



# REMAINS

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THE  
KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE  
FOR THE  
COUNTY PALATINE  
OF  
LANCASTER  
(1377-1460)

BY  
JOHN S. ROSKELL, M.A.

MANCHESTER  
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## PREFACE

THE study of the importance of parliament and more particularly of the 'third estate' in the constitutional hierarchy of fifteenth-century England demands parallel research into the lives of its individual members. To understand in its true perspective an institution, regard must be paid to those who come within its sphere of influence and who collectively determine the line and form its expression takes. The importance of a study of the personnel of parliament, the official and unofficial capacity and propensities of the individual knight of the shire and burgess, his activity out of parliament in the locality, must be recognised as equal to the importance of the *agenda* of parliament. Moreover the attitude of the 'constituency' to the representative assembly and the respect which the latter receives in the locality will be reflected in the sort of member it returns to parliament. A study of personnel will help to a determination of the problem as to how far a shire or borough looked on the return of its representatives as obligation or privilege, with indifference or interest.

There are, simply, two ways of studying commons' personnel, particularly the more influential section of it—the knights of the shire. One can either take the returns for each parliament, county by county, and analyse their content; or one can take the returns, over a long period, of a single county. Each method has its difficulties and advantages. The representation of various interests in a particular session of parliament will *ipso facto* only find solution in what one might term the "horizontal" method—the cutting across of the county returns at a particular point. To take the county returns over a considerable period would, however, help to a solution of the problem of local influence as well as acknowledge the importance of the local unit, its own machinery of election as distinct from that of its neighbour, and its consistency of adherence to a particular party, faction, or policy. The second method also helps to a correct assessment of where political weight lay in the particular county especially in the last two-thirds of the fifteenth century when family influence



and the manipulation of local agencies became the norm. Obviously the best way out of these difficulties is to combine the two methods—to be able to draw a line across the returns of the several shires at a particular point and analyse a particular parliament into its constituent elements; and yet to have in mind the developments in method of return and character of representatives peculiar to each county. To appreciate the significance of what was effected inside parliament, the attitude of the local unit, whether shire or borough, as expressed in its electoral system or measure of 'freedom,' must be taken into account.

What interest has already been shown in the parliamentary history of Lancashire has been summarised in the preface to Mr. Hornyold-Strickland's volume published by the Chetham Society two years ago. His own work, comprehensive of the medieval parliamentary period and intended as a guide to more penetrating research in the subject, was the first to be more than cursory or fragmentary. It is my regret that it was not accessible when I was engaged on the work which has taken the form of this present volume; it would have prevented many problems of identification. Although certain additions have since been made, (notably the biographies of the Lancashire members of the 1445 parliament, of whose identity I was made aware by Mr. Hornyold-Strickland's work) this book is substantially the same as when it was presented two years ago as a thesis for a degree in the University of Manchester. That it originally took this form to some extent accounts for its diffuseness.

I owe many debts, but the chief is to Professor Jacob who directed my attention to the possibilities of the subject and all along watched the progress of research. When he and Professor Tait examined the book as an academic exercise, errors were detected and suggestions made. These have respectively been rectified and incorporated. To Colonel Parker and Mr. V. H. Galbraith, my present tutor, I am grateful for having read through the proofs and given much-needed advice. Mr. McKechnie and Mr. Garvey of the Manchester University Press have been patient and very helpful. My sister I have to thank for aid in the preparation of the Index.

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OXFORD,  
1 February 1937.

## CHAPTER I

THE knights of the shire for Lancashire between 1377 and 1460 were the representatives of a county palatine. In 1351 Henry Earl of Lancaster had received a grant of *jura regalia* in the county of Lancaster. This grant, being made for life only, became legally extinct in 1361. Edward III's third surviving son, John of Gaunt, whose wife was Blanche, Duke Henry's daughter, succeeded to his father-in-law's estates in his wife's right. From the outset of his succession to the earldom Gaunt—he was created Duke in 1362—exercised one act of regality: he nominated the sheriffs of Lancaster. In 1377 Duke John recovered the whole of the *jura regalia* conceded to his predecessor. This palatinisation of the county meant that the Duke was to have his own chancery in the county, justices of his own to try all pleas, whether pleas of the Crown or not. The Crown reserved its right of parliamentary and clerical taxation, the royal prerogative of pardon and the right of correcting any defaults of justice on the part of the Duke's court or officials. It was further stipulated—practically as a corollary of the first reservation—that the Duke should continue to send to all parliaments two knights to represent the shire and two burgesses from each borough, and should see to the appointment of proper persons to collect subsidies voted in parliament. A further charter of November 1378 conferred on John of Gaunt the right to have his own exchequer and barons of the Exchequer in the county and the right to appoint justices in eyre for pleas of the forest.<sup>1</sup> The county palatine was only a part of the larger unit—what John of Gaunt's will called *l'heritage de Lancastre*. The history of the latter Baldwin describes as being divisible into two periods.<sup>2</sup> In the first it was essentially baronial—a congeries of earldoms, honours, and lesser lordships bound together in a personal union. The second period, following the revolution of 1399 and the assumption by the Lancastrian House of the *culmen dignitatis regiae*, saw the collection of baronial estates become an appanage of the Crown, albeit it preserved an independent administration. The change of 1399 was one only of nomenclature. In the time of John of Gaunt the term *ducatus* was merely a dignified appellation of *comitatus* and in his letters and warrants *ducatus Lancastrie* refers only to a portion of the sum total of his vast

<sup>1</sup> Hardy, *Charters*.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin, *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, vol. iv.



landed estates, namely the county of Lancaster—before 1377 the county pure and simple, after 1377 the county palatine. Royal mandates, such as those for the election of knights and burgesses to parliament and the collection of subsidies, which would hitherto have been sent to the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, were addressed 'to the Duke of Lancaster or his lieutenant (or alternatively chancellor) in the duchy.' The members of parliament for Lancashire were in John of Gaunt's time almost invariably described in the writs *de expensis* as 'knights of the duchy.' The divisions of the county are spoken of as 'the six wapentakes of the duchy.' In his other lands the Duke retained the older titles of Earl of Leicester, Derby, etc. It was not until a Duke of Lancaster ascended the throne in the person of Henry IV that the term *ducatus Lancastrie* was extended to cover the whole complex of his private territorial possessions. Then the county palatine became but a parcel of the larger unit.

Between the years 1377 and 1460 the actual work of administration of the ducal estates in the county palatine of Lancaster changed but little in its apportionment among the various offices. The system worked when the duchy was an appanage of the Crown much as it existed under John of Gaunt. There were the three castles of Lancaster, Clitheroe and Liverpool, with their respective constablerships. These offices were conferred on the men of the highest rank in the Duke's service, as were the master foresterships and keeperships of the chaces. The forest officials had to see to the enclosure of parks and the maintenance of their stock; look to the underwood and trees; determine questions of agistment; at the Duke's mandate under the privy seal dole out gifts of venison or timber; and prevent hunting without the Duke's licence, to which end they served on commissions of oyer and terminer of trespass. The lands and franchises of the county came under a four-fold administrative hierarchy. The Duke appointed the escheator of the county palatine who dealt with the incidents of feudal tenure. His function it was to hold inquisitions post mortem to determine conditions of tenancy. If lands on the decease of a tenant were found to be held of the Duke he reported on the age of the heir, in case of whose minority his wardship devolved on the Duke. The escheator came then to take inquisitions *probandi aetatem*. In event of forfeiture it was his business to assess the extent of the estates belonging to the forfeiter in the county.

The ducal estates and franchises in each of the six wapentakes or hundreds of the county palatine were administered by stewards who dealt with the profits of jurisdiction and money rents. One of the functions of the steward of the Blackburn wapentake was to take the halmotes of the manors of Colne, Ightenhill, Accrington, Pendleton, Chatburn and Worston. The stewardships of the various wapentakes were not always held *singulatim*. The stewardships of Amounderness

and Lonsdale were sometimes held conjointly, as by Ralph de Ippe in 1375. In 1422 Sir Richard Molyneux acquired a grant of the stewardships of West Derby and Salford. Moreover, no bar was raised to the concentration of more than one administrative office in the hands of one man. The shrievalty of the county was being farmed in 1374 by Sir John Botiller of Warrington when he was appointed steward of West Derbyshire and Salfordshire. He resigned the shrievalty soon after only to be made almost immediately constable of Liverpool castle and master-forester of West Derbyshire for life. The keepership of the chaces of Pendle, Rossendale and Trawden, and the office of storer and steward of Blackburnshire also might go together as they did in the cases of Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir John Stanley.

Over and above the escheator and the wapentake stewards was the chief steward of the county. His office and the escheatry seem to have been supplementary. They distrained for homage on lands of those who held of the Duke by knight's service; on a tenant's death they held the heir and lands until the Duke had determined as to wardship. The chief steward in addition was responsible for such franchises as wreck of sea; he collected profits of the Duke's court in the manor or wapentake. Whenever jurisdiction had been farmed he saw to the payment of the farm to the receiver of the county—the pivot of the Lancastrian fiscal system. This official paid the wages of the barons of the exchequer at Lancaster, the steward, bailiffs, master-foresters, parkers, and of the knights and esquires of the Duke's retinue. When the duchy became an appanage of the Crown this system was maintained. In 1423 Thomas Urswyk as receiver for Lancashire paid annuities to some forty-one knights and esquires who had been retained to serve Henry V. His surplus moneys minus these charges the receiver surrendered to the chief financial official of the duchy—the receiver-general for all the duchy estates in the realm. The profits of the shrievalty of Lancaster were accounted for to the receiver of the county.<sup>1</sup> From the time of John of Gaunt, however, until March 1416 when an ordinance was made requiring the sheriff to account at the Exchequer in Westminster, the shrievalty of Lancaster had been let to farm at the Exchequer of Lancaster.<sup>2</sup> Under John of Gaunt the method of appointment to the shrievalty was that employed on the resignation of Sir Nicholas Haryngton in 1383. On that occasion the Duke directed his mandate under his privy seal to the justices ordering them to submit the names of three or four persons whom they considered fitted to fill the office of sheriff.<sup>3</sup> The sheriff's functions were similar to those of the sheriffs of other counties save that he only acted on a precept from the chancellor of the county palatine who re-issued all royal mandates. With the exception of the changes in the method of

<sup>1</sup> Piccope, vii, 312; P.R.O. D.L. 29, no. 1788, bundle 100.

<sup>2</sup> D.K.R., xxxiii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 369.



tenure of the shrievalty of Lancaster, the management of the county palatine as a parcel of the duchy of Lancaster proceeded on the same lines in 1460 as in 1377, whether the ultimate control lay with the Duke, the King as Duke, or the committee of trustees under the will of Henry V.

## CHAPTER II

THE grant of the *jura regalia* to John of Gaunt in 1377 contained the proviso that he should send up to parliament two knights *pro communitate comitatus* and two burgesses from every borough in the palatinate.<sup>1</sup> The writs of summons to parliament received from the Chancery of England, as in the case of the writs directed to the several sheriffs, repeated the injunction commanding the return of burgesses. The Lancastrian boroughs which had returned burgesses at one time or another between 1295 and 1331 were Lancaster, Liverpool, Preston and Wigan. Lancaster and Preston had been, however, the only two boroughs to return consistently. The other two boroughs only returned burgesses on two occasions. After 1331 the borough representation fell off altogether and the practice was not revived until Tudor times. The first known instance of the resumption was the sending of burgesses from Lancaster and Preston to the parliament of 1529. Almost invariably the sheriff's returns of election alluded to the non-election of burgesses from the county. The content of the excuse was always the same. The sheriff pointed out the impossibility of sending burgesses to parliament on the grounds of the poverty of the boroughs. Sometimes the terminology is changed. The endorsement to the writ summoning the November parliament of 1381 noted the election of the knights of the shire and in reply to the clause in the writ of summons requiring the election of burgesses concluded with the explanatory clause: *Et non sunt aliqui cives nec burgenses in ducatu predicto qui ad aliquod parlamentum venire solebant propter eorum paupertatem*. Occasionally the disuse of the practice was given as sufficient reason for the non-return of burgesses. In October 1383 the excusatory clause ran: *Et in ducatu predicto non habetur civitas nec burgus unde cives sive burgenses ad parlamentum venire consueverunt*. In 1388 this was extended to *Et non sunt aliqui cives vel burgenses infra ducatum predictum qui ad aliqua parlamenta propter paupertatem eorundum venire debent seu consueverunt temporibus retroactis*. This denial of former borough representation was further exemplified in all the existing returns for the period of John of Gaunt's dukedom. The safest grounds for the discontinuance of the usage were, however, to use the terms of the returns themselves, *paupertas*,

<sup>1</sup> Hardy, *op. cit.*



*debilitas, insufficientia, and inopia*, the sheer inability on the part of the individual boroughs to furnish the allowance of 2s. a day which the services of each burgess would entail. A corollary of the poverty of the boroughs would be a dearth of men of sufficient means to undertake the burden of representation. Moreover, the non-representation of the boroughs would mean assessment for parliamentary taxation at the county standard: their *mobilia* would be subject to levies of fifteenths not tenths. As far as Lancashire is concerned, then, in this period parliamentary representation meant just the return of the two knights of the shire.

The provision of the knights returned to serve for the county fell for the most part to the leading families of the county—the Botillers of Warrington, the Haryngtons of Farleton and Hornby, the Urswyks of Rawcliffe, the Radclyfs particularly of Smithills, the Laurences of Ashton, Lancaster, and then in the last thirty years of the period, the Stanleys of Knowsley and Lathom and their connections. It is only in this last period, however, that family influences of a local character preponderated. Generally speaking the two Lancashire seats were, until this last period when the Stanley-Haryngton connection and its affiliations monopolised the county representation, the property of whoever was in charge of the duchy of Lancaster; the control loosening as the personal connection between the county and the Duke wore thinner.

Armitage-Smith's statement that from 1376 onwards "a Lancastrian party is a permanent factor in the structure of the Lower House" has been discountenanced on the ground that out of the nearly fifty knights and esquires of John of Gaunt's retinue who sat in parliaments from 1372 to 1382 as many as twenty-nine sat once only. It has been deduced from this that "if the Duke really did exercise any control over the election of his retainers to parliament, seemingly he attached not much importance either to experience or to continuity in their membership."<sup>1</sup> This theory is certainly not borne out by the returns for Lancashire. Here the Duke had almost complete control over the elections. The endorsement of the writ of summons was made out in his name which meant at least the power of scrutiny. The representation of the county palatine was, in fact, in Lancaster's pocket. An analysis of the knights and esquires returned for the county in Richard II's reign demonstrates this fact. With few exceptions they were or had been members of his *comitiva* or were officials engaged in the administration of the ducal estates in the county.

Out of the seven parliaments which sat from the spring of 1376 to the end of 1380 Sir John Botiller of Warrington was returned to all but that of April 1379. He was the Duke of Lancaster's steward in

<sup>1</sup> *E.H.R.*, July 1933. N.B. Lewis, *Re-election to Parliament in the reign of Richard II*, p. 391; cf. *E.H.R.*, 1930, pp. 623 ff.

the wapentakes of West Derby and Salford, keeper of the parks of Croxteth and Toxteth and of the forest areas of West Derbyshire. He was in addition in receipt of an annuity of ten marks as constable of Liverpool castle. His return to the "Good Parliament" of 1376 and to the consecutive parliament reactionary in the Gaunt interest marks Botiller down as a definite partisan of the Duke, one who would do his bidding in the Commons. He was a person of some experience, having before the "Good Parliament" already sat twice as knight of the shire for Lancashire. Before succeeding to his father's estates in 1380 he was freer to fulfil his career as a member of John of Gaunt's entourage than he was after this date. After November 1380, when he was turned fifty years of age, he was returned again but twice, in 1388 and 1398. Botiller's fellow-knight of the shire in the first parliament of Richard II was two years later, if not already, keeper of Quernmore forest, namely Sir Nicholas Haryngton of Farleton, who was returned again nineteen months later and then appointed to the shrievalty of Lancaster which he occupied for some three and a half years. Botiller's fellow-representative in the second parliament of the reign, which Lancaster ensured should meet at Gloucester well away from the possibility of interference from the London "ribalds," was Ralph de Ippe, a member of John of Gaunt's retinue from 1364, in 1374 parker of Quernmore and, since July 1375, steward of the wapentakes of Lonsdale and Amounderness. To both of the parliaments of 1380, summoned respectively to Westminster and Northampton, Botiller was accompanied by Sir Thomas Southworth, a member of Lancaster's retinue who had accompanied the Duke on the Breton expedition which failed before St. Malo in the summer of 1378.

To the eight parliaments called between 1381 and John of Gaunt's departure on the Spanish expedition of 1386, eleven knights and esquires represented the county palatine. Robert Urswyk of Upper Rawcliffe, in 1382 and 1384 a justice to hold pleas of the forest, by 1384 a justice of the peace in Amounderness, and in March 1386 appointed a commissioner to elect archers for John of Gaunt's Spanish expedition, was returned to the parliaments of 1381, October 1382, November 1384, and October 1385. He had accompanied Sir Nicholas Haryngton to the parliament of April 1379. On these four occasions that he served in the parliaments of the 'eighties he was partnered respectively by Sir William Atherton, Sir John Assheton, William Tunstall, and Thomas Radclyf. Atherton had served once before in 1373, as knight of the shire. About fifty-five years of age, he was early in 1384 a justice of the peace and commissioner of array for the West Derby wapentake at Lancaster's appointment. Assheton had been a retainer of the Duke of Lancaster in 1377. Tunstall, a justice of the peace in Lonsdale and another retainer of John of Gaunt, had been pardoned all felonies at the Duke's supplication only four years before his return to parliament.



Thomas Radclyf of Winmarleigh, a justice of the peace in the Blackburn and Amounderness hundreds, was, between 1384 and 1387, and so at the time of his return as knight of the shire, duchy steward of Blackburnshire. Along with Robert Urswyk, whose fellow-member he was in the parliament of October 1385, Radclyf was in the following spring a commissioner for the election of archers from Lancashire who were to accompany John of Gaunt on the second invasion of Castile. The representatives for Lancashire in May 1382 were Sir Roger Pilkington and Robert Clifton. The former had accompanied Sir John Botiller to the Lancastrian parliament of January 1377 when he was turned fifty years of age. He was a justice of the peace in Salfordshire. In 1373 Clifton had been in receipt of an annuity of £20 as a retainer of John of Gaunt. To the next parliament but one Clifton was again returned with Richard Hoghton, another member of the Duke's retinue and a justice of the peace in the Leyland and Amounderness hundreds. The knights of the shire in the October parliament of 1383 were Sir Walter Urswyk and John Holcroft. The former actually left the parliament before its dissolution to go on a diplomatic mission to Calais with Lancaster. Close on sixty years old at his only election as knight of the shire, Sir Walter Urswyk had left the service of the Black Prince as early as 1361 to join the retinue of John of Gaunt. At the time of his return to the parliament of October 1383 he was bailiff and forester of Richmondshire, constable of Richmond castle, steward and master forester of Bowland, warden and justice of the forests of the county palatine, and master of all the Duke's games, sport and hunting. His fellow-member of the Commons, a justice of the peace in the West Derby hundred, and in the previous year a collector of a tenth and fifteenth in the county palatine, John Holcroft had been knight of the shire ten years before. A little over ten years after this return of 1383 he was made the Duke's escheator in the county palatine. The representatives in the next parliament, that which met at Salisbury in April 1384, were Sir Roger Pilkington and Thomas Gerard. The latter, only just out of his nonage, had been engaged on no official business beyond the fact that he had served on a jury at the inquisition taken post mortem on the lands of Sir Thomas Lathom.

There were three parliaments held while Lancaster was absent in Spain. Duke John had appointed his son Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, to be 'warden of the regality of the palatine county of Lancaster' so long as he himself was out of the country. The Castilian expedition was undertaken by John of Gaunt as the only road out of the impasse into which his relations with Richard II had led him. In his father's reign Lancaster had appeared as leader of the court party; in his nephew's, his sympathies were with the Crown but alienated from the "prerogative" party by rivals who had obstructed his own ambition to monopolise Richard's favour. The Earl of Derby's

fairly certain control over the Lancashire elections would then, in spite of his own association with Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel, Warwick and Nottingham, not be likely to bring about an appreciable change in the character of the Lancashire members. Derby's opposition to the court party was, like his father's attitude, not an extremist one. The knights of the duchy in the parliament of October 1386 were Sir Nicholas Haryngton and Robert Workesley. The former had already been up to Westminster in the same capacity in 1373, 1377 and 1379. Workesley had been a retainer of John of Gaunt in the 'seventies and although his relationship with Sir John Stanley, de Vere's lieutenant in Ireland, whom he had accompanied there earlier in 1386, might possibly have indicated royalist inclinations, the fact that he was later accused of favouring the Appellant lords in the winter of 1387 points to his having been a person on whom Bolingbroke could rely. The Lancashire representatives in the "Merciless Parliament" which met at Westminster on 3 February 1388 were Sir John Botiller of Warrington, one of John of Gaunt's most important duchy officials, and Thomas Gerard, who had served once before as knight of the shire in 1384 with Sir Roger Pilkington. Botiller and Gerard had been fellow-commissioners in September 1386 charged with the examination of witnesses in the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* suit. The "Merciless Parliament" sat for 122 days, after which Gloucester and his party retained a position tantamount to dictatorship for another year, during which period a parliament was held at Cambridge in September 1388. One of the two Lancashire members had served as knight of the shire six years previously. A former member of John of Gaunt's retinue, in the February before this election to parliament Sir John Assheton had served on a commission appointed to apprehend and arraign before King and Council Sir John Cokayn and other Derbyshire miscreants who had been threatening the Duke of Lancaster's officials in that county. The commission, appointed some three weeks after the meeting of the "Merciless Parliament," was given the force of royal letters patent probably through Derby's instrumentality. The other knight of the duchy was John Croft, the steward of the Lonsdale wapentake. This was his first appearance as representative in parliament.

Early in May 1389 Richard II informed his Council that he was capable of managing his own affairs and assumed the government into his own hands. He proceeded to dismiss the Chancellor and Treasurer, remove the lords Appellant, and recall his uncle Lancaster, who landed at Plymouth on 19 November. Richard manifested his goodwill towards the Duke in the following February by entailing the county palatine of Lancaster and the title of Duke on him and his heirs, whereas they had hitherto been chartered to him for life only. A fortnight later Lancaster was created, with the consent and advice of the Peers and



Commons in Parliament, Duke of Aquitaine for life. Henceforward parties were reconciled in the atmosphere of oblivion which the alliance between the King and his uncle of Lancaster engendered.

The *responsiones* endorsed on the writs authorising election in the county palatine were now to be made in the name of 'John Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster.' (He had resigned his claim to the Castilian crown on his daughter Catherine and her husband Henry of Trastámara being recognised as heiress and heir thereto.) The exercise of his prerogative as hereditary sheriff of Lancaster, John of Gaunt apparently used to the fullest extent. If the knights of the shire for the county palatine were not actually nominated by him, this power of scrutiny at least guaranteed their suitability in his eyes or those of his chancellor. In the eight parliaments which met between Lancaster's return from Spain and his death early in 1399 only two novices were returned for the county palatine and they respectively in the last two parliaments. Sir John Assheton returned in September 1388 was re-elected to the Westminster assembly of January 1390 with Ralph de Ipre, who had recently returned from service with the Duke in Spain, as his fellow-knight. In each of the next six parliaments Sir Robert Urswyk was one of the Lancashire representatives. He had already had considerable experience as a member of the Commons, having served in the parliaments of 1379, 1381, October 1382, November 1384, and 1385. At the time of the last two of these returns he had been acting as the Duke's escheator in the duchy, holding that appointment, with a short intermission in the autumn of 1388, from the spring of 1383 until superseded by his near neighbour John Botiller of Rawcliffe, in December 1391. He was, then, still escheator when knight of the shire in the parliaments of 1390 and 1391. In the first of these his fellow-member was John Croft, the steward of the Lonsdale hundred, and in the second parliament Robert Workesley, knight of the shire in 1386. Ralph de Ipre, probably then, certainly in the following year, the Duke's receiver in the county palatine, was Urswyk's fellow-representative in the Winchester parliament of January 1393. By this stage Sir Robert himself was steward of the wapentake of Blackburn and still a justice of the peace and of the forests in the county palatine. A year later he was accompanied to Westminster by Thomas Gerard who had been a member of the "Merciless Parliament" of 1388. To the next parliament, that summoned to Westminster for 27 January 1395, Urswyk went up from Lancashire with Thomas Radclyf his neighbour of Winmarleigh with whom he had gone up ten years before and whom he had succeeded as steward of Blackburnshire. The nature of Radclyf's political bias can be deduced from his appearance in John of Gaunt's will under the description of '*mon tres cher esquier*.' Urswyk's fellow-knight of the shire in the obsequious January parliament of 1397 was Richard Molyneux, only some eight

years out of his nonage and the husband of Sir Robert's granddaughter Ellen. Molyneux's own family connections bound him to be politically sympathetic to both Richard and Lancaster. His father had served Edward the Black Prince. His uncle and former guardian, Thomas Molyneux of Cuerdale, had been keeper of fees and franchises in Lancashire to John of Gaunt in 1374 and constable of Chester in December 1387, when he had gone south with Robert de Vere only to fall at Radcot Bridge in the rout of the royalist forces. Richard Molyneux himself was made sheriff of Lancaster two days after the parliamentary session terminated.

The knights of the duchy in the second parliament of 1397 which met to hear the appeals against the former Appellants, Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick, were Sir John Botiller of Warrington, now about seventy years of age, and Sir Ralph Radclyf of Smithills. The latter, a member of John of Gaunt's retinue in the late 'seventies, had been sheriff of Lancaster from 1384 to 1387. He had apparently complied with Richard II's order in December 1387 to raise forces for his favourite, the Earl of Oxford. At the time of his return Radclyf was a justice of the peace in Salfordshire. Five days after the opening of the session he received a grant of £40 from the King's mills on the Dee at Chester and probably succeeded Molyneux in the shrievalty of Lancaster on the latter's death in December. No pains had been spared to manipulate the elections to this parliament in the royal interest. It is significant that one of the Lancashire members had been knight of the shire in the "Merciless Parliament" nearly ten years before, and that the other at the same time had been dragged up before an Appellant council for complicity in de Vere's effort which ended at Radcot Bridge. The returns extant for the parliament of 1388 number 259; those of the parliament of 1397, 200. A comparison of the personnel of the two parliaments is somewhat impaired by this discrepancy. All the missing returns are, however, those of borough elections. Out of the 72 knights of the shire returned to the "Merciless Parliament" six were elected to the parliament of September 1397, one each from the counties of Lancaster, Middlesex, Oxford, Rutland, Warwick and Somerset. Sir William Bagot, knight of the shire in both parliaments for Warwickshire, was one of Richard's agents in the Commons. Besides these six knights of the shire at least eight burgess members occur in the lists of both parliaments, one representative from each of the following towns: Norwich, Great Yarmouth, Chichester, East Grinstead, Devizes, Old Sarum, Bridgwater and Lostwithiel. Sir John Botiller, then, was one of fourteen knights and burgesses who for certain were participants in the proceedings of both parliaments. After an adjournment the parliament of September 1397 reassembled at Shrewsbury in the new year. In a session of three days the Commons granted the King liberal supplies of money and made over to



him for life, in addition, the customs on wool, woolfells and leather. To crown this display of subservience parliament delegated its power to a committee chosen from the whole body. When the next summons for the assembly of parliament was issued on 19 August 1399 from Chester, Richard was a virtual prisoner in the hand of Henry Bolingbroke, now Duke of Lancaster. Richard resigned the crown on 29 September. Richard was deposed on the following day in Westminster Hall and Henry of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's son and heir, whose inheritance Richard had sequestered on Gaunt's death in March 1399, challenged the realm of England and was accepted as King by the assembly.

The control of the returns to the Commons for the county palatine of Lancaster, manifestly strongly exerted in the last reign by John of Gaunt, judging from an analysis of the personnel of the knights of the shire, does not appear to have been loosened. Now that the Duke of Lancaster was also King, although it is highly improbable that there was any change in the procedure of election, the writ authorising election addressed to the chancellor of the county palatine was returned to the Chancery of England with a notice of the result of the sheriff's election endorsed, and was now accompanied by the *responsum* of the sheriff inscribed on the back of a second writ he had received from the chancery of Lancaster which recited the instructions of the royal writ. The bed along which official influence must run seems at first sight to have been made more circuitous by the 1399 revolution. In point of fact the returns of the elections by their passage through the Chancery of the county palatine were subjected to a no more disinterested scrutiny than they had been when the connection between the Duke of Lancaster and his 'duchy' was on a more intimate basis.

