for the year to Michaelmas 1472 for six of the manors in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Rutland reveals something of the financial chaos left by the Readeption: over a third of the receipts were the previous year's

1. Bod. Lib., Rawlinson A 146.

arrears.

Henry Holland, now deprived of his wife as well as his lands, remained in the Tower until at least May 1475. There were no recorded attempts to release him, or even any Lancastrian risings in his favour, an indication of the affection in which he was not held. His blood still made him a dangerous prisoner for Edward IV though. This must have been the consideration behind Edward's taking him to France in 1475; to leave such a magnet for disaffection behind in England whilst he was away with so much of his nobility was a danger he could not allow. The 'fortunate' death of Henry in battle with the French may have been Edward's hope for the removal of this threat, but peace broke out instead. Such a potential Lancastrian leader could not be allowed to survive though and so, possibly further encouraged by St. Leger's desire to remove this lingering threat to his wife's estates, he was disposed of on the way back across the Channel, being found drowned on the beach near Dover. It was an undignified end for a magnate whose own frequently disrespectful actions perhaps merited it. As with the princes in the Tower eight years later, foul play cannot be proved, but rumours of it were rife enough for the Milanese ambassador to be reporting them in December 1475.

Henry's daughter Anne had died a year earlier, aged eighteen. She had been married off to Sir Thomas Grey, Queen Elizabeth's elder son by her first husband, in 1466, being confirmed as the Exeter heiress the following year. This was despite the fact that she had been betrothed to John Neville earl of Northumberland's son and heir George, one of several marital affronts by Edward IV against the Nevilles. Edward's sister Anne only

- 1. Lancashire R.O., DDK 1746/14.
- 2. Calendar of State Papers (Milan) 1382-1618, 220; Chronicles of London,
- ed. Kingsford, 186.
- 3. Ross, Edward IV, 93.

survived her ex-husband by a year, leaving Edward with the Exeter inheritance to dispose of. Ralph Neville, nephew and heir to the second earl of Westmorland, and Henry Holland's nephew, was his nearest living relative. He was blatantly ignored as Edward arbitrarily parcelled out the inheritance to his younger stepson Richard Grey and the heir of his elder stepson Thomas Grey. The Greys lost all in falling foul of Richard III and part of the inheritance was used to reward the Stanleys in 1484. After 1485, Henry VII endowed his mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond with much of the rest of the inheritance. She was also awarded various estates once held by the Holland earls of Kent, so in her were united major elements of the inheritances of both branches of the Holland family. Some financial details from this time include an undated summary account for Devon, giving total receipts for former Holland lands of £630 2s 5d. Thi.s compares with a £718 4s 11d total in a valor after Margaret's death. Overall this valor gives a clear value of £632 10s 7d to the Kent portion and £800 5s to the Huntingdon portion of her inheritance. Some records from Stanley held Holland estates also survive from the 1520s, but the gap since Holland control is too wide for valid comparisons.

So expired the Holland line. Having flirted with royalty for over a century, the royal blood it thereby contracted finally made it too

 P.R.O., E36/177.
 B.Coward, <u>The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672</u>, (Chetham Society, Third Series, xxx, 1983), 200-203.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, 336-7; Ross, <u>Richard III</u>, 36, 175, 187; Wolffe, <u>Royal Demesne</u>, 183-4; <u>R.P.</u> vi, 215, 242-255; T.B.Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in <u>Fifteenth Century England</u>, ed. S.B.Chrimes, C.D.Ross & R.A.Griffiths, (Manchester, 1972), 111-2.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1476-85</u>, 476; Lancashire R.O., DDK 1/20, 2/8, 2/12. They also gained much of the original inheritance of Robert I, including Upholland. 3. <u>C.P.R. 1485-94</u>, 154-5.

^{4.} W.A.M., 32390. See also W.A.M., 32391, a summary valor for Devon and Dorset at Michaelmas 1488.

potentially dangerous to be allowed to survive. It was a tribute to Henry Holland's loyalty to that blood connection that Edward IV never made any recorded overture to entice him away from his natural support for the Lancastrian cause, as he tried to do with the duke of Somerset. It is also something of a reflection on the lack of political respect that Henry $1 \\ commanded$. He flourished in an era of great political turnoil, yet he was never really a major factor in the outcome of events. However, his violent acts did contribute to that increasing polarisation of politics that led to the outbreak of fighting.

The neglect of the south west by both him and his father deprived him of a potential power base from which he might have played a more decisive role. His attempt to establish an area of influence in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire was too hasty and alienated too many to formulate any lasting basis of support. He had arrived too late to build up a nucleus of support through service in France. The diversity of background of his few identifiable associates illustrates that he made no sustained effort to recruit support from his greatest potential source, his estates.

He had the chance to play a major role because of his wealth and blood but, even in such a violent age, his violence was ill-timed and excessive. He was never entrusted by his peers or subordinates as feoffee or arbitrator and he was never even recorded as present at the royal 3 council. The tempestuos of his career is an indication of the

1. He was not named by the Yorkists as one of Henry VI's advisers in their propaganda in the summer of 1461: <u>An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI</u>, ed. J.S.Davies, (Camden Society, lxiv, 1856), 86-91.

 Lord Cronwell was forced to become an active partisan of the duke of York because of Henry Holland's enmity: Friedrichs, Lord Cronwell: thesis, 278-282.
 R.Virgoe, 'The Composition of the King's Council, 1437-61', <u>B.I.H.R.</u>, xliji (1970), 158-160.

political dangers that increasingly encouraged English magnates, such as the earl of Arundel and John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, to abstain from becoming too involved in the affairs of central government. None of this brought about the actual extinction of the Holland line in 1475 though; Henry Holland's own inability to produce a male heir caused the disappearance of the Exeter inheritance and handed on the mantle of Lancastrian claimant to Henry Tudor to fulfill ten years later.

1. J.A.F.Thomson, 'John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk', <u>Speculum</u>, liv (1979), 528-542.

CHAPTER IX THE PATRONAGE OF THE HOLLANDS

Part 1 Domestic Secular Patronage

This chronological survey of the Holland family has so far been largely concerned with its relations with its peers and its lord, the king; in general terms, it has sought to analyse its role in the politics of later medieval England. The concepts of power and influence have figured strongly in this analysis. So far, the main thrust of attempts to define these has been towards estates and finances. This has been inconclusive, though it has shown that the Hollands were by no means solely dependant on their estate revenues for their income. Now, the Hollands' power and influence will be examined from other angles. That power was often maintained, at court and in the country, by the Holland officers and officials and the wider grouping of their affinity; abroad, their military retinues extended and demonstrated their influence. The patronage that bought this power also embraced the ecclesiastical world; it allowed the Hollands to reward with benefice, office or annuity as appropriate. It was, furthermore, ostentatiously exhibited in building and possession.

Throughout, though, this survey of what the Hollands could offer as patrons, whom they attracted, and how they exhibited their wealth will be conditioned by the fluctuations in evidence. It will range over the whole family but will concentrate on the examples of just some of its members in each instance, where the evidence is strongest and most pertinent. It would anyway be folly to offer general perceptions for the whole family, given its members' highly individual circumstances. Yet these peculiar conditions still allow valuable insights to be made into the patronage and following

of this late medieval noble family.

One of the most readily quantified aspects of a magnate's needs and

beneficence as a patron is the affinity he attracted and maintained. Affinity is a necessarily nebulous term embracing the whole cosmos of relationships a magnate formed extending from a very casual acquaintance to the formally contracted retainer. It encompasses the personal servants required to run the Hollands' households and estates, the friends and connections established and maintained at court and in the localities and those officials engaged on helping to carry out the duties of the Hollands' various official posts. Clearly, the skills, stature and background that the Hollands required in their affinity were many and varied. Yet it was not just the Hollands' needs that had to be met, the members of their affinity also had requirements which attracted them to the Hollands for various reasons. The Hollands provided professional employment for some in estate or some other form of official administration, others looked to them for a benefice or a fee, yet more for some much looser form of connection in their search for advancement in the local or court arena, a kind of connection characterised by the practice of maintenance but often entailing nothing so overt.

So this whole nexus of relations will now be examined, extending outwards from the Holland's most intimate officals. Their senior household officers will be looked at first, then their estate officials, with some comment on the estates' organisation, their council, their attornies, their annuitants and their links with local officials, j.p.s, m.p.s, and sheriffs, and finally those who assisted them in their official posts. The evidence is concentrated in Richard II's reign, especially its later part, but examples will be drawn from all the Hollands, particularly Thomas I's

attornies and John II's annuitants. Throughout, consideration will be paid

to what the Hollands could offer by their patronage and what service was

rendered in return.

Turning first to Holland senior household officers, such as stewards, chamberlains, treasurers, here we have almost the greatest problem of identification. What estate accounts have survived, with the records of government, only occasionally reveal the names and, even more grudgingly, the positions of those in often daily contact with the Hollands. Only as a consequence of the family's greatest crisis, the 1400 rebellion, which involved many of their officials, is it possible to build up any sort of picture of the administration of their households, and also their estates.

In 1400, Thomas III's steward was Nicholas Gascoigne, a younger son of the Yorkshire family of Gawthorpe, who had first appeared in Thomas II's service in 1384, being thenceforward heavily involved in both his financial affairs in London and the administration of his post as custodian of 1 Cherbourg. Symbolic of the court influence of the Hollands that drew men to their service, Gascoigne not only received a £20 Holland annuity from Cottingham manor in Yorkshire, but was also awarded a 10 mark royal annuity, first from the exchequer, then from Yorkshire's issues, as well as wine from Hull and fish from the river Foss. He also brought into Holland service his two lawyer brothers: Richard Gascoigne, Thomas II's appointee as marshal of the exchequer in 1384 and steward of Cottingham manor in 1400, and William Gascoigne, later chief justice of the King's Bench, who acted variously as Thomas III's attorney, feoffee and councillor. The local interests in Yorkshire that must have initiated these connections are

E159/177, Com. Hil. r.9d. His Holland service did him no harm as he was the duchy of Lancaster's steward in the north in November 1400. 4. E.Foss, <u>Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England</u>, (1870), 290-2. C.P.R. 1391-6, 554; C.P.R. 1396-9, 406.

Ladbroke Manor Dispute, 321-5; P.R.O., E403/510, m.17; E403/543, m.5; Staffordshire R.O., D641/1/2/5, m.2; P.R.O., C76/70, m.38.
 C.P.R. 1396-9, 470, 487; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 133, 287.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1381-5, 482; Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster j, 418; P.R.O.,

reflected in the stonework of the great Holland foundation of Mount Grace 1 priory which bears both Holland and Gascoigne shields. For Nicholas and Richard, the Hollands provided employment and reward and also access to the much larger fund of patronage of the king. In return, Nicholas and Richard provided service through their posts and they would also have assisted the Holland cause in Yorkshire through their own influence there. Additionally, they facilitated the great judicial weight and authority of William 2 Gascoigne being used for Holland benefit.

A similar pattern of a younger brother drawing other members of his family into Holland service occurs with the Cliftons of Lancashire. The younger brother, Nicholas, was a landless rogue accused of rape in 1382 in the New Forest, Thomas II's preserve. Nicholas may already have been in his service then as other Holland men were among his accomplices: Philip Oldefrende and John Hobeldod. The latter was actually John I's man and it was in John's service that Nicholas became most notorious; besides deputising for him in the admiralty court, he abetted his murder of Sir Ralph Stafford in 1385 and terrorised the Chesterfield tenants of Thomas III in the 1390s. However, the elder Clifton, Sir Robert, served the earls of Kent, being chamberlain to Thomas III in 1398. The earls of Kent had no

6. Ladbroke Manor Dispute, 321-5. Clifton was by then a man of considerable experience. His career is detailed in J.S.Roskell, 'The Knights of the Shire for the County Palatine of Lancaster (1377-1460)', Chetham Society, New Series, xcvi (1937), 51-3.

^{1.} W.H.St.John Hope, 'Architectural History of Mount Grace Charterhouse', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xviii (1904-5), 297-8.

^{2.} None of the three brothers was embroiled in the 1400 disaster, all appearing on 1401 commissions of the peace and surviving until at least 1419: C.P.R. 1399-1401, 567; Testamenta Eboracensia i, 390-5.

^{3.} Sir Robert Clifton, head of the family, held four manors in Lancashire: V.C.H. Lancashire vii, 162.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 197; Post, 'West and the Statute of Rapes', 25-29. Nicholas drew protections to go to Scotland in Thomas II's company in 1385: P.R.O., C71/65, m.9.

^{5.} P.R.O., KB9/167, no.4; C.P.R. 1388-92, 159; C.I.M. 1392-9, 59.

obvious Lancashire interests and the case of the Cliftons is a rare example of some correlation between the affinities of the two Holland families.

As was to be expected, considerable continuity existed between the households of Thomas II and Thomas III: Hugh Wolatton, presented to the Holland benefice of Layham in Norfolk in 1394 by Thomas II, became Thomas III's household treasurer. Going back further, William Glym, Thomas III's receiver and heavily involved with him in Ireland, had links with Thomas II, the princess Joan and even the Black Prince, whilst all the time also serving the king, principally as receiver of North Wales from 1389. Generally, though, Thomas II can have inherited fewer officials from Thomas I and even the Black Prince than he might have done because of the longevity of his mother. Joan continued to hold the Holland share of the Kent inheritance from 1360 until her death in 1385, by which time Thomas II was already 35, married, and a father, and well equipped with his own household.

By contrast, John I, as a younger son, had to build up his household, like his inheritance, from scratch. So his officers naturally reflected his own service with both Gaunt and the king, as well as the concentration of his estates in the south west. Sir John Herle had been one of Gaunt's knights who came from Cornwall and became John I's steward of his ousehold. Thomas Shelley was a royal squire from Buckinghamshire who continued to serve both king and John I as steward of the former in Cornwall and of all the latter's estates as well as the master of his

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- 3. Gaunt's Register 1379-1383 i, 8; P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Pas. r.27.