In the reign of Henry IV the knights of the shire for Lancashire may be said to have been almost without exception *personae gratae* to the government. The members in the parliament which witnessed the deposition of Richard and the accession of Henry IV were that experienced politician, Sir Robert Urswyk, and Henry Hoghton. The session broke up on the same day, 30 September; the members were to meet again on 6 October under the writ of summons already prepared. Hoghton's elder brother, Sir Richard, on 30 September appointed sheriff of Lancaster and obviously up at Westminster, made out the return to this second writ with the fiction that he had elected Urswyk and his brother Henry. The return was a mere formality. The fact that Sir Robert Urswyk was knight of the shire demonstrates that the 1399 revolution had no immediate reaction on the parliamentary representation of Lancashire. This was the twelfth occasion, in twenty years, on which Urswyk was returned for the county palatine. His partner Henry Hoghton of Leagram had been a member of the King's retinue when in 1390 as Earl of Derby he had gone to the help

of the Teutonic Knights in Lithuania. In 1393 he had indentured with the King's father, John of Gaunt, to serve him with a retaining-fee of £20 a year. In spite of the fact that Richard II had renewed this grant after the Duke's death, Hoghton had naturally gone over to the Lancastrian side in the recent upheaval. In the second parliament of the new reign Sir Robert Urswyk again represented Lancashire, having in the meantime served on a commission of array for a Scottish campaign. His fellow-member was Sir Nicholas Atherton, a retainer of John of Gaunt for nearly thirty years who had been on the Spanish expedition of 1386 to 1389. Like Hoghton, Atherton's letters of retainer with Lancaster had been vainly confirmed by Richard II. At the time of his return to parliament Atherton was bailiff of the West Derby hundred. To the next parliament (if the assembly of January 1402 was held it left no traces of its activity) Sir Richard Hoghton and Sir Nicholas Haryngton were returned for the county palatine. The former, knight of the shire twenty years previous, had been a member of John of Gaunt's retinue in the 'seventies but retained in March 1398 by Richard II. In the revolution he had, however, adhered to the Lancastrian party and since had been successively appointed sheriff and chief steward of Lancashire. Sir Nicholas Haryngton whose last appearance in parliament had been in 1386 had very recently served as a commissioner of array of forces destined for the Welsh campaign. To the January parliament of 1404 the escheator of the county palatine, Robert Laurence, was returned with Sir Ralph Radclyf, a knight of the shire in the September parliament of 1397. Displaced from the shrievalty of Lancaster by the revolution, Radclyf had recently been associated with Laurence, a rising man of thirty-three years, on various commissions of array, notably that issued after the battle of Shrewsbury when Henry was preparing to meet Northumberland after Hotspur's defeat. In the September following his return to parliament Sir Ralph was again made sheriff.

To the "Unlearned Parliament" of October 1404 which met at Coventry two novices were elected for Lancashire. The last time a return of this nature had been made was in 1373. Sir James Haryngton, younger son of the knight of the shire two years earlier, was apparently a member of the royal entourage, serving on no commissions, either of array or of the peace, in the shires. In addition to a retaining fee of £20 which he had received from the Exchequer for three years, in the February of the year of his return to parliament Haryngton had been granted an annual pension of 100 marks as an acknowledgment of his services in having captured the Earl of Douglas, Hotspur's prisoner, at Shrewsbury in the previous July. His fellow-knight of the shire, a justice of the peace in Derbyshire and with little territorial interest in Lancashire beyond the Trafford wardship, Sir



Ralph Staveley had been Henry IV's steward when as Earl of Derby he led an expedition to the help of the Teutonic Knights in Lithuania in 1390 and again in 1392-3 when Henry had failed in an attempt to reach Jerusalem. He was apparently a member of Henry's retinue when as Duke of Hereford he was banished in 1398 and though the grantee, along with his father and his brother, of annuities from Richard II, he had supported the revolution. Staveley was sufficiently influential in the government's sense to have been summoned to attend a Council earlier in 1404. His name, however, appears on the list of those summoned for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. To the long parliament of 1406 the representatives for Lancashire were again the escheator and Sir William Botiller, who had been made a knight of the Bath at Henry IV's coronation. When Staveley was returned for the second time as knight of the shire to the Gloucester parliament of 1407 (he had in the meantime seen service on the Welsh Marches with the Prince of Wales) his fellow-member was Sir Henry Hoghton, knight of the shire in the first parliament of the reign. Both had served in Lithuania in 1390 with the King, then Earl of Derby. Hoghton was now, and had been for five years, master-forester, storer, and steward of Blackburnshire and master-forester of Bowland. His brother Sir Richard Hoghton was chief steward of the county palatine. Of the last three parliaments of the reign of Henry IV the returns for only that of November 1411 are extant for Lancashire. To this parliament Sir John Assheton and John del Bothe were returned. The former was related, by his father's second marriage, to Sir Ralph Staveley. Sir John, like Botiller, had been made a knight of the Order revived by the new dynasty. A justice of the peace in the county palatine, as was John del Bothe, he had served on numerous commissions of array earlier on in the reign. John del Bothe had been associated with Staveley in the Venables wardship since 1403. In view of these connections it is significant that Sir Ralph Staveley as sheriff conducted their election.

Of the twelve persons who represented the county palatine in the eight parliaments of Henry IV's reign for which returns are known, four had been returned as knights of the shire in Richard II's reign; two had been members of Henry's retinue since 1390 when he was Earl of Derby; two were in charge of different branches of the administration of the King's estates in the county palatine, his by hereditary right; two were knights of the Order of the Bath inaugurated at Henry's coronation; and one was at the time of his return a member of the royal entourage.

Any generalisation on the nature of the personnel of the representation of Lancashire in the parliaments of Henry V's reign would be vitiated by the fact that out of the eleven parliaments held the returns for only eight are known in the case of the county palatine. There was, however, apparently little repetition of election. With the

exception of Sir John Assheton and John del Bothe, all were novices. The most important of these was John Stanley, son of Henry V's steward of household when Prince of Wales and in receipt of an annuity of £20 from Henry since 1407. When returned to the first parliament of the reign in May 1413 with Sir John Assheton, Stanley was only 27 years of age. The members of the Leicester parliament of April 1414 were a simple country squire with little political experience, and the receiver for the county palatine, both novices as knights of the shire, namely Nicholas Blundell and Ralph Radclyf. Stanley was again returned in November 1414 with the erstwhile escheator Robert Laurence, last knight of the shire in 1406 and now in receipt of an annuity of 40 marks from the receipt of the county. Stanley, now a justice of the peace in Lancashire, had succeeded his father at the outset of the year and was now steward of Macclesfield and master-forester of Macclesfield and Delamere, offices within the Crown's gift. Both Stanley and Laurence served on the Agincourt campaign as did the representatives in the parliament of March 1416, Sir John Assheton, knight of the shire for the third time, and John Morley who from the beginning of the reign had been retained by the King for an annual fee of £20 charged on the receipt of the county palatine. Morley sat again as knight of the shire in 1431. No returns for Lancashire are missing between 1419 and that year, during which period eleven parliaments assembled, to which sixteen knights of the shire were elected in all. In only three parliaments were both representatives novices. No case of re-election to two consecutive parliaments occurred. Only two out of the sixteen members had been returned before 1416, a gap of three years intervening between then and 1419 in which the returns for Lancashire have not been ascertained. These were John del Bothe and Ralph Radclyf. The members of the 1419 parliament were two esquires, both novices, Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe and John Laurence of Poulton near Lancaster, a younger brother of Robert Laurence. The two members were related distantly through the Furness family of Kirkby. They had both served on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* in their respective hundreds in April 1418. Neither was a justice of the peace. The Lancashire representatives for the parliament of December 1420 and the next parliament but one, that of December 1421, seem to have been chosen with an eye to the solution of the Bothe *v.* Bold dispute which was disturbing the authorities. Shirburne, who was an arbiter in the suit, was returned to both parliaments during which arrangements were made for its settlement. John del Bothe and Sir John Byron, who were his fellow-members in the respective parliaments, were involved in the suit. To the important intervening parliament of May 1421 which was opened by the King himself, Sir Thomas Radclyf, son of the sheriff of Lancaster, the returning officer, and Thomas Urswyk, the receiver for the county palatine,



were elected. Sir Thomas Radclyf, who was only thirty years of age, had been in receipt of an annuity of 20 marks since 1414, had served on the Agincourt campaign and had just returned from further war service abroad with the King himself. At the end of the parliament he again departed for France in Henry's retinue. The receiver in the palatinate both for the King and Henry V's feoffees was again returned to the first parliament called after Henry V's death. A week before the dissolution Bishop Beaufort's cousin, Chaucer, established Urswyk as his deputy-butler at Liverpool. His fellow-knight of the shire was John Gerard of Bryn, a justice of the peace who had been a commissioner of array for West Derbyshire in 1418. In the next two parliaments three of the knights of the shire were relatives of the sheriff, Sir Richard Radclyf. To the parliament of 1423 his son Sir Thomas was again returned along with Ralph Radclyf, knight of the shire in 1414 and now on the commission of the peace for the Salford wapentake. One member in the 1425 parliament was Ralph Longford, who had fought at Verneuil in the previous year and was now only twenty-five years of age. His fellow-representative was Richard Radclyf, whose father was first cousin to the sheriff and who was himself uncle to the steward of Aquitaine.

The potential influence of the sheriff on the elections to parliament seems not to have gone unexercised in the shrievalties of Sir Richard Radclyf and his successor Sir Robert Laurence. The former's tenure of office lasted from 1420 to 1425 during which time his son was twice returned and two of his relatives once each. Laurence occupied the office from 1425 to 1437 during which period two of his sons were returned once each. A new force was, however, beginning to make itself felt in the return of the Lancashire representatives, the result of the family alliances of the Haryngton family. Its first movement may be discerned in the return of John Botiller of Bewsey and Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe to the "parliament of battes" which met at Leicester in February 1426 when the struggle between Humphrey of Gloucester and his uncle, the Chancellor, Bishop Beaufort, was at its height. The wife of Beaufort's brother Thomas, Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter, Margaret Neville, and John Botiller's wife Isabel, daughter of Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, were first cousins. Botiller would then through the Haryngton alliance be inclined to support the Chancellor in the quarrel which was the focus of all political parties in the state and for the solution of which Bedford had crossed to England to be present in parliament. Only three years before their return to the Leicester parliament Botiller of Bewsey had contracted with Nicholas Botiller that the latter's son should marry the sister of the former. Sir William Haryngton's nephew Thomas Stanley, the son of the steward and forester of Blackburnshire, was returned to the parliament of 1427 along with Sir Ralph Radclyf. Both may be said

to have supported the conciliar party against Gloucester in the absence of Bishop Beaufort and the Duke of Bedford. Radclyf had been knighted at Leicester in the previous year and was in receipt of a pension from the receipt of the county which as a parcel of the duchy was in the hands of Henry V's trustees. The most influential of these was Bishop Beaufort. In this and in each of the next two parliaments one of the Lancashire knights of the shire was a novice, the sheriff's son being returned with Sir John Byron to the parliament of 1429 and William Gernet with John Morley, who was making like Byron his second appearance to that of 1431. In this period from 1419 to 1431 the personnel of Lancastrian representation with the exception of Sir Thomas Radclyf and Urswyk the receiver of the palatinate, returned twice each, and Stanley, Longford, and John Botiller, all three young men under thirty years, had been distinctly mediocre. Four of the representatives did not even find their way on to that mid-fifteenth century *Who's Who*—the list of those certified into Chancery in 1434 as those fit to take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers. With the exception of Stanley, Longford, and John Botiller, all were of the Justice-of-the-Peace type and generally members of the county court which elected to parliament.

Of the nature of the returns for the period 1432 to 1460 it is noteworthy that out of the eleven persons who represented the county palatine in the fourteen parliaments for which the returns are known, only two were unconnected either by marriage or interest with the Haryngton-Stanley alliance. In this period the parliamentary representation of Lancashire was a virtual monopoly of these two families. Sir Thomas Stanley was elected to nine parliaments and his cousin Sir Thomas Haryngton to five. The latter was returned for the first time with another novice, Sir William Assheton, to the 1432 parliament in which Cardinal Beaufort was immediately concerned. Haryngton was just back from military service in France. His fellow-member, the master-forester of Bowland, was a tenant formerly of Sir Robert Neville of Hornby and now of Haryngton's father Sir William, who had succeeded to the Hornby inheritance in his wife's right. Sir Thomas Stanley, now Lieutenant of Ireland and Thomas Haryngton's cousin, was returned along with Sir Thomas Radclyf, whose third appearance this was, to the parliament of 1433. Radclyf was associated with Thomas Haryngton in the farm of two parts of the manor of Wyresdale for which they paid the considerable sum of 50 marks a year. The representatives for the county in 1435 were Henry Halsall and a younger son of the sheriff, Thomas Laurence. Halsall had married Katherine the daughter of Sir James Haryngton knight of the shire in 1404. Along with his wife's cousin, Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, Halsall was re-elected to the next parliament of 1437. Henry Kighley, Sir Thomas Stanley's fellow-member of the 1439



parliament, was in a year or two to be a joint feoffee with him, had supported his election in 1433 and was to do so again in 1450 and 1455. When Kighley was returned a second time in 1445 to the only parliament between 1439 and 1455 in which Stanley did not occupy one of the county palatine seats, his fellow-knight of the shire was Sir Peter Gerard, who had strong cause for affinity with Thomas Haryngton over the regulation of the Botiller estates. The two cousins Stanley and Haryngton were elected together to the parliaments of 1442, 1447, and February 1449. Their political predilections were definitely pro-Beaufort and pro-Suffolk and antagonistic to Gloucester's opposition and policy of obstruction. Stanley was controller of the royal household and chamberlain of North Wales, and from 1443 to his death receiver for the county palatine. In addition, he held his father's Cheshire offices conjointly with the treasurer, Lord Cromwell, and was Suffolk's deputy as justice of Chester and North Wales and later his fellow-justice. It was to him as constable of Chester castle that in 1443 Eleanor Cobham, wife of the Duke of Gloucester, was committed. A veritable *engrosser of offices*, to use Fortescue's phrase. Stanley along with his fellow-official, Stourton, treasurer of the household, assisted in Gloucester's arrest when he came up to the parliament of Bury St. Edmunds of which Sir Thomas was himself a member. His cousin Haryngton of Hornby had, as he later claimed, been with Warwick in the relief of Crotoy in 1437. He also assisted early in 1445 in the bringing home of Margaret of Anjou, Henry's queen. Apparently Haryngton had gone in the entourage of the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole. Themselves great-grandsons of William de la Pole, the Edwardian merchant prince of Hull, both were closely connected with the Beauforts. Suffolk, who in the main engineered Henry VI's marriage, was becoming all the more prominent as a member of the clique surrounding the King now that Cardinal Beaufort was beginning to retire from public affairs. The latter's death closely following on that of his nephew Gloucester in 1447 left him supreme.

From 1437 to 1460 the shrievalty of Lancaster was held first by Sir John Byron and then by his son Nicholas Byron. The latter conducted the elections from December 1446 onwards to 1460. He was the husband of Sir Thomas Haryngton's niece Alice Botiller of Warrington. Her brother, John Botiller, still a minor and apparently attached to the court party, was returned to the second parliament of 1449 along with Sir Thomas Stanley. One of the trustees for his estates, Sir Thomas Haryngton's influence was paramount with his nephew Botiller. Stanley's partner in November 1450 and again in March 1453 was Sir Richard Haryngton, who had been *bailli* of Caen under Somerset until its capture in June 1450. In the former parliament, called at the instance of Richard of York, who did his best to influence the elections to it in his own favour, the Commons petitioned for the removal

from court of the Duke of Somerset and certain members of the old Suffolk clique, Stanley among them. Although, however, on the Yorkist triumph after St. Albans in 'fifty-five the county elections were heavily weighted in favour of that party, Stanley retained his Lancashire seat. The Duke of York, however, seems to have done his best to win him over to his side by either making him or allowing him to remain Lord Chamberlain and a member of the Privy Council. He had been associated with his cousin Sir Thomas Haryngton in a commission during York's first protectorate to be intendant on the Duke in the suppression of the quarrel between the Nevilles and the Percies. Moreover, his eldest son early in 1455 had co-operated with Haryngton in pacifying a rising of the Lancashire commons with Percy sympathies. Stanley in 1455 apparently temporised, although he was at heart not a supporter of the Yorkist dynastic claims and had been coming up to St. Albans with royalist forces with Shrewsbury and Cromwell when the skirmish took place. The fact that Stanley by interest had, throughout his career, been attached to the courtly entourage whose obliteration was one of the main Yorkist demands, and still retained his Lancashire seat in the Commons, is evidence of the strong political hold his family had in the county palatine. His monopoly of a shire seat is unparalleled in the country at large with the exception of the consistent return for Berks of John Norreys, esquire for the body and keeper of the Wardrobe.

The other member for Lancashire in the 1455 parliament was Alexander Radclyf, the brother-in-law of the now ardent Yorkist Sir Thomas Haryngton who was himself knight of the shire for Yorkshire. The close connection between Sir Thomas and Radclyf is evidenced by the fact that in 1459 the latter was made an executor of Haryngton's will. A year previous, however, Radclyf had been closely concerned in the anti-Yorkist movement instigated by the Duke of Exeter. The Lancashire members in the parliament, which met at Coventry in November 1459 to register the Lancastrian triumph which followed their temporary setback at Bloreheath, and in which Sir Thomas Haryngton suffered attainder, were his cousin Sir Richard Haryngton and the latter's brother-in-law Henry Halsall. It is not improbable that one of the Lancashire members of the 1460 parliament, called when the battle of Northampton had liberated him from ward in Chester castle and put the Yorkists again into power, was Sir Thomas himself. The returns are, however, missing in the case of the county palatine. Certainly he was active enough in Yorkist party politics until meeting his death at Wakefield in December later in the year, along with the Duke of York himself.

During Beaufort's life-time the Haryngton-Stanley monopoly of the Lancashire representation in parliament was exercised in the interests of his party and that of his political successor Suffolk. The last decade



of Lancastrian rule with its ravelled politics and lack of governance, however, saw no change in the character of those influences which determined who represented the county palatine in the Commons: family attachments and affiliations prevailed. Whatever the immediate complexion of political events, the Stanley-Haryngton monopoly continued to maintain itself, as it seems to have done in the reign of Edward IV. It was a manifestation of the influence of the *over mighty subject*, at once the cause and effect of later medieval, "bastard," feudalism. The county palatine had contributed at a rough estimate a tenth of the expeditionary force which accompanied Henry V on the Agincourt campaign. Its gentry were to give asylum to the unfortunate Henry of Windsor for over a year after his political annihilation at Hexham in 1464. The old dynastic loyalty was, however, overlaid by sentiments of more immediate political significance. The Yorkist success at Bloreheath in 1459 was largely due to the fact that the second baron Stanley, who was to repeat the manœuvre at Bosworth with more marked effect, withheld the forces raised for the King in Lancashire from joining the main body of the royal army under Lord Audley. The Yorkist partizanship of Sir Thomas Haryngton, the son of Henry V's standard-bearer, was a direct result of an attachment to Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, in formation as early as 1442 when Haryngton was the Earl's deputy duchy steward of the Blackburn wapentake. The pluralistic engrossing of local offices and the opportunity afforded by the consequent cornering of patronage for the maintenance of a *societas* of supporters, was at once a contributory cause of, and incitement towards, political pre-occupation on the part of local magnates.

## CHAPTER III

AN examination of how family combinations in Lancashire might affect the result of the returns to parliament naturally leads to the question as to how such influence reacted upon the "freedom" of the election in the county court. Some evidence of how local agencies might be manipulated in the interests of a faction in the county is furnished by the indenture-system. A statute of 1406 directed that after an election the names of the persons chosen should be *escriptz en endenture dessoutz les seaulx de toutz ceux qui eux eslisent, et tacchez au dit brieve du parlement*. Indentures of elections for the county palatine have survived for twenty-six out of the thirty-seven parliaments which met from the establishment of the statute to 1460, beginning with the return to the 1411 parliament. An analysis of the personnel of the *comitatus*, at least of those suitors who counted sufficiently to have the right to appose their seals to the indenture attesting the election, leads to the conclusion that as an institution the county court and its *secta* had little independent determining influence on elections to parliament. This becomes increasingly apparent when the party squabbles of Henry VI's reign began to go deep into the fabric of local politics. The personnel of the *comitatus* was altogether too unstable and inconsistent. Its constitution was too open to immediate influences. On an average the same person did not seal the indenture more than twice. There were exceptions. Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe, knight of the shire in 1419 and 1426, attested the elections to eleven parliaments between 1413 and 1450. His brother-in-law Richard Botiller of Kirkland, escheator for the county palatine between 1420 and 1427, apposed his seal to nine indentures of election between 1413 and 1431. Nicholas Croft of Dalton, collector of a fifteenth in 1417 and in 1418 a commissioner of muster and array in Lonsdale, whose daughter was married to Robert Laurence, the sheriff's son and knight of the shire in 1429, sealed indentures of election on ten occasions between 1419 and 1449. There were little more than a score, however, in the whole period who sealed more than half a dozen indentures. Those who had not before attested an election were always a fair proportion at each election. Out of the forty-three who affixed their seals to the indenture of the election of 1427 sixteen had not before attested; there were seven such out of the twelve attestors of the election of 1431; twenty-



two out of thirty-nine in 1435; thirty-two out of fifty-three in 1446; twenty-five out of forty-seven in 1450; while in the election to the Coventry parliament of 1459 out of the ninety-one who sealed the indenture two-thirds had not before attested any election. The number of those attesting the return oscillated enormously from election to election. The attestors of the election of 1411 were twelve; in 1413 the sealers numbered thirty-six. The electors of 1416 were only seven. The average number of attestors between 1419 and 1426 stood at fifteen. The body of indenture-sealers, however, increased later on and averaged forty from 1432 to 1455. Considerable fluctuations might take place from one election to the next. Those who apposed their seals to the indentures for the consecutive elections of 1426, 1427 and 1429 numbered respectively eight, forty-three, and eighteen. There were nearly four times as many attestors of the election of 1459 as of that of 1455, the next previous election. If the attestation of elections in the indentures be any criterion of attendance in the county courts when returns to parliament were made, the absence of any regular body of "electors" points to the fact that the *comitatus* in the Lancashire scheme of election did not count for much as a determinant force. I do not mean to suggest that those who are individually named as those attesting the indentures were the only people present. It does seem reasonable, however, to infer that they were the most important people attending the election.

The composition of the personnel of the electors also points away from their being of sufficient calibre to be capable of independent action. Generally speaking the *secta* was made up of small country squires. Occasionally one finds representatives of families who owed suit to the county court as a tenurial condition, like the Bolrons of Bolron, Lancaster, or the Huddlestons of Millom who held the manor of West Hall in Whittington. Such attendance was, however, spasmodic. The class of attenders generally can be covered by the description applied to those who were present at the election but not individually named among those who affixed their seals to the indenture. In 1411 these are collectively labelled as *alii liberi homines de comitatu*, in 1419 as *plures alii*, in 1425 as *multi alii procures comitatus*, but most frequently as *multi alii probi et legales homines comitatus*. Such men were of the class from which jurors for inquisitions post mortem might be taken. In point of fact the statute of 1430 restricted the electoral franchise to the class qualified to serve on juries by establishing the rule that only resident persons possessed of a freehold worth 40s. a year should be allowed to vote. It may be noted that this statute produced no appreciable change in the personnel constituting the county court of Lancaster. The indenture attesting the next election, that of John Morley and William Gernet in 1431, pointed out that each of the twelve responsible for the election *quadraginta solidos per annum*

*et ultra expendere potest*. The effect of the statute was, however, negligible in Lancashire. It was meant to restrict the franchise; the number of those attesting the elections in the indenture rose steadily.

For the most part the knighthood of the county was but poorly represented. When more than one or two headed the list of indenture-sealers there was usually some good reason for such attendance. The number of knights present at the election to the first parliament of Henry V is conspicuous. Out of the thirty-six who attested the election eighteen were knights. Ten of them were again present with seven other knights and eighteen esquires at the election to the important parliament of November 1414. Lancashire's interest in the revival of the French war was particularly strong. This may account for the unusual influx of knights into these two elections. Afterwards there were never more than five in attendance. In 1427, when Sir Ralph Radclyf and Thomas Stanley were returned, the latter for the first time, four knights sealed the indenture but they were only a tenth roughly of the total of those who apposed below them. There were five knights in each of the electoral bodies of 1432 and 1433 when Thomas Haryngton and Sir William Assheton, Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radclyf, were respectively returned. One of the most influential figures in either Lancashire or Yorkshire between 1408 and his death in 1440 was Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, father of Sir Thomas Haryngton, the famous Yorkist. Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1409, 1414, 1422, and 1429, Sir William attested the Lancashire elections of knights of the shire to the parliaments of 1413, 1414, 1419, 1432, 1433 and 1437. On the first two occasions his brother-in-law John Stanley was one of the knights returned. In 1432 his son and one of his tenants were elected; in 1433 his nephew Sir Thomas Stanley, and in 1437 his son again and his nephew-in-law, Henry Halsall, were returned. In assessing the average status of the indenture-sealer it may be borne in mind that such magnates of the county palatine as Sir John Stanley and Sir Richard Molyneux were present at only one election to parliament. That occasion was in 1433 when Sir Thomas Stanley, son of the former, was one of the knights returned.

The influence of the men at the head of the list of those present at an election, coupled with that of the sheriff, can often be traced in the return of particular members. In 1419 Sir Robert Laurence was present when his younger brother John was returned. Nicholas Botiller, a tenant of Sir Robert Urswyk who as sheriff conducted the election, was the other knight of the shire. The son of Sir Richard Radclyf, the next sheriff, was returned in 1421. Sir William Assheton, the first to seal the indenture, had just returned with Henry V from France along with Sir Thomas Radclyf; both were members of the King's retinue. When John Gerard of Bryn was returned in 1422 his overlord Sir Ralph Langton was the first to attest the election. In 1423



the sheriff's son and a relative were returned; the son of the sheriff's cousin, Richard Radclyf, in 1425. When John Botiller of Bewsey was elected in 1426, one of his trustees, Hamo le Massy of Rixton, was the first to seal the indenture of election. When Sir John Byron was returned in 1429 along with the sheriff's son, his son-in-law Sir Thomas Assheton and his brother-in-law Thomas del Bothe were among those who were present in the county court. A son of the sheriff was returned in 1435. Thomas Haryngton's brother-in-law Alexander Radclyf was present at his election in 1442. His first cousin by marriage and his fellow-representative in the parliament of 1437, Henry Halsall, was the first to attest his election in 1446. The sheriff, Nicholas Byron, was the husband of Haryngton's niece Alice Botiller. Sir Thomas himself was the first to seal the indenture attesting the election in 1449 of his cousin Sir Thomas Stanley and his nephew John Botiller. The sheriff was the latter's brother-in-law. Haryngton was again one of the first to seal the indenture when his cousins, Stanley and Sir Richard Haryngton, were returned in 1450; and, himself just elected for Yorkshire, was second to seal in 1455 when Stanley was re-elected with Haryngton's brother-in-law, Alexander Radclyf of Ordsall. Haryngton influence too was powerful in the election of 1459 when Sir Thomas Haryngton's cousin and the latter's brother-in-law were returned. Sir Thomas Haryngton's eldest son was first to attest (Sir Thomas himself was in ward in Chester castle at the time), while the second attestant was Sir Richard Haryngton's own son. The *probi et legales homines comitatus* in face of such an array of official and familiar influence are relegated to the position of assentors to what was imposed from above. There is not necessarily here any note of opposition to a "cooked" return on the part of the formally electoral body or of usurpation of constitutional right. Some of the most consistent attenders of county court elections in the period 1435-59 were near neighbours of the Hornby Haryngtons, men like Thomas del Grene of Gressingham, Robert WASHINGTON of Torisholme, John de Cauncefild of Tatham, and John de Oxclif of Lancaster. The steady re-election of Sir Thomas Stanley also points to the same fact: that the position of the squirearchy and gentry who made up the personnel of those who sealed indentures of election was one of acquiescence in nominations which came either from the sheriff or from a select group of leading magnates.

What opportunity was afforded for official control of the elections may be gathered from a study of the process of an election for the county palatine. Royal writs authorising election of knights of the shire for Lancashire were in the reign of Richard II invariably addressed *carissimo avunculo suo Johanni Duci Aquitanie et Lancastrie vel eius cancellario in eodem ducatu Lancastrie*. This direction to the Duke or his 'representative in the duchy' as his chancellor is described

in the writs *de expensis*, owes the form it takes to the grant of *jura regalia* of 1377 and the palatinisation of the county. The Duke fulfilled the office of hereditary sheriff and the *vicecomes Lancastrie* of the duchy period is his appointee under his letters patent. In view of later procedure it is certain that this latter regulated the election of the 'knights of the duchy' although the formality of the writs of return demanded that the response to the writ be made out in the Duke's name. The returns to the royal writs authorising election were made out in the manner employed by all the sheriffs of England. In view of the instruction contained in parliamentary writs to make out the return and send it to the Chancery along with the writ, it was natural for the note of the election duly carried out and of the names of the elected knights to be inscribed on the dorse of the writ itself. The form the *responsio* took was not a fixed one. The writ authorising election for the parliament of November 1381, for example, is endorsed in this fashion: *Johannes Rex Castelle et Legionis dux Lancastrie sic respondet. Virtute istius brevis mitto vobis ad praesens parlamentum vestrum duos milites pro communitate comitatus mei palatini Lancastrie ad faciendum et consentiendum super hiis que ibidem contigerit ordinari in omnibus prout istud breve requirit videlicet Willielmum de Athirton chivaler et Robertum de Urcewyk. Et non sunt aliqui cives nec burgenses in ducatu predicto qui ad aliquod parlamentum venire solebant propter eorum paupertatem*. Two years later, however, the return is made out in a very different manner. It will have been noticed that in the endorsement of the 1381 writ no reference was made to any election of the county palatine representatives. The answer to the writ of 1383 is couched in the following terms: *Responsio Johannis etc, Nomina militum electorum in ducatu Lancastrie ad veniendum ad instans parlamentum pro communitate ducatus predicti sufficientem potestatem pro se et dicta communitate habentes ad faciendum et consentiendum etc*, and then immediately underneath, one under the other, the names of the knights elect; then the usual note as to the non-election of burgesses. The form used in the response of 1383 is again followed two years later. In the intervening years, however, the unstereotyped character of the endorsements is evidenced by a variation in the formula employed. Instead of the 1383 form the *responsio* is phrased *Nomina militum veniendorum ad parlamentum unde in iste brevi fit mentio pro communitate ducatus nostri Lancastrie*. Here no hint is afforded of any procedure by election. That such a procedure was followed can be confidently assumed, however, for in the responses made to the writs of 1378 and 1380 in which the formula was *mitto vobis ad praesens parlamentum vestrum*, the names of those who went surety for the two knights of the shire were included. From 1386 to 1397 the form in which the return was made out was more or less uniform although it differed from that followed in previous returns. The response to the writ



authorising election to the parliament of 1391 is inscribed on the dorse of the writ in this fashion: *Lancastrie. Responsio Johannis ducis Aquitanie et Lancastrie. Eligi feci Robertum de Urswyk et Robertum de Workesley duos militis gladiis cinctos magis idoneos et discretos eius ducatus etc.* That some form of election in the county court was gone through is implicit in the phrase *eligi feci*. No extraordinary importance must be attached to the personal form the note of the election takes. Any sheriff might and did use it. The word *Lancastrie* at the head of the inscription points to the fact that the return was finally made out in the chancery of the county palatine located there.

That under the dukedom of John of Gaunt his appointee the *vicecomes* was responsible for carrying out the executive part of the election of the knights of the shire is not merely borne out by the fact that letters patent under the seal of the chancery of Lancaster were issued to him instructing the levy of the expenses of the representatives, but also by the procedure followed at the accession of Henry of Bolingbroke to the throne. The endorsement to the writ dated 30 September 1399 authorising the election of knights and burgesses to meet at Westminster six days later, was made out by Richard Hoghton, who on the same day was made sheriff, in this manner: *Ricardus de Hoghton vicecomes Lancastrie sic respondit. Virtute istius brevis eligi feci Robertum de Urswyk et Henricum de Hoghton duos milites gladiis cinctos, . . . , quos coram vobis venire faciam ad diem et locum, etc.* And then follows the clause explanatory of the non-election of burgesses. In point of fact this writ of return was a mere formality. Urswyk and Henry de Hoghton were already in London, having been returned to parliament preceding Richard II's deposition in accordance with writs issued from Chester. To have carried out a fresh election would have occasioned loss of valuable time and so only the legal formalities of a second election were observed.

For the parliament of September 1402 no returns are extant for Lancaster and when the series is resumed a fuller interpretation of the system of election is made possible. Henceforth the course taken by the royal writ authorising election is fairly clear. A writ dated at Westminster on 9 February 1406 was issued to the chancellor in the county palatine proroguing the meeting of parliament for a fortnight after the time first stipulated and changing the place of meeting from Gloucester to Westminster. The writ is like any other issued to the sheriffs of England and the final instructions are the same—namely the injunction not to elect the sheriff of the county or any other sheriff and to have in Chancery the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses elected, along with the writ. This writ to the chancellor of Lancaster was endorsed: *Responsio Thome Stanley cancellarii domini Regis in comitatu palatino Lancastrie. Virtute istius brevis mandavimus vicecomiti Lancastrie per breve cancellarii comitatus palatini Lancastrie*

*quod de comitatu Lancastrie eligi faciat duos milites gladiis cinctos etc. Quiquidem vicecomes nobis retornavit quod virtute dicti mandati duos milites . . . eligi fecit videlicet Willielmum Botiller et Robertum Laurence qui plenam et sufficientem potestatem etc.*; and then followed the clause regarding the non-return of burgesses. The royal writ emanated from the Chancery of England on 9 February. On 13 February a writ dated at Lancaster was addressed to the sheriff of Lancaster. It begins with the customary salutation, then follows the notice: *Breve de cancellaria nostra Anglie clausum cancellario nostro Lancastrie directum recepimus in hec verba* and from this point onwards the royal writ to the chancellor of Lancaster is transcribed. The endorsement runs—*Responsum Radulphi de Radclif vicecomitis Lancastrie. Virtute istius brevis de comitatu Lancastrie duos milites videlicet Willielmum Botiller et Robertum Laurence . . . eligi feci*. And then followed the clause regarding the non-return of burgesses. The procedure then is clear so far. Under John of Gaunt the writ was addressed to the Duke or his chancellor. In any case it is certain that it was through the chancery of the county palatine at Lancaster that it reached the sheriff. The Duke was legally the returning officer in his position as hereditary sheriff and so the endorsement of the writ was made out in his name. With the accession of Henry IV the county palatine along with the larger territorial unit the duchy of Lancaster became an appanage of the Crown and the personal connection was obscured. Henceforward a writ authorising election is despatched from Westminster to the chancellor of the King's county palatine of Lancaster along with the writs addressed to the sheriffs of England. On its receipt a copy is made and forwarded to the sheriff of Lancaster who records on its dorse the result of the election he conducts in the county court, due notice having been given thereof beforehand by proclamation, and then returns it to the palatine chancery. Here the original royal writ is endorsed with the result of the election and is sent back to the Chancery of England along with the copy the sheriff has endorsed.

This procedure was further complicated by the workings of the statute of 1406 which directed that knights of the shire should be chosen henceforth, as before, by the free choice of the county court, and that the return should be made on an indenture containing the names and sealed by all who took part in the election. The indenture (the first extant for Lancashire is that of 1411) was often referred to on the endorsement of the writ addressed to the sheriff from the chancery of Lancaster. The response of the sheriff in 1413 ran thus: *Responsio Radulphi de Staveley vicecomes Lancastrie. Pretextio istius brevis etc. eligi feci* and then follow the names of the two knights elected who are given power to answer for themselves and the community of the county in regard to what should be ordained in parliament, *in omnibus prout dictum breve in se exigit et requirit prout*



*manifeste patet in quibusdem indenturis inter me et communitatem comitatus predicti quarum indenturarum alteram partem vobis mitto una cum hoc brevi.* As usual the clause regarding the boroughs is tacked on. The sheriff sent the indenture to 'our chancery of Lancaster' along with the return of the election. Occasionally the sheriff did not make out a full return on the dorse of the writ sent him, as was usual, but referred to the indenture. Thus in 1416 the endorsement made on the writ to the sheriff of Lancaster runs: *Robertus de Urswyk vicecomes Lancastrie. Responsio huius brevis patet in quadam indentura huic brevi consuta.* This indenture runs: *Hec indentura testatur quod Robertus de Urswyk vicecomes Lancastrie eligi fecit duos milites ydoneos et discretos virtute eiusdem brevis domini Regis de cancellaria sua Lancastrie eidem vicecomiti directi ex consensu illorum qui proclamationi brevis predicti interfuisent in pleno comitatu Lancastrie tento, apud Lancastriam die lune in festo sancti Cedde Episcopi videlicet;* then seven names are given, of those who affixed their seals to the indenture; and then underneath—*milites de parlamento pro comitatu Lancastrie Johannes de Assheton et Johannes Morley.* The form this indenture took was unusual. There was one notable omission of form. The indenture almost invariably alludes to the non-election of burgesses: *Et quia non est aliqua civitas infra comitatu predicto nec burgus unde aliqui cives aut burgenses ante hec tempora ad aliquod parlamentum propter eorum paupertatem et debilitatem venire solebant de civibus aut burgensibus infra hanc indenturam non fit mentio;* and ends with the clause relating to the apposition of the seals of those attesting the election: *In cuius rei testimonium parti huius indenture penes predicti vicecomitem remanenti predicti x* (the first of the sealers) *et omnes alii post se infra hanc indenturam nominati sigilla sua apposuerunt alteri parti huius indenture penes predictum x et omnes alios post se infra hanc indenturam nominatos remanenti predictus vicecomes sigillum suum apposuit.* The indenture retained this form almost without change to the end of the period.

Just how far the Chancellor of Lancaster exercised the powers of a second returning officer with which the system of elections in the county palatine endowed him is one of the many imponderables of this period. In the early seventeenth century the Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster could demand the return of his nominee for one of the seats of the borough of Clitheroe. There is no direct evidence, and it seems unlikely, that he exercised such a power in the choice of the knights of the shire for the palatinate in the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, fifteenth-century Lancashire has no equivalent of the Paston correspondence.

## CHAPTER IV

**John Botiller** (May 1366; *miles*) (November 1372; *miles*) (April 1376; *chivaler*) (January 1377; *miles*) (October 1377) (October 1378; *chivaler*) (January 1380; *chivaler*) (November 1380) (February 1388; *de Weryngton*) (September 1397; *chivaler de Weryngton*).<sup>1</sup>

Born c. 1328, John Botiller was the eldest son of Sir William Botiller, baron of Warrington, whom he succeeded in 1380. The barony of Warrington proper embraced Warrington with Orford and Little Sankey, Penketh and Burtonwood; Rixton with Glazebrook, Culcheth, Atherton, Bedford, Pennington, Tyldesley, Windle and Bold, Ince Blundell, Lydiate with Eggergarth, Halsall, a moiety of Barton, two-thirds of Thornton in the hundred of West Derby; Beconsall, Hesketh, Great and Little Hoole. The manor of Warrington together with Burtonwood (or Bewsey) and Great Sankey remained in the hands of the lords.<sup>2</sup> The Botillers also held lands in Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire. In or about 1364 John Botiller had married Alice, daughter of Sir William Plumptre and widow of Richard, son and heir of Sir John de Shireburne.<sup>3</sup>

On 9 May 1365 Botiller was put on a commission of oyer and terminer charged with the maintenance of a watch on trespasses, forestalleries and regrateries and appointed to guard against the abuse and infringement of the statutes and ordinances governing weights and measures and the sale of victuals. The scope of the commission included the punishment of those officials—sheriffs, mayors, stewards, constables and bailiffs—who had taken bribes not to punish offenders against the statutes and ordinances of labourers, in addition to the offenders themselves.<sup>4</sup> Knight of the shire in the interim Sir John was appointed on 10 February 1367 to serve on a commission of array in county Lancaster.<sup>5</sup> On 20 July 1367 a commission was directed to make inquisition in county Lancaster touching an obstruction made by John Botiller, kt., two members of the Rixton family and others, in the King's highway between Winwick and Lacheford.<sup>6</sup>

A grant of two deer from the parks of Toxteth and Croxteth in the hundred of West Derby by a letter of instruction from John of Gaunt to his master of the forests in the earldom of Derby points to the fact that John Botiller was already by 1371 a *persona grata* to the Duke;<sup>7</sup> some three weeks later (25 November 1371), an indenture



between the Duke and John Botiller witnessed to the establishment of the latter as sheriff of the county of Lancaster, the appointment to date from Christmas 1371 for the ensuing year. Botiller engaged to pay £200 for the farm of the shrievalty at the following Eastertide. The announcement of his appointment to the office described him as *nostre tres cher bachelier*. On 26 November the King, and treasurer and barons of his Exchequer were advised of Botiller's institution<sup>8</sup> and on the following day his predecessor in the office, Richard de Radclif, was instructed to turn over all rolls, remembrances and evidences in his keeping affecting the shrievalty.<sup>9</sup> In May 1372 along with Adam de Hoghton, the chief forester of Quernmore, and Raulyn Dypres, parker and keeper there, John Botiller, in his capacity as sheriff, was instructed by the Duke to seize *aucuns maufesours et filz de iniquite* accustomed to hunt in the forest of Quernmore without his own leave and licence, and responsible for the destruction of the game in the forest and park there.<sup>10</sup> On 18 July of the same year, William de Hornby, the Duke's receiver in the county, was informed of the despatch of letters to John Botiller the sheriff and two esquires, Maykyn de Rixton and William de Bradshagh, that each bring with him twenty archers. In addition Robert de Pilkington and Nicholas de Atherton were to be responsible for ten archers each. The receiver was instructed to pay them 6*d.* a day for the term of a month and send all surplus cash to the Duke.<sup>11</sup> The destination of this contingent is known. Ten days after Botiller's re-appointment as sheriff (12 November 1372)<sup>12</sup> and when he was up at Westminster again as knight of the shire, the receiver for the county was instructed to reimburse him to the extent of £51 in part liquidation of an outstanding debt of over £56, wages due for his service on the expedition to Aquitaine.<sup>13</sup> On 16 April 1373 William de Horneby received instructions to make advances of wages to the 200 archers coming up from Lancashire to join John of Gaunt at Plymouth on 10 May under the supervision of John Botiller sheriff and Richard de Radcliffe.<sup>14</sup> The same two were acting as agents for securing the services of 6 carpenters, 2 masons and 2 iron workers of Lancashire.<sup>15</sup>

On 8 January 1374 Botiller was appointed *seneschal de West derbyshire et Salfordshire* taking the customary perquisites of the offices from the hands of the Duke's receiver in the county.<sup>16</sup> In November of the same year he was succeeded in the shrievalty of the county of Lancaster, after a continuous tenure of three years, by Richard de Tounley and received instructions to deliver up the evidences of the office to the sheriff-appointed.<sup>17</sup> After an interim of three weeks Botiller was appointed by the Duke constable of Liverpool castle and keeper of the parks of Toxteth and Croxteth and of Simonswood together with the office of keeper of *noz forestes, chaces, garreins et forsboys en Westderbyshire*. An account of Sir John Botiller made in his capacity as master

forester of the hundred of West Derby for 1382 shows the fiscal system of the 'duchy' at work. He was allowed by the barons of the exchequer of the duchy to ease his account of 48*s.* 4*d.* paid to the prior of Lancaster for tithes of the herbage, turbary, honey, wax, heath and gorse of Toxteth and Croxteth.<sup>18</sup> These appointments were made for life. The fees for the constableness were 10 marks a year and for the keepership of the parks 40*s.* to be charged on the issues of the lordship of Liverpool and to be disbursed by way of the Duke's Receiver.<sup>19</sup> Along with the stewardship of the hundreds of Westderby and Salford, these offices constituted a monopoly of the offices in the Duke's gift in the particular two hundreds named. Henceforward Botiller was an administrative official of some local importance, part of the machinery for the regulation of the ducal estates in Lancashire, and naturally in close connection and identified in a political sense with the interests of John of Gaunt. Almost immediately after he relinquished the office of sheriff, on 24 November 1374, Botiller received letters of protection on his accompanying Edward le Despenser overseas.<sup>20</sup> In April 1376 along with Roger de Brokholes he was returned to serve as knight of the shire for Lancashire. He was in fact re-elected to serve in each of the next six Parliaments, with the exception of that which met at Westminster in April 1379. On 4 March 1378 letters of protection were granted to John Botiller, *chivalier*, along with some fifty other recipients who are described as being in the company of the Duke of Lancaster. They were to be valid till Michaelmas of the same year.<sup>21</sup> Three weeks after the date of their expiry Botiller was representing the county of Lancaster, along with Ralph de Ipres, in the Gloucester Parliament of October 1378.

When up at Westminster, sitting in the Parliament of January 1380, Botiller, along with three other witnesses, one of whom was the chancellor of England Richard Lescrope, was a party to an indenture of the grant for life of the manor of Eccleston in the hundred of Leyland to a Robert de Plesyngton by Hugh lord Dacre of Gilsland, Cumberland.<sup>22</sup> Sir John was returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire to serve in the Northampton Parliament of the following November and then over seven years elapsed before he was again elected. In the meantime he continued to exercise considerable influence in the county palatine. On 20 February 1384 he was put on a commission of array for the Scotch war for the hundred of West Derby.<sup>23</sup> In view of his territorial standing in the hundred and the fact that he was the administrative link between it and the Duke's receiver in the county, such jobs were bound to come his way. In March 1384 Botiller was appointed to the commission of the peace for the same hundred,<sup>24</sup> and was confirmed in this position of *conservator pacis* in the following year,<sup>25</sup> during which he received letters of protection during absence from England while accompanying Ferdinand, master of the Order of



St. James of Portugal.<sup>26</sup> Whatever rôle he played on this mission he remained in England after John of Gaunt had left for Spain at Easter 1386 on the expedition which undertook the second invasion of Castile. On 12 September 1386, John Botiller, *baroun de Weryngton*, was one of a commission of examiners appointed to hear the depositions of witnesses produced by Robert le Grosvenor, in the great heraldic suit between Scrope and Grosvenor for the right to bear the bend or on the field azure which awaited settlement by the Earl Marshal of England from 1385 to 1390. This particular examination took place at Warrington.<sup>27</sup> In February 1388 he again was returned to serve in Parliament as representative of the shire. In the following year he went on the expedition to Barbary and was taken prisoner. In 1390 he received £20, at the hands of the Chamberlain of Chester in part payment of the 80 marks granted him by the King towards his ransom in view of his having lately been taken prisoner of war.<sup>28</sup> The close association of John Botiller with John of Gaunt continued to exist. In 1393 an anti-Lancastrian insurrection developed in Cheshire and spread across into Yorkshire. Gaunt later taxed Arundel in Parliament with connivance and probably members of the war party instigated the disaffection. Lancaster was entrusted with the suppression of the revolt and was placed at the head of a special commission of royal justices. In the process of the repression of disorder the Duke was directed by the King to arrest Sir John Massey of Tatton and Sir Thomas Talbot, and on 22 August 1393 he directed his warrant to John le Botiller and others to take the offenders. A similar warrant to apprehend them in Cheshire was issued to Robert Legh and others. The Lancashire warrant was renewed against them on 29 December.<sup>29</sup> In July 1394 along with nine others who included Ralph de Ipres, the Duke's Receiver in the county palatine, John Botiller was made a justice of the peace for Lancashire.<sup>30</sup> In August 1396 he was first of twelve jurors of recognition in a suit brought before the Duke's justices at Lancaster by John de Dyneley against John Parker of Folryg, Richard de Radcliffe of Todmorden and Robert Holden of Simonstone, on the ground that he had been unjustly disseised of his free tenement in Clitheroe.<sup>31</sup> A week later Botiller was in receipt of a commission from the King *de utlegatis capiendis*. In January 1398 he was returned as knight of the shire for the last time. He is last heard of in April 1399 settling a dowry dispute.<sup>32</sup> No notice of any inquisition post mortem has come down but he must have died early in 1400. In January of that year the escheators in the counties of Nottingham and Warwick, as well as the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, were ordered to take into the King's hands all the demesne lands held by John Botiller of Warrington at his death and to make inquisition touching his lands and heir.<sup>33</sup> Two months later a writ *de dote assignanda* was issued from the chancery of the county palatine to the escheator for Lancashire on behalf of

Botiller's widow, Alice, together with a precept to give William Botiller, the heir, seisin of his father's lands held *in capite*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Members*, 177, 188, 193, 196, 198, 200, 204, 206, 232, 256. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H., Lancashire*, iii, 305. <sup>3</sup> Beamont, i, 199. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1364-67, 145. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 430. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 451. <sup>7</sup> *J. of G.'s Register*, i, 878. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 8, 211, 214. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 879. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 964. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 1005. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 276. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 1067. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 1237. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 1244. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 338. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 1561. <sup>18</sup> *Lancaster Church* (Chet. Soc.), 459. <sup>19</sup> *J. of G.'s Register*, i, 347. <sup>20</sup> Beamont, i, 205. <sup>21</sup> Rymer, vii, 186. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 364. <sup>23</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>25</sup> Beamont, i, 210. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 210. <sup>27</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, 288. <sup>28</sup> Beamont, 213. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 215. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 217. <sup>31</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 42 n. <sup>32</sup> Beamont, 217. <sup>33</sup> *C.F.R.*, xii, 78. <sup>34</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 1.

**Nicholas de Haryngton** (November 1372) (October 1377) (April 1379) (October 1386) (September 1402; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas de Haryngton, or Haveryngton (the form the name sometimes takes), was the second son of Sir John de Haryngton, who had been returned to serve as knight of the shire of Lancashire in the Parliaments of 1343, 1352, and 1357,<sup>2</sup> and at whose inquest post mortem in 1362 Nicholas was found to be aged 16 years and heir to the hamlet of Farleton in Kendal, Westmorland, and to the manor of Farleton in Lonsdale, Lancashire.<sup>3</sup> His mother was Katherine, the daughter of Margaret de Holland and Adam Banastre of Bolton-le-Moors.<sup>4</sup> In 1370 he is described as the heir of his elder brother, Thomas de Haveryngton of Farleton,<sup>5</sup> and Nicholas himself seems to have resided there,<sup>6</sup> although by 1400 he held lands in Cumberland, Yorkshire and Westmorland and in South Lancashire, much of which probably accrued to him by his marriages. The Haryngtons of Farleton in Lonsdale were a cadet branch of the baronial Haryngtons of Aldyng-ham in Furness. Sir Nicholas married for his first wife Margaret, the second daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom of Knowsley. Isabella, the daughter of Sir William English of Cumberland, was his second wife and the mother of his younger son, Sir James de Haryngton.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible that like many other younger sons of families of knightly rank Nicholas de Haryngton saw service in the French war, notably in the following of the Black Prince. Walter de Urswyk, probably a younger son of the Fylde family of that name, started his career in the household of the first son of Edward III as early as 1353 and received his knighthood on the battlefield of Najera; Sir John de Assheton of Ashton-under-Lyne saw service abroad distinguishing himself enough at the siege of Noyon in 1370 to merit the notice of Froissart. The first mention of Nicholas de Haryngton is in October 1367<sup>8</sup> when he



received leave by writ of secret seal to go overseas from Dover with a servant, a hackney and a sum of ten marks. In January of the following year he again had the royal licence to go beyond seas and received letters nominating his attorneys in England for one year—one of the two being John de Horneby, parson of the church of Tatham.<sup>9</sup> He was back in England before the year was out and in December appeared on a commission appointed to choose a hundred archers in the county of Lancaster.<sup>10</sup> This contingent probably went to augment the large force with which the Duke of Lancaster landed at Calais. Although engaged in this earnest of the renewal of the war with France, Haryngton himself did not take part in operations in that sphere, for on 1 April 1369 he received a grant of protection with the clause *volumus* for one year, the reason given being that he was going to Ireland on the King's service to stay in the company of William de Wyndesore the Lieutenant.<sup>11</sup> When the year was up the grant of protection was renewed for a further year.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, May 1370, he received letters authorising the nomination of John de Preston and Richard de Wynkeleye as his attorneys in England for the period of his absence.<sup>13</sup> No further renewal of the letters of protection was issued. Eighteen months after their expiry Nicholas de Haryngton was returned as knight of the shire for Lancaster to the Parliament of November 1372 along with Sir John Botiller of Warrington. Before four months had elapsed from the going down of the knights and burgesses from this Parliament, Haryngton was deeply implicated in a raid into Cumberland. John de Croft of Claughton was also concerned. On 1 March 1373 a commission of oyer and terminer<sup>14</sup> was issued to Gilbert de Umfravill, when Randolf de Dacre and John Devyas laid a complaint that Nicholas de Haryngton with a following of 300 came armed to Beaumont in Cumberland, broke their closes, destroyed houses, assaulted servants and tenants, killed some of their live stock and drove away horses, cattle and sheep worth £50. Two boats were smashed up and two nets destroyed. A further complaint was lodged by John Devyas the younger, who lived in the same place. His crops had been either trodden down or otherwise destroyed and a strong box, jewels and a hundred shillings in money carried off. This representation elicited a further commission of oyer and terminer of 24 March.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the cause or result of this piece of turbulence Nicholas de Haryngton does not seem to have been seriously affected by the consequences. In February 1375, along with William Percy and Walter de Urswyk among others, he was commissioned to see to the arrest of William de Redman of Fayrthwayt and fourteen other persons principally of Bentham, Kendal and Kirby Lonsdale, who were indicted, for a murder committed at Dent, before one of the coroners of Yorkshire. The commissioners were directed to deliver the culprits to the Marshalsea prison.<sup>16</sup> The reason for the employment of a special commission was

that the King had been informed by the complaint of some of the friends of the murdered man, in danger of their lives at the hands of the culprits, who were at large and threatening to kill their indictors and burn their houses. Three months later Nicholas de Haryngton was on a commission of oyer and terminer touching a murder at Sedbergh in Yorkshire, just across the border from Kendal.<sup>17</sup> In October 1377 Haryngton was knight of the shire along with John Botiller in the first Parliament of the new reign. The indictment for the murder at Dent had been removed in the last reign into the royal chancery but the indicted persons were still at large unpunished. The commission of 1375 was now re-issued at the beginning of November while Haryngton was still in attendance at Westminster as knight of the shire.<sup>18</sup> The writ *de expensis* in favour of Botiller and Haryngton was not issued until 5 December, the end of a session of 66 days.<sup>19</sup> Three weeks before this date Nicholas de Haryngton of county Lancaster and Robert de Stykeland of Westmorland stood sponsor for Sir Walter de Urswyk when he was confirmed in his custody under the Exchequer of the English property of the alien abbey of Bégard.<sup>20</sup> In the following April of 1378 Sir Nicholas received a commission *inter alios* to enquire into the contravention of the statute of Northampton of 1328 against the bearing of arms. The immediate reason for the commission was the need to suppress the unlawful assemblies which were causing considerable unquiet in Westmorland.<sup>21</sup> A year later Haryngton again served the duchy as knight of the shire in the Westminster Parliament of April 1379. Later in the same year, on 11 August, he received a general pardon under the privy seal of the duchy. From it we gather that Haryngton had superseded Richard Tounley in the shrievalty of the county palatine. In the pardon he is described as sheriff of Lancaster and in this capacity he made the customary petition for a year's allowance for parchment and ink.<sup>22</sup> Whether his appointment to the office occurred before his return to the April Parliament, or not, is not known. The latter eventuality is the more probable. Haryngton filled the rôle of sheriff for the next four years, until the beginning of 1383. From this point his position in the administrative scheme of the duchy is considerable. Concurrently with the shrievalty of the county palatine Sir Nicholas occupied the position of *chief gardein de nostre forest de Quernmore*. Under this title he is referred to in a letter from Duke John to William de Horneby the Receiver in the duchy of Lancaster dated at the Savoy in February 1380.<sup>23</sup> In it the Receiver is instructed on the advice of *nostre tres cher et bien ame monser Nicole de Haryngton* to see to the carriage of the timber cut down in the forest of Quernmore for use in Lancaster castle. Nicholas is to witness the costs incurred, for which allowance is to be made in the Receiver's account. In March of the following year Haryngton was confirmed in the shrievalty<sup>24</sup> which he continued to occupy till February 1383 when



on his resignation a mandate under the Duke's privy seal was issued to the justices in the duchy to submit to the Duke the names of three or four persons fitted to fill the office in Haryngton's stead.<sup>25</sup> Three days before the date of the issue of the mandate, along with Sir Walter Urswyk, Nicholas de Haryngton was on a commission appointed by the Duke to enquire into the loss of a Genoese carrack wrecked near Furness abbey and authorised to see that the cargo, which had been plundered by the men of Furness, was restored to its Genoese owners.<sup>26</sup> Restitution had not been made four years later, however, when Lancaster or his chancellor in the duchy was ordered by the King to view the inquisitions of his commissioners. The offenders, among whom figured the abbot of Furness, the prior of Coningshead and Sir Robert Haryngton, had taken the goods and merchandise on the pretext that it had been wreck of sea.<sup>27</sup> On 11 March 1384, Haryngton was one of eleven feoffees of the Dorset manor of Powerstoke by Sir William Wyndesore in whose retinue he had been when the latter was Lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>28</sup> It was probably a few days later, on 14 March 1384, and not in 1380, that a warrant under the ducal privy seal was issued authorising the commission of Sir Nicholas to meet the Duke at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on 24 March, with a force of men at arms and archers from the duchy destined, according to the wording of the warrant, for the war with the Scots.<sup>29</sup> The commissions of array in the different hundreds had been issued on 20 February.<sup>30</sup> A sudden incursion into the northern counties had been made by the Scots at the close of 1383. In retaliation forces were collected and placed under the control of Lancaster, who invaded Scotland on 11 April 1384, to make a passive demonstration, a strong anti-Scottish policy cutting across the grain of his own ideas. In the following November Haryngton witnessed a confirmation of a lease by the prior of Saint Mary Lancaster to Peter de Bolron (of Bolron, Lancaster) of the manor of Aldcliffe.<sup>31</sup> About this time Haryngton sat on a commission of enquiry into the Scrope v. Grosvenor controversy which dragged its course from 1385 to 1389.<sup>32</sup> Along with Robert de Workesley he was knight of the shire in the Westminster Parliament of October 1386. He still continued to serve the Duke of Lancaster in the administration of his duchy. On 5 July 1391, along with Sir Walter and Robert de Urswyk, Sir Nicholas figured on a commission, issued under the Duke's privy seal, of enquiry into trespasses in Bowland, Pendle, Trawden and Roeburndale. Sir Walter was master forester of Bowland, chief warden of the chaces of Trawden and Pendle, and keeper of Roeburndale; Sir Robert de Urswyk was on the commission by reason of his being seneschal of the hundred of Blackburn. Haryngton probably owed his place to his tenure of the office of chief warden of the forest of Quernmore. The commission was soon at work. In just over a fortnight the abbot of Whalley, and John de Hayton and John de Salley, two monks, were granted a pardon

under the ducal privy seal for trespasses committed in the forests of Lancaster and the chace of Bowland in Yorkshire.<sup>33</sup> In October 1393 Nicholas de Haryngton himself received letters of pardon from the Duke for trespasses in the forests and parks of the duchy.<sup>34</sup> Not four years later he was again pardoned along with James de Haryngton, his son, for forest trespasses.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile in July 1394 he received a commission to serve as a justice of the peace.<sup>36</sup> In December 1397 he was appointed by a writ from the royal Chancery to form one of a commission, headed by Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland, for the arrest of four peace-breakers and their arraignment before King and council.<sup>37</sup> Until the Welsh insurrection of Owen Glendower, Nicholas de Haryngton appears to have been undisturbed by the accession of Henry of Bolingbroke following on the deposition of Richard II, although his long and intimate connection with John of Gaunt must have predetermined at least his acquiescence in the revolution. In November 1401 he received a grant for life at the Exchequer of £10 a year.<sup>38</sup> In March 1400 he was appointed a justice of the peace,<sup>39</sup> and was again put on the commission of the peace in February 1402.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile in the August assizes of 1401 held at Lancaster before the King's justices Sir Nicholas by attorney put himself against John Rydgate of Roby in a plea for the recovery of seisin of five messuages in Roby. The plea was successful, the defendant defaulting. In person he also pleaded against the abduction of a woman in his service at Knowsley.<sup>41</sup> A year later, on 7 August 1402, a royal mandate was issued to the chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster authorising letters patent to be made out under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster commissioning Sir Nicholas de Haryngton and eight others, including the sheriff and steward of the county, "to supervise and try all the fencible men of the county." This force, whose array the sheriff had lately ordered, was to come up with the King at Shrewsbury to go with him into Wales against Glendower.<sup>42</sup> Three days later letters patent under the duchy seal were issued appointing Haryngton *inter alios* to serve on a commission of array in the county.<sup>43</sup> Richard de Hoghton figured also on this commission of array and he was associated with Haryngton too in the commission of the peace appointed in the preceding February. Only seven weeks elapsed between the issue of the commission of array of August and the meeting of Parliament at Westminster at the end of September 1402. In this Parliament the knights of the shire elected to serve the county were Richard de Hoghton and Nicholas de Haryngton. The government was, after the Percy defeat of the Scots at Homildon Hill in the same September, faced with the growing discontent of the Percies, both father and son. On 10 July 1403 Henry IV had reached Northampton on his way northwards to join Northumberland in the intended invasion of Scotland. On the 17th he had heard that Hotspur and his uncle the Earl of



Worcester were in arms in Shropshire. From Burton-on-Trent Henry immediately summoned the forces of the shires to join him and marched into Salop. Negotiations proved futile. The issue was fought out at Shrewsbury on the 21st in the King's favour. The forces of Lancashire were not called up to fight at Shrewsbury on the summons of the 17th. The county was almost solidly loyal although an odd squire or so took part with the Percies: for example, Thomas de Bradshagh of Haigh and John Massey of Tatton in Cheshire who were present at the battle of Shrewsbury. Six days after the battle an order was sent out from Burton-on-Trent to eight notables of the county palatine who included Sir Nicholas Haryngton ordering the assembly of all knights, esquires and yeomen in the county to meet with the King at Pontefract in view of the rising of the old Earl of Northumberland who was coming south to his son's help.<sup>44</sup> His advance was, however, turned by the Earl of Westmorland. He made his submission at York on 11 August. The part taken by Haryngton in the crushing of the Percy insurrection was his last official act. Although the date of his death is not known, on 8 February 1404 the escheators of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland were ordered to take into the King's hands all the demesne lands of which he died seised within their bailiwicks.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 188, 198, 202, 229, 263. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 137, 152, 159. <sup>3</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 46. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 246. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 404. <sup>6</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 202. <sup>7</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 20; iii. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 55. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 79. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 185. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 238. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 404. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 405. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 311. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 312. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 135. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 153. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 88. <sup>19</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1377-81, 107. <sup>20</sup> *C.F.R.*, ix, 38. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 204. <sup>22</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 365. <sup>23</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 307, quoting the Register temp. Rd. 11, f. 25. <sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 521. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 369. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 522. <sup>27</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, 220. <sup>28</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1381-85, 390. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 365. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 526. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1381-85, 482. <sup>32</sup> Nicolas, 231. <sup>33</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370. <sup>34</sup> Piccope, vii, 298. <sup>35</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 368. <sup>36</sup> Piccope, vii, 300. <sup>37</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 310. <sup>38</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 12. <sup>39</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 530. <sup>41</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 30, 97. <sup>42</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 138. <sup>43</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 531. <sup>44</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 292. <sup>45</sup> *C.F.R.*, xii, 223.