^{1.} P.R.O., E101/247/5; Norwich R.O., Bishop Tanner's Index to Institutions. I am grateful to Miss Kennedy for this last reference.

^{2.} P.R.O., E101/334/30; E403/561, m.4; C.C.R. 1385-9, 683; C.C.R. 1389-92,

household. Shelley was very closely attached to John I, being on occasion 2 his sole cofeoffee and losing his life for him in the 1400 rebellion. He also brought a brother, Richard, a cleric, into John I's service, probably as his own deputy as steward. Holland proximity to the crown also meant that John I's servants could expect reward not only from his own patronage, but also from the king. The patronage John I could offer his clerical servants, presentation to his benefices, was only infrequently available; Richard Shelley, his deputy steward, and Robert Boys, his chancellor, were presented to benefices in the royal gift in the diocese of Exeter late in 1396, Clayhidon and Hemyock respectively.

Another cleric who held a benefice not in John I's gift was his first receiver-general, the lawyer John Bodilly. He had been presented to St. Ewe in Cornwall by Robert Tresilian, but moved to Holland service on Tresilian's fall in 1388. In an act reminiscent of his master's own violence, he met his end murdered by John I's Barnstaple steward, Warin ⁵ Waldegrave, in April 1394. Bodilly's replacement as receiver-general was John Holland, apparently no relation of his master, and another holding a benefice not in John I's gift, Exeter St. Pancras, presented to by Stephen ⁶ Durneforde. John I's chamberlain was Sir William Coggeshale of Essex,

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6. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 59; The Register of John Stafford Bishop of Bath and Wells 1425-1443 j, ed. T.S.Holmes, (Somerset Record Society, xxxi, 1915), 169, 171; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.7d.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 409; <u>Ladbroke Manor Dispute</u>, ed. Post, 323; Harcourt, <u>His</u> Grace the Steward, 448.

^{2.} C.P.R. 1401-5, 282; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 47.

^{3.} C.P.R. 1401-5, 450.

^{4.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 60; Harcourt, His Grace the Steward, 447.

^{5.} P.R.O., E368/166, Hil. Rec. r.8; The Register of Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1370-1394) i, ed. F.C.Hingeston-Randolph, (1901), 134; C.P.R. 1396-9, 70. Reprint of the Barnstaple Records ii, ed. J.R.Chanter & T.Wainwright, (Barnstaple, 1900), 81; P.R.O., JUST3/179, m.49d, Waldegrave was imprisoned in Launceston 1395-8. John Londham, Bodilly's deputy, was also possibly implicated as he was replaced in March 1395: E368/166, Hil. Rec. r.8, Pas. Rec. r.5d.

another proven administrator, valued by the crown even after John I's 1 demise. For such as he, and Bodilly to a lesser extent, John I was just another employer, allowing perhaps a better chance of royal patronage. John I needed such experienced administrators to set up and run his fledgling household administration based mainly at his magnificent mansion of Dartington in Devon and his London hostel as well as his royal castle of Berkhamsted.

Having looked at some of the Holland household officers, some attention should now be paid to the great corpus of estate officials who actually oversaw the running of their estates and produced their seigneurial revenues. At the local level of bailiff or receiver of individual estates, these officials were largely local men of no great ambition, usually chosen by the locals from amongst themselves, but on occasion appointed by the lord. Other local offices could be less taxing and be more profitably used to reward a deserving servant. For instance, the post of parker on some estates was one which the king was careful to appoint to himself in the first months after the 1400 rebellion.

The stewardships of the more significant manors or groups of estates were more coveted positions and likely to be given as reward for some signal service or administrative competence, though local influence still counted for much. The two stewards supervising the Holland estates in Lindsey and Kesteven in 1400, William Michell and John Repynghale 4 respectively, were local men. The steward of Cottingham in Yorkshire, the

3. Easton, Torpell, Upton and Cottingham: C.P.R. 1399-1401, 195, 196, 199. 4. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 38-9; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 269, 346, 517; P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Pas. r.6d. Michell also acted locally for John I's steward, Thomas Shelley.

 <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 55; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 559, (on the Essex commission of the peace in May 1401).
 Coggeshale was active at all three locations in 1399: P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. r.33; Ladbroke Manor Dispute, 323.

aforementioned Richard Gascoigne, was a more senior man, being assisted at Cottingham by a deputy and receiver as well as a host of other minor 1 officials.

The organisation that grouped these estates, channelled their revenues and ensured their efficient and profitable running is again only rarely illuminated. When the Black Prince controlled the Kent inheritance for his wife Joan from 1361 to 1376, the estates were organised in some six groups under stewards. The intervention of the Prince's administration is only obvious on those more southern estates, with some being leased off and some integrated with his own lands. How many of the officials appointed by the Prince had been Thomas I's men or even survived from the time of Joan's brother John who had died only in 1352 is impossible to say. Yet the combination of Thomas I's absence in France for much of his eight year seisin 1352-60, and Thomas II not gaining full access to his inheritance for 25 years thereafter until 1385, meant that the permeation of Holland influence and Holland appointed officials can have been only very slow. It was to be interrupted again 1400-4 and to cease altogether in 1408. When a Holland did gain control of his inheritance, he would have to run it using many officials who did not owe their appointments to the Holland family.

The background to the organisation of the Huntingdon inheritance was somewhat different. It had been granted piecemeal to John I during Richard II's reign and the various groups of estates naturally brought their own officials appointed by the previous owners. John I's fledgling central administration then had to group and organise these estates into a competent, manageable whole, catering for or composing local differences.

P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Hil. r.9d; <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 41-2.
 <u>Register of Black Prince</u> iv 397-556 details his appointments of stewards, surveyors and bailiffs and their salaries.

The main block of the estates had come from the escheated Audley inheritance and part of these, whose seisin the abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower disputed in times of Holland weakness, was consistently maintained as a separate entity, not featured, for instance, in the extensive enfeoffments of most of his inheritance made by John II in the 1440s.

The actual estate administration in the south west was overseen by at least three stewards. William Burlestone was steward of the Holland seat of Dartington and the adjacent Bovey Tracey. He was of considerable local influence, serving as j.p., m.p. and escheator for Devon and acting as the widowed countess of Devon's steward at Clayton and, after 1400, John Cornwall's steward at Barnstaple. John Brakkelegh was rather more obscure, but was evidently a highly valued administrator, being entrusted with a clutch of Holland manors in north Devon and their estates in the eastern part of Cornwall. The duchy of Cornwall estates held by John I in western Cornwall, centred on Lostwithiel, were in the care of John Lanhergy. No administrators are known for the Holland Somerset manors and Northlew and Langacre in Devon. Significantly, though, these were all properties disputed by the abbey of St. Mary Graces and their officials and organisation may have been retained. Again, the bailiffs of the individual estates were men of less significance, though, as with the steward, the official at Dartington was a man of some prominence, John Martyn. He also

1. P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.25; Tyldesley, The Crown in Devon and Cornwall: thesis, 56, 72, 83; P.R.O., JUST3/186, m.8. 2. <u>C.I.M. 1399-1422</u>, 51, 60; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.25. His responsibilities included Barnstaple, South Molton, Fremington, Combe Martin, Holsworthy, Winkleigh, Trematon and Calstock.

- 3. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 57.
- 4. However Holsworthy and Bovey Tracey were also claimed by the abbey of St. Mary Graces and they did come under Holland administration.

acted for John I in the admiral's court at Lostwithiel and south Devon in the early 1390s. John I clearly needed to recruit experienced officials, using them in a variety of work: John Colyn, who officiated in his courts at Barnstaple and South Molton, also served the earl of Salisbury as his reeve in Stokenham manor in Devon. However, he does not appear to have relied so much on the central administration for his officials as his elder brother. His administration owed nothing to the Black Prince or Joan and looked more to the native south west for its members as part of John I's efforts to establish himself in local society there.

Moving on from estate officials and organisation, next to be discussed will be that often elusive fluid grouping of lawyers, officials and administrators, the lord's council. It was essential to the smooth running of a lord's estates and, leading on from that, the pursuit of his property claims both through the courts and by its own arbitration. Its members thus often reflect a lord's particular influence at a certain time.

Only once is there a glimpse of a Holland council and its activities: in the familiar last years of Richard II's reign. The detailed record of the dispute over the manor of Ladbroke in Warwickshire reveals Thomas III being assisted by a council of seven. His steward, Nicholas Gascoigne, was very active in the dispute but was not recorded as a councillor. Those that were included the chamberlain, Sir Robert Clifton, the chief auditor, John

C.Rawcliffe, 'Baronial Councils in the Later Middle Ages', in Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England, ed. C.D.Ross, (Gloucester, 1979), 87-108.

^{1.} P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.25; Select Pleas in the Admiralty Court, (Selden Society, vi), 156, 160.

^{2.} P.R.O., JUST3/179, m.39; Barnstaple Records jj, 112; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 54.

^{3.} The appointment of royal outsiders to local offices in the early 1380s had not been a success: Tyldesley, The Crown in Devon and Cornwall: thesis, 132-156.

^{4.} For a full discussion of the makeup and role of a magnate's council see

Scarclyf, and the Cheshireman Edward Scherd who acted as Thomas' exchequer attorney for payments concerning his prisoner Lord Cobham. The other four were all eminent lawyers, William Brenchesley, William Gascoigne, William Hornby and Robert Tyrwhyt, a clue to the litigation Thomas III anticipated and the political pull he commanded.

Turning now to the attornies appointed by the Hollands when going 3 abroad, the evidence is again strong for the later years of Richard II, yet it is most illuminating for Thomas I, because of his frequent trips to France.

When he went abroad, some portion of his household, and often his wife, remained to manage his estate and domestic affairs. Yet he also needed some replacement(s) for his influence locally, and in the central administration. A lot of the attornies' work in maintaining his influence, ensuring he did not lose all the fruits of patronage whilst away, discouraging, by their mere existence, potential plaintiffs from raising disputes in his absence, has left no trace. Often no more than their mere appointment is known, generally enrolled on the French or patent rolls. Their service was usually limited to Thomas' anticipated absence abroad and coincided with the duration of the protection often issued to Thomas at the same time. Thomas' early attorney appointments were delineated by a feast day four, five, six or more months hence. When he began taking on longer term administrative posts as lieutenant or captain of an area, then his attornies were frequently appointed for a full year.

limited roles of attornies.

4. Attornies were appointed on 8 October 1360 until the Purification (2 February 1361), just under four months, when Thomas was indenting to serve as lieutenant of France for only one quarter: P.R.O., C76/40, m.4.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 197; P.R.O., E403/561, m.12; E401/609, m.6.

^{2.} Ladbroke Manor Dispute, 321-5.

^{3.} F.Pollock & F.W.Maitland, The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I j, (Cambridge, 1895), 191-196; ibid. jj, 224-5 on the early,

Attornies were only needed when there were interests in England to protect so Thomas I, as a royal household knight of no great independent means, appointed none before March 1343. Then he appointed three until Michaelmas whilst he was abroad. All three were men with close family links: Sir Henry FitzRoger was an intimate of his mother Maud, being involved in various land transactions with her; Alan Holland was his younger brother; and Geoffrey Loffnik had already acted as attorney for his mother and elder brother Robert.

Two months later, in May 1343, well before the previous attornies' terms of office had run out, Thomas appointed two more: FitzRoger again, and a local clerical namesake, John Holland, parson of Laughton in 4 Leicestershire. Whilst he was at the siege of Calais, William Hoghwyke and Thomas Wakelyn were appointed, and reappointed, to represent his interests in England, both probably through local connections with Thomas in the 5 central midlands.

In February 1352, Thomas' attornies reflected his growing importance and influence. There were four of them, with more diverse and outstanding backgrounds than previously: Sir Gerard Braybrok was a war veteran of some stature in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; Roger Faryngton was from Lancashire and had already served several others as an attorney; William Walyngford was a royal cleric who could well represent Thomas' interests at

generals in an undated C81/1728/98. Wakelyn was a Northamptonshire man and was later to investigate his complaint of disorders in Easton park in 1356: C.P.R. 1354-58, 447.

^{1.} P.R.O., C76/18, m.13. Never less than two attornies are appointed, to cover the possible death of one of them.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1340-43</u>, 330-331; <u>C.P.R. 1350-54</u>, 242; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 10-11.

^{3.} P.R.O., C260/121, no.16; C.C.R. 1341-43, 102.

^{4. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1343-45</u>, 15. John Holland's details are in Enden, <u>Biographical</u> <u>Register of Oxford</u>, 943. He was not a close relative of the family. 5. P.R.O., C76/23, m.3; C76/24, m.1. Both are also listed as his attorney-

court; John Brykelesworth is otherwise unknown. Thomas now needed to maintain his interests both at home in the central midlands and at court and he had gained the necessary renown to attract people of sufficient standing themselves to do that.

This pattern is emphasised even more clearly in the list of attornies appointed on his departure as lieutenant of Brittany. Some nine were left to uphold his cause in England, illustrating both the importance of his post, and of his own position by now. They ranged from Roger Mortimer, earl of March, to the cleric Ranulph Saleby, whose consistent reappointment as his attorney hereafter indicates some close household position. Others included the prominent knights Sir Henry Grene and Sir John Wyngefeld, a close associate and fellow veteran of Gascony and Sluys in Sir Richard Pembrugg, and three senior clerics from the major government departments: David Wollore, keeper of the rolls of chancery, Gervase Wilford, a baron of the exchequer, and John Winwick, soon to be keeper of the privy seal. Such an impressive array of notables were meant to act for a year, yet in November 1354, not eight months after their appointment, just John Raynford and Ranulph Saleby were appointed Thomas' attornies until 1 August. Both were clerics, probably of Thomas' household (Raynford later served under him in Normandy) and so would probably have represented Thomas' interests more conscientiously and assiduously than the apparently more powerful and influential group of March 1354. Raynford and Saleby's reappointment in August 1355 for a year confirms that they were the ones who were actually

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4. P.R.O., C76/36, m.8.