Ralph de Ipres (October 1378) (January 1390) (January 1393).<sup>1</sup>

Of his parentage nothing is definitely known. He was, however, probably the son or brother of John de Ipres who was sheriff of Lancaster in 1361<sup>2</sup> and returned as knight of the shire for the county in 1369 and to the two Parliaments of 1371.<sup>3</sup> No family of this name held any hereditary lands in Lancashire, but in August 1359 John de Ipres was confirmed in his sixty year lease from the prior of Lancaster of the manor of Aldcliffe at an annual rent of £20.<sup>4</sup> It is highly probable that Ralph de Ipres too resided in the neighbourhood of the shire-

town of the county. In December 1358 Duke Henry of Lancaster witnessed at Liverpool Castle a grant to Ralph de Ipres, his *valettus*, of the nine quarters of wheat which the men of the vill of Overton paid as an annual multure for being allowed to grind their corn at the Duke's Lune-mill.<sup>5</sup> Less than two years later, in August 1360, Duke Henry appointed his *valettus* parker and keeper of Quernmore park for life with 1½d. a day for wages.<sup>6</sup> Ipres' choice of attorneys in March 1364 when, about to go abroad, he received royal letters patent authorising his nomination of two Lancaster men, John de Lancastre clerk and John de Skerton,<sup>7</sup> also points to his having resided either in or near the county town. It is highly probable that Ipres took out letters of attorney in preparation for service abroad in the retinue of John of Gaunt, who in the same year accompanied his brother Edmund of Langley to Flanders to negotiate a treaty of marriage between the latter and Margaret the daughter of Count Louis. Again, in May 1370, when the alien priory of Saint Mary at Lancaster, a daughter house of Sées in Normandy, was taken into the King's hands when the peace concluded at Calais was broken, Ralph de Ipres was one of four mainperners who found surety in the Exchequer for the prior of Lancaster when the custody of the priory was leased to him.

On the devolution of the Lancastrian estates on John of Gaunt after his marriage to Duke Henry's co-heiress, Blanche of Lancaster, Ipres' services passed along with the property to the new earl and the *valettus* of Duke Henry became the retainer of John of Gaunt. In February 1372 William de Hornby, the receiver for the duchy, was instructed to pay him five marks.<sup>9</sup> Less than three months later, along with Adam de Hoghton, the chief forester of Quernmore, and the sheriff John Botiller, Ipres was ordered to take steps against any illicit encroachment on the forest preserves.<sup>10</sup> On 16 July of the same year an indenture of retainer was drawn up between John of Gaunt and his esquire *Raulyn Dympres*. The latter's fee of retainer when not on active service in the Duke's retinue was to be £28 6s. 8d. Approximately three-fifths of this sum was to be taken from the farm of the vill of Liverpool, the rest along with 100s., which the Duke had lately borrowed, being charged on the issues of the manor of Skerton. The fee stipulated for a year's war service was fixed at an additional sum of £20 to be taken from the Liverpool farm.<sup>11</sup> On the next day Adam de Hoghton, the forester of Quernmore, was ordered to deliver two stags to Ipres.<sup>12</sup> Further marks of the Duke's favour were grants of four deer from the parker and chief forester of Quernmore respectively. The authorisations for these were made out on 10 January 1373. On the same day the Duke's Receiver-General was directed to pay Ralph de Ipres 13s. 1½d. for which sum the latter had a bill sealed by the late treasurer of the household.<sup>13</sup> In September 1374 Ralph de Ipres was advising on the repair of the enclosure of the park at



Quernmore.<sup>14</sup> At this time Ipres was administering the office of parker of Quernmore park and it was in this capacity that he was directed to make his survey for the reconstruction of the enclosure. Later in the same month he received a warrant, in which he is expressly designated as *parker del park de Quernmore* to take six deer from the park and dole them out to such *gentz du pays* as he thought profitable.<sup>15</sup> He had without doubt continued to hold the office since his appointment in 1360. In the following January the chief forester of Quernmore was ordered to turn over to Ipres enough oaks out of the forest to re-enclose the new park.<sup>16</sup> On 15 July 1375 the Duke made his squire Raulyn de Ipres a grant of the office of steward in the wapentakes of Lonsdale and Amounderness.<sup>17</sup> Obviously he was no holder of the office *in absentia*, but rather took over the administration of the office immediately. Three days after the issue of the grant he received instructions to make a seizure of certain lands and to confer with Adam de Hoghton, the chief forester of Quernmore, in an enquiry into trespass and damage done to oak-trees in the woods of Quernmore.<sup>18</sup> In October 1378 he served as knight of the shire for Lancashire along with John le Boteller in the Gloucester Parliament. In February 1380 he was one of two mainpernors when the King made a commitment to his clerk Thomas de Broughton of a mill in Rimington near Gisburn.<sup>19</sup> Whether he laid aside his administrative appointments in the duchy or not is not known, but in August 1382 he was not in residence in the duchy and appointed two attorneys under letters patent of the palatine chancery.<sup>20</sup> In October of the next year, Sir John de Ipres the elder farmed at the Exchequer the manor and hundred of Isleworth in Middlesex. Ralph de Ipres was one of his mainpernors.<sup>21</sup> When the latter was out of the duchy in 1382 one of his attorneys was John de Oxcliffe of Oxcliffe across the Lune from Lancaster. In January 1385, along with John Botiller of Rawcliffe, Oxcliffe was again appointed his attorney when Ralph de Ipres, who by this time had been knighted, was about to depart for Spain on the Duke's service. In the next month he received letters of protection to that end.<sup>22</sup> At this time Lancaster and Richard II had reached an impasse in their relations. The policy of self-effacement which the former pursued proved inadequate, and the second invasion of Castile of 1386 was the only possible solution of the difficulty. It is probable that Sir Ralph's mission to Spain on the Duke's service in the early part of 1385, when Lancaster's outlook was particularly dark, was one of a piece of diplomatic negotiation to see how the land lay for the prosecution of Lancaster's claim to the throne of Castile. The expedition itself did not leave England till July 1386. Royal letters of protection to last for a year had, however, been issued in March when Ipres had been one to receive them. On 12 April royal letters of attorney were also granted him.<sup>23</sup> He was in Spain with the Duke at the end of February 1387 when he re-appointed Botiller

and Oxcliffe as his attorneys,<sup>24</sup> but he seems to have returned to England before November 1389, the date of Lancaster's own return. Ipres was a witness in the heraldic case of Scrope and Grosvenor. The main audition of witnesses took place in the early part of 1387 when Sir Ralph was abroad in Spain. Nearly all the knights and gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire deposed in favour of Grosvenor but Ipres was a witness produced by Richard Scrope and was sworn and examined by the latter's proctor. Sir Ralph was fifty years old at the time.<sup>25</sup> He served for a second and third time as knight of the shire for the county palatine in the Westminster Parliament of January 1390 and in the Winchester Parliament of January 1393. It is possible that by this latter date he had been appointed to the post of Duke's Receiver in the duchy. Certainly he was exercising the office by July 1394 when he was made a justice of the peace for the county.<sup>26</sup> In February 1397 Sir Ralph was holding on a life tenure the wapentake or hundred of Staincliffe in the West Riding of Yorkshire which had been included in the estates given by charter in 1372 to John of Gaunt in exchange for the earldom of Richmond. The Duke now received the royal licence to make a grant in fee simple of the reversions of the Staincliffe hundred expectant on the death of Ipres along with the honours of Tickhill and Knaresborough, to Archbishop Arundel, his own son Henry Earl of Derby, and two others.<sup>27</sup> In the next month the custody of the herbage of the parks of Quernmore and Scalethwaite near Kendal was committed to de Ipres in a five years' lease at a rent of £5 10s. 4d. A lease was also made of a water-course near Quernmore park called *le ffrerbrok* as well as the site of a mill on the Lune which Sir Ralph had re-erected at his own cost except for four oaks allowed him by the Duke out of Quernmore park. In the last instance the tenure was for forty years and the annual rent 6s. 8d.<sup>28</sup> This lease was probably a confirmation of a previous grant in view of the fact that before a month had elapsed a fresh lease of the herbage of Quernmore park and the neighbouring mill on the Lune was being made out at the same rent as Ipres had lately paid.<sup>29</sup> Later in 1397, probably after August, Ralph de Ipres bought the custody of the land and wardship and marriage of the heir of Adam de Catterall of Little Mitton, near Whalley, for £43 6s. 8d.<sup>30</sup> Sir Ralph died before the revolution of September 1399. In a confirmation made on 9 March 1399 to Catherine Swynford of the estates whereof she was seised at the Duke's death, exception was made of the hundreds of South Erpingham and Staincliffe which were in reversion; in the case of the latter, after the death of Sir Ralph de Ipres.<sup>31</sup> The exact date of his death is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 200, 238, 245. <sup>2</sup> *Lists and Indexes, IX, Lists of Sheriffs.*  
<sup>3</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 182, 184, 186. <sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, i, 347. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 345. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.  
<sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1361-64, 475. <sup>8</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 82. <sup>9</sup> *Reg.*, 907. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 964.  
<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 808. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 991. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1140, 1141, 1142. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1494. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*,



1531. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1616. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1713. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 1768, 1769. <sup>19</sup> *C.F.R.*, ix, 178.  
<sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 521. <sup>21</sup> *C.F.R.*, x, 10. <sup>22</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 524. <sup>23</sup> Rymer, vii, 499, 508.  
<sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 525. <sup>25</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 52. <sup>26</sup> Beamont, 217.  
<sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 76. <sup>28</sup> Piccove, vii, 302. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 369. <sup>30</sup> *Inq. p.m.*  
 (Chet.), i, 67. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 516.

**Robert de Urswyk** (April 1379) (September 1381) (October 1382) (November 1384) (October 1385) (November 1390) (November 1391) (January 1393) (January 1394) (January 1395) (January 1397) (October 1399) (January 1401; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Robert de Urswyk was the son of Adam de Urswyk, chief forester of Bowland, who served in the French wars of Edward III and was present at Crécy. His mother was Sarah, the daughter and heir of Robert de Tatham. Robert de Urswyk succeeded on his father's death in 1361 to demesne lands in Tatham, Cantsfield in Lonsdale, and Upper Rawcliffe in the Fylde.<sup>2</sup> Urswyk married for his first wife Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas de Southworth and widow of Robert de Hornby, obtaining a papal dispensation in 1367 for an impediment of which they had been unaware at the time of marriage.<sup>3</sup> His second wife, Ellen, daughter and heir of William de Southworth, of Upper Rawcliffe, was the widow of Sir John Dalton who died in 1369 holding the manor of Bispham.<sup>4</sup> His third wife Joan survived him.<sup>5</sup> Her family name is not known.

It is highly probable that, like his father, Robert de Urswyk saw considerable military service in France. In September 1366 for long service to the King and his son, Edmund de Langley, Earl of Cambridge, he received a life grant of ten marks a year so long as he was in one of their two households, and £10 a year after he had left them by licence. Early in 1368, described as an esquire of the Earl of Cambridge, he received the royal licence to leave Dover for Prussia with a following of six yeomen. In March 1371 as an esquire of the King he acquired a grant for life or until further order of £20 a year payable at the Exchequer.<sup>6</sup> These letters patent were confirmed in June 1378.<sup>7</sup> The date of Robert de Urswyk's first return for Lancashire as knight of the shire in 1379 would seem to mark approximately his entry into the political entourage of John of Gaunt. Until then it is essentially as an esquire of the King that he figures in an official connection. It was at the supplication of the King's squire Robert de Urswyk that Roger White of Eccleston in March and Edmond de Warton in May 1375 received pardons of outlawry for murder.<sup>8</sup> In December 1375 it was to Urswyk as King's esquire that the custody of messuages and lands in Spaldington, near Goole, Yorkshire, was granted during the minority of their

tenant, the heir of William, Lord Greystoke, who was in the King's ward<sup>9</sup>; and that he received a grant of special grace of free warren in his demesne lands in Badsworth near Wakefield in Yorkshire, and in Tatham, Cantsfield and Upper Rawcliffe in Lancashire, in the following June.<sup>10</sup> Robert de Urswyk had as early as 1374 tried to get into the duchy administrative system by the back door, but had failed. On 5 September of that year he was appointed master forester of the forests of Quernmore and Amounderness, the perquisites of the office to be the same as those Adam de Hoghton his predecessor had held.<sup>11</sup> On 19 November, however, the Duke asked that he should be furnished with plainer advice before the following Easter in view of the complaint of Adam de Hoghton that he had been deprived of his office by no just cause but by untrue suggestion.<sup>12</sup> On the next day William de Nesfield, the seneschal of Quernmore and Amounderness, was directed to see that Robert de Urswyk was to have nothing further to do with the office of master forestership and Adam de Hoghton resumed his tenure with no interference from Urswyk.<sup>13</sup> The latter also received an order not to meddle further.<sup>14</sup> About this time we have glimpses of Urswyk living on and administering his estates. In February 1375 he was purchasing from the steward and the receiver in the duchy, at the estimate of the foresters, a hundred loads of underwood from the Duke's *forein bois de Mirescogh* with which to repair his fishguard in Wyre.<sup>15</sup> In the same year Edmund de Dacre pleaded at the King's Bench that Robert de Urswyk and others had been hunting in his free warren at Tatham.<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence what was the nearness of the relation between Robert and Sir Walter de Urswyk. He might have been a younger brother or a cousin. That the two men were akin is, however, pretty certain. Robert was one of the two mainpernors of Sir Walter de Urswyk when he received the custody of the English possessions of the alien abbey of Bégard in February 1377.<sup>17</sup> In turn Sir Walter, along with Sir Robert Neville of Hornby, stood surety for Robert de Urswyk and Ellen his wife when, in the following November, they were given the keeping of two-thirds of the lands, held in chief at his death by Sir John de Dalton, to farm at the Exchequer for £20 a year until the majority of the heir.<sup>18</sup> It is not improbable that the later importance of Robert de Urswyk was due in some measure to the high standing which his almost certain relative Sir Walter held in the Lancastrian service. Of Robert de Urswyk's importance in the county palatine his record of service as knight of the shire is sufficient index. Out of the seventeen Parliaments of the first thirteen years of Richard II's reign he represented the county five times; of the nine Parliaments held between November 1390 and January 1401, Urswyk served in every one except that summoned to Westminster for September 1397 and adjourned to Shrewsbury. He was returned for the first time in April 1379. At the end



of November in the previous year he was the first of five witnesses to a charter warranting the transference of a third part of the manor of Ellal in Lancashire with common of fishery from the parson of Newton to Robert de Plesyngton. The charter was dated at the church of Saint Andrew in Holborn.<sup>19</sup> His presence in London might have been the reason for his election to the Parliament of the following April. He again went up to Westminster as knight of the shire in September 1381 with William de Atherton. In the succeeding February, along with three other commissioners who included Walter de Urswyk, he was appointed to a commission of oyer and terminer.<sup>20</sup> The object of the commission was probably of the same nature as the commission of oyer and terminer authorised in March 1383 to deal with trespasses done to the chaces of Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden and Tottington.<sup>21</sup> Of this commission, too, Robert de Urswyk was a member. A similar commission under the Duke's 'mandamus' was directed in 1384 to the same persons, which gave as the reason for the appointment the fact that it had come to the Duke's intelligence that certain *malefactores et pacis perturbatores* had entered the same chaces.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile on 8 April 1383, Urswyk was appointed by the Duke to the office of his escheator in the county palatine.<sup>23</sup> He held this position until the autumn of 1388 when he was superseded for a short spell by Sir John Godard.<sup>24</sup> By March 1389 Urswyk was again escheator<sup>25</sup> and continued to occupy the office for a further period of nearly three years. In December 1391 he was finally superseded by John Botiller of Rawcliffe.<sup>26</sup> During the period of his tenure of the escheatry he served the county as knight of the shire on four occasions. He had, moreover, been appointed in March 1384 to serve on the commission of the peace in the hundred of Amounderness.<sup>27</sup> A month previous to this appointment he had served in the same hundred on a commission of array for the Scottish war.<sup>28</sup> Lancaster had been placed in command of the English forces which were to retaliate for the Scottish incursion of late 1383. In March 1386 along with Ralph de Radcliffe the sheriff, John de Croft of Dalton, and Thomas de Radcliffe, the escheator of the duchy was a commissioner, by authority of a royal mandate, to pick a thousand of the best archers of the duchy to go when summoned with John of Gaunt to Spain.<sup>29</sup> The expedition eventually left Portsmouth in July. In October 1386, Sir Robert obtained the pardon of Amice Banes of Preston of the execution of a judgment given against her for felonies of which she had been convicted before the Duke's justices.<sup>30</sup> He further obtained royal pardons for murders in 1390 and 1392.<sup>31</sup> On 6 May 1388, while still escheator, Urswyk was put on a royally-appointed commission of enquiry in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancaster into the complaint of the master and brethren of the hospital of Saint Leonard York that certain thraves called *Petercorne* were being unjustly withheld. The

commission was directed to certify the names of those responsible.<sup>32</sup> On 5 July 1391, with four others, including Walter de Urswyk and Nicholas de Haryngton, Robert de Urswyk received a commission under the privy seal of the duchy to enquire into trespasses in Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden and Roeburndale.<sup>33</sup> Sir Robert probably came on the commission in his capacity as seneschal of the Blackburn hundred, which administrative office he was certainly holding in 1392-93.<sup>34</sup> In October 1393 Urswyk himself was pardoned for all trespasses committed by him in the forests and parks of the duchy before August 15. On the latter date he was acting as a justice of the peace in the county.<sup>35</sup> In July of the following year he was again serving on the commission of the peace.<sup>36</sup> In August 1396 he was appointed to a commission *de ullegatis capiendis*.<sup>37</sup>

The emoluments, in fees of retainer and grants at the Exchequer, which Robert de Urswyk held, were considerable. By the grant of March 1371 he received £20 a year at the Exchequer. At the accession of Richard II he was confirmed in it. A further inspeximus and confirmation with a promise to pay off all arrears was conceded to him after the 1399 revolution. The new letters patent were issued on 18 October, four days after the coronation, while Sir Robert was up at Westminster in attendance as knight of the shire.<sup>38</sup> Certain grants and fees of retainer had inevitably resulted from his attachment to the Lancastrian interests and his connection with the duchy administration. In November 1393 at John of Gaunt's petition, Walter de Urswyk had received the royal licence to make Robert de Urswyk an annual rent of twenty marks from the wapentake of Langbergh in Yorkshire which was held of the king in chief.<sup>39</sup> In July 1398 this rent was transferred to Thomas Langley, clerk, who was later chancellor of Henry V.<sup>40</sup> As the Duke's bachelor Urswyk received a grant from him in March 1394 of £20 a year for life from the issues of his lands and lordships in county Lancaster. In April 1398 this fee was augmented by an additional grant of 10 marks a year from the same source. In January 1399 John of Gaunt died. On March 18 Richard II annulled the letters patent by which leave had been given to Hereford to appoint a proxy to receive his inheritance, and took possession of the Lancastrian estates. A month later Robert de Urswyk's grants of 1394 and 1398 from John of Gaunt were inspected and confirmed and Robert de Urswyk was retained to stay with the King only.<sup>41</sup> Orders were given to the farmers or occupiers of the late Duke's lands in Lancashire giving effect to the continuance of the grants.<sup>42</sup> If Richard hoped by the pursuit of such a policy to secure the adherence of the Lancashire gentry in face of the tradition of loyalty to the Lancastrian house, he was doomed to disappointment. Whether Robert de Urswyk took any active part in the revolution or not is not known. He certainly acquiesced in its results. He served as knight of the shire for the



county in the first two Parliaments of the new reign. In March 1400 he served on a commission of array for the defence of the realm against the Scots.<sup>43</sup> These arrangements were part of the preparations for Henry IV's march north in the summer of 1400 to insist on the homage of Scotland. Two days after the issue of the commission of array Urswyk was appointed a justice of the peace for the county.<sup>44</sup> In November of the same year along with Ralph de Langton, a fellow justice of the peace, and Roger Draner of Walton-le-Dale, Sir Robert received royal letters patent allocating to them the pontage for three years for the repair of the bridge over the Ribble at Preston which had been broken by water and ice.<sup>45</sup> At the great Council held in August 1401 which was attended by a very large number of knights and squires severally summoned by letters of privy seal Sir Robert Urswyk was one of the five Lancashire knights present.<sup>46</sup> In the pleas held at Lancaster before the King's justices on 29 August of the same year Sir John de Dalton's son John was summoned to answer Robert de Urswyk on a plea that he pay over £100 which was, under a bond dated at Rawcliffe in 1384, to have been paid at Preston in 1385. When the bond was produced in court John refused to acknowledge the writing his and put himself *in patria* and Urswyk did the same. Dalton then protested that John Botiller of Rawcliffe the sheriff and John Laurence and William de Pemberton, two of the King's coroners, were kinsmen of the plaintiff and demanded that they should not meddle with the arraying of the panel but that it be committed to the third coroner. The case is resumed in the following February when Dalton's attorney produced royal letters of protection inhibiting his lands and rents from molestation seeing that he was staying in the retinue of Henry Percy warden of Berwick-on-Tweed in the King's obedience. It was finally granted that the suit remain *sine die*. In the August session of 1401 Urswyk also impleaded John de Radcliffe of Ordsall for a debt of £20 and award was given him.<sup>47</sup> In February 1402 Sir Robert de Urswyk was again on the commission of the peace for the county.<sup>48</sup> In this year Henry IV's popularity began to wane in face of the reverses he was incurring. A reaction in favour of Richard began to set in. It was being reported that he was alive in Scotland. Henry was forced to combat the spread of such false news. In May his commissions were directed to the sheriffs of England and his mandamus to the chancellor of the county palatine to issue letters patent under the seal of the county to a commission of fourteen, including the sheriff and escheator of the county, Robert Lord de Haryngton, Sir Richard de Hoghton and Robert de Urswyk. They were to enquire into the names of those who impugned the royal policy and preached lies that the King had not kept his promises and if need arise they were to assemble the King's lieges of the county to arrest such and certify to the King and Council periodically on what they did.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that the

Robert de Urswyk who sat on this commission was the son of the knight of the shire. Certainly the latter did not long survive it. From the inquisition post mortem before the escheator of Yorkshire in August 1403 it appears that he died in September 1402, holding jointly with his wife Joan 20 marks rent from the wapentake of Langbergh. His son and heir, Robert, was thirty years old and more.<sup>50</sup> The writ of *Diem clausit extremum* had been addressed to the escheator of Lancashire on 20 March 1403.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 202, 208, 212, 223, 226, 240, 242, 245, 247, 250, 253, 258, 261. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 145. <sup>3</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 104. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 101 n. <sup>5</sup> Piccope, iv, 40. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1364-67, 313; 1367-70, 1277; 1370-74, 63. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 239. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 81, 109. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 209. <sup>10</sup> *C. Char. R.*, v, 230. <sup>11</sup> *Reg.*, 662. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1560. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1564. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1588. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1644. <sup>16</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 219 n. <sup>17</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 380. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 47. <sup>19</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1377-81, 216. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370 (84). <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 526. <sup>22</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 1, 335. <sup>23</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 522. <sup>24</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 156. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. <sup>26</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 363. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 523. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 526. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 525. <sup>30</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 233. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1388-92, 185; 1391-96, 69. <sup>32</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 471. <sup>33</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370. <sup>34</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 269. <sup>35</sup> Piccope, vii, 298. <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 300. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 302. <sup>38</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 29. <sup>39</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1391-96, 338. <sup>40</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 402. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 547. <sup>42</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1396-99, 475. <sup>43</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 528. <sup>45</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 374. <sup>46</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, i, 164. <sup>47</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 27, 89. <sup>48</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 530. <sup>49</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>50</sup> *Yorks. Arch. Soc. Recd. Series*, vol. lix, 26. <sup>51</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 4.

#### Thomas de Southworth (January 1380, *chivaler*) (November 1380).<sup>1</sup>

Sir Thomas was the son of Gilbert de Southworth of Southworth, near Warrington, who acquired about 1340, by his marriage with the daughter and heir of Nicholas d'Evyas, the manor of Samlesbury in the parish of Blackburn. Sir Thomas succeeded his father before 1355 in the manor of Samlesbury. His relations with the neighbouring families do not always seem to have been on an amicable footing. A long-standing feud between Southworth and Thomas Molyneux of Cuerdale was settled in 1376 by the mediation of friends. Further in 1382 Sir Thomas gave bond to the Duke of Lancaster to be of good behaviour towards various members of the Radcliffe, Standish, Urswyk, Banastre and Curwen families.<sup>2</sup>

It is probable that the knight of the shire was the same Thomas de Southworth, an esquire, who received the royal licence to leave England by the port of Dover and go overseas to the *parts of Pruez* in November 1367 with a retinue of two yeomen. He nominated Gilbert de Southworth and William de Becaneshowe to be his attorneys



for a year.<sup>3</sup> In May 1376, along with Sir Thomas de Lathom, Sir Adam de Hoghton, the master forester of Quernmore and Amounderness, and the latter's son Richard de Hoghton, Southworth was appointed by the King to serve on a commission whose object was to enquire in the county of Lancaster touching all extortions and falsities committed against the King's people of the county.<sup>4</sup> Less than two years later Sir Thomas de Southworth received royal letters of protection as a member of the retinue of John of Gaunt.<sup>5</sup> This was in March 1378. In June, Lancaster was appointed lieutenant in France and Aquitaine. He gained some small naval successes off Bayonne, but his failure to take St. Malo rendered the expedition a failure.