^{1. &}lt;u>C.P.R.</u> 1350-54, 231. Braybrok also had links with the earls of Kent: <u>C.P.R.</u> 1338-40, 133; <u>C.P.R.</u> 1350-54, 383.

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R.</u> 1354-58, 15.

^{3.} P.R.O., C76/32, m.4.

doing some work and upholding their lord's position in England.

A similar pattern recurred with Thomas' return abroad in October 1358. Another impressive group of seven was appointed with only two newcomers to the group of four and a half years before; this speaks much for mutual satisfaction with the original arrangement, despite the later changes. As before, the large group was reduced to two, the loyal Saleby, and Wilford, though this time after the original group had served its full year. Thomas was now wishing to maintain one attorney to look after his domestic affairs and one to preserve his position in government circles, perhaps the ideal balance. In this two-man team, the third main element in the large groups, the prominent local knight, had been dropped. Saleby was certainly an important link for Thomas, especially when Thomas' wife Joan went abroad with him as well and his home administration was completely bereft of its master's influence.

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Such combinations of royal and Holland officials can also be illustrated for John I and Thomas III for the later part of Richard II's reign.

For instance, in 1386 John I called on John Waltham, keeper of the rolls of Chancery, William Packington, chancellor of the exchequer, Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London and, perhaps surprisingly, the duke of Gloucester, as well as the Holland men Warin Waldegrave and Richard 5 Gascoigne to act as his attornies whilst he was away in Spain. As the

Otto was also absent with Thomas then and there is no indication that their elder brother Robert ever had anything to do with the Kent inheritance. 5. P.R.O., C76/70, m.17.

^{1.} P.R.O., C76/33, m.7. Otto also used Raynford as his attorney at the same time, coupled with Sir Henry Grene, Thomas' discarded attorney of March 1354.

^{2.} P.R.O., C76/36, m.8.

^{3.} P.R.O., C76/38, m.15.

^{4.} As in November 1354 and October 1358: P.R.O., C76/32, m.4; C76/38, m.15.

prominence of John I, and Thomas III, in royal service rose, so also rose the numbers and stature of the royal officials and supporters they appointed as their attornies.

To find some indication of the activities of such representatives of the Hollands, the <u>per manus</u> entries in the exchequer issue rolls can be examined. Most of the payments the Hollands received at the exchequer for their various royal services were <u>per manus</u> of someone. For Thomas II, this was usually an estate official, often Nicholas Gascoigne or Robert Scarclyf. Waldegrave and Bodilly likewise frequently acted for John I, but he also had recourse on occasions to exchequer officials: William Waxcombe, a deputy chamberlain, in 1398, John Hermesthorp, a chamberlain, in 1389, and even the treasurer himself, Hugh Segrave, in 1384. This may well represent a form of discounting, indicating John I's need for ready cash caused by his initial lack of lands, his expensive activities abroad, and his building. It is perhaps significant in this context that Thomas II made no use of his own appointee at the exchequer, Richard Gascoigne, the 3 marshal there, to receive his payments, though Nicholas Gascoigne often acted for Thomas II.

The annuities charged on the Holland estates will next be considered to illustrate the rewards the Hollands could offer; here the focus is on John II. The income tax assessors of 1436 recorded that his own lands were supporting 18 annuitants in the annual sum of £119 12s. With his wife Beatrice's dower lands included, their landed income was valued at £1,002 $\frac{4}{4}$ per annum, (with £170 12s of that going on 26 annuitants). As they were to

Officers of the Exchequer, (List and Index Society, Special Series, xviji, 1983), 23, 185. 3. He did act for Thomas III in 1398: P.R.O., E403/562, m.10. 4. P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1396-9, 406, 520.

^{2.} P.R.O., E403/559, m.1; E403/524, m.14; E403/505, mm.10 & 17; J.C.Sainty,

be charged income tax on these figures, it was in the Hollands' interests to play down their income and emphasise their outgoings on annuities. In fact, by 1447 the number of annuities charged on the Holland estates had risen to 28 with a total annual value of £182 3s 8d, an increase of over 1^{1} 50% in just 11 years. Some were pensions for less important posts probably not included in 1436 but, to balance that, figures in 1447 are not really forthcoming for Holland estates outside the south west. The increase probably represents several factors beyond the increasingly fractious nature of domestic politics: John II's own increased status and prestige, reflected by his elevation to a dukedom; reward for some of his large Gascon retinue of 1440; and life annuitants not dying out as fast as new ones were being granted.

Some of those blandly recorded as drawing annuities in 1436 were actually being paid for duties as officials of estates: John Fysshere's f4 11s 4d from Stone and Catsash hundreds in Somerset was his salary for 5 acting as bailiff there. Yet some of these estate positions were undoubtedly sinecures, granted in return for services already rendered and not entailing onerous administrative duties. One of John II's first acts on his release from captivity in France was to reward William Junnyng, who had served with him in 1415 and 1417 at least, with the stewardship of Blagdon

5. <u>Ibid</u>., m.6.

^{1.} The figures are based on his inquisitions post mortem recorded in P.R.O., C139/127/25; E149/184/5; E152/544.

^{2.} John Toller was appointed bailiff of Bovey Tracy at 4d a day in 1437: P.R.O., E152/544, m.1.

^{3.} No figures survive for any payments made from his French lands though Robert Rockley, castelan of Lesparre, was owed £200 at John II's death: W.A.M., 6643.

^{4.} Such as Thomas Bodulgate, appointed constable of Trematon in January 1444: P.R.O., E152/544, m.4.

and Lydford manors at 10 marks <u>per annum</u> in June 1426. Another such post was that of steward of Devon estates awarded to the prominent Devonian Nicholas Radford at 10 marks <u>per annum</u> in 1435, though rather in the hope of the support and services he might yet render to the local Holland cause than in return for those already performed. John Enderby esquire and Sir Thomas Gray drew their annuities of £3 6s 8d and £26 13 4d respectively from Stevington with no pretence of official duties attached. Both were prominent local men in Bedfordshire, associated mutually, as well as with John II. Their recruitment reflects John II's somewhat puzzling concern for the area, and his dispute there in the later 1420s (in fact four annuities were charged on Stevington in 1436) and presages his son's violent efforts to extend his propertied interests there in the early 1450s.

This concern for Bedfordshire aside, the vast majority of John II's annuities were charged, naturally, on his south west estates. Some were more heavily charged than others, though this was not reflective of their relative values: Blagdon and Langacre both sustained three annuitants each, yet John II preferred not to assign away any of the considerable income of Fremington. Dartington had no annuitants recorded in 1436, yet it was supporting several officials then, reflecting its importance as a Holland 4 residence. Overall, John II's generosity was not lavish: Thomas Gray's 40 marks apart, none received more than 10 marks a year. Yet his expenditure was still more than his estates could readily sustain; at his death, Gray was owed 500 marks and Robert Rockley, his Lesparre castelan, was owed

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3. P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30; <u>History of Parliament Biographies</u>, ed. J.C.Wedgwood, (1936), 300-1; <u>G.E.C.</u> x, 777-8; Archer, Mowbrays: thesis, 258-262.

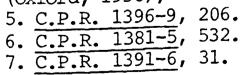
4. P.R.O., E152/544, mm.2-3.

P.R.O., E101/45/7; E101/51/2; E152/544, m.6. He justified his lord's reward by following him to Gascony in 1439: E101/53/22.
 P.R.O., E152/544, m.2. He was also enlisted as John II's attorney in 1439: C61/129, m.10.

E200. The estates were put under greater strain by his son's aggressive schemes. John Chancy held a 40 mark annuity from Ardington, yet this was not paid for five years and he was eventually leased the manor. Others were also receiving lavish amounts, such as Henry Norbury, his chamberlain, holding 40 marks from Manorbier, and his bastard brothers, Thomas and 3 William, with £40 between them.

In the previous generation, John I had also been generous in his awards, several of his followers receiving £10, 20 marks and even £20 a year. Such generosity was born of a need to buy support in an area of already well established and clearly defined influences. John I could not only offer his own patronage, but also provided access to the king's. It was clearly John's royal influence that brought John Smert, already his annuitant, and Walter Bisshope, the award in September 1397 of property in Southwark forfeited by the earl of Arundel worth 40s as the patent entitles them as yeomen of the duke of Exeter. Furthermore, the grant in February 1385 to John I's squire John Verdon of £34 worth of forfeited possessions leaves no doubt about John I's influence in the matter: it was made "out of regard for John de Holand, knight, the king's brother". For actual annuities granted to Holland followers, it is also necessary to look further than just the Holland estates; sometimes the crown provided the financial support, such as a £20 exchequer annuity for Robert Feriby in February 1392.

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^{1.} W.A.M., 6643.

^{2.} B.L., Royal 17 B xlvii, ff.68-9.

^{3.} Pierpoint Morgan Library, R of E Box I; Royal Wills, 285.

^{4.} Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals, ed. L.C.Loyd & D.M.Stenton, (Oxford, 1950), 80.

The commitment expected from and shown by these annuitants naturally varied. It was in times of crisis when it was most highly valued. John and Peter Legh of Cheshire shared a £10 annuity from Northwich and abetted John 1 I in the Stafford murder of 1385. John Verdon was also present and continued to serve John I at Conway in 1392 as his lieutenant there, in Calais in 1398 and in the west country trying to sort out the debacle of the return from Ireland in September 1399. William Yurd was one of his squires active in the January 1400 rebellion who managed to retain his £20 annuity in its aftermath and John Hobeldod was a self-seeking squire who trimmed even more impressively, to the extent of having the arrears of his 4 Holland annuity paid off by Henry IV's exchequer in 1401.

To assess this problem of John I's support and influence for a moment from another angle, insights can be gleaned from the commissions of the peace for Devon. John I himself was only appointed in December 1390, thereafter being ever-present, yet no obvious supporter of his joined him on the bench. So John had to cultivate those already on the bench. Martin Ferers, a local administrator of nigh on twenty years' experience for the crown, the earls of Devon and Rutland, Guy de Brien, the archbishop of York and, perhaps most significantly, John I's mother, joined John on the bench in January 1394 and was thence wooed with property in London in June 1395. William Burlestone was a similarly experienced local man who joined John I on the June 1394 bench. By then he had sat in parliament for Totnes, Plympton and Dartmouth, so John I sought to use this local experience by

4. P.R.O., E404/17/364. 5. Tyldesley, The Crown in Devon and Cornwall: thesis, 29, 73, 86; P.R.O., E42/19.

^{1. 36} D.K.R., 289; P.R.O., KB9/167, no.4.

^{2.} Idem; C.P.R. 1391-6, 208; P.R.O., C81/1079/21; E159/178, Com. Tri. r.5. 3. C.P.R. 1399-1401, 256; C.I.M. 1399-1422, 56, 63. He even farmed his Fremington manor for the crown after the rebellion: P.R.O., E401/621.

making William his steward for Dartington and Bovey Tracy. None who already drew an annuity from John I was promoted to the bench. It was to men already well versed in local affairs and administration that John I looked for help and service.

Finally, the patronage that the Hollands could dispense through the various official posts they held needs examination.

Thomas II's establishment on the south coast was based on his holding the post of warden of the forests south of the Trent and having custody of the New Forest, with the royal manors therein, and of Southampton and also Corfe castle. He was furthermore constable of the Tower of London and sometime Marshal of England and captain of Cherbourg in France. Obviously he could not carry out in person the duties of all these posts and experienced able men would be required to act as his deputies. So Sir Baldwin Bereford was his deputy as keeper of the forests south of the Trent and Sir John Sandes was his lieutenant at both Southampton and Cherbourg, exemplifying the link between the two towns. In the forests, the direct patronage available to Thomas II was limited but he may have had some influence in the royal appointments of the wardens and foresters of individual forests, though less with the verderers, elected by the county courts. The post of Marshal of England did bring rights to appoint to certain offices in the royal administration: he nominated Richard Gascoigne as marshal in the exchequer and John Drayton as serjeant-marshal and clerkmarshal of the marshalsea of the king's household.

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74-87, 158-164. 3. <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 482; <u>C.P.R. 1377-81</u>, 563. Details of Gascoigne's office are in Sainty, <u>Officers of the Exchequer</u>, 150, 154.

Tyldesley, The Crown in Devon and Cornwall: thesis, 56, 72, 83; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Mic. r.25.
 Forest officers are detailed in <u>Select Pleas of the Forest</u>, ed.

G.J.Turner, (Selden Society, xiji, 1901), xiv-xxvi; Young, Royal Forests,

The Tower was an especially significant post for the Hollands, with Thomas II, John II and Henry Holland all holding it. Again a deputy was appointed, and these were more obviously Holland men. Thomas II's was William Lye, possibly of the Wiltshire family who acted as his feoffees. John II took more direct interest in the post, making the Tower one of his residences, and this was reflected in his lieutenants: William Yerde, his attorney-general; Sir Philip Dymmok, who served with him in France in 3 1430; and Ralph Lampet, an annuitant of his second wife Beatrice and also 4 his admiralty lieutenant.

The admiralty was another post the Hollands made something of their own preserve with all three Holland dukes of Exeter, as well as the last Holland earl of Kent, holding it. The administrators of their jurisdiction, that is their deputies in the admiralty court, were not just disinterested lawyers, but were also often closely identified with the Hollands. John I's deputy, Sir Nicholas Clifton, has already been described above as a partisan of both John and his elder brother Thomas. Henry Holland's deputy, Hugh Payn, is perhaps the most dramatic example though. Legally trained, he was a household man close to both Henry and his father. He was successfully promoted as m.p. for Exeter in 1450 by Henry, and was violently involved at Spofforth, against Lord Cromwell and in Devon. Payn could also use his admiralty authority to his lord's benefit in chasing up

 C.P.R. 1422-9, 186; Calendar of Select Pleas 1413-37, 185. Yerde, probably sacked for allowing prisoners to escape, was replaced by the royal appointee Robert Scotte whilst John II was imprisoned in France.
 P.R.O., E101/531/32; 48 D.K.R., 274.
 C.P.R. 1436-41, 85; P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30; C1/11/231; C67/39, m.21; Wedgwood, Biographies, 524.
 See above p.260.

6. <u>C.P.R. 1452-61</u>, 346; <u>C.C.R. 1447-54</u>, 411; Alexander, 'Seventh Report on the Parliamentary Representation of Devon', 145; P.R.O., KB9/149/1, no.4 m.27; KB27/775, m.48; E28/88, no.38.

^{1.} C.P.R. 1391-6, 560; C.P.R. 1385-9, 398, 436.

debtors and, going beyond the legal limits, practising a little piracy to 1 their no doubt mutual benefit. The Hollands performed their military duties as admirals only intermittently and here they might have subordinates foisted upon them by royal appointment who were men of experience and renown, though Henry Holland's vice-admiral in 1460 was his 2 Devon neighbour, Baldwin Fulford.



 P.R.O., SC8/46/2278; C1/19/483; C49/50/6 & 7.
 P.R.O., E404/71/4/36; J.J.Alexander, 'Early Owners of Fulford Manor', T.D.A., lxx (1938), 206.

Part 2 The Military Affinity

And what of those military followers of the Hollands? The family thrived throughout the period of the Hundred Years' War and two of its senior members died in France in 1360 and 1408 and another whilst returning thence in 1475. All of the senior Hollands went to France and individuals among them also fought in Spain, Flanders, Prussia, Ireland, Scotland and possibly further afield. They did not fight alone but recruited retinues to support them and serve under their command. It is on the members of these military retinues that attention will now be focussed. Supplemented by occasional muster rolls, the information comes mainly from protections taken out by those intending to serve abroad with the Hollands. This source is not perfect as not everyone who served took out protections and not everyone who took out protections served as some had their protections revoked. The protections often detail status/trade and geographical origin and cover not just service in a military retinue going abroad under Holland command but also service in garrisons abroad commanded by Hollands, principally Cherbourg, Brest and Calais, and service with the Hollands on embassies abroad. This allows a picture to be constructed of the Holland military retinues, to set against the already described features of their domestic affinity.

The most military of the Hollands, Thomas I, relied heavily on ties of kinship to build up the retinues that he led abroad in the early years of the Hundred Years' War. This may well be a distorted view because of the reliance on protections for evidence in the absence of a regular system of 1 muster and review in Edward III's French domains. Furthermore, it was not until September 1347 that anyone specifically received a protection to

1. See Newhall, <u>Muster and Review</u> for the system established in fifteenth century Normandy.

serve with Thomas I, and he had been taking troops abroad for some ten years by then. However, scattered references survive from before 1347 detailing some of his followers, and already something of a familial connection had emerged.

Thomas I was consistently supported by his brother Otto as a royal household knight, and then in positions of greater military responsibility. Alan, another brother, served with Thomas and Otto in the royal household before his early death, certainly by 1346. During Thomas I's early royal household days, a John la Zouche served him as a squire in the Low Countries in 1340, and he may well have come into Thomas' service through his mother Maud, who had been a Zouche. Thomas' elder brother, Robert II, served under him in Brittany in 1355; Robert II's eldest son, also Robert, served, like Thomas, in the royal retinue on the Crecy campaign of 1346. John Holland, Robert II's youngest son, followed Thomas I to Brittany in 1354 and Normandy in 1358, consequently being rewarded by Thomas, some six weeks before his death, with a life grant of his manors of North Weald in Essex and Whissendine in Rutland. Another nephew, Sir John la Warre, younger brother of Roger lord la Warre and son of Thomas' sister Margaret, served with Thomas I at the same time as John Holland. A cousin, Sir Nicholas Seymour of Somerset, served with him in 1359. Finally, Sir Thomas Wake of Blisworth was a Northamptonshire neighbour, and relative of Thomas

5. <u>G.E.C.</u> jv, 144 n.c. 6. <u>P.R.O.</u>, C76/38, m.5. Seymour's mother, Ellen Zouche, and Thomas I's mother, Maud, were sisters: C.I.P.M. xii, 169-170.

^{1.} P.R.O., C76/25, m.12 (Master John Gale of Northampton).

^{2.} P.R.O., E36/203, f.125. He later appears in Lancaster's service in Brittany in 1342: P.R.O., C76/17, m.22.

^{3.} P.R.O., C76/33, mm.7 & 8; Crécy and Calais, 100 & 150; Extracts from the Plea Rolls, 1 to 33 Edward III ji, ed. G.Wrottesley, (W.S.A.S., xii, 1891), 63.

^{4.} P.R.O., C76/32, m.8; C76/33, m.8; C76/36, m.8; C.P.R. 1358-61, 480.

I's wife Joan, who also served with Thomas in Normandy in 1358. This familial element is significant as no oncelse was more consistent in their service to Thomas I. He was not just leading a force of professional soldiers, he was acting as the head of the Holland kin at war. Even if a wide circle of relatives helps to perpetuate this view, Thomas I was still relying greatly on his family for his military supporters and subordinates.

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Beyond these ties of blood, no consistent influence can be discerned in the make-up of Thomas I's war retinues. Nicholas and Ralph Hastynges' service in Brittany in 1354 may reflect the patronage that Thomas I's father extended towards their family in Yorkshire in Edward II's reign. Ralph was a professional soldier though, having served frequently with Henry, duke of Lancaster, and he may have viewed service with Thomas I as the only opportunity at the time to maintain his military career. Such military professionalism was a strong element in the forces of one who himself was very much a full-time soldier: several served in both Thomas I's and Henry of Lancaster's retinues, and Sir John Stokes had served in Guines castle before joining Thomas I in Brittany in 1354, staying there after Thomas was replaced as lieutenant.

Others had more varied backgrounds and did not just serve with Thomas I because his was the next force leaving for France. Sir Richard Pembrugg had been on the early campaigns of the war with Thomas I and came out to

mn.4 & 7.

^{1.} He represented a branch of the Wake family junior to that whose inheritance had come to the earls of Kent on the death of Thomas second lord Wake in 1349. This inheritance included £10 rent from Blisworth, the seat of the junior Wakes: P.R.O., C76/36, m.8; <u>C.I.P.M.</u> x, 41-57. 2. P.R.O., C81/1728/97; C76/32, m.8.

^{3.} Fowler, Henry of Grosmont: thesis jj, 248, 252, 262-3.

^{4.} P.R.O., C76/30, m.2; C76/32, m.5; C76/33, m.12; C76/34, m.18. John Ousthorp and Thomas Thorneton did the same, staying on in Brittany: <u>ibid</u>.,

Brittany in 1354, having just been appointed one of his attornies. The clerk John Raynford travelled in Thomas I's company to Normandy in 1358, having also previously acted as his attorney. Sir John Amory was a young midlands landowner of some wealth who stayed with Thomas I throughout his Breton lieutenancy, serving his military apprenticeship. Sir Thomas Pympe had interests on the south east coast, and these extended also to service in the Channel Islands under Thomas I in 1356. Some, such as Sir Thomas Courtenay, one of the earl of Devon's younger sons, had no obvious links with Thomas I. By 1359, when Courtenay served, Thomas I's renown and prestige, and increased need for troops, were drawing men into his retinue who did not, and could not, have had any personal connection with Thomas at all.

A non-millitary element also took out protections to serve with Thomas I and the needs of supply and administration thereby represented were even more pertinent in the retinues with which Thomas I's sons, Thomas II and John I, garrisoned their respective French commands of Cherbourg (1384-5) and Brest (1389-97). Those going to Brest included five clerics, a grocer, skinner, shipman, upholsterer, tailor and two victuallers. Yet, again, not all fuffilled their protections as around 10% of the protections issued to John's garrison were revoked as the recipients never actually served $_{6}^{6}$ there. (The illicit use of protections to avoid legal actions at home was recognised and acted against by the Commons in 13 Richard II.)

5. P.R.O., C76/36, m.4; C76/38, mm.5 & 8.

6. The protections are recorded on the French rolls, P.R.O., C76/73-81, and the revocations on the patent rolls, C.P.R. 1388-92 and C.P.R. 1391-6.

7. Statutes of the Realm jj, 65.

^{1.} Froissart ii, 398; ibid. iii, 197; P.R.O., C76/32, m.8; C.P.R. 1354-58, 15. Thomas later rewarded him with the £11 1s rent he was entitled to from the Essex manors of Southbury and Ham: ibid., 422. 2. P.R.O., C76/36, m.8; C.P.R. 1354-58, 15.

^{3.} C.I.P.M. x, 117-8; P.R.O., C76/32, m.8; C76/33, mm.8 & 14.

^{4.} C.P.R. 1350-54, 26, 453; C.P.R. 1354-58, 371; P.R.O., C76/34, m.5.

Furthermore, the garrison must have included a considerable number who had served under the previous commander, the earl of Arundel. Indeed, Sir Edward Dalyngregge, John I's lieutenant in Brest, had held the same post for Arundel. In fact, the lieutenant was very much a professional soldier and John's real contact with and control over Brest may have been exercised through his retainer John Hobeldod who drew protections on four separate occasions to go there. The rest of John's retinue there shows little correlation with his affinity in England and was mainly drawn from the traditional maritime counties in the south west or south east, though there were few from central southern England, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex or Surrey. In those areas, men looked to their own defence in such as Southampton or Portsmouth, or made up the garrison in the Cotentin port of Cherbourg. This was true when Thomas II was captain of Cherbourg 1384-5, though a considerable Lancashire element in his garrison there is curious until the prior service of at least one of them in Ireland and the absence of trades being listed for them in their protections is noticed. They were professional soldiers; in fact, very few of the garrison had any prior links with Thomas II.

A broadly similar picture emerges from the forces that served wwith 3 John II in France. Around a fifth of his retinue came from the south west, yet the largest proportion, about a half, came from the south east. Given the concentration of the dower interests of his first two wives, surprisingly few originated from the central southern coast. This does bear

3. Expedition musters are in P.R.O., E101/45/7 (1415); E101/51/2 (1417); E101/53/22 (1439). Garrison musters are in Archives Nationales, K63/10/18 (Neufchâtel December 1430); K63/10/36 (Neufchâtel March 1431). Protections are in 41 D.K.R.; <u>44 D.K.R.</u>; <u>48 D.K.R.</u>; P.R.O., C61/129; C61/130.

In June 1389, January 1392, February 1393 and July 1395: P.R.O., C76/73, m.3; C76/76, m.11; C76/77, m.11; C76/80, m.19.
 P.R.O., C76/70, mm.35, 36; C76/69, m.9; <u>C.P.R. 1381-5</u>, 289.

out though his non-dependance on his estates for his retinues. He had indeed recruited retinues before he even had seisin of those estates in 1417. A military reputation gained early and frequent absence in London meant he did not need to rely solely on the areas of his estates for the recruitment of his military retinues.

As to the nature of John II's military followers, the picture is again clouded by the revocation of around 10% of the protections issued to his retinue. Interestingly, half of them were for people from London, all tradesmen or merchants of some sort, trying to hide from their creditors in John II's expeditions. Overall, there was a great variety of occupations amongst those enlisting in John II's service. Of 112 with occupation or status detailed, there were fifteen knights, seven squires, ten gentlemen, nine yeomen and six husbandmen. Only two were specified as clerics, a much smaller proportion than John I had taken to Brest. Eleven were merchants and the rest were tradesmen or craftsmen of great diversity; only two were called soldiers.

The last and largest force John II took abroad was in 1439 to Gascony and this is worthy of some separate attention. It included half of all his annuitants listed in 1436 (nine out of eighteen) and three-quarters of those holding the major annuities of ten marks or more (six out of eight). Two of his wife's eight FitzAlan annuitants also went along. Few of his active estate officials went as his stay in Gascony was scheduled for six years and he would look to those officials for the sound administration of his inheritance in his absence. The personal connections amongst his senior

 2. Sir Thomas Grey, Thomas Carmynowe, John Knottesford, John Chancy, John Eton and William Junnyngs.
 3. Florence Lee and John Chaumbre.

^{1.} P.R.O., E163/7/31/2/30.

subordinates have already been noted: Thomas and Edmund Grey were his nephews, John Holland of Thorpe Waterville his cousin. There was also a household element amongst the archers: John of Ewery, Laurence of Bakehouse and John of Stable. These close followers in his retinue could expect offices and other rewards in Gascony. Yet, in a total force of 2,310, personal ties were necessarily no more than an element. John II transported much of his affinity to Gascony but there were also many who had no ties with him, were military professionals and would remain in Gascony after his departure home. His subordinates Sir Thomas Rempston, Sir Robert Clyfton and Sir Philip Chetwynd all stayed, or went back to Gascony, as did such lesser men as Thomas Spede, a London fishmonger. As with his grandfather Thomas I in the earlier part of the Hundred Years' War, John II was leading the Holland kin and its followers to war, and providing opportunities for service to many unconnected, professional soldiers.