Sir Thomas accompanied Sir John Botiller of Warrington to the parliament of January 1380 held at Westminster and to the Northampton Parliament of the following November.

In February 1384, when forces were levied to serve under the command of Lancaster, who was to retaliate against the Scots for their incursion into the northern counties at the close of the previous year, Southworth was placed by the Duke on the commission of array for the Blackburn hundred.<sup>6</sup> He did not go on the expedition himself, for, on March 16, two days after Nicholas de Haryngton was ordered to meet the Duke at Newcastle-on-Tyne with the men at arms and archers levied in the duchy, Southworth sat on a jury at an inquisition post mortem on Sir Thomas de Lathom held at Manchester.<sup>7</sup> In September 1385 he received a writ from the Chancery of Lancaster which directed him and Thomas de Radcliffe to enquire touching distrains made on the lands in Chadderton and Oldham of John Radclif of Chadderton.<sup>8</sup> In the same year, along with Sir John Botiller of Warrington and Richard de Mascy, he received letters of protection when they accompanied Ferdinand, master of the Order of Saint James of Portugal.<sup>9</sup> They were probably engaged on Lancaster's behalf in the negotiations in the Peninsula which resulted in 1386 in John of Gaunt's second invasion of Castile. Early in January 1386 Sir Thomas de Southworth received royal letters of protection as a member of the Duke's retinue, and in April letters of attorney.<sup>10</sup>

The date of his death is not known. His son John, an esquire, received in March 1398 a fee of retainer of ten marks a year from Richard II,<sup>11</sup> and eventually died at the siege of Harfleur in 1415.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 204, 206. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 305. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 30, 65. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 320. <sup>5</sup> Rymer, vii, 186; Armitage-Smith, Appendix. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>7</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 11. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>9</sup> Beamont, 210. <sup>10</sup> Rymer, vii, 490, 508. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 321.

**William de Atherton** (November 1373) (September 1381; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Born about 1340 William de Atherton was the son of Henry de Atherton of the manor of Atherton in the parish of Leigh. Sir William was twice married, his first wife and the mother of his sons Sir William and Sir Nicholas Atherton being Joan, sister and coheir of Ralph de Mobberley, Lord of Mobberley, Cheshire.<sup>2</sup>

Of Sir William de Atherton's activities before his first return to Parliament in November 1373 there is no record beyond the fact that in 1360 he obtained an episcopal licence for an oratory in his manors of Atherton and Garswood in Ashton-in-Makerfield.<sup>3</sup> In the February following his return as knight of the shire, he received a commission along with Richard de Hoghton and the sheriff of Lancaster to make inquisition in the county into the goods late of John de Radcliffe of Chadderton who had been outlawed in June 1372 in the London Hustling for non-appearance before the King to answer a plea of trespass; also touching the profits arising out of his lands and into who should answer to the King for them.<sup>4</sup> In July 1375 Atherton was on a commission of thirteen appointed by the King to arrest and bring before the King and Council John de Holden whom the King summoned by writ to be in Chancery in the previous month but who had failed to appear although the sheriff of Lancaster had delivered the writ. He was said to be lurking in hiding and wandering from county to county.<sup>5</sup> In September 1381 with Robert de Urswyk Sir William represented the county in parliament. He was not associated with any commissions in the county between 1375 and February 1384 when he served on the commission of array against the Scotch for the hundred of West Derby.<sup>6</sup> In the month following he was appointed to serve as justice of the peace in the same hundred.<sup>7</sup> Two days before the issue of the letters patent for this last commission from the duchy chancery at Lancaster, he was a juror at the inquest post mortem held at Manchester on Sir Thomas de Lathom.<sup>8</sup> He was present at a further inquisition at Lancaster a year later in March 1385.<sup>9</sup> In the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* suit Sir William de Atherton senior who was sixty years old at the time of the trial was a witness produced by the Grosvenor party.<sup>10</sup> His son also was a deponent. The suit was entered upon in 1385. It dragged on till 1389. In this year Sir William de Atherton died.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 191, 208. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 436. <sup>3</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 4. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 475. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>8</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 11. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 18. <sup>10</sup> Nicholas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 288. <sup>11</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 436.



**Roger de Pilkington** (October 1363) (January 1365; *chivaler*) (May 1368; *chivaler*) (January 1377; *miles*) (May 1382) (April 1384; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Born about 1325 he was the grandson of the Roger de Pilkington who sat for Lancashire in the parliament summoned to meet at Lincoln in July 1316 to deal with the perambulation of the forests,<sup>2</sup> and the son of a second Roger and his wife Alice, sister and heir of Henry de Bury.<sup>3</sup> On the death of his father in 1347 Sir Roger became lord of the manor of Pilkington, Bury,<sup>4</sup> holding it at his death in 1407 of Thomas la Warre, baron of Manchester. Under the duchy of Lancaster he held the manor of Cheetham.<sup>5</sup> In 1378 Sir Roger exchanged his lands in Great Lever with Adam de Lever, receiving from him certain lands in Kearsley. In 1354 he had recovered a third part of Reddish mill against Richard de Reddish. In addition he held the manor of Rivington.<sup>6</sup>

The sympathies of the Pilkington family were strongly Lancastrian. Roger's grandfather, the first of three Rogers, had sided with Thomas of Lancaster and after the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322 had been committed prisoner to Tickhill Castle and fined. The second Roger must have taken part in the rebellion with his father—a condition of his pardon being service abroad, which he was summoned to give in 1325 in Guienne.<sup>7</sup> The third Roger continued in the tradition of political identification with the Lancastrian house. Early in July 1355 he received letters of protection attested by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and conditioned by his serving with the Duke abroad. On the same day letters were granted him giving him license to appoint attorneys to act on his behalf in the duchy courts, during his absence with the Duke.<sup>8</sup> Four years later, when John of Gaunt had married Duke Henry's daughter Blanche, Pilkington was a member of the former's retinue in the French expedition which the treaty of Brétigny concluded in May 1360.<sup>9</sup> In 1369 Sir Roger de Pilkington was one of five commissioners of array appointed for the county of Lancaster to press and enroll 400 archers to accompany John of Gaunt to Aquitaine.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile in May 1361 he was appointed by the King to serve on a commission of the peace in the county<sup>11</sup> and reappointed to the commission, now headed by John of Gaunt, in May 1363.<sup>12</sup> As well as the commission of array, in 1369 Sir Roger de Pilkington received a commission in Lancashire of oyer and terminer touching all forestalling, the abuses of weights and measures, and trespasses against the ordinances and statutes of labourers.<sup>13</sup> In March 1371 he was serving on a commission of six for the assessment, levy and collection in Lancashire of the parliamentary subsidy of 22s. 3d. on each parish.<sup>14</sup> Ten weeks later the commissioners were instructed to apportion among the parishes of the county the levy of £336 8s. at which the county

had been assessed.<sup>15</sup> In January 1375 along with four other members of the commission of the peace and of oyer and terminer, Sir Roger received the royal mandamus not to proceed to take indictments under their commission unless the Duke of Lancaster, Godfrey Foljaumbe or Roger de Kirketon were present.<sup>16</sup> Sir Roger de Pilkington was returned to serve as knight of the shire in January 1377 and in May 1382, the former being the next after the "Good Parliament" of 1376 whose policy was completely reversed in John of Gaunt's favour. In February 1384 Pilkington was on a commission of array for the hundred of Salford<sup>17</sup> the object being the expedition of Lancaster to retaliate on the Scots for their incursion of late 1383. Sir Roger was given a commission of the peace in the same hundred a month later.<sup>18</sup> He was a juror at the inquisition post mortem held by the escheator at Lancaster on Sir Thomas de Lathom in March 1385.<sup>19</sup> In the following year he appeared at a session in the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* trial where it is stated that he was sixty years old. He deposed to being ignorant of any facts in the case.<sup>20</sup> In October 1404 a commission was issued to Sir John de Assheton among others to arrest and bring before King and Council in Chancery a certain William de Singleton so that he might find security for good behaviour towards Roger de Pilkington and his tenants.<sup>21</sup>

The exact date of the death of Sir Roger de Pilkington is not known but his inquisition post mortem was held at Lancaster on 11 August 1407. His son and heir, John de Pilkington, was thirty-four years old.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 173, 175, 180, 196, 210, 220. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 53. <sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 90. <sup>4</sup> Pilkington, 14-15. <sup>5</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 89. <sup>6</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 89 n. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 89 n. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, 1, 334. <sup>9</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 90. <sup>10</sup> Pilkington, 14-15. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1361-64, 66. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 366. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 268. <sup>14</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 112. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 127. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 63. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>19</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, 1, 18. <sup>20</sup> *Nicolas, Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 289. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 506. <sup>22</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, 1, 86.

**Robert de Clifton** (May 1382) (February 1383).<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert de Clifton was the son of Sir William de Clifton, whom he succeeded in about 1370, and Margaret daughter of Sir Robert Shirburne. When he himself was succeeded on his death in 1401 by his nephew Thomas de Clifton he was in possession of the manors of Clifton, Salwick, Moorhouses and Westby, and various lands held of the King in socage.<sup>2</sup>



Robert de Clifton sat on no commissions in the county, either of the peace or array, or others of a more specific object. His chief claim to notability was his relations with John of Gaunt, one of whose retinue he was. In March 1373 the Duke's Register records that he received letters of protection along with others about to go abroad.<sup>3</sup> In the following May he contracted in an indenture for his service in war-time with the Duke at a fee of £20 a year to be paid out of the issues of the lordship of Tutbury.<sup>4</sup> Four days later a sum of £14 was recorded as having been disbursed to him in part payment of an outstanding claim of over £28.<sup>5</sup> He was probably still in the Duke's service when in August 1375 the chief forester of the High Peak received a warrant to deliver to him a stag from the chase there.<sup>6</sup> Clifton served as knight of the shire with Roger de Pilkington in the Westminster Parliament of May 1382 and with Richard de Hoghton in the next Parliament but one held in the following February also at Westminster. In March 1385 an inquisition was held at Lancaster in which it was alleged that he found at Freckleton and took away as *Wreccie maris* a *Sumbala* worth two marks.<sup>7</sup> In August of the next year Sir Robert received royal letters patent of protection with the clause *volumus* for one year as he was to go on the King's service to Ireland in Sir John Stanley's retinue. Stanley was going as lieutenant for Robert de Vere, the recently promoted marquess of Dublin.<sup>8</sup> In January 1388 the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster was ordered by the King to see to the arrest of eight knights and esquires who were to be arraigned before the King and Council in Parliament at Westminster in the middle of February. Parliament was summoned to meet on the 3rd of the month. Of the eight arrestands Sir Ralph de Radcliffe, the last sheriff of the county palatine, and Robert de Clifton were two. The order for the arrest was given by advice of the Council and for causes touching the King and the estate of the realm.<sup>9</sup> Ralph de Radcliffe was one of the Lancashire magnates to receive the King's orders to raise forces to aid Robert de Vere in the winter of 1387 when the royal favourite came north. The venture south failed hopelessly at Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire on 20 December 1387. Evidently Robert de Clifton was implicated in the same enterprise. His service in Ireland with de Vere's lieutenant in 1386 strengthens this conclusion. In May 1394 Sir Robert Clifton of Lancashire and three other knights of Buckingham, Leicester and Northumberland, respectively, mainperned in Chancery under a penalty of £1,000 undertaking that Sir Ralph Lumley should not molest the widow of a Sir Roger de Clifford.<sup>10</sup> In the following February he stood surety with three other mainperners, two of Lancashire and one of Yorkshire, for Roger Crosby, chaplain, who had been taken in the company of Sir Thomas Talbot and imprisoned by the sheriffs of London in the city prison "upon suspicion of Talbot's mischief" in the Cheshire and Yorkshire rising against John of Gaunt in 1393. His

mainperners undertook in chancery to have him up before the King and Council as often as they were warned.<sup>11</sup>

Sir Robert de Clifton died in 1401.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 210, 215. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 162. <sup>3</sup> *Reg.*, 49. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 863. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 969. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1719. <sup>7</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 22. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 214. <sup>9</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, 393. <sup>10</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1392-96, 293. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

**John de Assheton** (October 1382) (September 1388) (January 1390).<sup>1</sup>

John de Assheton was apparently the son of the John de Assheton who died about 1360 leaving a son and heir under age. The claim of Sir John de Kirkby to his wardship and marriage evidently succeeded, for Margaret John de Assheton's widow sought dowry against Kirkby in 1366, and in 1375 John de Assheton the son called upon him to give account of the issues of his lands in Ashton.<sup>2</sup> Assheton married Margaret the daughter of Robert Legh of Adlington and half-sister of Perkin Legh of Lymm, Cheshire.<sup>3</sup> As his second wife he married the daughter of Robert de Staveley of Staveley, Derbyshire.<sup>4</sup>

John de Assheton is said to have distinguished himself in what Froissart called a *goodly feate of armes* at the siege of Noyon in 1370. The chronicler described him as a *scottysh knyght* but this term he applied generally to all in that army, although Sir Robert Knolles—who was present at the siege—was of Cheshire birth.<sup>5</sup> In November 1373 John de Assheton received royal letters patent of protection for a year, together with letters of attorney, the reason given being that he was going on the King's service to Ireland in the company of Sir William Windsor, the governor and keeper of Ireland.<sup>6</sup> By 1377 Assheton had attached himself to the household of John of Gaunt, of whose retinue he was a member.<sup>7</sup> In March of the following year he received letters of protection to last until Michaelmas as one of Lancaster's *comitiva*.<sup>8</sup> He almost certainly accompanied Lancaster on the expedition which the Duke led in the summer of 1378 after he was appointed lieutenant in France and Aquitaine in June. The failure before St. Malo determined the return of the English forces. Robert de Urswyk and John de Assheton were the knights of the duchy in the Westminster parliament of October 1382. The latter figured on the commission of four appointed by the Duke to array the forces of men at arms and archers in the Salford hundred for the expedition against the Scotch in the spring of 1384.<sup>9</sup> The same commissioners with the addition of two more constituted the justices of the peace for the same hundred, when the commissions of the peace were issued a month after the distribution of the commissions of array.<sup>10</sup> In



March 1385 Sir John de Assheton with three of his servants received a pardon of outlawry from the chancery of Lancaster.<sup>11</sup> In July 1386 from the recognizance rolls of Chester, he apparently received a licence to act as an attorney for Hugh de Arden during the latter's absence in Ireland on service with Sir John Stanley, the deputy of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford.<sup>12</sup> About this time Assheton was called in to give his evidence in the heraldic suit of *Scrope v. Grosvenor*. Examined at Stockport he gave his deposition in favour of Grosvenor. His age was there stated to be thirty years.<sup>13</sup> With John de Croft and Ralph de Ipres respectively he was returned as knight of the shire to serve in the consecutive parliaments which met at Cambridge in September 1388 and at Westminster in January 1390. In the February before his return to the Cambridge parliament he was appointed to serve on a commission of twenty-nine knights and esquires of Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire, formed to arrest and bring before King and Council Sir John Cokayn and nine others, principally of Ashbourne and Fenny Bentley in Derbyshire, who were charged with 'enormous offences' in Derbyshire against the officials of the Duke of Lancaster whose lives they had evidently threatened to take. Their arraignment was to provide that they gave security not to molest any of the Duke's ministers.<sup>14</sup> On 22 March 1398, four days after Richard II appropriated the Lancastrian estates, Assheton was retained by the King at an annual fee of 20 marks. Evidently Sir John had been similarly engaged with the late Duke. The date of Assheton's death is not known but it seems more likely that the Sir John de Assheton, commissioner against malignants in 1402 and of array in 1403 was Sir John the son who had been knighted at Henry IV's coronation. The absence of any note in the commissions of seniority or juniority would suggest that by these dates Sir John de Assheton the elder was dead.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 212, 235, 238. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 341. <sup>3</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, i. <sup>4</sup> *Piccope*, iv, 20. <sup>5</sup> *D.N.B.*, ii, 177. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 340, 369. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 527. <sup>8</sup> Rymer, vii, 186. <sup>9</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 524. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. II, 6. <sup>13</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 275. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 463.

**Richard de Hoghton** (February 1383) (September 1402; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Richard de Hoghton was the eldest son of Sir Adam de Hoghton, who was knight of the shire for Lancashire in the parliaments of January 1348, 1363 and 1365.<sup>2</sup> In the 'seventies the father held the chief forestership of Quernmore and Amounderness.<sup>3</sup> He died in 1385 when

his son Richard succeeded him in the family estates.<sup>4</sup> The chief manor was that of Hoghton in the Leyland hundred with its members, namely, Clayton, Wheelton, Heapey, Roddlesworth and Gunolfsmoor. At his death Sir Richard held the manor of Hoghton, the manors of French Lea and English Lea, Ravensmeols, Grimsargh; moieties of the manors of Ashton, Whittle-le-Woods, Whittingham, Alston; and messuages and lands in Livesay, Caterall, Pleasington, Saureby, Elston, Halghton, in Goosnargh and Threlfall where he also held a water-mill. At the inquest post mortem in 1422 their value was assessed at £37 a year. The tenancy was generally under the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard, however, had in 1407 been able to grant in mortmain messuages and lands in Dutton, Ribchester, Chipping, Goosnargh, Hothersall and Aughton in the Blackburn hundred to his chantry in Ribchester parish church.<sup>6</sup> In the main the grouping of his lands was in the neighbourhood of Preston. In 1397 and again in 1415 he figures on the roll of Preston burgesses, both on the list of 'in-burgesses' and 'foreign burgesses'.<sup>7</sup>

In December 1368 Richard de Hoghton was appointed to serve on a commission, headed by the sheriff of Lancaster and William Windsor, governor of Ireland, which was to impress, array and try a hundred archers of the county who were to go to Ireland in the King's service in Windsor's company.<sup>8</sup> Nearly six years had elapsed before in February 1374 he was again commissioned by royal letters patent, along with Sir William Atherton and the sheriff, to enquire into the goods and the profits of the lands of the late John de Radcliffe of Chadderton who had been outlawed in June 1372 for failing to appear before the King to answer a plea of trespass.<sup>9</sup> On 12 December of the same year the escheatry of the county was committed during pleasure of the King to Richard de Hoghton. The issues of the office were accounted for at the Exchequer in Westminster.<sup>10</sup> He was still escheator at the end of October 1375.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile in July he had served on a commission, which also included his father, appointed to arrest and bring before King and Council a certain John de Holden who had been summoned by a writ, which the sheriff had delivered, to be in Chancery in the previous month. Holden was in hiding and wandering from county to county.<sup>12</sup> Richard de Hoghton was superseded in the escheatry of the county, probably for a year, by Edmund Laurence,<sup>13</sup> but was re-appointed in December 1376.<sup>14</sup> In the previous May, Richard and his father were directed with Sir Thomas de Lathom and Sir Thomas de Southworth to make inquisition in the county into the extortions and oppressions which were disturbing it.<sup>15</sup> Evidently the conviction in 1374 of Henry de Chadderton, bailiff of the West Derby hundred, for exaction, the perversion of justice, the collection of corn by colour of his office, and other oppressions, had not sufficiently ventilated the grievances of the King's lieges. In spite of Hoghton's



re-appointment as escheator in December 1376, by the following April he is described as 'late escheator'<sup>16</sup> and the office was being filled by Roger de Brokholes. His re-appointment and then almost immediate dismissal was almost certainly due to the Edwardian grant to John of Gaunt of palatine jurisdiction in the county early in 1377 which brought the gift of the escheatry within the Duke's purview. In March 1380 warrant under the Duke's privy seal was given for Richard de Hoghton's re-commission as escheator.<sup>17</sup> He was closely attached to the interests of John of Gaunt. In the 'seventies he served the Duke as a member of his retinue<sup>18</sup> and his father, still alive, was an administrator of a section of the duchy forests. Both they and Richard's younger brother, Henry de Hoghton, received general pardons in the autumn of 1380.<sup>19</sup> Richard de Hoghton, however, still continued to hold the escheatry of the duchy until in April 1383 he received the Duke's mandate to deliver the office to Robert de Urswyk.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, in February 1383, he had been returned as knight of the shire along with Robert de Clifton to Westminster. In February 1384 he was commissioned with Sir Robert Standish and Thomas Banaster of Bank, to undertake in the Leyland hundred the array of the forces destined for the Scottish expedition under Lancaster.<sup>21</sup> A month later he was appointed to serve on the commission of the peace in both the hundred of Leyland and that of Amounderness.<sup>22</sup> At the same time he received a grant of the wardship of the lands in Lancashire and Yorkshire, belonging to Sir Henry de Kighley with the marriage of his heir Richard, on behalf of William de Hornby, the Duke's receiver and parson of Saint Michael-on-Wyre.<sup>23</sup> In September 1387 Sir Richard de Hoghton was one of four who stood surety for the Abbot of Cockersand when he received the custody of the manor of Hoton, pending the Duke's claim to it.<sup>24</sup> About the same time he was drawn into the Scrope and Grosvenor suit of 1385-89. He was on a commission of inquiry and also appeared in the trial as a witness, deposing in favour of Scrope. His age was stated to be forty-four years.<sup>25</sup> In 1389 he shared a grant from the Duke of a wardship.<sup>26</sup> In the last decade of the century, until the revolution of 1399, little notice of Richard de Hoghton is found. In July 1394 he was made a justice of the peace.<sup>27</sup> In March 1398 he was retained by Richard II at a fee of 20 marks a year,<sup>28</sup> but this did not prevent him from going over to Hereford in the following year. On the day that Henry challenged the realm of England, 30 September 1399, the county of Lancaster was committed during pleasure to Sir Richard de Hoghton and he was to answer at the Exchequer as sheriff.<sup>29</sup> On the same day parliament was summoned to meet again on 6 October. Sir Richard himself endorsed the writ as sheriff, following the usual form of the *responsum*. In accordance with the writs of summons issued by Richard II from Chester on 19 August Sir Robert Urswyk and Henry Hoghton, Sir Richard's brother,

had been returned. The endorsement of the first writ repeated the statement of their election and the newly appointed sheriff himself undertook to see that they were present on 6 October: *quos coram vobis venire faciam ad diem et locum*.<sup>30</sup> Parliament sat from 6 October to 19 November on which day Thomas Gerard was appointed sheriff of Lancaster.<sup>31</sup> Sir Richard de Hoghton had not administered the office *in loco*. On October 21st Sir Ralph de Radclyf (q.v.), appointed sheriff in 1398, held the sheriff's turn at Wigan. Hoghton was superseded apparently before he had had time to establish himself as sheriff. In March 1400 when he was appointed a justice of the peace in Lancashire, he is described as chief steward of the county.<sup>32</sup> In August 1407 a lease of a small holding near Salford was made *per billam Ricardi de Hoghton capitalis seneschalli*<sup>33</sup> and in October 1410 a grant of wardship was made out in the same terms.<sup>34</sup> In February 1416 as chief steward in the county of Lancaster Hoghton received a mandamus to remove the King's hand from a certain pasture which, time out of mind belonging to the farm of the borough of Lancaster, had been seized by John of Gaunt and withheld from the mayor and burgesses although numerous inquisitions had shown it to be parcel of their farm.<sup>35</sup> In the next month Hoghton, acting in the same capacity, leased to Sir William de Haryngton the herbage of Quernmore and Scalethwaite park and the water-mill on Lune.<sup>36</sup> It was probably by virtue of his office of chief steward of the county that he, along with the sheriff, in the absence of the escheator, Robert Laurence, in parliament at Westminster, presided over an inquisition post mortem held at Preston in April 1406 on John de Hakenneshawe who had been outlawed and his possessions seized into the King's hand, and who *pro certis rebellionibus contra dominum regem et regaliū suū infra castrum Berwici ad mortem positus fuit*.<sup>37</sup> It is more than likely that Sir Richard de Hoghton held the chief stewardship of the county without intermission from 1399 to his death. It was in this capacity that he served on the commission of the peace appointed in March 1400.<sup>31</sup> He was re-appointed to serve as justice in February 1402 and again in February 1404.<sup>38</sup> In January 1406 William Gascoigne, John Cokayn, Richard de Hoghton and James Strangways were the justices assigned to take an assize of Novel Disseisin for Robert de Fasacrelegh against John de Walton and others concerning certain tenements in Walton near Liverpool. In June they received a writ of supersedeas.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile a whole crop of commissions, which the 'unquiet time' of Henry IV brought forth, had come Hoghton's way. In March 1400 he had served on a commission of array in the county for defence against the Scots.<sup>40</sup> In the following January he was one of four appointed to inquire by oath of good men of the county into the seizure of goods belonging to the Friars Minor of Lanvas in Wales and to restore what they could. The Order had complained that the



house at Lanvas was deserted because certain of the friars there had been dispersed as rebels and all the goods of the house seized by the King's lieges in his last ride into Wales.<sup>41</sup> In April Hoghton was one of four to whom was entrusted the custody of Robert de Plesyngton, who was unsound of mind but enjoyed lucid intervals, and of his estates which they were to administer on his behalf.<sup>42</sup> In August of the same year Sir John Stanley and Sir Richard de Hoghton were the two knights who represented the county in the afforced Great Council of that month to which were summoned knights and esquires from all counties.<sup>43</sup> In May 1402 Sir Richard was on the commission directed to militate against the preaching of lies about the royal policy and the spreading of false rumours, such as the legend of Richard II being still alive in Scotland.<sup>44</sup> Hoghton and Sir Nicholas de Haryngton were the knights of the shire for Lancashire in the Westminster Parliament of September 1402. A month previous to their return both had sat on a commission for the supervising and trying of all the fencibles of the county. The sheriff had been directed by writ to order their array with a view to meeting the King at Shrewsbury whence the campaign against Glendower was to be conducted.<sup>45</sup> In February 1403 the alien priory of Lancaster, a Benedictine house under the abbey of St. Martin of Sées in Normandy, was farmed out by the Exchequer to its prior Giles Lovell, a monk of Sées, and Sir Richard Hoghton. The deed of commitment specified that the priory was to be farmed at the Exchequer at the usual rent of 100 marks and held as from 29 September 1402 so long as the war with France should last.<sup>46</sup> The commitment was confirmed in October 1413 when the farm stood at £100, half as much again as that of 1403.<sup>47</sup> In July 1397 Hoghton had been put on a commission by Richard II to make inquisition into waste of the priory's estates but the commission had never been delivered as late as 1401 when a process was instituted against the commissioners before the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer for having omitted to make inquisition. A writ of *supersedeas omnino* was interposed.<sup>48</sup> In May 1405 Hoghton was one of five commissioners including the sheriff, appointed from Hereford to collect forces in Lancashire for the suppression of the northern insurrection of Scrope and Mowbray and Northumberland.<sup>49</sup> Three weeks later came a further injunction from Ripon to array a thousand archers in the county and see that they joined the King at Newcastle on Tyne. All the townships of the county were to contribute to their expenses.<sup>50</sup> Realising the uselessness of attempting to follow the Earl of Northumberland and Bardolf into Scotland, Henry returned south to undertake the defence of the west against the Welsh. On 29 August he issued strict orders from Worcester to Richard Hoghton and seven other commissioners to cause all knights, esquires and all other able-bodied fencibles of the county of Lancaster to meet him at Hereford arrayed to go against

the Welsh, now reinforced by the French who had landed in Wales "with no small power." The letter close, which expressed the king's high confidence in the estates and persons of the county, insisted that if the kingdom were not to be jeopardised, the forthcoming resistance must not be insufficient.<sup>51</sup> In May 1406 when the King granted Hoghton his licence to found the chantry at Ribchester he took into account his record of service and granted 'his knight' the letters patent with orders to the keeper of the Chancery hanaper not to take the customary fee for the use of the great seal.<sup>52</sup> In June 1410 Sir Richard served on a commission appointed to arrest Richard Townley, William Skillicorne, Bernard de Syngleton, Richard de Legh and John de Bradley and bring them before King and Council at Westminster.<sup>53</sup> In the same year he was detailed off with others to arrest Roger de Dalton and put him in Lancaster gaol.<sup>54</sup> In January 1412 along with Sir William Haryngton, Ralph Standish, and the sheriff and escheator in the county, Hoghton was appointed to enquire the names and amounts of land and rent held by all those liable to contribute to the subsidy of 6s. 8d. on land and rent of the value of £20, granted to the King in the Parliament of November 1411. Certification was to be made to the Exchequer before the end of February.<sup>55</sup> In July of the following year Sir Richard was on the commission of the peace for county Lancaster,<sup>56</sup> and again in March 1418.<sup>57</sup> In October 1414 he had assisted at the election of the knights of the shire in the county court at Lancaster and had apposed his seal to the indenture of election. In April 1418 he served on a commission of nine *de mustro et arriacione* for the hundred of Amounderness.<sup>58</sup>

There is some doubt as to the exact time of Sir Richard de Hoghton's death. At his inquisition post mortem held at Preston on 11 July 1422 it was stated that he died on 30 June 1415.<sup>59</sup> This date is palpably incorrect because in the next year he was functioning as chief steward of the county and receiving commissions of various kinds after that date. Moreover the writ *Diem clausit extremum* was not issued till 20 July 1422.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mem.*, 215, 263. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 143, 173, 175. <sup>3</sup> *Register of J. of G.* <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 39. <sup>5</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 145. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 186, 341. <sup>7</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 73. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 185. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 475. <sup>10</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 270. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 305. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 158. <sup>13</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 5. <sup>14</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 367. <sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 320. <sup>16</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, 349. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 366. <sup>18</sup> Armitage Smith, App. III. <sup>19</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 366. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 521, 522. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 526. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>23</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, 363. <sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>25</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 231, 234. <sup>26</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 36. <sup>27</sup> Piccope, vii, 300. <sup>28</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 324. <sup>29</sup> *C.F.R.*, xii, 1. <sup>30</sup> *P.R.O.*, C 219.10.1. <sup>31</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes IX*. <sup>32</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>33</sup> Piccope, vii, 304. <sup>34</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 97. <sup>35</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 12. <sup>36</sup> Piccope, vii, 318. <sup>37</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 81. <sup>38</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 530, 532. <sup>39</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 5, 7. <sup>40</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>41</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 418. <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 473. <sup>43</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, i, 159. <sup>44</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 138. <sup>46</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1399-1405, 208. <sup>47</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 31. <sup>48</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99,



242; *C.C.R.*, 1399-1402, 304. <sup>49</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 66. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 61. <sup>51</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1405-08, 460. <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 38. <sup>53</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 312. <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 311. <sup>55</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 379. <sup>56</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 314. <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 326. <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>59</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 145. <sup>60</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 21.

**John de Holcroft** (November 1373) (October 1383).<sup>1</sup>

John de Holcroft was probably the heir of Thomas son of John de Holcroft from whose guardian, Simon de Byrom, Goditha widow of William de Holcroft claimed dower in 1355 when the knight of the shire was still a minor.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand he might have been the John son of William de Holcroft who in February 1352 was pardoned the King's suit for the death of John de Croft, of certain trespasses and assaults in Atherton, and of any consequent outlawries, by reason of good service done in Brittany.<sup>3</sup> As there were two families in the township of Holcroft in the parish of Winwick, the line of descent of either is not easily traceable. In 1382 John de Holcroft's daughter Elizabeth was engaged to marry Thurstan de Culcheth of the neighbouring township of Culcheth. John de Holcroft was plaintiff in fines from 1386 to 1394 regarding properties in this township and in the manor of Kenyon.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from his return to parliament in 1373 there is no notice of John de Holcroft in an official sense until 1382 when he and Hugh de Bradshaw of Westleigh were commissioners appointed to levy and collect in the hundred of West Derby a tenth and fifteenth granted the King in the October parliament of that year.<sup>4</sup> The commission was issued from the ducal chancery at Lancaster. Along with Sir Walter de Urswyk Holcroft served as knight of the shire in the Westminster parliament of the following October. In March 1384 he was a juror in the inquisition post mortem held at Manchester on Sir Thomas de Lathom.<sup>5</sup> Two days afterwards he was appointed to serve on the commission of the peace for the West Derby hundred.<sup>6</sup> In March 1387 jointly with John de Honford, Holcroft acquired a grant of the custody of the manor of Woodplumpton (near Preston) pending an action, to which the Duke was party, regarding the right to it. The Duke's hand was not amoved until August 1392.<sup>7</sup> Holcroft was pardoned of outlawry in November 1388 for failing to appear to render his account to Thomas Dalby, late rector of Leigh, who two months before had been preferred to the archdeaconry of Richmond, for the time when he was receiver of his moneys.<sup>8</sup> About this time Holcroft was a witness in the heraldic suit of Scrope and Grosvenor; his deposition was made in favour of the latter party.<sup>9</sup>

The precise date of his appointment to the office is not given on the patent rolls of the duchy but by February 1394 John de Holcroft was holding inquisitions as the Duke's escheator in the county.<sup>10</sup> In March 1396 he was still administering the office<sup>11</sup> although in 1397 he was superseded by Roger de Brockholes.<sup>12</sup> In February of the following year John de Holcroft was a juror at the inquest post mortem on Richard Mollineux held at Preston.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile in August 1396 he was on a commission *de utlegatis capiendis*.<sup>14</sup> The date of his death is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 191, 218. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 160 n. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1350-54, 224. <sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 523. <sup>5</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 11. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 523. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 525; *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 48. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 488, 506. <sup>9</sup> *Nicolas, Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 295. <sup>10</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 49. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 67. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 70. <sup>14</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 303.

**Walter Urswyk** (October 1383; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Although it is fairly certain that Walter Urswyk was of that family of Urswyk which held lands in Lonsdale and the Fylde, the head of which at this period was Sir Robert de Urswyk of Upper Rawcliffe, neither his relationship to the latter nor his parentage is definitely known. The father of Robert de Urswyk, Adam, who served in the French wars of Edward III and was present at Crécy, was chief forester of Bowland. The fact of Walter Urswyk's tenure of this office might possibly be adduced to prove their relationship. It is probable that Walter was either a younger brother or at least a cousin of Robert de Urswyk. The latter mainperned him when he leased the alien abbey of Bégard in 1377<sup>2</sup> and in the same year this service was reciprocated when a commitment of lands was made to Robert de Urswyk.<sup>3</sup> Although Walter Urswyk held important administrative positions in Lancashire and Yorkshire it is likely that he resided in the latter county. In official documents he is described both as 'of Lancashire' and 'of Yorkshire' but in view of the fact that he drew considerable revenues from the manor of Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire and that he is buried in the church there it may be conjectured that he probably made the place his residence. On the label over the recess in the south wall which holds his effigy are three shields with the arms of Urswyk, Scrope of Masham, and Urswyk impaling Scrope.<sup>4</sup> Both the Urswyk and the Scrope families rose into prominence with the ascendancy of John of Gaunt. It seems possible that Sir Walter Urswyk married into the greater family. Certainly in the heraldic suit of Scrope *v.* Grosvenor which lasted from 1385 to 1389



Sir Walter threw his weight into the Scrope side of the scales. Robert de Urswyk served in the households of Edward III and Edmund Langley before he became affiliated to the Lancastrian bloc; Walter Urswyk saw service in the retinue of Edward the Black Prince before he went into the same camp. In April 1353 'Walter Hursewik' was one of four to receive, at the hands of the Prince's receiver-general at London, the sum of 100 shillings as a gift from the Prince towards their preparations for a sea-voyage.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that two years later he saw service on the campaign which culminated at Poitiers. Soon after this he transferred himself to the service of John of Gaunt. In February 1361 he was granted for life the bailiwick and keeping of the new forest in Richmondshire with the customary perquisites and these letters patent of the Duke were ratified in January 1368. At the same time he received confirmation in other offices and emoluments which had accrued to him in the interim: the office of constable of Richmond castle which he had held from May 1362 when the grant was made for life; the offices of steward and master forester in the lordship of Bowland, in succession to Richard de Radcliffe, which offices had been conferred for life on Walter Urswyk by a grant of May 1365.<sup>6</sup> These offices Urswyk continued to hold till his death. When John of Gaunt in 1372 surrendered the earldom, castle, vill and honour of Richmond, he did so with the saving that *monsire de Ursewyk, conestable du chastell de Richmonde et gardein de la nouvelle foreste* should retain his offices at the customary fee.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile other grants witnessed by their steady accumulation the advance made by Urswyk in the appreciation of the Duke of Lancaster and his intimate personal connection with the ducal household. In October 1361 he received letters patent of John of Gaunt conferring on him a grant for life of £20 a year in silver to be taken from the tenants of Aldborough in lieu of a previous grant of £10 of annual rent from the demesne lands of the same manor which Urswyk now surrendered.<sup>6</sup> In 1367 Lancaster co-operated with his brother the Black Prince in the Spanish expedition of that year. Walter de Urswyk served in this campaign in John of Gaunt's retinue and on 3 April was knighted by him at the battle of Najera. It was expressly for good services in Spain and elsewhere and for the better maintenance of his new rank that, in the November of the same year, the Duke allowed his bachelor £40 yearly for life from the issues of the manors of Catterick and Forcett in the lordship of Richmond, with a proviso for distraint in event of payment being two months overdue. The King granted a licence of admission.<sup>6</sup> Four days before the date of this grant Sir Walter received an annuity of £20 from the Black Prince payable at his Exchequer at Chester for bringing news of the Duchess of Lancaster's safe delivery of a child. This grant was later confirmed by Richard of Bordeaux both as Prince of Wales and as King.<sup>8</sup> In March 1369 Urswyk paid to the King £10

for licence to receive £20 annual rent out of the wapentake of Langbergh in the North Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>9</sup>

John of Gaunt's Register indicates a further expansion of the range of administrative activity on the part of Sir Walter Urswyk and his absolute absorption into the Lancastrian entourage. John of Gaunt's reservation in Urswyk's behalf in the surrender of the honour of Richmond in June 1372 has already been noted.<sup>7</sup> In the previous November Urswyk had received a life concession of the right to demand game at certain seasons anywhere in the Lancastrian estates.<sup>10</sup> In the February before the Duke's resignation of the Richmond earldom Walter Urswyk, along with William de Nessefeld and Peter de Rouich, was ordered, in view of the Duke's great and immediate necessity, to go to all the Lancastrian lands and lordships and assemble all tenants and beg the freemen of the vills and boroughs, but command all the 'bordes,' each to give an aid. Compulsion was to be exercised in the case of tardiness on the part of the latter to comply.<sup>11</sup> Five days after the saving to him of the constableness of Richmond castle and the keepership of the *novelle foreste* of Richmond in the Duke's surrender of the honour, on 30 June 1372 Sir Walter Urswyk was made keeper of Roeburndale. This appointment meant, in effect, an extension of his office of chief forester of Bowland. The grant explained that Roeburndale was *une piece de boys et de pasture*, lying midway between the duchy forests of Quernmore and Bowland, through which the game passed from one to the other forest. The immediate reason for the creation of the keepership was that certain *gentz du pais* were committing such depredations in the district as to prevent the game from going between the two forests areas and so threaten their extermination.<sup>12</sup> This accumulation of offices necessitated that the actual routine work of administration should fall in many instances to deputies, during the absence of their titular holder. Thus, when in May 1373 six oaks from Bowland forests were delivered to Lord Percy the warrant was made out to Walter Urswyk or his lieutenant.<sup>13</sup> Absenteeism was not, however, the rule. The warrant mentioned Urswyk's lieutenant only in case of Sir Walter's preoccupation. No mention is made of a deputy when Urswyk was commanded in September 1374 to distribute as much of the game of the forest of Bowland among the *gentz du pays la entour* as would augment the Duke's reputation and yet not be detrimental to the *sauvacion de nostre sauvagyn illoques*.<sup>14</sup>

In August 1372 Sir Walter surrendered to the ducal chancery for cancellation letters patent, issued by John of Gaunt when Earl of Richmond, appointing him *mestre de nostre ju solace et deduyt de tout nostre savagin parmy touz noz terres et seignuries* and then was established for life *mestre de tout nostre ju desport et deduyt de tout nostre savagin et survoieur d'ycelles* in all forests, chaces, parks and warrens on the estates of the Duke.<sup>15</sup> This appointment as master of all the



Duke's games, sports and hunting, meant that Urswyk had jurisdiction over the officials in the Duke's forests, even over men like Sir John Marmion, a knight banneret who kept the chace of Knaresborough. Immediately before this appointment Urswyk had been with John of Gaunt on the bootless expedition to Gascony of August 1372. On 25 August the Duke's receiver general was given a warrant to pay him £28 owing for his services and those of two archers.<sup>16</sup> Three days later indentures of retainment were drawn up between the Duke and Urswyk allocating an annual fee for life of £100 out of the issues of the manors of Gringley and Wheatley by way of the receiver.<sup>17</sup> As soon as October it was found that these were insufficient to pay the grant stipulated and the receiver in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire was ordered to supply the deficiency from other receipts.<sup>18</sup> Evidently the manors of Gringley and Wheatley proved totally inadequate and in March 1375 the grant of £100 a year, now augmented to £120, was to be made out of the issues of the castle and lordship of Bolingbroke.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile in November 1372 Urswyk had been granted by the Duke full seisin of the manor of Thoresby in Lincolnshire.<sup>20</sup> The manor was held of the King in chief and in April 1377 Sir Walter was pardoned his trespass in entering it without the royal licence.<sup>21</sup> Further marks of the Duke's high estimation of his service were a gift in June 1374 of *une corne herneisee d'ore et de perles ore une tissue blank et bleu*<sup>22</sup> and a grant in September 1375 of £6 a year for life out of the issue of the seignory of Bowland by the hands of the receiver there.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile in February 1375 Urswyk had served on a royal commission appointed to arrest and deliver to the Marshalsea prison fifteen persons, principally of Bentham in upper Lonsdale, indicted before a Yorkshire coroner for a murder committed at Dent near Sedbergh, who were at large and threatening to kill their indictors.<sup>24</sup>

Simultaneously with the sitting of the Westminster parliament of January 1377, influenced in Lancaster's interest to undo the work of the "Good Parliament," the English possessions of the alien abbey of Bégard, which were in the King's hands on account of the war with France, were committed to Sir Walter Urswyk, who undertook to pay a yearly farm of £10 at the Exchequer, to maintain the fabric of all buildings, to pay clerical tenths, and see that divine service was performed and all charges incumbent on the lands supported. His mainpernors were Sir John Aynesley of Derbyshire and Robert Urswyk of Lancashire.<sup>25</sup> In the following November this commitment was confirmed when Sir Walter's mainpernors were Nicholas Haryngton of Lancashire and Robert de Stykeland of Westmorland. At the time Haryngton was up at Westminster as knight of the shire for his county. A further ratification was forthcoming in June 1378 when he received the Treasurer's guarantee of the security of his custody in case of an offer of an increased farm. It was expressly stated in this grant that

Urswyk intended to lay money out on improvements to certain very profitable mills which had fallen into disrepair.<sup>26</sup> He continued to hold the English possessions of Bégard until his death in 1394.<sup>27</sup> In May 1379 Sir Walter further farmed, on a twenty-year lease, a toft and twenty acres of land in Burton-in-Lonsdale which Roger de Mowbray held in chief of Edward III as parcel of his barony of Burton-in-Lonsdale but had forfeited by reason of his alienating them in fee without licence and so infringing the statute *Quia Emptores* of Edward I. The farm of 11 shillings was to be paid yearly at the Exchequer.<sup>28</sup>

Already, as steward and master forester of the lordship of Bowland and keeper of Roeburndale, closely and actively engaged in the administration of the Lancastrian forests of Duke John, the next two years saw Sir Walter Urswyk further charged with offices of a similar nature in the duchy. In August 1379 warrant was given under the Duke's privy seal for issue of letters patent to Urswyk as 'warden of the forest' in the county palatine.<sup>29</sup> This title was actualised in the following April when he was made chief warden of the chaces of Trawden, Pendle, Rossendale, Tottington and Hoddlesden.<sup>30</sup> In February 1381 he was appointed during pleasure justice of the forests and chaces in the duchy.<sup>31</sup> Apart from Sir John Botiller who was the Duke's forester in the hundred of West Derby and Sir Nicholas Haryngton who was warden of Quernmore forest, the entire forest jurisdiction of the duchy was in the hands of Sir Walter Urswyk. In February 1382 he was re-appointed justice of the forests.<sup>32</sup> Nine days later he headed a commission of oyer and terminer in the matter of trespasses done in the chaces of Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden and Tottington. His fellow-commissioners were Ralph de Radclyf, Robert de Urswyk and Adam Skilicorne.<sup>33</sup> In March 1383 the same justices with the addition of Robert de Blackburn of Compomora were again appointed to hear the pleas of the forest.<sup>34</sup> It is very probable that Walter Urswyk was justice of forest pleas in the duchy until his death. In July 1391 he was on a commission to enquire into trespasses in Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden and Roeburndale. One result of the commission was that a fortnight later the abbot of Whalley and two monks were pardoned by the Duke for trespasses and offences in the forests of Lancaster and the chace of Bowland.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile Sir Walter Urswyk had been involved in transactions in Nottinghamshire. In February 1380 an indenture was drawn up at Westminster between Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, on the one side, and John of Gaunt, John Mowbray, the recently created Earl of Nottingham and a minor in the King's custody, Sir John Marmion and Sir Walter Urswyk, on the other. Edward III had granted to Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton, during Mowbray's minority, the custody of the isle of Axholme with the issues of the castle of Bramber at an annual rent of nearly £580 and subse-



quently granted Sir Ralph 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) out of the farm. From Michaelmas 1377 Ralph's interest in the wardship had been transferred to the Earl of Northumberland and Ravenser who undertook to pay him at Lincoln his 500 marks a year and the residue into the Exchequer. Now, by the indenture of February 1380, the Earl of Northumberland leased the wardship to Lancaster, Mowbray, Marmion and Urswyk.<sup>36</sup> In the succeeding April Marmion and Urswyk were appointed to investigate wastes alleged to have been committed in Mowbray's lands and manors in the counties of York, Norfolk, Bedford, Cambridge, Northampton and Sussex, except those which had been formerly entrusted to Sir Ralph Basset.<sup>37</sup> In December 1382 Walter Urswyk served under John of Gaunt on a commission of the peace and of oyer and terminer pursuant to the statutes of Winchester, Northampton and Westminster, in Nottinghamshire.<sup>38</sup> Two months later he was commissioned by the Duke to enquire, along with five others of the Lonsdale hundred who included Sir Nicholas Haryngton, into the loss of a Genoese carrack wrecked near Furness abbey and to make restitution of the cargo plundered by the men of Furness.<sup>39</sup> Although the commission did its work of investigation and found that the abbot of Furness, the prior of Conishead, Sir Robert Haryngton and others in goodly numbers had been responsible for the loss of merchandise, as late as March 1387 the work of restitution was still uncompleted.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile Sir Walter Urswyk was returned knight of the shire for the duchy with John de Holcroft to the October parliament of 1383. Nearly two years later, on 5 October 1385, warrant under the ducal privy seal was given to the sheriff to pay Walter Urswyk his fees as a 'knight of the duchy' in the last Parliament (*sic*) which were still in arrears. The payment was to be made notwithstanding the fact that Urswyk by special leave of the King left for Calais in John of Gaunt's retinue before the end of the parliament.<sup>41</sup> In January 1384 Lancaster concluded a short truce between France and England.

In the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* suit of 1385 to 1389 Walter Urswyk gave evidence in favour of Scrope. At the time he is stated in the deposition to have been sixty years old.<sup>42</sup>

When, in 1385, the only way out of the difficulties standing between John of Gaunt and Richard II and their lasting reconciliation was the Spanish expedition and the second invasion of Castile which occupied fully Lancaster's attentions from the summer of 1386 to the late autumn of 1389, Urswyk received royal letters of protection to accompany the Duke on the voyage to Spain. Issued on 6 March 1386 the letters were to last for a year.<sup>43</sup> Urswyk was, however, back in England by November 1388 when he was appointed by royal letters patent to serve on a commission, which included the sheriff of Nottingham, to investigate rumours of waste committed in the alien priory of Blithe in Nottinghamshire in the King's hands on account of the French war.

Its prior Nicholas Anglici was said to be discontinuing divine services and hospitalities, and charging pensions on the revenues of the priory without the King's licence, on the authority of his abbot alone. He had also received into the priory brother Matthew, a Clementist born in France, and had assaulted John Middleton, King's physician, whilst farmer of the priory.<sup>44</sup>

In February 1390 Urswyk petitioned for and secured the royal pardon for a murder committed at Bradford in Bowland in October 1386.<sup>45</sup>

In June 1393 at the supplication of the Duke of Lancaster Sir Walter secured the King's licence to transfer to Sir Robert Urswyk an annual rent of twenty marks which he received from the wapentake of Langbergh in the North Riding of Yorkshire. This particular licence was vacated because not acted upon, as was another granted in the following November.<sup>46</sup> At his death in 1403, however, Sir Robert Urswyk was in receipt of the rent. It is probable that the actual transference took place at Sir Walter Urswyk's death. This must have occurred before 30 August 1394 when the King made a grant of the reversion of the constablership of Richmond and wardenship of *la nouvelle foreste* in Richmondshire after the death of Sir Walter de Urswyk.<sup>47</sup> On 12 October 1395 the custody of the English lands of the abbey of Bégard was granted to Sir John Lyttilbury, who was to hold the same from the time of the death of Sir Walter Urswyk, their late farmer.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 218. <sup>2</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 380. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 47. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H., Yorks. N. Riding*, Vol. 1, 311. <sup>5</sup> *Black Prince's Register (Rolls Series)*, iv, 87. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 77. <sup>7</sup> *Reg.*, 13; *C.P.R.*, 1391-96, 499. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 194; *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 481. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 224. <sup>10</sup> *Reg.*, 210. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 241. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 426. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1293. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1491. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 260. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1031. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 823. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 1039. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 1746. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 82. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 453. <sup>22</sup> *Reg.*, 1431. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 711. <sup>24</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 135. <sup>25</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 380. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 38, 98. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 56. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 134. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370. <sup>30</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 355. <sup>31</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 521. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 370. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 34. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 526. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 370 (21 and 30). <sup>36</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 456. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 509. <sup>38</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1381-85, 252. <sup>39</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 522. <sup>40</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, 220. <sup>41</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370 (62). <sup>42</sup> *Nicolas, Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 51. <sup>43</sup> Rymer, vii, 499. <sup>44</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 553. <sup>45</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1388-92, 199. <sup>46</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1391-96, 375, 338. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 499. <sup>48</sup> *C.F.R.*, xi, 56, 61.

Thomas Gerard (April 1384) (February 1388) (January 1394).<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Gerard was the son of Sir Peter Gerard of Kingsley near Frodsham in Cheshire and of Brynn in the manor of Ashton-in-Makerfield. He succeeded his father in 1380.<sup>2</sup> Apparently Thomas Gerard



was then a minor for in 1393 he received the royal pardon for having entered into certain estates during his minority and for having married when he should have been in ward to the King.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the moiety of the Cheshire manor of Kingsley the lands held by Thomas Gerard were almost exclusively in the West Derby hundred. At his death in 1416 he was found to hold of the King as Duke of Lancaster the manor of Melling and a moiety of the manor of Kirkby; the manor of Windhill of John Boteler of Warrington; two parts of the manor of Ashton of Henry de Langton Baron of Newton; the manor of Brindle and Anderton with the advowson of Brindle church, held of Thomas la Warre Baron of Manchester; the manor of Skelmersdale held of Dame Matilda Lovell; and a moiety of the manor of Rainhill held of the Eccleston family. In addition Thomas Gerard held messuages and lands in Eccleston, Sutton, Goldburn, Newton, Grimsargh and Rainford worth altogether about £5 a year. At the inquisition post mortem his manors were estimated to have a total annual value of £140 to which sum the two parts of Ashton-in-Makerfield contributed 100 marks.<sup>4</sup> The territorial link with the Botillers of Warrington was strengthened in 1402 when Thomas Gerard made provisions for the marriage of his son John with Alice, daughter of Sir John Botiller.<sup>5</sup>

Said to have been knighted in the Scottish wars,<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Gerard remained from an official point of view in comparative obscurity until the revolution of 1399. In March 1384 he was a juror at the inquisition post mortem held at Manchester on Sir Thomas de Lathom.<sup>7</sup> Six weeks later he was going up to Salisbury as knight of the shire with Sir Roger Pilkington. Sir Thomas was again a juror at the inquisition on Richard de Atherton held in March 1387.<sup>8</sup> In the interim he had been associated with Sir John Botiller on a commission which examined at Warrington on 12 September 1386 the depositions of witnesses produced by Sir Robert Grosvenor in support of his defence in the heraldic suit with Sir Richard Scrope. The conduct of the suit was under the regulation of the constable of England, Thomas Duke of Gloucester.<sup>9</sup> Sir John Botiller of Warrington and Sir Thomas Gerard acted together as knights of the shire in the Westminster Parliament of February 1388. This 'merciless' parliament sat for 122 days. In January 1394 Gerard was returned to Westminster as knight of the shire with Sir Robert Urswyk. In 1397 writs of *habeas corpora* were directed against Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir John de Croft, Sir Thomas de Tunstall and Sir John Pilkington and others who were to act as jurors in an assize of 'recognition' to inquire into an alleged unjust disseisin of the widow of Sir Thomas de Arderne of a tenement in Lower Darwen.<sup>10</sup> The deposition of Richard II and the accession to the throne of Henry of Bolingbroke brought Sir Thomas Gerard to the forefront in the part played by the county palatine in the period of

political unquiet which marked the first Lancastrian reign. Sir Richard Hoghton was appointed acting sheriff of Lancaster on 30 September 1399. Less than two months later, on 19 November, his successor was appointed in Sir Thomas Gerard, who continued to occupy the office till 22 July 1401 when John Botiller of Rawcliffe superseded him.<sup>11</sup> As sheriff of Lancaster he was one of a commission of array for the defence of the northern counties against the Scots in March 1400.<sup>12</sup> In the following January, along with Sir Richard Hoghton the chief steward of the county, Gilbert Halsall, and John Botiller of Rawcliffe, Gerard was on the commission appointed by the King to enquire by oath of good men of the county into the seizure of certain property belonging to the Minorite house of Lanvas by the King's lieges in the last Welsh expedition. The minister and friars of the Order had complained of these acts of dispossession and of the dispersal of certain friars of the house at Lanvas on the grounds of disaffection. The commissioners were to inform the Chancery of what they did in the way of restitution.<sup>13</sup> In the spring of 1402 when Henry IV's position was becoming more and more unsatisfactory on account of his failure to bring the Welsh problem to a successful issue and when vagabond friars were preaching rumours that the deposed Richard was alive in Scotland, commissions to the various counties of England registered the government's alarm at the danger of these reports. In May the chancellor of the county palatine was instructed to issue letters patent under the seal of the county to fourteen notables who included the chief steward, the sheriff and the escheator of the county. The list was headed by Robert, Lord Haryngton. Sir Thomas Gerard was one of the commissioners. They were to enquire into the names of those who impugned the King's intentions and expressed discontent with the royal policy. In case of armed rebellion the King's lieges were to be called out to resist and arrest the delinquents. The commission was to report from time to time to the King and Council.<sup>14</sup> On 10 August 1402 Gerard was appointed to serve on a commission formed to supervise and try all the fencibles of the county whose array the sheriff had previously been briefed to order. Under the sheriff's direction they were to meet with the King at Shrewsbury, which was to be used as a base for operations against Glendower. The commissioners were to certify to the King in person.<sup>15</sup> On 27 July 1403 Sir Thomas figured on another military commission issued from Burton-on-Trent. The eight commissioners were to assemble all knights, esquires and yeomen in the shire and meet the King at Pontefract to proceed against the earl of Northumberland who had risen in the North and was marching South.<sup>16</sup> In the following February Sir Thomas Gerard was appointed to serve as a justice of the peace in the county.<sup>17</sup> In May 1405 he was again on a military commission instructed to assemble all knights, esquires, yeomen and other fencibles



of Lancashire who were to join the King for the suppression of the Northern insurrection.<sup>18</sup> In August the King went into Wales where the French were assisting Glendower. On 29 August he sent a letter close from Worcester commissioning Sir Thomas Gerard among others to give strict attention to the sending south of all knights, esquires and able-bodied fencibles in Lancashire to meet him at Hereford.<sup>19</sup> In July 1411 together with Sir William Atherton, Sir James Haryngton and three esquires, Gerard was directed by letters patent under the seal of the county to carry Sir Nicholas Longford before King and Council in chancery early in October to answer for divers contempts, informing chancery beforehand what had been done.<sup>20</sup> In August 1412 he was instructed to investigate a new development in the long-standing feud between the Walton and Fazacreleghe families. Robert de Fazacreleghe with a backing of a hundred armed men had come in warlike array to the manor of Walton and dispossessed John de Walton, his wife and children. Sir Thomas Gerard was one of the commissioners appointed to expel the miscreants and make enquiry.<sup>21</sup> In July 1413 he was a justice of the peace.<sup>22</sup> Sir Thomas apposed his seal to the indentures of elections of knights of the shire in the county court held at Lancaster in October 1411, at Wigan in May 1413, and at Lancaster in October 1414.<sup>23</sup> He died on 27 March 1416 and was succeeded by his son John Gerard who was said to be thirty years of age and over. The inquisition post mortem was taken at Warrington on 22 April.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 220, 232, 247. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 143. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. 195. <sup>4</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 123. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, 196. <sup>6</sup> Pink and Beaven. <sup>7</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 11. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. <sup>9</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 288. <sup>10</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 61. <sup>11</sup> *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes ix. Lists of Sheriffs.* <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 418. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 138; *D.K.R.*, xl, 531. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 292. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 532. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 66. <sup>19</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1402-05, 460. <sup>20</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1409-13, 163. <sup>21</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 25. <sup>22</sup> Piccope, vii, 314. <sup>23</sup> *P.R.O., C. 219, bdle. 10, no. 6; bdle. 11, nos. 1, 4.* <sup>24</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 123.