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Bayonne respectively: ibid., 120, 117, 161. Chetwynd's appointment did however have much to do with politics in south west England. 4. Issued with protections in April 1439, December 1440 and May 1442: P.R.O., C61/129, m.21; C61/130, m.17; <u>48 D.K.R.</u>, 352.

^{1.} See above p.212.

^{2.} Vale, <u>Gascony</u>, 110 & n.7, 116-7. His squire Robert Rockley had some trouble holding on to his office of castelan of Lesparre.

^{3.} They became seneschal of Gascony, constable of Bordeaux and mayor of

Part 3 Ecclesiastical Patronage

The right to appoint to benefices associated with many of their estates put more patronage at the Hollands' disposal. The use made by magnates of this potential to reward and provide for their clerical officials and followers varied considerably. Often the motives behind an appointment are unclear and it can be hard to determine whether subsequent connections with the patron result from the appointment or reflect the reasons for it. Outside influences, from such as the crown or the local bishop, to appoint their cleric may not even have been obvious at the time and are now impossible to trace. An attempt to discern any coherent policy towards ecclesiastical patronage by aristocratic patrons is also hindered by the inconsistency of vacancies and the individual factors in each appointment. Given all this, some conclusions can still be drawn from the use the Hollands made of the advowsons they held, both of parish churches and religious houses; the latter were less significant and can be dealt with more summarily.

Religious houses' advowsons brought varying degrees of influence for 2 the holder, often dependant upon the house's order. Several of the Holland advowsons were alien cells of houses in France and so suffered considerably during the French wars from royal takeover. Furthermore, few of the Holland advowsons were of houses of great import. Combined with the incompleteness of recorded lists of appointments for many of them, and the prevalence of local names amongst those appointments that do survive,

(Oxford, 1955) 3. Haugham, Minting and Wilsford in Lincolnshire, advowsons of the earls of Kent; Barnstaple in Devon, of the earls of Huntingdon.

^{1.} For two contrasting cases, see R.I.Jack, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage Exercised by a Baronial Family in the Late Middle Ages', Journal of <u>Religious History</u>, jij. (1964-5), 275-295; Rawcliffe, <u>The Staffords</u>, 83. 2. S.Wood, <u>English Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century</u>,

Holland initiative is not obvious; acceptance of an election being probably the limit to the exercise of their rights with disputes over appointments 1 being minimal.

However, that is not to say that their interest in the houses where they held the advowson was minimal. Thomas II's affection for Bourn was such that he intended to be buried there and so solicited a licence to grant the alien priory of Wilsford to it in 1397. These special ties between Bourn and the Hollands were highlighted in 1409 when the longserving abbot Geoffrey granted to the widowed Joan countess of Kent the right to appoint to the next vacancy to occur in any of four specified advowsons it held.

Nor were the Hollands' interests restricted to those houses whose advowson they held. The influence of the earls of Kent in Hampshire has already been well described, and this influence extended to ecclesiastical institutions as well. Beaulieu abbey was a substantial foundation on the New Forest coast that was in some trouble towards the end of the fourteenth century. The success of Holland efforts to revive its fortunes were limited, but it was to Beaulieu that Alice, Thomas II's widow, and later Lucy, the fourth earl of Kent's widow, retired to live out their last days 4in the early fifteenth century. Holland influence also extended to the abbey of Quarr on the Isle of Wight and the priory of St. Swithuns in 5Winchester.

4. Hockey, <u>Beaulieu Abbey</u>, 106-116. Mounting debts, internal indiscipline and a damaging disputed election were the highlights of its problems. 5. The Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St. Swithun, Winchester 1345-1497, ed. J.Greatrex, (Hampshire Record Series, ii, 1978), 29.

^{1.} A monastic election is described in I.J.Churchill, <u>Canterbury</u> Administration i, (1933), 121-2.

^{2.} P.R.O., SC8/224/11198; C.P.R. 1396-9, 144, 374.

^{3.} V.C.H. Lincolnshire ii, 178; The Register of Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincoln 1420-31 i, ed. N.H.Bennett, (Canterbury and York Society, 1xxiii, 1984), 73. She appointed to Thrapston in 1422.

Yet the Hollands also exhibited that increasing concern for privacy, leven in worship, noted by Dr. Richmond. Thomas II acquired licences for baptisms in his New Forest home in 1390, spurning the parish church. His father, Thomas I, was allowed a portable altar for his private devotions on campaign in 1347. The multitude of luxuriant chapel fittings left by both John I and John II in 1400 and 1447 respectively is testimony to the outward devotion shown by them in the private practising of their 3 religion.

This expense lavished privately on religion was reciprocated in more public professions of faith by the Hollands. Admittedly it was as a penance for his murder of Ralph Stafford in 1385, but John I did found a chantry at King's Langley to celebrate his victim's soul. John I's grandfather, Robert I, had been the last founder of a Benedictine priory at Upholland, in 1319, even if it was not the most generous of benefactions, but a far more celebrated and fashionable foundation was that by Thomas III of the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace in Yorkshire in 1398.

Considering now the secular benefices the Hollands appointed to, most of these were connected to their estates, but several of their manors' 6 churches were appointed to by outside patrons, often ecclesiastical. On the largest estates, there was scope for appointment to more than one living: Cottingham had its rector appointed by Elizabeth countess of Kent

J.T.Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise, (London/Toronto, 1972), 56 n.2. 6. John I gave away the right to appoint to Gaddesden manor's church to the priory of Kings Langley in 1385: V.C.H. Hertfordshire ii, 206; C.P.R. 1391-6, 373; Lincolnshire Archives Office, Register xiv, f.349v.

^{1.} C.Richmond, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman', in The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century, ed. B.Dobson, (Gloucester, 1984), 199.

^{2.} Wykeham's Register ii, 423, 426; C.P.L. 1342-62, 235.

^{3.} P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Pas. mm.32 & d; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 513-4; W.A.M., 6643.

^{4.} C.P.R. 1385-9, 114, 368.

^{5.} Monasticon Anglicanum iv, ed. W.Dugdale, (2nd edn., 1823), 409;

whilst the Hollands appointed the two curates.

In fact, the problem of tracing those appointed to the advowsons is particularly acute for the Holland earls of Kent. As with their estates in general, they only held their advowsons intermittently and so exercised their rights of appointment very infrequently. They appointed to some fifteen churches and chapels, scattered from Somerset to Kent to Yorkshire, together with fifteen religious houses, concentrated in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Some Kent advowsons were used to reward or promote Kent $\frac{2}{3}$ servants, yet the earls of Kent were distracted from utilising the potential of their advowsons more ruthlessly by, initially, service in France, and, latterly, the greater attractions of London and the south coast.

The inheritance the Holland earls of Huntingdon held included less advowsons, only some thirteen churches and just one religious house, but these were all concentrated in the south west and a far more valid survey of a magnate's ecclesiastical patronage can be made over a much longer period of direct Holland tenure. In addition, they appointed to the advowsons of tenants, during minorities, and of wards, when granted by the 4 king. Furthermore, the award to John I of massive Arundel estates in Sussex in 1397 also brought him greater scope to award to benefices.

Despite all this, advowsons, though valued, even sometimes disputed,

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3. Compare with the duke of Buckingham's rights to around 57 major livings: Rawcliffe, The Staffords, 83.

4. John II made fifteen appointments to demesne advowsons and eight to those of tenants or wards.

^{1.} In the assignment of Elizabeth countess of Kent's dowry in 1352, she had kept the advowsons of some manors which went to the Hollands such as Castle Donington in Leicestershire: <u>C.C.R. 1349-54</u>, 530-1, 552-4, 594. 2. Joseph Scovyll held the Kent advowsons of first Layham in Suffolk, then South Kelsay in Lincolnshire in 1408: R.F.Bullen, 'Catalogue of Beneficed Clergy of Suffolk, 1551-1631 (with a Few of Earlier Date)', <u>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology</u>, xxii (1934-6), 313; Lincolnshire Archives Office, Register xiv, f.25v.

items of property, should be kept in perspective; they were not of overwhelming importance as an area of patronage. The Holland earls of Huntingdon were only appointing to about one a year and the frequency of appointment to a particular benefice varied tremendously. John II never had the chance to appoint his own rector of Dartington as John Bowden, appointed by his stepfather John Cornwall in 1418, survived until 1453. (By contrast, Joan countess of Kent appointed seven different clerics to Blisworth church in six years 1417-23.)

Indeed, the lapse of a senior Holland presence in the south west for the first quarter of the fifteenth century meant that when the released, restored John II did appear there in the later 1420s, many of his benefices were occupied by clerics who owed their appointment to his stepfather John Cornwall, or Henry IV, or the abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower, or Robert Chalons, or whoever had held the advowson in the interim; few of his father's appointees survived. Moreover, his continuing absences abroad meant his wife or even the local archdeacon sometimes presented to his $\frac{2}{2}$

Overall, the most that can be said of John II's appointments to his advowsons is that they were unambitious. A few were obvious rewards for service; some may have been less obvious rewards or attempts to augment his local influence, most notably his abortive efforts to institute the eminent ³ Michael Tregorre to disputed benefices. Yet his approach to his ecclesiastical patronage marches with his general attitude to his natural area of influence in the south west, it was disinterested. Few of his

^{1.} Pollock & Maitland, The History of English Law ji, 136-140.

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| 2. Stafford's Register i, 95; | The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter |
| | 1 1 1 (1000) 121 |
| 1420-1455 part 1, ed. F.C.Hin | geston-Randolph, (1909), 131. |
| 1420 1400 F | |
| 2 Nouton Ferrers in Devon in | 1444 and Menheniot in Cornwall in 1447. |
| J. NEWLOII TELEDED TELEDET | |

appointments or appointees were remarkable, many being local men who took seriously their responsibility for cure of souls.

Indeed, the lack of correlation between his advowson appointments and his officials reflects the general increased laicisation of bureaucracy, yet those clerics he did use in his administration were not exclusively from the south west. Richard Caudray was the most prominent ecclesiastic employed by him and he probably came to John II's notice in the royal council. He was a frequent feoffee of John II, executor of his will, drew up an inventory of his valuables and debts and officiated at Henry Holland's marriage in 1446. Another of his executors was Thomas Mannyng, the king's secretary and a noted pluralist. He was archdeacon of Totnes, where Dartington was situated, and also rector of Manorbier which, though not recorded as such, may well have been in John II's gift as he held the castle and manor there. John II was a court man, spending much of his time in London and being otherwise too heavily and consistently involved in

1. John II appointed Thomas Colle to Combe Martin in 1434; Thomas also variously held Filleigh, Barnstaple and Goodleigh, all in the same small corner of north Devon: Lacy's Register part 1, 26, 160, 335-6, 364, 367; The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter 1420-1455 iv, ed. G.R.Durstan, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, xvi, 1971), 86, 88, 90-1. 2. R.L.Storey, 'Gentleman-Bureaucrats', in Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England, Essays Dedicated to the Memory of A.R.Myers, ed. C.H.Clough, (Liverpool, 1982), 90-109; R.A.Griffiths, 'Public and Private Bureaucracies in England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century', T.R.H.S., Fifth Series, xxx (1980), 127. 3. His servants John Richard, John Ward and Thomas Yarum were rewarded with

5. Griffiths, Henry VI, 604 n.123; P.R.O., C139/127/25, nos.14, 16, 18, 20, 22; DL41/2/8; Royal Wills, 285; W.A.M., 6643; Bod. Lib., Rawlinson A 146, f.68v.

6. Royal Wills, 285; Bekyngton's Register j, xxiji, 368.

Holland benefices, and all were instituted by proxy, an indication of likely absenteeism: Bekyngton's Register j, 70; Lacy's Register part 1, 88; Calendar of Select Pleas 1413-37, 182; Royal Wills, 286.

^{4.} John II was heavily involved in the defence of the sanctuary rights of St. Martin-le-Grand, of which Caudray was dean, against the city of London in the 1440s: A.J.Kempe, Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand, (1825), 114-133.

France to devote much attention to building up a major power base in the south west, even if he had wished to. This was epitomised by his use of the Tower as a residence and the patronage of the adjacent church of the hospital of St. Katherine by himself, his family and his servants, despite not holding its advowson.

John Richard were buried there: Royal Wills, 282-9; Somerset Medieval Wills (1383-1500), ed. F.W.Weaver, (Somerset Record Society, xvi, 1901) (Reepub. Gloucester, 1983), 162. It was appointed to by the queens of England and four priests were to pray for them there: V.C.H. London j, 525-530.

^{1.} John II, his first and third wives, his sister Constance and his servant

Part 4 Ostentation

Having looked at the Hollands' disposal of patronage towards their followers, it now remains to consider how they displayed their wealth and status. The most obvious form of this visible to us today is their patronage of architecture. In the secular field, the extent of any building work by the Hollands at Kirkbymoorside, Cottingham, Talworth, Corfe, Lyndhurst, (Kent residences), the Tower, Berkhamsted, Thorpe Waterville, Manorbier, (Huntingdon edifices), is now untraceable. Yet their most impressive work, Dartington Hall in Devon, can still be viewed.

It was begun by John I probably in 1389, as soon as he had the funds to facilitate it, from the recent extensive royal land grants, and the status to justify it, from his recent elevation*the earldom of Huntingdon. Probably completed in his lifetime, no extensive work being obviously post 1400, it was symptomatic both of his own exuberant character and his dramatic implantation in south western society. Furthermore, it provides the most visible evidence of the size and affluence of the Huntingdon household and retinue.