#### William Tunstall (November 1384).<sup>1</sup>

The son and heir of William Tunstall, Tunstall was in possession of the manor of Tunstall by 1359. In 1370 he added the manors of Over Burrow, Nether Burrow and part of Leck to the family inheritance.<sup>2</sup> In February 1376 he secured a grant in hereditary free warren in all his demesne lands in the townships of Tunstall, Cantsfield, Burrow, Leck and Norton in the Lonsdale hundred.<sup>3</sup> He acquired further

lands in Arkholme in 1384.<sup>4</sup> William Tunstall was often at variance with the abbot of Croxton. In 1375 he attempted to deprive him of his right to present to the church of Tunstall.<sup>5</sup>

Apparently William Tunstall senior was still alive in 1369 when his son and heir, the future knight of the shire, received royal letters patent of protection for a year in view of the fact that he was going to Ireland to serve in the retinue of William de Windsor, the lieutenant of Ireland. This was in April. In July 1370 the protection was confirmed for another year.<sup>6</sup> In February 1375 he was appointed to serve on the royal commission, which included William Percy, Walter Urswyk and Nicholas Haryngton, directed to effect the imprisonment in the Marshalsea prison of some fifteen people notably of Fairthwaite and Bentham who had been indicted for a murder at Dent near Sedbergh before one of the Yorkshire coroners, but who were still at large threatening their indictors.<sup>7</sup> Although Edward III removed the indictment into Chancery, in November 1377, when the commission was renewed, the miscreants were still unpunished.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile in July 1375 William Tunstall had been commissioned with others to see to the arrest of a certain John Holden who was to be taken before the King and Council. The sheriff of Lancaster had served him with a writ summoning him to appear in Chancery in the previous month but Holden had refused to obey and was in concealment, wandering from county to county, and so cutting across the method of serving royal writs and thereby evading capture.<sup>9</sup> In October of the same year William Tunstall himself was up before the Council at Westminster. The summons to attend left the Chancery on 20 May. It included Margaret and Thomas Layburn her uncle who also appeared. Apparently Tunstall and Thomas Layburn had the custody of Margaret's estates in view of her periodic insanity. At the examination before the Council the custody of her lands was adjudged to be committed to the bishop of Carlisle and Roger Clifford, and Tunstall and a certain John Lancaster were deputed in court to give her into their custody.<sup>10</sup>

In the 'seventies, probably between 1376 and 1380, William Tunstall was in the retinue of John de Gaunt.<sup>11</sup> On June 20th 1380 at Lancaster's supplication he received the King's pardon for all felonies he was charged with.<sup>12</sup> The nature of the felonies was not described but it is probable that an order of 8 February 1381 from the King to John of Gaunt or the chief baron of the exchequer in his duchy was an outcome of them. The order demanded an inquisition by men of the duchy into the names of those who with Sir Peter Gerard, Sir Robert Standish, William Tunstall and Robert del Evese (Evyas) had violated the truce between the King and the Scots, and given the Earl of Douglas and his tenants cause for grievance. A sum of £55 was to be levied of the property of Gerard and his fellows and paid over to Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland in accordance with the award of the wardens



of the Scottish marches. Northumberland had paid the sum to Douglas before the previous Christmas and had a bond for the transaction. Either John of Gaunt or his Exchequer was to certify Chancery of their action under the duchy seal and remit the royal letter close.<sup>13</sup> In the following July a warrant under the Duke's privy seal was given for the issue of letters patent from his chancery granting William Tunstall a general pardon.<sup>14</sup>

On 18 March 1384 Tunstall was appointed to serve as justice of the peace in the hundred of Lonsdale.<sup>15</sup> Later in the same year he represented the duchy with Sir Robert Urswyk in the Westminster parliament of November. He died in 1387, the writ of *diem clausit extremum* being issued on 6 September.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 223. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 233. <sup>3</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, v, 230. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 205 n. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 228. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, 238; 448. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 135. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 88. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 158. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 151, 181. <sup>11</sup> Armitage Smith, App. iii. Tunstall does not occur in the Register (Camden) between 1372 and 1376. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 505. <sup>13</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1377-81, 431. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 521; xliii, 369. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 523. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxii, App. 360.

#### Thomas de Radclif (October 1385) (January 1395).<sup>1</sup>

Thomas was the third and youngest son of Richard de Radclif and his wife Isabella, of Radcliffe. When Christopher, the second son of Richard de Radclif, died in 1386 he was succeeded in his manor of Wynmarleigh, near Garstang, by his younger brother Thomas de Radclif. The former's holding of 80 acres of waste in Sabden within Pendle chace was, in 1387, demised by John of Gaunt to Thomas at the double rent of 53s. 4d.<sup>2</sup> The manor of Astley in the West Derby hundred, acquired by Richard de Radclif, also descended in the family of Radclif of Wynmarleigh.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1371 Thomas de Radclif and his father Richard de Radclif were involved with Richard de Radclif, the sheriff of Lancashire, and William de Chorley his under sheriff, in charges of oppressive conduct against the abbot of Evesham and prior of Penwortham and others under colour of the shrievalty. The coroners of the county were to send jurors before Adam de Hoghton and William de Nessefeld, keepers of the peace in the county, and Thomas Molyneux, who had been appointed by the King to make investigations.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the year Richard de Radclif had been replaced as sheriff by John Botiller.<sup>5</sup> On 20 February 1384 the Duke appointed Thomas de Radclif to serve as a commissioner of array in the Amounderness wapentake for the punitive expedition against the Scots which Lancaster led in April.<sup>6</sup>

A month later he was nominated as a justice of the peace in both the hundred of Amounderness and the hundred of Blackburn.<sup>7</sup> In March 1385 he was one of the mainpernors for James de Radclif when he secured a ten year lease of the herbage of Musbury Park.<sup>8</sup> As well as being on the commission of the peace in Amounderness and Blackburnshire, Thomas de Radclif was steward of the Blackburn hundred from 1384 to 1387.<sup>9</sup> In October 1385 he was returned as knight of the shire with Sir Robert Urswyk, his fellow on the commission of the peace for Amounderness and escheator in the county, to the parliament at Westminster. A month before this parliament was summoned to begin he and Sir Thomas Southworth had received from the duchy chancery writs *de inquirendo* touching distraint for rent made on the lands of John Radclif of Chadderton, in Chadderton and Oldham.<sup>10</sup> On 12 March 1386 along with Sir Robert Urswyk, Ralph de Radclif the sheriff and John Croft of Dalton, Radclif was appointed by the Duke, on the authority of a royal mandate, a commissioner to elect a thousand of the best archers in the duchy to go when summoned with John of Gaunt on the second invasion of Castile.<sup>11</sup> In September 1392 Thomas de Radclif and Richard his son received the Duke's pardon under the privy seal for trespasses committed in the duchy forests and in the chace of Bowland.<sup>12</sup> In July 1394 Thomas de Radclif and Sir Robert Urswyk were associated on the commission of the peace for the county.<sup>13</sup> In the following January both were again returned to Westminster as knights of the shire for the duchy. In August 1396 nearly half the justices of the peace of July 1394 were appointed to serve on a commission *de utlegatis capiendis*. Thomas de Radclif was one of those commissioned.<sup>14</sup> In July 1397 royal letters patent appointed six inquisitors, who included Thomas de Radclif and Richard Hoghton, to see into what waste, sales and destruction of houses, gardens and woods, and exile of men, had taken place in the alien priory of Lancaster.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of 1401 Thomas de Radclif was one of the three out of the six inquisitors on Richard II's commission, who made oath in Chancery that the letters patent of July 1397 had never been delivered to either themselves or their three fellows. The process which had been instituted against the inquisitors for default in the execution of their commission ceased when a writ of *supersedeas omnino* was directed to the Exchequer.<sup>16</sup>

In February 1399 John of Gaunt had died at Leicester. In his will Thomas de Radclif, described as a *tres cher esquier* of the Duke, is mentioned in company with Robert Neville, William Gascoigne, William Kateryng and Thomas Langley clerk, as enfeoffed by the Duke's ordinance of the manor of Barnoldswick, just over the Yorkshire border from Colne, for which they were to make annual payment of 20 marks to Dame Katherine del Staple (alias Swynford) during her



lifetime and other sums allocated to the celebration of obits and masses in the chantries at St. Paul's for his own and the soul of his first wife Blanche.<sup>17</sup> Just how long Radclif had been in the Duke's retinue is not known.

On 14 March 1400 Thomas de Radclif was appointed to serve on a commission of array in Lancashire for defence of the kingdom against the Scots, who were being instigated by the French to take advantage of the English unsettlement.<sup>18</sup> Two days later letters patent from the palatine chancery were issued authorising Radclif to act as justice of the peace in the county.<sup>19</sup> This appointment was confirmed on 1 February 1402.<sup>20</sup> On 11 May later in the year Radclif was one of the commission directed to militate against all those who were spreading rumours discrediting the government's actions and policy and questioning its intentions, assembling if need be the King's lieges in the county to resist all such impugnors of the royal policy, to arrest and imprison all persons preaching seditious lies. The King and Council were to be kept well informed of all that happened. Similar commissions were addressed to the other shires.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas de Radclif served on no more commissions before his death early in 1403. The writ *diem clausit extremum* was addressed to the escheator of the county palatine on 20 March 1403.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 226, 250. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 514. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 446. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 100. <sup>5</sup> *Lists and Indexes*, ix. *List of Sheriffs for Lancs.* <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 524. <sup>9</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 268. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 525. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 368. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 400. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 303. <sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 262. <sup>16</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1399-1402, 304. <sup>17</sup> Armitage-Smith, 435. <sup>18</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 528. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 530. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>22</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 4.

#### Robert de Workesley (October 1386) (November 1391).<sup>1</sup>

Robert was the son and heir of William de Workesley of the manor of Booths in the parish of Eccles which was held of the Duke of Lancaster in socage and by an annual rent of 2s. The Workesleys of Booths had outbranched from the main stock of Workesley of Worsley in the reign of Edward II. Robert de Workesley was in possession of Booths by 1378 when he had an episcopal licence from Lichfield to have an oratory there. He married Isabel the widow of John de Worthington.<sup>2</sup>

An esquire in the retinue of John of Gaunt in the 'seventies,<sup>3</sup> Robert de Workesley at the beginning of March 1386 received royal letters of protection for a year, going to Ireland on the King's service.<sup>4</sup> A year earlier his cousin, Sir Geoffrey de Workesley of Worsley, had died and

his widow Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom, in the same year married Sir John Stanley. A member of the court party, Stanley in March 1386 was appointed deputy of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the government of Ireland and subsequently held important posts there and on the Welsh and Scottish borders: he was Lieutenant of Ireland from 1389 to 1391. It was probably due to this connection with Stanley that Robert de Workesley went across to Ireland in March 1386. Before seven months were up he was back in England, being returned with Sir Nicholas Haryngton as knight of the duchy to the Westminster parliament of October 1386. It is highly probable that it was in this parliament that he took opportunity to present a petition to the King and 'lords of this present parliament.' Parliament sat from 1 October to 28 November. A writ mentioned in the petition was described as returnable to the Common Bench on 12 November last passed. The regnal year is not noted on the petition or its endorsement but circumstances point to the date of its presentation being November 1386. The petition was the outcome of a deadlock in a suit between Robert de Workesley as guardian of Elizabeth de Workesley, his cousin Geoffrey's daughter, and Sir Geoffrey's first wife Mary de Felton. This marriage had taken place about 1376 but a divorce was procured in 1381 and Mary entered religion in the house of the Minors in London. After the divorce Sir Geoffrey de Workesley had married Isabel, daughter and eventual heir of Sir Thomas de Lathom, but died shortly afterwards in March 1385, leaving a daughter by her named Elizabeth, only one year old, who inherited all his estates. Robert de Workesley's intention as her guardian was to marry her to his son Arthur and so unite the inheritance of the two branches of the Workesley family. At this point Sir Geoffrey's former wife left her convent, asserting that she had only entered it by compulsion, and appealed to the Pope, who issued a commission of enquiry in five different counties. Apparently she married Sir John Curson of Norfolk and sued John Sturmy in a writ of the King's Bench of Common Pleas for a fifth of the third part of the manor of Kirkby Bedon in Norfolk. Sturmy pleaded Mary's profession in the house of the Minors and a writ was delivered to the Bishop of London to certify regarding the alleged profession to the King's Common Bench, whereupon Mary returned a *nomusus* in respect of the writ she had taken out. If Mary successfully repudiated her profession as a nun and established the validity of her marriage, it meant that the infant daughter of Sir Geoffrey de Workesley lost her inheritance as an illegitimate. The endorsement of the petition notes that the petition was read in parliament in the presence of the parties concerned. Sir John Curson undertook to pursue effectually the writ he had pending in the Common Bench and not to suspend it by a *nomusus* and Robert de Workesley undertook not to delay or appeal against



the *certificat* of the bishop of London provided that Sir John Curson did not allege or exhibit any privy sentence or other process admissible in the courts christian.<sup>5</sup> Apparently Mary established the validity of her marriage with Sir Geoffrey de Workesley and the manors of Worsley and Hulton remained in the hands of Alice, sister of Sir Geoffrey and wife of Sir John Massey of Tatton,<sup>6</sup> Sir Geoffrey's daughter Elizabeth being disinherited. Three years after Sir Geoffrey's death, in 1388, his trustee, Richard de Workesley, chaplain of Deane, was induced or compelled, as he later admitted, to enfeoff Robert de Workesley or his representatives of the manors.<sup>7</sup> This brought the family of Massey into direct opposition to Robert de Workesley. The political sympathies of the Masseys naturally affected whatever bias towards the royalist party the connection with Sir John Stanley induced in Robert de Workesley. Sir John Massey's affiliations bound him to support Richard II in the struggle with the Appellants. He had received a substantial annuity from Edward the Black Prince in 1373 and this was confirmed by Richard as Prince of Wales in 1377. He was sheriff of Cheshire in 1389. A knight in the parliament of October 1386 Robert de Workesley received the King's commission dated 13 March 1387 as one of six collectors of a fifteenth in the duchy.<sup>8</sup> In the following winter, however, according to a bill preferred before Richard II later on, he acted traitorously. The bill, denying his right to the manor of Worsley on that ground, was submitted by a Nicholas de Workesley with the abetment of Sir John Massey of Tatton, two brothers of the latter and Thomas his son.<sup>9</sup> In 1387 set at defiance by Gloucester and his fellow-appellants Richard II sent de Vere into the North with instructions to the magnates of the two palatine counties of Chester and Lancaster, notably Thomas Molyneux of Cuerdale constable of Chester, the sheriff of Chester, Ralph Vernon, and Ralph de Radclif, to put what forces they could muster under Oxford's command. The royal favourite moving up to London was routed on 20 December at Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire. Probably Robert de Workesley demeaned himself unsympathetically towards these royalist movements. Retribution did not come until late in 1398. Meanwhile in August 1390 he received from John of Gaunt the temporary custody of the estates and heir of John de Astley;<sup>10</sup> was returned to serve in the Westminster parliament of November 1391 along with Sir Robert Urswyk; in July 1396 was a juror at the inquisition on Henry de Trafford, held at Manchester.<sup>11</sup> In September 1397 the pardons of the appellants of 1388 were repealed. The Shrewsbury parliament of January 1398 rendered Richard in effect an absolute monarch. The Masseys took advantage of the completeness of the King's victory to get in a blow in the dispute over Worsley in Robert de Workesley's now particularly weak spot, namely, his apparent sympathy with the Appellants in the winter of 1387-88. They preferred a bill before the King

denying his right to the manor of Worsley on the ground of his treasonable behaviour in 1388. By virtue of the bill, on 25 October 1397 royal letters close were addressed to the sheriff of Lancaster, Ralph de Radclif, ordering him, for particular causes moving the King, to arrest Robert de Workesley on sight and bring him to London, where he was to be delivered to the constable of the Tower to be kept in custody there till further order.<sup>12</sup> The constable of the Tower received the command to receive him on 20 November.<sup>13</sup> His imprisonment lasted until the following July. The revolution of 1399 and the accession of Henry of Bolingbroke—one of the Appellant lords of 1388—brought about a complete reversal of the course the Workesley-Massey dispute had recently taken and ended in Robert de Workesley's rehabilitation. Sir John Massey sided with Richard II and was imprisoned in Chester Castle. In the first parliament of the new reign Robert complained that in order to ruin him the Masseys had accused him of treason in 1387 and that he had subsequently been subjected to imprisonment. The *responsio* to the petition ordered both parties to come before the Council.<sup>14</sup> Apparently the issue of the right to the main Workesley inheritance was shelved until it recurred in the pleas held at Lancaster before William Gascoigne and John Cokayne, the royal justices, on 29 August 1401. An assize was taken to ascertain whether Robert de Workesley, Arthur de Workesley and Elizabeth his wife wrongfully and without legal pronouncement disseised Sir John Massey of Tatton and Alice his wife of their freehold in Worsley, Hulton and Salford. The decision reached by the assize was that Sir John was to recover his seisin.<sup>15</sup> Evidently, however, a life interest in the manor of Worsley was secured to Elizabeth for she proved her age and had livery of her lands in 1401.<sup>16</sup> In the same year Robert de Workesley had a release from the Masseys of all claim to Booths and Stanistreet.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile his support of the government had been requisitioned on 14 March 1400 when he was appointed to serve on a commission of array for the defence of the kingdom against the Scots.<sup>18</sup> Two days later he was authorised as a justice of the peace in the county.<sup>19</sup> The Masseys' antipathies to the new régime and their former predilection for Richard II predetermined that Sir John should join in the Hotspur rising of 1403 in which he met his death at Shrewsbury. His eldest son Thomas incurred forfeiture on the same account although he was later restored. Robert de Workesley, however, had died on 28 March 1402. The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 6 August and the inquisition post mortem taken at Manchester on 3 October 1402.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 229, 242. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 382, 382 n. <sup>3</sup> Armitage-Smith, App. iii. *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 114. <sup>4</sup> *P.R.O.*, S.C. 8, file 146, no. 7276. *Ancient Petitions*. <sup>5</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 379 n. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 379 n. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 379 n. <sup>8</sup> Piccope, vii, 297. <sup>9</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 445. <sup>10</sup> *Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 43. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 63. <sup>12</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1396-99, 348. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 353. <sup>14</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 445. <sup>15</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 79. <sup>16</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 379 n. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 382. <sup>18</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 382. <sup>20</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 382.



**John de Croft** (September 1388) (November 1390).<sup>1</sup>

Although a John de Croft of Claughton lived in the period c. 1370 to 1416, served on juries at inquisitions post mortem from 1389 to 1413, was one of the band who under Sir Nicholas Haryngton's leadership raided Beaumont in Cumberland in 1373, and was on a commission *de utlegatis capiendis* in 1396, it is more probable that the knight of the shire was his contemporary and namesake John de Croft of Dalton. The two men are almost invariably distinguished in the duchy records as either being 'of Claughton' or 'of Dalton,' although this mark of differentiation is lacking in the case of the writs of return to parliament. The son of John de Croft the knight of the shire was found at his death in 1419 to hold no lands in the county of Lancaster, seeing that at Dalton on 18 October 1396, the occasion of his son Nicholas' marriage with Ellen daughter and heir of John Botiller of Marton, he had made a settlement of his estates. Previous to that enfeoffment he had been seised in demesne of the manors of Dalton and Leghton with lands in Yealand Conyers, the manors being worth respectively £20 and £10 a year. He possessed the advowson to the church of Claughton. He held moreover lands in Overkellet, a fourth part of the mill there worth £4 a year, and a messuage in Tarleton, Westmorland. His estates were held in fee of the duchy of Lancaster; the manor of Dalton by fealty and servitium of 10s. a year, and suit at the county court of Lancaster and the wapentake court of Lonsdale; the manor of Leghton and lands in Yealand Conyers by military service and 5d. a year; the lands in Over Kellet by fealty and 2s. 6d. a year.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently John de Croft's father was still alive in 1365 when John de Croft the younger and others broke the parks of Joan Coupland at Troutbeck, Calgarth and Kirkby-in-Kendal, entered her free chace at the latter place, fished in her *piscaria* at Troutbeck and Casterton, felled her trees at Kirkby and carried off trees, fish and deer from the parks and chace. Joan Coupland complained to the King who instituted a commission of oyer and terminer on 12 August 1365. Evidently little was done in the matter because the commission was renewed in the following July.<sup>3</sup> In May 1368 John de Croft was a witness to a grant by William Raynbout, prior of St. Mary Lancaster, to Godfrey and Thomas Foljaumbe and John de Melnere of the advowsons of the churches of Croxton and Eccleston. The King ratified the grant in June 1371 notwithstanding that the possessions of the priory were taken into his hands on account of the war with France.<sup>4</sup> On 28 March 1371 John de Croft of Dalton was one of six commissioners appointed to collect in Lancashire a parochial subsidy voted in parliament.<sup>5</sup> The grant took the form of a sum of £50,000 to be raised by a contribution of 22s. 3d. from each parish, it being calculated that there were 40,000 parishes in England. In June the new chancellor was compelled to

report to a great council called to Winchester to remedy the proceedings of March, that in actual fact there were less than 9,000. It was found necessary to raise the charge of 22s. 3d. to 116s. On 8 June Croft and his fellow-commissioners were ordered to levy and collect in Lancashire the sum of £336 8s. at which the parishes of the county were assessed, the computation being that there were 58 parishes in the county.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1372 John de Croft received the King's licence to impark 300 acres of wood and 200 acres of arable land in Dalton.<sup>7</sup> In this period, 1368 to 1375, he was complaining that various persons were hunting in his free warren here.<sup>8</sup>

On 6 December 1373 Croft was again appointed a collector of a parliamentary subsidy in Lancashire. The levy, specified as being in aid of the expenses necessary for the furtherance of the French war, was of a fifteenth and tenth and for the next year,<sup>9</sup> the grant being made in parliament for two years. On 6 July 1375 John de Croft was directed *inter alios* by a commission of royal letters patent to arrest and bring with all speed before King and Council a certain John Holden who had failed to answer a summons, although the sheriff of Lancaster had delivered the writ and enjoined on him to come, and who, by lurking in hiding and wandering from county to county, was evading capture.<sup>10</sup>

John de Croft of Dalton and Thomas Mirreson of Lancaster received in November 1379 a grant for six years of pontage from commodities brought for sale from Halghton over the Lune to Aldcliffe. The concession was in aid of the repair of the bridge over the Lune at Lancaster.<sup>11</sup> The same two men were appointed collectors in January 1386 when the grant was renewed.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile early in 1382 John de Croft of Dalton had been associated with Sir Walter Urswyk, Sir Nicholas Haryngton and three other commissioners in an enquiry into the loss of a Genoese carrack wrecked near Furness Abbey. The commissioners were directed to restore the cargo plundered by men of Furness.<sup>13</sup> Negotiations for the satisfaction of the merchants were still in progress in 1387.<sup>14</sup> Along with Hugh le Warde, in the same year, Croft was commissioned to levy and collect in the Lonsdale hundred a tenth and fifteenth granted to Richard II in the parliament of October 1382.<sup>15</sup> For the same hundred he was a commissioner of array with Robert Washington and John Haryngton of Cartmel, the appointment being dated on 20 February 1384.<sup>16</sup> The occasion was the punitive expedition against the Scots under John of Gaunt's command and the need for retaliation for the Scottish raid on the northern counties of the close of 1383. Less than a month later Croft was appointed a member of the commission of the peace for the hundred of Lonsdale.<sup>17</sup> In November of the same year along with Sir Nicholas Haryngton and others, Sir John de Croft of Dalton witnessed a royal confirmation in



favour of Peter de Bolron, to whom John Innocent prior of St. Mary Lancaster demised the manor of Aldcliffe at a yearly rent of £10.<sup>18</sup> On 12 March 1386, the same day that an exemplification was made in the duchy chancery of his appointment as one of the two collectors of the Lune pontage, Croft was made a commissioner, along with the sheriff and escheator of the county and Thomas de Radclif, charged with the election of a thousand of the best archers of the duchy who were to proceed with the Duke when summoned, on the expedition to Spain.<sup>19</sup> A year later, John Croft of Dalton was appointed steward of Lonsdale. Before this preferment he had served as a verdurer in the forests of Quernmore and Wyresdale. On 16 March 1387 the sheriff received a precept to elect a new verdurer in his room.<sup>20</sup> With John de Assheton, Croft was knight of the shire in the Cambridge parliament of September 1388. He accompanied the escheator of the county, Sir Robert Urswyk, in the same capacity to the next parliament but one, the Westminster parliament of November 1390. In March 1394 his son, Richard de Croft, indicted with William Syngleton for ambushing, at Richard's house in Over Kellet, and killing on the high road late in December 1392, Robert de Bakburnum (*sic*, Blackburn) one of the Duke's justices of oyer and terminer in the county, received the royal pardon at the instance of the earl-marshal John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham.<sup>21</sup> In 1397 Sir John de Croft was on a jury of recognition authorised to determine whether the widow of Sir Thomas Arderne had been unjustly disseised of her tenement in Lower Darwen.<sup>22</sup> A few days after the dissolution of what Bishop Stubbs called the "suicidal" parliament of Shrewsbury, John de Croft on 4 February 1398 was appointed by royal letters patent to serve on a commission instructed to enquire and certify touching the withholding and concealment of various rents, services and lands, belonging to the King in the counties of Lancaster, York and Westmorland "by many men of those counties." Similar letters patent were re-issued in August. Apparently the work of the commission had not been completed by this date although the "many men" specified in the first order had been changed to "divers men" in the second.<sup>23</sup> In the interim, on 22 March Sir John was retained to stay with the King for life and received as fee a grant of 20 marks a year from the issues of the county of York.<sup>24</sup> Under Henry IV, however, John de Croft of Dalton, the King's knight, found preferment as captain of the castle of Mark in the marches of Picardy, holding the castle and town with lands, fisheries and other profits within the limits of Calais. By February 1405, however, the letters patent of his appointment had been surrendered, because of Croft's old age and unfitness to serve.<sup>25</sup> In June 1408 a commission was issued to hear and determine an appeal by Sir John Croft, late captain of the castle of Mark, against a judgment of the Earl of Somerset's lieutenant in the captaincy of Calais

in a case regarding the occupation of certain lands and houses belonging to the castle.<sup>26</sup> Probably from these Croft had been drawing rents. On 29 August 1405 he had been appointed a commissioner by the King in letters close from Worcester, with strict orders to cause all knights, esquires and fencibles of Lancashire to meet the King at Hereford and to go against the Welsh rebels who had been reinforced by the French. In view of the peril which the letter stated might result from an insufficient resistance being afforded and the King's apparent fear that he was asking too much of the county, the commission was an important one.<sup>27</sup> On 17 August 1406 Croft was a juror in inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on William de Lancastre.<sup>28</sup> On 9 May 1413 Sir John de Croft was a party to the indenture witnessing the election in the county court at Wigan of Sir John de Assheton and John de Stanley as knights of the shire to the Westminster parliament summoned for the 14th.<sup>29</sup> He was one of the three knights—the others being Sir Robert Laurence and Sir William Haryngton—who sealed the indenture of the election, held on 25 September 1419 at Lancaster, of Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe and John Laurence as knights of the shire to the Westminster parliament of the following month.<sup>30</sup> Some three months after this act, on 31 December 1419, Sir John de Croft died. His inquisition post mortem was taken at Lancaster on the 15th of the following August.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 235, 240. <sup>2</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 140. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1364-67, 202, 358. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 95. <sup>5</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 112. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 127. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1370-74, 189. <sup>8</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 184. <sup>9</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 229. <sup>10</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1374-77, 158. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 407. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 525. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 522. <sup>14</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, 220. <sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 522. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 526. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1381-85, 482. <sup>19</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 525. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, 360 (118). <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1391-96, 388. <sup>22</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 61. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 313, 438. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 324. <sup>25</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 488. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 479. <sup>27</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1402-05, 460. <sup>28</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 83. <sup>29</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 11, no. 1A. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, bdle. 12, no. 3. <sup>31</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 83.

#### Richard Molyneux (January 1397).<sup>1</sup>

Richard Molyneux was the son of Sir William Molyneux of Sefton, who is reported to have been with Edward III in France, with the Black Prince at Najera, and to have died at Canterbury on his return from France in 1372.<sup>2</sup> The minority of the heir was a long one. In 1388 he was still in ward to John of Gaunt.<sup>3</sup> On 8 August 1372 the Duke farmed the wardship of the estates and heir of Sir William Molyneux, who held in chief of the Duke by knight's service, to Matthew de Assheton, one of his clerks, and Thomas Molyneux of Cuerdale, a



relative, who was then the Duke's *gardein de noz fees et franchises en le countee de Lancastre*, and on the same day the Duke's warrant was given to the feoder in the county to make delivery of the heir and the estates. Matthew de Assheton was to have the wardship of the heir and the expenses were to be shared between him and Thomas Molyneux. They had already paid down for the wardship 200 marks, and 200 marks were still to be disbursed.<sup>4</sup> In 1378 Thomas Molyneux sold to Edmund Laurence all his right in the marriage of Richard Molyneux.<sup>5</sup> The latter probably was of age in June 1389 when he stood surety for Matthew de Cantsfield, who received at the Duke's hands the custody of the lands and heir of John de Clapham.<sup>6</sup> At any rate livery of his lands was granted to Richard Molyneux on 3 February 1390.<sup>7</sup> He married Ellen, the daughter of Thomas de Urswyk and afterwards wife of Sir James Haryngton and at his decease of Sir John Savage.<sup>8</sup>

On 12 October 1393 letters of pardon were granted by John of Gaunt to Richard Molyneux for trespasses committed in the forests and parks in the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>9</sup> In the following year Robert Baxter of Liverpool and William Bolton resigned a lease which they had held from 1383 of the custody of the herbage in the park of Toxteth and the old turbary there at a rent of 24 marks. The lease was now given to Richard Molyneux.<sup>10</sup> On 9 September of the same year, 1394, in a settlement dated at Sefton, Richard Molyneux enfeoffed master Richard de Winwick, master William de Assheton, James de Langton the parson of Wigan church, Roger Winter vicar of Walton church, and John Totty parish chaplain of the church of Sefton, of the manor of Sefton with the advowson of the church, the manors of Larbreck in Amounderness and of Downlitherland, lands and tenements in Walton and in the vill of Lydiate, and all reversions of his tenements in Derbyshire and Amounderness. Three days earlier at Eukeston he had granted the same feoffees the manors of Eukeston and Ellet in Lonsdale and Holleford in Amounderness.<sup>11</sup> Richard Molyneux's family connections bound him to be in sympathy with the court party. His father had served with the King's father, Edward the Black Prince. His uncle and former guardian Thomas Molyneux of Cuerdale was constable of Chester and was one of those magnates of Cheshire and Lancashire ordered in 1387 by Richard II to raise forces and put them under de Vere's command. Moving up on London Oxford was completely routed by the Appellants on 20 December at Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire where Thomas Molyneux was slain. Along with Sir Robert Urswyk, Richard Molyneux was returned as knight of the shire to the Westminster parliament of January 1397. Parliament met on 22 January and sat until 12 February. On the 14th Richard Molyneux, esquire, was made sheriff of Lancaster and Sir John Botiller of Rawcliffe the late sheriff was ordered to deliver to him the castle and county

of Lancaster.<sup>12</sup> On 27 December in the same year he died. On 21 February 1398 an inquisition post mortem was taken on him at Preston where the jurors recapitulated his enfeoffments of September 1394.<sup>13</sup> The wardship of Molyneux's estates, together with the heir and his marriage, was granted to Sir John Stanley without any payment.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 253. <sup>2</sup> Piccope, vi, 60. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 30. <sup>4</sup> *Reg.*, 488-9. <sup>5</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 69 n. <sup>6</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 36. <sup>7</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 69 n. <sup>8</sup> Piccope, vi, 58. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 298. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 526. <sup>11</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 70. <sup>12</sup> Piccope, vii, 303. <sup>13</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 70. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 329.