Architecturally, it was very up to date in plan and style. It made no concessions to needs of defence. The elegant proportions, graceful windows and fine roof of the great hall have been compared with the work of the eminent court architect Henry Yevele. The white hart boss in the entrance porch marks John I's royal allegiance. The central great hall stood between two courtyards. On the south side were the lord's apartments, now disappeared; on the north side were accommodation blocks with rooms for some fifty. The architecture cannot tell us whether these were for household officials or retainers as there is little differentiation between

1. Emery, <u>Dartington Hall</u>, 95-258 gives a detailed description of the building.

the rooms. They do demonstrate the numbers that John I expected to be attendant on him when he was in residence. It should be emphasised that the site is by no means fully excavated and less permanent accommodation may also have been available outside the main stone courtyards. Furthermore, it is unknown whether the retainers came and went, sharing rooms in a form of rota, or resided permanently, serving their lord continuously. Retainers of John II of independent stature such as Nicholas Radford, John Enderby or Thomas Gray would certainly not have been permanently, if ever, at Dartington. Yet John Chancy is specified as dwelling with John I, with the apparent lack of other commitments to allow him to do so. Dartington can have housed but a portion, and not even a large portion at that, of John I's retinue and followers. Its lavish design and detail are symptomatic of how John I had to entice support as a new lord in the south west. It was a showpiece to impress outsiders and encourage them to become its inmates. Yet the large scale apathy of the south west in January 1400 shows up rather the introspection of its design and the isolation of its concept.

The influence the Hollands may have had over ecclesiastical building by the monastic institutions or parish churches whose advowsons they held is impossible to assess. Clearly, the local influence of abbot and monks or priest and people would have been paramount, but initiative and support must also have been forthcoming from the lord. Again, there is one outstanding example to set against this inconclusive picture: Mount Grace priory in Yorkshire.

Founded by Thomas III in 1397, the disasters that soon befell its patron meant that it struggled somewhat and building work was only

completed around 1440. Architecturally, its plan has striking similarities

1. C.P.R. 1405-8, 227.

with Dartington. The central church, flanked by two courtyards, mirrors the general layout at Dartington, whose accommodation blocks are paralleled by the cluster of cells around, again, the north courtyard at Mount Grace. These portray the general increasing concern for privacy and the individual, though admittedly for rather different ends.

Thomas' initiative in its foundation has perhaps been previously overemphasised; the prominence of the local Ingelby family in the foundation charter and also the presence in the priory's stonework of shields of an unknown Gascoigne, perhaps the Holland steward Nicholas, allude to a variety of influences behind its establishment. Yet it was Thomas III who provided it with the financial security to survive his downfall, through the initial endowment of Bordelby manor, procured from the Ingelbys, and his securing the royal grants of first the alien priory of Ware and then the English lands of the Norman abbey of Eure, including Hinckley, Carisbrooke and Wareham priories. Even if it was a foundation Thomas III could scarcely afford, Mount Grace marked the status the Holland family had now attained.

There is also some chance of assessing the Hollands' taste and style from various inventories of their personal effects. Again, the crown's rapacity after the failure of the 1400 rebellion discovered and recorded a considerable wealth in moveable goods left behind by the earls. For instance, on 13 July 1400, some £1,137 10s 6d worth of goods of the Holland

^{2. &}lt;u>C.P.R. 1396-9</u>, 280, 332, 348, 497, 570; P.R.O., C81/1395/39, 49; SC8/221/11048. For an overview of its history, see W.Brown, 'History of Mount Grace', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vii (1881-2), 473-494.

| V.C.H. Yorkshire North Riding jj, 24-30. |
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| 3. Anglo-Norman Letters, 260-1, W.Bawdweyn asking to be retained, at |
| discount terms, despite Thomas III's lack of spare cash for any retaining. |

^{1.} Monasticon Anglicanum vi part 1, 22-4; St.John Hope, 'Architectural History of Mount Grace', 297-8.

earls was paid into the exchequer from Bristol, Worcester, Essex and 1 London. This was in addition to some £2,086 15s 10d worth of valuables handed over to John I's creditors in the last months of 1399 by his 2 receiver John Holland.

The evidence is unfortunately sporadic, there is no inventory for Thomas III's residence, but clearly the Hollands had accumulated trememdous wealth in the last years of Richard II's reign especially when, for John I, his lavish building at Dartington is also taken into account. Yet the mass of creditors clamouring for satisfaction once Richard's regime had collapsed shows how far beyond his means John I had been living with all this ostentatious display. He was not unique though amongst the late medieval nobility as his rather more sanguine son also left extensive debts 3 for his receiver to pay off from his valuables in 1447.

John I and his nephew Thomas III also owed much of their wealth in possessions to the forfeitures of the earls of Arundel and Warwick in 1397; the moveables at Arundel and Warwick were awarded to John and Thomas 4 respectively. Even with this great influx of valuables, John I still commissioned many notable pieces himself, such as a magnificent silver ship, supported by two lions carrying the arms of St. George, and festooned with thirteen banners bearing the arms of himself and his wife on the 5 castles fore and aft, valued at £160 14s. Another unusual, luxuriant item, stored at Berkhamsted, was a "pila de argenteo pro combustione ciphre pro

Majesty's Exchequer jij, ed. F.Palgrave, 303-7. Warwickshire inquisitions on the earl of Warwick's moveables are in C.I.M. 1392-9, 164-173. 5. P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. r.40d.

^{1.} P.R.O., E401/619.

^{2.} P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. rr.35-46; E404/15/154.

^{3.} W.A.M., 6643.

^{4.} The earl of Arundel's possessions are detailed in C.I.M. 1392-9, 214-223; L.F.Salzman, 'The Property of the Earl of Arundel, 1397', <u>Sussex</u> Archaeological Collections, xci (1953), 32-52; <u>The Antient Kalendars of His</u>

pestilencia". Tapestries and banners bearing the family arms decorated Dartington, alongside hangings from Arundel carrying bulls, March and Pembroke arms, gold 'M's and ragged staves. Golden herons, falcons and swans bedecked some of the nine lavish separate sets of fittings for the chapel, comprising coverings for the altar and lectern, backdrops, and vestments for the priests and choristers. Oak, leopard, stag, hind, ostrich feather, rose and dragon motifs were used on clothing and hangings, beddings, jewels and tableware. Silverware was far more plentiful than gold in John I's household. Pewter was rarely itemised in the inventories of his goods, and, if it was, being categorised as vessels by the dozen at the end. His clothing was lavish in amount, but the fur trimmings were all still of squirrel with none of the increasingly fashionable sable or marten. He possessed few books beyond the necessary missals, psalters and antiphonals, though he did have the occasional "librum de gallico", a mark of the French links epitomised by his French royal livery. His jewels were studded with emeralds, rubies, sapphires and pearls and he naturally had armour and weapons for both the joust and war. Indeed, his personal wealth, though hard to put a figure on, was such that, once he was dead, many were keen to lay their hands on some portion of it and it became widely scattered.

John Cheyney each held £500 worth of his goods, and John Venables was being chased for £3,000 of his cash in Somerset: C.I.M. 1399-1422, 46; P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Trj. r.5.

^{1.} Ibid., Com. Pas. r.33.

^{2.} C.I.M. 1399-1422, 78-9, also printed and assessed in Emery, Dartington Hall, 247-8; C.P.R. 1399-1401, 435.

^{3.} Ibid., 513-4; P.R.O., E159/177, Com. Pas. r.32.

^{4.} P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. r.33, an inventory by his robes' valet of clothes brought back to Dartington from Ireland in 1399; E.M.Veale, The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1966), 134-5. 5. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 70; P.R.O., E101/335/7.

^{6.} P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. r.8d.

^{7.} To cite further instances of his wealth, in Devon Hugh Hikkelyng and

Most, but not all, of John I's possessions were seized in situ on his estates or at his residences in London and at Dartington. Some idea of a lord's travelling accoutrements can be gleaned from the inventory of possessions seized with Thomas III's widow Joan when she landed at Liverpool, back from Ireland, on 13 January 1400. She brought very little in gold, but a fair amount of silver tableware, 2051bs 12oz in weight. This went to the royal exchequer and was used to pay some of Thomas III's debts to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Lincoln. Equipment for a travelling chapel was also seized, valued in total, books, frontals and all, at £43 8s 4d. Also taken were six horses, three of them coursers and three trotters, with names of aristocratic association such as Bayard March, Lyard Exeter and Bayard Perrers. Their harness and gear, for war and the hastilude, stabling equipment, tents for living in the field, armour for the earl, or perhaps his brother, a chest of arrows and the necessary impedimenta to carry it all completed the possessions brought back from Ireland by the countess. The king kept the armour and horses, but distributed the rest to reward various of his officials in Lancashire, and his eldest son. Including the silver, it was all equipment of a highly practical nature and represents the travelling essentials of the countess. A shipload of her husband's more valuable possessions, valued at £1,000, had been sent from Ireland earlier and had ended up on the Somerset coast, being there seized for the abbot of Glastonbury.

5. P.R.O., E364/34/9; E101/335/6. 6. P.R.O., E364/38/5. 7. C.I.M. 1399-1422, 77.

^{1.} P.R.O., E404/15/165; <u>C.P.R. 1399-1401</u>, 206. Beaufort was granted £100 worth of his goods.

^{2.} Bay-coloured.

^{3.} Dappled with white or silver-grey.

^{4.} Ten of his horses were itemised in royal wardrobe accounts of 3-4 Henry TV: P.R.O., E101/404/21, f.55.

As he had gone to Ireland to take up residence as king's lieutenant there in 1398, Thomas III lost more out of the disastrous return from Ireland than his uncle John I who had only gone on Richard II's short term military expedition in 1399. Thomas III was not totally impoverished by these losses as 4,000 marks of his in gold and a brooch valued at 2,000 marks were being chased up in Cirencester after the 1400 rebellion. However his flight there had been in some haste as little heavy baggage was seized in Cirencester, most of the loot being personal armour, clothing and horses """ with only a little bedding and some more smaller sums of loose gold. Furthermore, Thomas III was a generation younger than John I and had not had the time to amass the personal fortune of his uncle. He did acquire much Beauchamp moveable wealth in Warwick castle but what Holland possessions he did not take to Ireland were probably looked after by his mother at Corfe.

What a Holland residence might have contained and how it might have been decorated can best be revealed by the inventory drawn up on 8 $_3$ September 1447 on the death of John II. Richard Caudray was responsible for this and had all the possessions stored in his church of St. Martin-le- $_4$ Grand in London. So only John II's goods in London were listed; there would have been still more at Dartington, though it would probably not at this stage have been furnished in such a lavish style, given John's penchant for London.

The first two membranes of the inventory list the personal effects of

4. St. Martin's was a notorious sanctuary for, amongst others, forgers of jewels and plate. Caudray was quite familiar with the goldsmith community and would have hoped for keen prices for John II's valuables: Kempe, Historical Notices of St. Martin-le-Grand, 133-5; V.C.H. London i, 561.

P.R.O., E159/178, Com. Hil. rr.23-34d; E159/179, Com. Mic. r.5.
 Unfortunately, no inventory for Corfe has been found for when it came into royal hands in 1400.
 W.A.M., 6643.

John II taken into store. This part is divided into some eight sections, the first four detailing tableware and plate, the rest beds and hangings, clothes, chapel fittings, and horse trappings respectively. It is by no means as full a document as it might be, the sections have no headings, very few of the goods have weights or measurements, none are valued and some of the descriptions could be more detailed. It is in fact an inventory of Huntingdon's valuables preparatory to, in its second part, their distribution to satisfy his creditors. So, mundane household items such as furniture, kitchen equipment and stable gear are not listed; the omission of any arms or armour is perhaps more surprising though these might have been stored at the Tower. Overall, it is a list of lavish amounts of tableware, beds and wall coverings with relatively more modest amounts of clothing and chapel accoutrements containing no triptychs or images and no books besides a few necessary ecclesiastical tomes. It does not represent the booty of a lifetime's soldiering abroad as it contains hardly anything obviously French in origin and the works from Flanders could have been as easily obtained through trade as by looting.

The inventory begins with a mass of gold, gilt and silver tableware, lavishly decorated and inlaid with precious stones, rubies, sapphires, jasper and pearls. Amongst the many cups, goblets, ewers, plates and bowls,

ecclesiastical possessions, of Henry Scrope in 1415: C.L.Kingsford, 'Two Forfeitures in the Year of Agincourt', <u>Archaeologia</u>, Second Series, 1xx (1918-20), 71-100; <u>Foedera</u> ix, 272-280.

^{1.} The duke of Gloucester's possessions at Pleshey in 1397 were detailed by the royal escheator with weight/size and value: <u>Inventory of the Goods and</u> <u>Chattels Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester . .</u>, ed. Viscount Dillon & W.H.St.John Hope, Archaeological Journal, liv (1897), 275-308. 2. Gage's inventory of 1556 was a much fuller list of everything he owned: R.G.Rice, 'The Household Goods, Etc., of Sir John Gage, of West Firle, Co. Sussex, K.G., 1556', <u>Sussex Archaeological Collections</u>, xlv (1902), 114-127.

^{3.} Compare the 92 copes and 45 antiphoners, amongst many other

two of the more intriguing items were "a penner and an inkhorn of silver wt a penne of silver withynne" and "a white spone for grene gynger wt a forke at ye ende". The arms decorating many of these pieces indicate the personal, as well as landed, wealth that John II had gained from his three marriages to wealthy dowagers. Some bear the arms of Kent, March and Ulster or Stafford, from his first wife Anne Stafford, countess of March; others carry those of Arundel or Portugal, from his second wife Beatrice of Portugal, countess of Arundel. Some pieces are even specifically described as "yeven to my Lady at her mariag". The close affinity of John II with the Staffords has already been noted and this is borne out by the number of pieces listed bearing the arms of Huntingdon and Stafford together. These were not all wedding gifts for his first wife as some bear the arms of Exeter and Stafford, so representing the continuing friendship that he maintained with his brother-in-law Humphrey. Other events were also commemorated with gifts: a piece bearing the arms of the emperor may have been presented by Sigismund in 1416 and another bears the arms of Montgomery who preceded John II as commander of the English forces at the siege of Compiègne in 1430.

John II did not have a massive wardrobe of clothing. What is listed, gowns, doublets, hats, shirts, breeches, were lavishly lined and furred in the latest fashion with an assortment of costly sable, fox, black lamb, budge and beaver, along with the more outmoded minever, cristy and stage grey squirrel furs. However, the cut of the clothing is not detailed and

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sleeves in 1437: Copy of an Inventory of Queen Katherine's Wardrobe, ed. the Earl of Chichester, Sussex Archaeological Collections, xxxvii (1890), 173-6.

^{1.} The duke of Gloucester had far more clothing at Pleshey in 1397: Inventory of the Goods Belonging to Gloucester, 275-308. 2. Veale, The English Fur Trade, 134-5.

^{3.} Queen Katherine's robes were distinguished especially by the cut of the

none of it was decorated with his own devices or arms. Nor are any shoes or belts listed, though "A peir of white gloves of an olde gote And a combe of Ivory broken oon of teth" are recorded. Finally, "jij peir of pleiyng tables" is an indication of one of John II's pasttimes.

Fittings for his chapel included vestments for a priest, deacon and subdeacon, though none for choristers as his father had had. Altar frontals carried various religious scenes, including the Trinity, a crucifix flanked by saint Katherine and saint Michael, the coronation of our Lady and the unusual one of Christ seated on a rainbow. The chapel plate, including a paxbred with a crucifix containing relics, was entered in the earlier gilt section. Also listed, for use in the chapel, were seven books, identified by the first words on their second folio, and a music book. These were the only books in the inventory, showing John II to be the antithesis of his bibliophile cousin the duke of Gloucester.

However, it does not thereby follow that John II was illeducated and uncouth and unaware of the themes of religion or history or romance. The walls of his residence were covered with hangings depicting a great variety of such scenes, as detailed below in Appendix 2. These, and the great mass of elaborate tableware, were the main vehicles for artistic patronage and ostentatious display in the Huntingdon household. Works of embroidery were present, but books were unknown outside the chapel and no paintings were recorded. Some idea of the type of environment this mass of wall hangings must have created can be gleaned from an admittedly much later house,

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C.P.R. 1399-1401, 513-4.
 K.B.Macfarlane, <u>The Nobility of Later Medieval England</u>, (Oxford, 1973), 237.

^{1.} For dress in general at the time of John II, see C.W.Cunnington & P.Cunnington, <u>Handbook of English Medieval Costume</u>, (2nd edn., 1969), 98-119.

^{2.} He also practised with crossbows at the Tower: C.P.R. 1446-52, 18-9.

Hardwick Hall, where tapestry covers almost every bare wall surface. In such a large yet intimate organisation as John II's household, not only the lord and lady would have seen and imbibed of the scenes depicted on tapestry and altar frontal; the whole household would have known and recognised the iconography portrayed in these public manifestations of learning. John II's firm signature of council documents testifies to his own literacy, and he was enlightened enough to send his son to university. Yet the learning contained in books could still only benefit a few; the tapestry would have had a much wider audience to educate and impress.

Some of the items initially listed, plate, horse trappings, beds, coverings, frontals, vestments and clothing, were drawn out of store for Henry Holland at various times. Thereafter, a further inventory is listed of more gold, gilt and silverware, this time weighed and priced by London goldsmiths. 199 pieces with a combined weight of 4591bs 2oz were valued at E2,034 15s 9d. This valuation was carried out by Caudray on 12 November 1450 to allow him to satisfy various of the late John II's creditors, who are then listed. They are mainly London tradesmen and craftsmen, though some of John II's followers and allies were also owed money. The debts totalled over £3,000 and Caudray was able to satisfy nearly two thirds of this from the store of Holland tableware. A further list of creditors was satisfied by £190 raised from the sale of bedding and hangings to various ecclesiastics and supporters. A final inventory listed some 29 gold cups with other gilt and silver pieces, with a total weight of just over 178lbs, valued at £1,133 16s 5d which were used to repay a £1,000 loan from Richard Joynour, a London grocer, which had gone straight into the royal coffers. This use of valuable plate and jewels to settle debts was nothing new; his

father had employed this method in 1399 and John II himself had accepted

royal jewels in part payment of his wages for the Agincourt campaign.

More should undoubtedly have followed but the inventory unfortunately terminates there. As it is, a further £2,079 worth of gold table ornaments, with £1,089 worth of gilt and silver had been listed after Caudray's initial description of John II's effects stored in St. Martin's. These 247 pieces, added to the indeterminable number in the first list, make up a fabulous collection of personal wealth, very much commensurate with John II's ducal status and royal kinship. The clamourings of his creditors reveals both the deficit financing that was employed to build up this collection, and the extent of patronage that such a ducal household could offer to London tradesmen. How much of this collection was new work commissioned by John himself is impossible to gauge, but a fair amount was obviously commissioned for his first marriage and thereafter, judging by the prevalence of coats of arms of his relations and contemporaries, especially his Stafford kin. Very little, if any, is obvious loot from France, though how much of it may have been financed from his French estates and other French profits is unknown. Overall, it reveals John II as by no means just an uncouth warrior, but a man of some taste and highly conscious of his status, proclaimed in a characteristically more subdued manner than his father's ostentatious edifice at Dartington.

1

1. P.R.O., E159/176, Com. Pas. rr.35-46; E101/45/7, comprising a gold hanaper and ever valued at £85 10s and a richly decorated gold image of St. Martin the bishop valued at £217 10s.

CONCLUSION

This study has traced the peculiar rise and establishment of the Holland family over a century and a half. It merits some final thoughts to draw out the highlights such an overview allows.

The Hollands were deeply committed to the English assault on France throughout the Hundred Years' War. The financial profits of this involvment, from ransoms, booty and revenues from granted French lands, cannot be accurately gauged. They certainly suffered debits on this account as well with Edmund killed and John II captured. Yet, by this service in France, Thomas I, Thomas II and John II all grew in stature and repute, holding posts of increasing responsibility and authority which augmented royal respect for and trust in them, and heralded similar appointments in England. This service inculcated in them a loyalty to royal aims and commands which was maintained in their royal service in the domestic scene. Perhaps such loyalty was the pragmatic consequence of insufficient independent stature and power to do otherwise. Indeed, prolonged absences from England encouraged this stance by frustrating efforts to nurture their own domestic interests. Thomas I was fighting abroad for much of his life and John II too was a frequent absentee from his homeland. They could not hope to sustain or even establish a dominating influence in local society or even at court in London from an encampment in Brittany or a prison in Anjou. Much of the executive process of running the estates would have been left to the local officials, and local men would scarcely have been keen to look to such an absent lord for protection and help, and thereby take his money.

Some figures will emphasise just how intermittent was the Holland

influence on their estates: the four Holland earls of Kent had direct

personal control of their estates for eight, twelve, two and four years respectively. The three Holland dukes of Exeter were able to oversee their estates in person for just eleven, twenty-two and eleven years. Furthermore, there was a twenty-five year intermission between Thomas I's death in 1360 and his son's full accession to princess Joan's Kent inheritance in 1385. The same gap separated John I's death in 1400 and the return from captivity of his son John II in 1425. Absence on military service compounded by such gaps caused by minorities, forfeitures and resilient dowagers established the Hollands as a noble family lacking the opportunity to build for themselves influence and territorial power in a locality.

This situation was exacerbated by a further factor just now hinted at, dowagers. The Holland earls of Kent were so bedevilled by them that the last earl, Edmund, died in 1408 outlived by four dowager countesses of Kent including Elizabeth Juliers who had outlived all four Holland earls of Kent as well as her husband John earl of Kent who had died in 1352. This meant that the Holland earls of Kent were continually expectant of more estates on the death of a dowager, yet they never held their full entitlement of estates. The younger branch of the Hollands had not such problems and, indeed, John II even benefitted from the rights of widows to a third of their husband's estates as dower, marrying thrice to ladies so endowed. Yet these dowagers did not passively deprive their husband's heirs of valuable estates; they played vital roles in times of family crisis, helping to preserve their husband's inheritance for his heir. Maud, Robert I's widow, Alice, Thomas II's widow, and Elizabeth, John I's widow, all maintained the

family's cause with some vigour when forfeiture threatened to destroy it.

Even Anne, Henry's wife, by her takeover of her husband's inheritance in

1461, facilitated the full restoration of her husband in the Readeption, when many of his contemporaries and allies were faced with the repossession of scattered estates.

All this has demonstrated that the Hollands, though needful of the revenues and status that estates brought, were by no means in continuous complete control of those they held and so could not totally depend on them for income and influence. Offices, actually fulfilled by invaluable and capable deputies, royal patronage and trade all helped to augment these. In short, it is as court nobility that the family should be viewed. Whether it was the court of Thomas earl of Lancaster, or Edward III, Richard II or Henry VI, it is in that environment that the Hollands are most consistently found, ever needful of the patronage of those more powerful than themselves to supplement their unfulfilled landed potential and help them realise the status their fortunate marriages brought them. Thomas II's tendency to move away from the court environs show how the absence of major local holdings made him a less significant local figure than his offices might have presaged.

The dramatic rise of the family from Lancashire squires in 1300 to half-brothers to the king owed much to Thomas I's fortuitous marriage to Joan of Kent, the early death of her brother John, and her momentous remarriage to the Black Prince. Joan is a lady who would certainly repay more study than it has been possible to allow here; her significance in the Black Prince's administration in France, based on her experience with Thomas I, has perhaps not been fully appreciated and her role in the transitional years of her royal son's minority needs detailing. Just by her marriage, she propelled the Holland family to the fringes of the royal

family. Such a rise, following on and followed by such falls as those of

1322, 1400 and 1461 enhanced the inconsistency of the family's influence

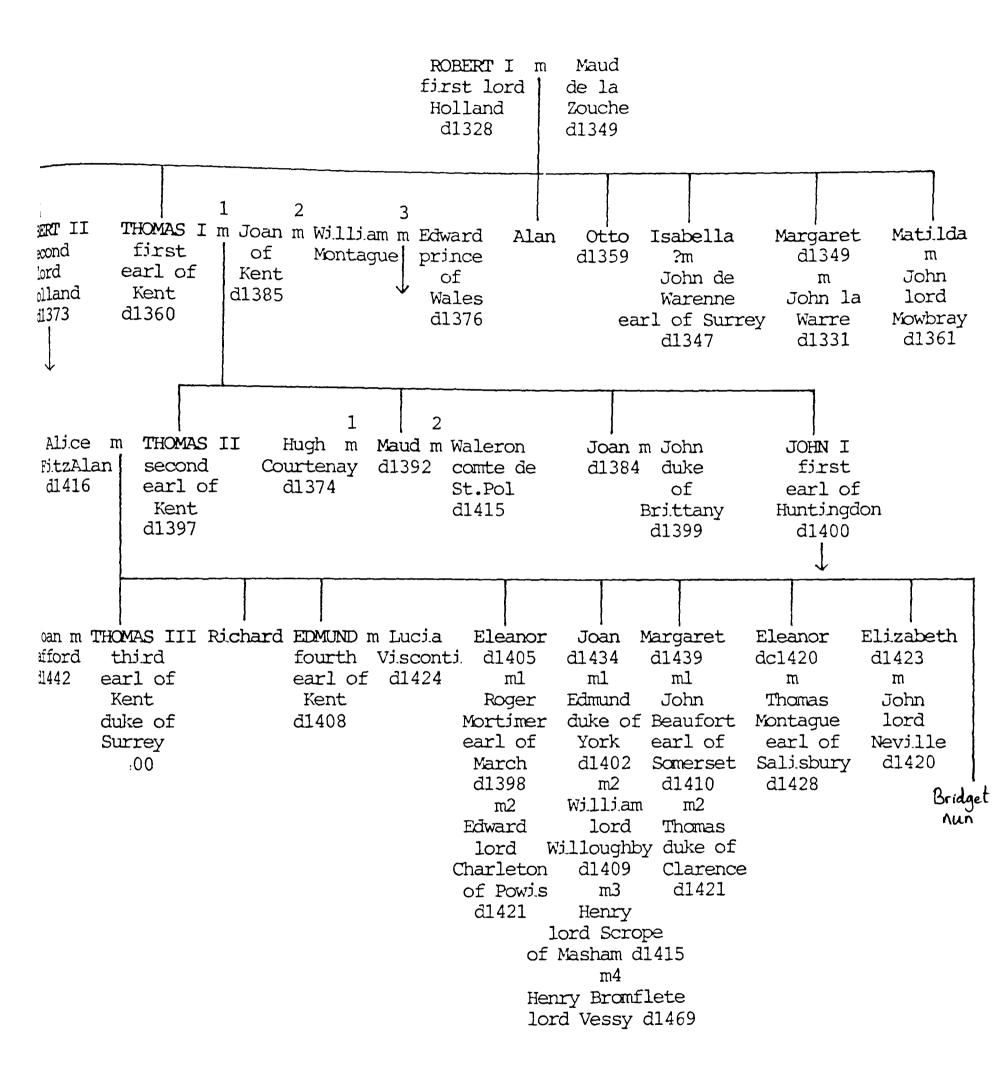
locally and nationally. One mark of this is the inconsistency of their burial places: Robert I at Preston, his son Thomas I at Stamford, his son Thomas II at Bourn, his son Thomas III at Mount Grace and his cousin John II in St. Katherine by the Tower. The family was frequently shifting its axis, reflected by the prominence of the younger sons, Thomas I and John I. Thomas II's base was on the south coast, John II showed more concern for London than his father's Dartington in Devon. No Holland succeeded in dominating local society, their influence was too transient, established influences too many and entrenched. The indictment of John I's lack of success in the south west was the rebellion of 1400 which collapsed ignominiously, with the Holland support pitiful and timid. Dartington was an effort to impose and impress which failed; John II was markedly reluctant to use it and Henry Holland sought to raise rebellion at the other end of the country.

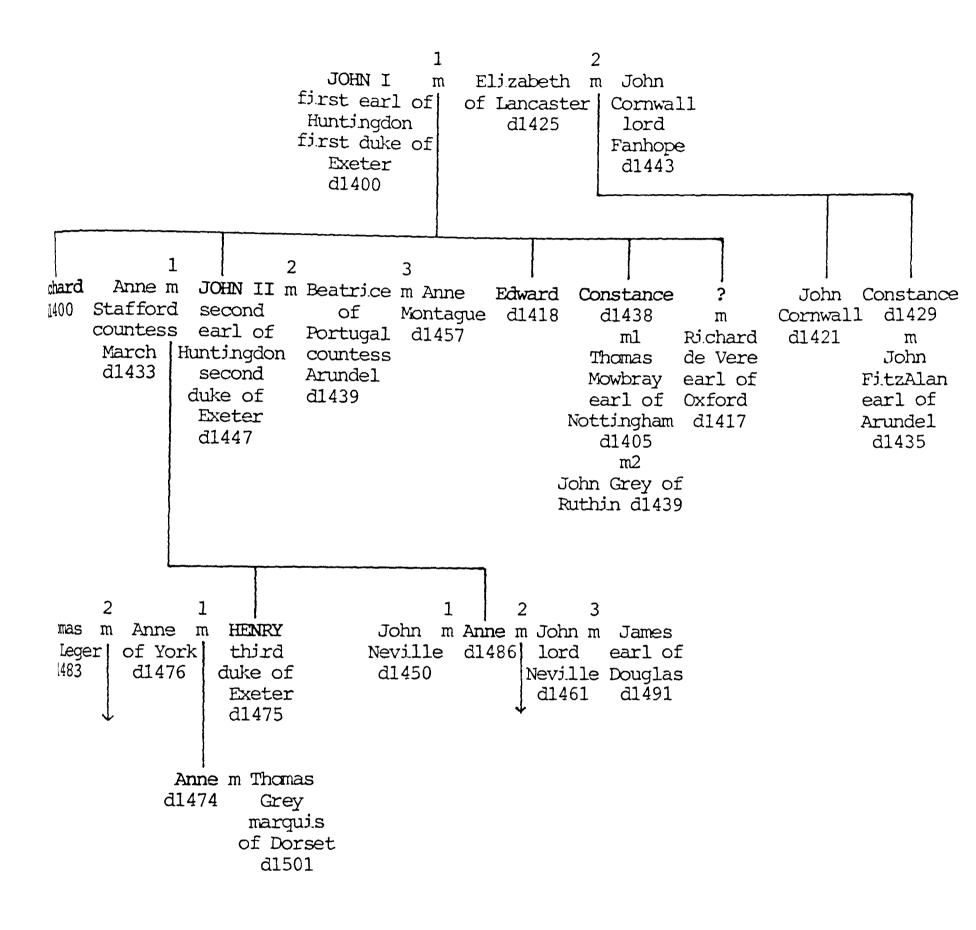
The Hollands had not acceded to noble status by expanding on local and territorial power, so their case is one to set against many of their peers and contemporaries such as Beauchamp, FitzAlan, Mowbray or Percy. This peculiar background also conditioned their political role at the centre. Their political stance was characterised by their need for patronage and so it is often hard to distinguish them politically from their patron and they rarely bear examination as independent political influences. When they do strike out in political opposition, they are unable to do so without support and, even then, are crushed ignominiously in 1400 and 1454. John I and Thomas III are undoubtedly powerful figures in the last years of Richard II, yet their dependence on Richard is clearly exposed by the events after his fall. It is only really John II who gains much political respect, note, respect, rather than weight, and this owed much to his

military reputation and political alcofness, though not isolation; he was also fortunate to die before he would have had to choose sides.

One factor that helped to keep them behind the front rank was that, even in an age of considerable harshness and violence, the Hollands were not the most amiable and pleasant of allies. Robert I deserted his lord in his hour of greatest need, paying with his life, but the nastiest streak was revealed in the younger, Huntingdon line. John I was more than once associated with murder and scandal, John II was unnecessarily vindictive in France on occasions and Henry's actions have left historians barely able to consider him as a serious political figure.

The family's major members have scarcely emerged as rounded characters from this study, yet they were not the most affable figures of even that age. Only two out of eight major Hollands, Thomas II and John II, died of old age, indicative, if nothing else, of their vigorous involvment in events. They had not the intelligence, the acumen, the self-interest to trim and survive, like such as the Stanleys, and their royal blood made trimming difficult, anyway. In the end, those very marriages to Joan of Kent and Elizabeth of Lancaster which had raised them into such royal proximity were to bring about their downfall; Henry Holland had just too much royal blood in him to be allowed to live.





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Table 3

Joan of Kent's Relations

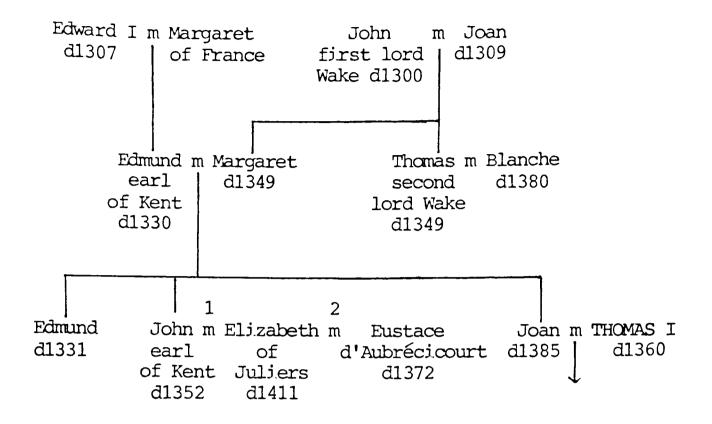
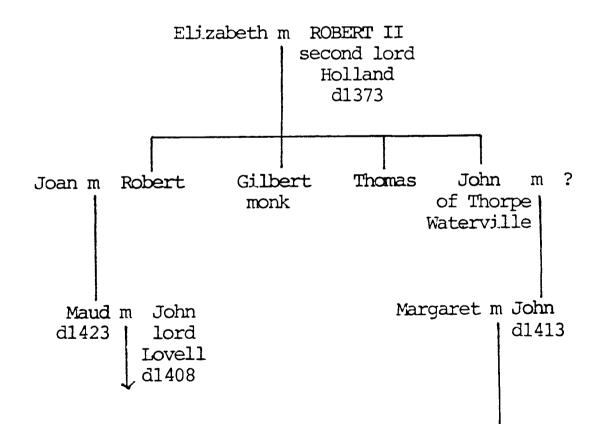


Table 4

The Hollands of Thorpe Waterville



Elena m John d1451

APPENDIX 1 ESTATES

The Estates of the Holland Earls of Kent

Only those estates held consistently by the Hollands have been listed, so Thomas III's massive gains are excluded.

- Buckinghamshire : Aylesbury £60 fee farm Caldecotte lands (only held by Thomas I) Little Broughton manor (only held by Thomas I)
 - Cumberland : Kirkandrews lordship
 - Derbyshire : Ashford manor Chesterfield manor Risley wapentake
 - Dorset : Corfe castle (only held by Thomas II)
 - Essex : Barstable hundred Colne Wake manor Lamarsh manor North Weald manor Stratford abbey - £11 1s rent Waltham abbey - £50 rent
 - Hampshire : Brockenhurst manor (only held by Thomas II) Lyndhurst manor (only held by Thomas II)
 - Hertfordshire : Bushey manor Ware manor
- Huntingdonshire : Caldicote manor St. Ives £50 fee farm
 - Kent : Dartford £10 rents Littlefield and Wachelston hundreds Shire farm £30 Wickhambreux manor

Leicestershire : Castle Donington castle and manor (claimed for duchy of Lancaster)

Lincolnshire : Beseby manor Bourn manor Brattleby manor Caistor £50 fee farm Deeping manor Greetham manor Grimsby £50 fee farm Hay fee

Kelby manor Skellingthorpe £30 rent Thorley manor (claimed for duchy of Lancaster)

Middlesex : Stepney lands

Norfolk : Great Ormesby £16 fee farm

- Northamptonshire: Blisworth £10 rent Easton manor Torpell manor Upton manor
- Nottinghamshire : Ollerton manor (claimed for duchy of Lancaster) Plumtree wapentake
 - Rutland : Ryhall manor Whissendine manor
 - Somerset : Kingston by Yeovil manor (only held by Thomas II)

(only held by Thomas I)

- Staffordshire : Yoxall manor
 - Suffolk : Kersey manor Layham manor
 - Surrey : Purbright manor Sutton manor Talworth manor Woking manor
- Worcestershire : Droitwich £100 rent
 - Yorkshire : Ayton manor Buttercrambe manor Collingham £80 rent from abbey of Kirkstall Cottingham manor Cropton manor Hemlington manpr Kirkbymoorside manor

The Estates of the Holland Earls of Huntingdon

Again, only those estates consistently held are listed. '(duchy)' designates duchy of Cornwall lands, and the lands disputed by the abbey of St. Mary Graces are also highlighted.

Bedfordshire : Stevington manor Berkshire : Ardington manor Philberds Court manor (only held by John I) Cheshire : Northwich town Cornwall : Calstock manor (duchy) Camelford borough (duchy) (only held by John I) Helston in Trigg manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Lostwithiel borough (duchy) (only held by John I) (duchy) (only held by John I) Moresk manor Penknight manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Penlyn manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Restormel castle & manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Saltash manor (duchy) Tackbeare manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Tewington manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Tintagel castle & manor (duchy) (only held by John I) Trematon castle & manor (duchy) Devon : Barnstaple borough & manor Blackbornboty manor (only held by John II) Bovey Tracy manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Cockington manor (only held by John I) Combe Martin borough & manor Dartington manor Fleet Daumarle manor Fremington borough & manor Great Torrington manor Holbeton manor (third) Holsworthy manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Langacre manor Northlew manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Shire farm £40 South Molton borough & hundred Winkleigh manor Flintshire : Hope & Hopedale lordship Overmarsh £7 6s 8d rent (held by John II & Henry) France : Lesparre lordship (only held by John I) Marensin lordship

Hertfordshire : Berkhamsted castle Gaddesden manor St. Albans property

315

Norman lands as detailed in text (only held by John II)

(duchy)

Huntingdonshire : Shire farm £20 London : Coldharbour lane inn Lombard street property Pembrokeshire : Manorbier castle Penally manor Somerset : Blagdon manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Haselbury manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) (only held by John I) Stone & Catsash hundreds West Lydford manor (claimed by abbey of St. Mary Graces) Westmorland : Long Marton manor Wiltshire : Barford St. Martin manor

Yorkshire : Langton manor

316

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APPENDIX 2 POSSESSIONS

Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6643 m.1

This is a section of the inventory of John II's goods drawn up after his death by Richard Caudray, as detailed above in Chapter IX. It describes some of the tapestries and hangings covering the walls and beds in his London mansion in Coldharbour Lane.

Neither punctuation nor abbreviations are reproduced and the abbreviations are not expanded. Superscript letters have been placed on the line. [] indicates a hole in the parchment and text missing. All the lettering is reproduced in lower case.

jtm a bed of arras wt a nett wt dokys seel testor and countpoint wtoute nett wt an unicorn

itm a bed of arras with a tente wt men and women howkyng seel testor and countpoint

itm a bed of arras enbateld with brike seel testor and count 1 itm a pece of arras to ye same bed with an unicorn in a gentilwomanes lappe it a pece of arras with a gentilwoman in yelough ridyng on a white hors 2 it a pece of arras with a gentilwoman strokyng a dogge on ye hede it a pece of arras with ii freres and a pece of arras with a lavender itm a bed of arras with justes of ye pees seel testor and count with

itm a bed of arras with huntyng at ye boor seel testor and count itm ji grete peces of arras wt ye xii aposteles itm jii peces of tapestrie werke of alle maner of bestes and a pece of

1. Inserted above the line.

grene valences of velvet

2. In membrane 3 is listed "a pece of arras wt ii women yt oon holdyng a dede heron yat oy holdyng a dogge in her lappe".

arras wt beaufitz de hampton

itm a pece of arras with ye crucifix and a pece of arras of ye scotts with bellys with ii peces of arras []rf[] to ye same of ye scotts itm a pece of arras wt kyng priam in a castell and a pece of arras of

foolys of ye marisque

jtm a bed of flemisshwerk seel testor & count with jjjj peces to ye same

jtm a pece of arras wt jx kyngs of fraunce and an emperour an aungell at eche ende

itm a pece of arras of ye coronacion of our lady

itm a pece of arras of ye siege of troye wt an archer half man half hors

itm a noyer pece of arras wt jason holdyng ye plough and a noyer pece of ye storye wt venus in a wawe

itm a noyer of ye same soort with jason and ultans comyng out of a ship itm a noyer of ye same with ye citee of troye in a flawme itm a pece of arras with an ape ridyng upon a peire of trussying costes itm a pece of newe arras with ye crucifix and huntyng and a pc of arras wt

ye siege of jerlm

it a pece of arras with ye orber And a pece of arras of ye huntyng at ye bore

1. Sir Thomas Cook bought a similar tapestry worked in gold thread for £800: Great Chronicle, 208.

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DL41 Miscellanea Special Collections: SC1 Ancient Correspondence SC6 Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts

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