**Ralph de Radclyf** (September 1397; *chivaler*) (January 1404; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

The son and heir of William de Radclyf, Ralph de Radclyf held at his death in 1406 a moiety of the vill of Blackburn of the King as duke of Lancaster by knight's service and a payment of 4s. yearly for the ward of Clitheroe Castle, performing suit also at the wapentake court of Clitheroe from three weeks to three weeks.<sup>2</sup> The Radclyfs of Blackburn also held the estate of Smithills near Bolton which they made their chief residence in the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

A member of John of Gaunt's retinue in the late 'seventies<sup>4</sup> Ralph de Radclyf was appointed under the privy seal of the county palatine in February 1382 to serve with Sir Walter Urswyk, Robert Urswyk and Adam Skilicorne, on a commission of oyer and terminer.<sup>5</sup> On 6 March 1383 the same persons with the addition of Robert de Blackburn of Coupmora were re-appointed on a commission of a like nature to take the pleas of the forest in the matter of trespasses done to the chaces of Bowland, Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden, and Tottington.<sup>6</sup> On 20 February 1384 Radclyf was given a commission of array in the Salford hundred in preparation for the Scottish campaign under Lancaster in April.<sup>7</sup> Three weeks later, on 14 March, he was appointed sheriff of the county palatine<sup>8</sup> and on 17 March received in this capacity a mandate to meet the Duke at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 24 March with all the forces of men-at-arms and archers who had been arrayed in the duchy.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile on 18 March a commission of the peace in the Salford hundred was issued to him.<sup>10</sup> In December 1385 a warrant was issued for his re-appointment as sheriff.<sup>11</sup> On 12 March following, in this capacity he was deputed, by authority of a royal mandate, to elect a thousand of the best archers in the duchy to go, when summoned, with John of Gaunt on the expedition to Spain.<sup>12</sup> Radclyf was superseded in the shrievalty at least as early as 23 July 1387 by Robert de Standish.<sup>13</sup> Apparently he had got either tied up in arrears



over his farm of the office or behindhand and at fault in his account of the bailiwick. Whilst still sheriff he was bound with others in a recognizance of a debt of £160 to the Duke who offered to void it if he paid £80 for his office for one year. He was bound in a further recognizance of a debt of £100 of which the Duke again would allow him to be quit if he would render a faithful account before the Duke's auditors of the issues and profits of the shrievalty for the preceding year.<sup>14</sup> By July 1387 he had relinquished the office. At this time John of Gaunt was out of the country. The second invasion of Castile occupied his attention from the summer of 1386 until November 1389. His absence in Spain was used as a signal for the struggle between Richard II and the Appellant lords. Richard submitted in November 1387 that his advisers should be compelled to account before the next parliament but connived at the flight of the culprits, sending his favourite Robert de Vere into the north with orders to Thomas Molyneux constable of Chester, the sheriff of Chester, Ralph Vernon, and other magnates of Lancashire and Cheshire, among whom was included Ralph de Radclyf, to raise forces and aid the Earl of Oxford. The venture failed ignominiously at Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire on 20 December.<sup>15</sup> Probably for having complied with the King's orders, in the new year Radclyf was arraigned, along with Sir Gilbert Halsall and six south Lancashire esquires, before the King and Council in the parliament of February 1388, the mandate for his arrest and safe-custody on advice of the Council for reasons affecting the King and the estate of the realm being despatched to John of Gaunt's chancery in the duchy on 16 January.<sup>16</sup> On 26 May 1388 the question of Radclyf's failure to complete his account as sheriff was still unsettled. The King and the Duke, or more likely his agent, granted that if Sir Ralph paid William de Hornby, the Duke's receiver in the county, the sum of £237 14s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to settle his account for the whole period of his shrievalty, they would annul his recognizance of a debt of £700.<sup>17</sup> The dispute was apparently ended in November 1391 when recognisances affecting Ralph de Radclyf were to be cancelled, the grant being authenticated under the privy seal of the county palatine. Under the same seal a non-sequestration of his recognisances was allowed in February 1397.<sup>18</sup> In 1392-93 Sir Ralph de Radclyf was a juror at an inquisition taken at Liverpool to ascertain the tenure of the manor of Worsley on the death of Geoffrey de Workesley esquire.<sup>19</sup> In July 1394 he was appointed to serve as a justice of the peace in the county.<sup>20</sup> In the next month the Duke of Lancaster granted him the custody of two messuages and certain lands called Tonge in Alkrington at a rent of 12s. a year, the estate being in the escheator's hands by reason of the heir's minority.<sup>21</sup> Two years later, on 10 August 1396, he was a member of a commission *de utlegatis capiendis*.<sup>22</sup>

Along with Sir John Boteler of Warrington, Ralph de Radcliffe

was returned as knight of the shire for the duchy to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 17 September 1397. In the previous July three of the former five Appellant lords had either surrendered or been arrested, namely, Arundel, Warwick and Gloucester; measures for a new appeal were taken. The September parliament "was elected under the King's undisguised influence" (Stubbs). Parliament met on the 17th. On 22 September the King's knight, Ralph de Radclyf, received a grant for life of £40 a year from the issues of the King's mills on the Dee at Chester, as a fee of his retainment by the King for life.<sup>23</sup> On the 29th parliament was adjourned to Shrewsbury for 28 January, and on the following day, before the Confessor's shrine, a solemn oath was taken in the name of the three estates to maintain the acts of the session. On the last day of the year the receivers of the Dee mills at Chester were warranted to pay Radclyf his annuity as charged on their profits.<sup>24</sup> The parliament which met after the recess at Shrewsbury on 28 January 1398 sat only three days in which it laid the corner-stone of Richard's edifice of royal absolutism.

By his death on 27 December 1397 Richard Molyneux left the shrievalty of Lancashire vacant. No warrant for his appointment is extant but by 10 October 1398 Sir Ralph de Radclyf was sheriff of the county palatine and as such held on that day his turn at Newton-in-Makerfield.<sup>25</sup> In view of his obvious acquiescence in the royal manoeuvres of September 1397 it seems probable that he followed immediately on Richard Molyneux in the shrievalty. In February 1399 Radclyf was on a royal commission to arrest Henry Wyrehale, an apostate monk of the Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk, and deliver him to the abbot for punishment.<sup>26</sup> Three weeks before Richard II left England for Ireland at the end of May 1399, Sir Ralph de Radclyf and a Cheshire knight, Sir Robert Legh, at Cardiff swore on the Gospels before the chancellor to be true and loyal to the King in his absence. If they knew of any movement or propaganda likely to be to the King's hurt or prejudice, or any rising of the people against him, they were to offer their utmost resistance; if prevented, to inform him with all haste; and, rather than assent to anything likely to bring the crown into disrepute, they were to quit the realm.<sup>27</sup> Fifteen days later on 23 May, Radclyf and Legh were associated on a royal commission in pursuance of the statute of Westminster to investigate information that artificers and labourers in Derbyshire and Staffordshire, who did not hold lands of yearly value of 40s. were keeping hunting dogs, ferrets and nets, to the destruction of game.<sup>28</sup> Although Radclyf was eventually won over to a support of the Lancastrian régime, it seems probable that Henry of Bolingbroke looked on his recent close attachment to Richard II's party with suspicion. Radclyf had married for his first wife the daughter of Sir John Massey of Tatton a prominent supporter of Richard who fell at Shrewsbury in 1403 fighting on Hotspur's



side. On 30 September 1399, the day when Henry challenged the realm of England, Sir Richard Hoghton was appointed to answer at the Exchequer as sheriff of Lancaster. An indication of the unsettled condition of the north-western counties is afforded by the fact that three weeks after Hoghton's appointment Ralph de Radclyf held the sheriff's turn at Wigan on 21 October.<sup>29</sup> On 19 November Sir Thomas Gerard was appointed sheriff and he occupied the office effectively. Apparently little store was at first set on Sir Ralph's loyalty to the new régime. A temporary and then extended grant, pending the Duke's claim, of the custody of a moiety of the manor of Flixton on 21 March and 5 September 1401 may be said to mark the official recognition of his acquiescence in the consequences of the 1399 revolution.<sup>30</sup> In August 1402 he was on a commission appointed to supervise and try all the fencibles of the county whose array the sheriff had lately been briefed to order. The contingent was to meet the King at Shrewsbury and go with him on an expedition against the rebels under Glendower. The commissioners were to certify regarding the execution of the order to the King in person.<sup>31</sup> Six days after the battle of Shrewsbury, on 27 July 1403, from Burton-on-Trent the King commissioned nine Lancashire magnates, including Sir Ralph de Radclyf, to assemble all knights, esquires and yeomen in the county to meet the King at Pontefract to go against Hotspur's father, the Earl of Northumberland, who was marching south.<sup>32</sup> The alarm was a vain one, Westmorland his brother-in-law driving him back to Warkworth. On 6 September six weeks later the King from Worcester ordered Sir Thomas Tunstall, Radclyf and the sheriff of Lancaster to pick out a suitable number of the best men and take them to Hereford for a campaign against the Welsh.<sup>33</sup> In February 1404 Sir Ralph received a commission of the peace in the county.<sup>34</sup> At this date he was serving with Robert Laurence as knight of the shire in the Westminster parliament of January 1404 which broke up on 20 March. On 20 September in the same year he again was appointed sheriff, in succession to Sir John Botiller of Rawcliffe<sup>35</sup> and apparently occupied that position till his death early in 1406. In this capacity he received along with four other notables of the county a royal commission from Hereford in May 1405 to assemble speedily all knights, esquires and yeomen and other fencibles in his bailiwick and take them to the King, to be employed in the "chastisement of the insurgents in the north."<sup>36</sup> After the execution of Scrope and Mowbray on 8 June the King followed the Earl of Northumberland and Bardolf to the north, and on 11 June sent out from Ripon letters patent ordering three members of the previous commission, including Radclyf the sheriff, to array a thousand archers in the county and join him at Newcastle-on-Tyne.<sup>37</sup> The Earl of Northumberland fled to Scotland and Henry, having seized the Percy castles, returned to the work of defence against the Welsh. On 29 August

from Worcester he sent to the June commissioners, now afforded by four others, a strict order to cause all knights, esquires and other fencibles to join him at Hereford in full array, as estate required, to march against the Welsh rebels now reinforced by a party of French who had landed in Wales. In the letter close the peril which threatened the realm from an insufficient resistance was emphasised.<sup>38</sup> As sheriff Sir Ralph de Radclyf made the return of the election of the knights of the shire for the parliament of February 1406.<sup>39</sup> On 24 March he arrayed a panel of jurors in a suit between John de Bykerstath, deputy for Sir Nicholas Atherton, and Robert de Fasacrelegh. The panel was quashed on the ground that Sir Ralph was akin to both Bykerstath and Sir Nicholas.<sup>40</sup> On 27 April as sheriff he was present in the absence of the escheator, who was serving at Westminster as knight of the shire, with Sir Richard Hoghton at an inquisition at Preston on John de Hakenneshawe, outlawed for rebellious demeanours and put to death at Berwick.<sup>41</sup> On 12 May a writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued after his own death,<sup>42</sup> and a fortnight later John Bold was appointed sheriff of the county.<sup>43</sup> Sir Ralph's widow, Margery widow of Sir Henry Trafford, survived him until her death in January 1417.<sup>44</sup> His executors were Robert de Lathom, William de la More, Sir Thomas Gerard, Thurstan de Atherton, John Frobell of Furness and Christiana his wife, his own son Ralph, and Thomas de Trafford.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 256, 265. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 345. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 13. <sup>4</sup> Armitage-Smith, App. iii. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 370. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 526. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 526. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 522. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 522. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 523. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 368 (50 and 51). <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 525. <sup>13</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. *Lists of Sheriffs*. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, i, 360. <sup>15</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 210. <sup>16</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1385-89, 393. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, i, 365. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, 368 (24; 34). <sup>19</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.* (Chet.), i, 46. <sup>20</sup> Piccote, vii, 300. <sup>21</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 57. <sup>22</sup> Piccote, vii, 303. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 195. <sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 397. <sup>25</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 67. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 511. <sup>27</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1396-99, 505. <sup>28</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 585. <sup>29</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 67. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 530. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 138. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 292. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 285. <sup>34</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 532. <sup>35</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>36</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 66. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 61. <sup>38</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1402-05, 460. <sup>39</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 10, no. 3. <sup>40</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 102. <sup>41</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 81. <sup>42</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 5. <sup>43</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>44</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 128. <sup>45</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 7.

Henry de Hoghton (October 1399) (October 1407; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup> *V*

Sir Henry Hoghton was the second son of Sir Adam Hoghton of Hoghton who was chief forester of Quernmore, Wyresdale and Amounderness about 1374, and brother of Sir Richard Hoghton who sat in the parliaments of 1383 and 1402. At his death in 1424 he was seised



of the manor of Chipping held of the duchy and worth 40s. a year; a moiety of the manor of Hothersall and an eighth part of it, held also of the King as Duke of Lancaster and worth 40s.; and a moiety of the manor of Dilworth worth 20s., parcel of the Hospitallers' lands in Hothersall.<sup>2</sup> The manor of Chipping had been settled on him in 1377,<sup>3</sup> and he made Leagram his residence. He married Joan, daughter of Sybil de Clitheroe and Richard de Radcliffe of Ordsall, who was heir to the manor of Salesbury after her mother's death in 1414. In 1422 Sir Henry Hoghton joined with his wife in vesting the manors of Salesbury and Clayton-le-Dale in trustees for settlement upon their issue with remainder to the heirs male of Richard de Hoghton, Sir Henry's illegitimate son.<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Hoghton figured on the lists of 'foreign burgesses' of Preston for 1397 and again for 1415.<sup>5</sup>

On 27 September 1380 a warrant was given under the privy seal of the county palatine for the issue of general pardons to Adam de Hoghton and his two sons, Richard and Henry.<sup>6</sup>

Henry Hoghton was a member of the expedition of Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, to Lithuania when the latter joined forces with the Teutonic knights. The expedition sailed from Boston in July 1390. The accounts of Henry's treasurer, Kyngeston, give a full account of *le reys*. In the account of the wages of knights, esquires and yeomen, Henry Hoghton is noted to have received 6s. 3d. *pro vadiis suis infra curiam* for the period of ten days from 21 December to the end of the year 1390. At the rate of 7½d. a day he received 75s. for service from 1 January to the end of April 1391<sup>7</sup> when Derby returned to England. In February 1393 in an indenture drawn up at Winchester between himself and John of Gaunt, Henry Hoghton surrendered a grant of 10 marks a year from the issues of the duchy of Lancaster in return for a life retainment fee of £20 a year from the same source.<sup>8</sup> In the same month at Hoghton's supplication the King pardoned a murder committed at Farnworth in July 1391.<sup>9</sup> On 28 April 1399, a month before Richard II left for Ireland, Sir Henry Hoghton's indenture with John of Gaunt of 1393 received the royal *inspeximus* and confirmation and he was retained to stay with the King only.<sup>10</sup> He soon reconciled himself, however, to his former lord. After Richard's submission to Henry of Bolingbroke at Conway, on 19 August writs were issued from Chester convoking a parliament to meet on 30 September. To get over the difficulty of the automatic dissolution of parliament in event of the proposed resignation of the king, new writs were to be issued on the day on which the abdication was declared, summoning parliament to meet six days later on 6 October. Sir Robert Urswyk and Sir Henry Hoghton were the knights of the shire returned for the county palatine in September. The former's long tradition of service as knight of the shire—he had already sat in eleven parliaments of Richard's reign—and the connection which Hoghton had both with

John of Gaunt and Henry IV as Earl of Derby, obviously rendered both highly acceptable to the new régime. Hoghton was not long in securing preferment in the administrative offices of the county. His brother, Sir Richard, was already chief steward of the palatinate. On 25 October 1402, Sir Henry Hoghton was appointed to be chief forester of Pendle, Rossendale and Trawden in Blackburnshire, *staurator* and steward of the same hundred, and steward of Rochdale and Tottington.<sup>11</sup> He was *seneschallus de Blackburnshire* in 1410–11 and in that capacity figured on the compotus of Thomas Urswyk, receiver of the palatinate, for the year Michaelmas 1422 to Michaelmas 1423, where he is described as having held courts and halmotes in Colne, Hightenhill, Accrington, Huncoat, Pendleton, Chatburn and Worston.<sup>12</sup> Apparently he held the stewardship of the Blackburn hundred from 1402 to his death in 1424 without intermission. The same is apparently true of his tenure of the master forestership of Blackburnshire and that of the chace of Bowland. He was keeper of Bowland in November 1402,<sup>13</sup> in April 1413,<sup>14</sup> and he accounted before Thomas Urswyk in 1423 as *magister forestarius* of the wapentake of Blackburn and as *magister forestarius de Bowland*.<sup>15</sup> The stewardship of Blackburnshire and the keepership of the chaces there, and in Bowland, were not the only offices Sir Henry Hoghton held under the crown's appointment. By June 1410 he was the King's bailiff of the liberty of Staincliff in Yorkshire,<sup>16</sup> and in October 1412 he is described as bailiff of the Staincliff and Friendless wapentakes in the West Riding.<sup>17</sup> By 24 June 1413, if not earlier, he was commissioned, by the King, steward of Penwortham at a fee of 20s. and in this capacity accounted before the receiver of the county in 1423 as well as for his other Lancashire offices.<sup>18</sup> He was probably responsible for his natural son Richard's appointment in April 1410 to the keepership of Leagram park, in which office he was confirmed in January 1413 and again in February 1423.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the perquisites which his various offices carried with them, Sir Henry Hoghton was in 1423 in receipt of an annuity of £40 from the issues of the manor of Slaidburn and the herbage of Bowland. This came through the hands of the receiver of the county.<sup>20</sup>

In November 1402 the King's chief justice, William Gascoigne, headed a commission of oyer and terminer in respect of certain dissensions which had arisen out of trespasses in the King's chaces of Pendle, Rossendale, Trawden and Bowland, between Sir Henry Hoghton, keeper there, and three members of the Radclyf family of Osbaldeston, two Colne men, and their accomplices.<sup>21</sup>

On 27 July of the following year, six days after Hotspur's defeat at Shrewsbury, from Burton-on-Trent the King commissioned seventeen Lancashire notables, including Sir Henry Hoghton, to join him at Pontefract with as many knights, esquires and yeomen as they could



assemble in the county.<sup>22</sup> In view of the fact that through Lancashire lay Hotspur's line of march to Shrewsbury, no commissions of array had been despatched to that county when Henry summoned the forces of the shires on 17 July. Now the Lancashire forces were to be used for the crushing of the Earl of Northumberland, who was coming out of the north to his son's help. In March 1406 Sir Henry was on a commission, largely composed of Yorkshire magnates including the sheriff, appointed to investigate the report that many of the King's people in the north, under pretence of joining the Prince of Wales who was in command on the Welsh marches, had recently assembled and gone in array to the aid of the Welsh rebels. They were rumoured to be resting by day and riding on their journey by night to prevent their being stopped on the way. The commissioners were to arrest offenders and certify thereon to the King and Council.<sup>23</sup> In the following year Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir Ralph de Staveley were elected knights of the shire for Lancashire and returned to the Gloucester parliament of October 1407. It sat from 20 October to 2 December. At Gloucester on 14 November Sir Henry Hoghton along with Sir Hugh Luttrell knight of the shire for Devon, Sir Alan de Penyngton knight of the shire for Westmorland, and Robert Laurence escheator of Lancashire, mainperned Sir John Haryngton when the custody of the estates of Sir Fulk Fitzwaryn with the marriage of his heir was committed to him. He was to render at the Exchequer as much as he and the Treasurer agreed upon plus 700 marks for the marriage.<sup>24</sup> Four days before parliament was dissolved, Sir John Haryngton, Luttrell, Penyngton, Hoghton and Robert Haryngton esquire bound themselves at Gloucester to Mark le Faire, a Winchester merchant, in a recognisance for 500 marks payable at Winchester.<sup>25</sup>

On 16 June 1410 Sir Henry Hoghton was on a commission of nine, which included his brother Sir Richard and the sheriff, appointed to arrest and take before the King and Council Richard Townley, William Skillicorne, Bernard Singleton, Richard Legh and John Bradley.<sup>26</sup> On the next day the King appointed a commission of five, which included Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and Gascoigne, the chief justice of the King's bench, to cause to appear before them Richard Gower abbot of Jervaulx, the parson of Arncliffe church, and four others, indicted of certain felonies before Henry Hoghton, bailiff of the liberty of Staincliff, at the last view of frankpledge held there. The party of the abbot of Jervaulx was to 'address' the justices on the indictments.<sup>27</sup> In the next parliament, the Westminster parliament of November 1411, a petition was presented on behalf of the Abbot of Furness, whose house held lands and rents in Craven, within the wapentakes of Staincliff and Friendless. He complained that many ill-wishers were feigning false suits of debt and trespass against him in the wapentake courts, knowing that he could not appear without 'peril

of his body' to answer them; and that he was being heavily amerced for his non-appearance by the stewards and bailiffs of the wapentakes. The petition asked that he and his successors might have, by authority of parliament, the right to appoint attorneys general under their seal to deal with pleas against the abbot and act for him in the wapentake courts and that the abbot might not be more heavily fined for default or non-suit than secular persons.<sup>28</sup> Evidently the Cistercian abbot of Furness was feeling the pinch as well as his brother abbot of Jervaulx. The petition of November 1411 was granted and accordingly the King's mandate was sent to Sir Henry Hoghton, bailiff in the wapentakes under dispute, ordering him to allow the abbot of Furness to appoint his attorneys in the wapentake courts.<sup>29</sup> Apparently the royal concession did not take effect. In the parliament of March 1416 a petition, again for the right to have general attorneys, was enrolled among the *communes petitiones* on behalf of all those abbots, priors and other religious in Yorkshire and Lancashire who had possessions in the Craven wapentakes of Staincliff and Friendless. The complaint expanded the previous recitation of grievance of 1411: the *bailiffs approvers* of the wapentake courts, the stewards who held pleas there, and the farmers of the court profits, were procuring and abetting pleas of debt and trespass preferred against the petitioners who were subjected to heavy amercements, their attorneys being refused. The royal assent given to the demand for the right to have general attorneys in the wapentake courts, ordered that they were to be received by the stewards or bailiffs.<sup>30</sup>

In the county court held at Lancaster by Sir Nicholas de Longford Sir Henry Hoghton assisted at the election of Sir John Stanley and Robert Laurence as knights of the shire for the Westminster parliament of November 1414 and affixed his seal to the indenture drawn up between the sheriff and the assenters, who numbered 35 and of whom 16 were knights.<sup>31</sup> In April 1415 Henry V laid formal claim to the French crown; on the 16th the chancellor gave out in Council the King's decision to declare war. On 29 May Henry Hoghton was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>32</sup> Whilst all these preparations for war were being carried on, a weakly organised conspiracy was afoot to replace Henry V by the Earl of March. The centre of the intrigue was the recently-created Earl of Cambridge whose family connection with the Mortimers and Percies made the plot a faint echo of the Percy and Mortimer failures of the previous reign. Solid progress had been made in the pacification of the north by the government's efforts for the restoration of Hotspur's son, Henry Percy. An exchange of Murdach, the Duke of Albany's son, a prisoner in England, for the young Percy was to be effected with the Scots. On 12 May 1415 safe-conducts were issued for an influential group of Scots coming to England about Murdach's release. It was



arranged that he should be taken to Newcastle, thence to be forwarded to Berwick. The arrival of French envoys in Scotland produced a changed outlook and the English envoys were seized. About the same time Murdach was captured, when on his way north, by a Talbot of the forest of Bowland, probably of Bashall near Clitheroe, acting in the interests of the conspirators. On 6 July the King commissioned Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and eight others, Sir William Gascoigne and Sir Henry Hoghton among them, to enquire about the abduction in Yorkshire of *Moreduc de Fyfe of Scotland*, the King's prisoner, and to arrest and imprison the offenders.<sup>33</sup> A week after the first capture, Murdach was retaken in the King's interest by Ralph Pudsey, a Craven esquire,<sup>34</sup> who had been associated with Hoghton on the commission of array of 29 May. On the same day as was issued the commission authorising an enquiry into the seizure of Murdach, Sir Henry Hoghton was appointed a justice of the peace for the West Riding.<sup>35</sup> He was re-appointed on 24 November 1416.<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, in the previous June, Hoghton farmed the wardship of the manor of Downham (near Clitheroe) and the marriage of the heir, paying £46 13s. 4d. (70 marks) to the King for it.<sup>37</sup> On 27 November Hoghton and Sir Robert Urswyk (son of the knight of the shire of October 1399) mainperned in chancery in a sum of £200 to see that a John de Catterall did not withdraw from the court of chancery without the chancellor's licence.<sup>38</sup> In view of the date of this action and of the renewal of Hoghton's commission of the peace (three days earlier), it may be that Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir Robert Urswyk were knights of the shire for Lancashire in the Westminster parliament which sat from 19 October to 18 November 1416, for which with one exception the returns have been altogether lost.

In 1417 although England was being smoothly managed, an understanding between Oldcastle and William Douglas and the Duke of Albany gave point to a feeling of uneasiness abroad in the country. Lollard emissaries were engaged in inciting the dalesmen of Yorkshire and Northumberland to be ready to acclaim King Richard as soon as he appeared. Among the latter was Henry Talbot of Bowland forest, whose intrigues in 1413 and participation in a phase of the conspiracy of 1415 rendered him an easy object of suspicion to the government. Enquiries were held at Newcastle by the Earl of Westmorland and two judges and Talbot was sent to London. On 1 May 1417 he was brought to Westminster and three days later was personally interrogated by the King. In the following month he was executed. In this year although the date is uncertain, Sir Henry Hoghton was assigned by the King to arrest Sir Thomas Talbot, wherever he was to be found in the county of Lancaster or in *nostra domina de Bouland et Stancllyfe*, and take him before the Council. All possible haste was urged in the execution of the commission. Hoghton was to be given all assistance

by the sheriff of Lancaster and all royal officials.<sup>39</sup> It seems highly probable that Sir Thomas Talbot was implicated in his relative's treasonable activities. On 2 March 1418 Sir Henry Hoghton was re-appointed to serve on the commission of the peace in Lancashire.<sup>40</sup> On 28 April he was one of seven commissioners *de mustro et arriacione* for the Blackburn hundred.<sup>41</sup> On 26 November 1419 Sir John Stanley, Sir Robert Urswyk, Sir Henry Hoghton, Sir Robert Laurence, and Ralph Radclyf, all of Lancashire, were ordered to treat among themselves about a loan to the King for the French war and to induce all other well-to-do lieges of the county to contribute, and inform the Treasurer before 24 January of what they had been able to effect. Any clergy who would provide greater sums at the Purification were to be excepted. It was explained in the commission that the last parliament of October 1419 had given authority for the loan and assigned for its repayment an extra third of a tenth and fifteenth payable at Martinmas 1420.<sup>42</sup> On 8 May 1421 Sir William Haryngton, Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir Robert Laurence were instructed to pick out 400 skilled archers in Yorkshire and Lancashire, preferably *de progenie generosa*, yeomen or sons of yeomen, to go with the King to France.<sup>43</sup> Henry had returned in February and, after making a grand progress through the country with his queen, had opened parliament himself on 2 May. The commission had provided that the new forces should be at Canterbury before 1 June; Henry left England on the 10th. In the following May a certain Robert Greenacre of Lancashire was mainperned in chancery by four parkers of Hampshire to sail to France in Sir Henry Hoghton's name to serve with the King there.<sup>44</sup> In September 1423 Sir Henry was administering his various offices in the county palatine, accounting for the year in Michaelmas before Thomas de Urswyk, receiver for Lancashire.<sup>45</sup> His receipts as master forester of the Blackburn wapentake were 19s. 9d.; as master forester of Bowland £48 6s. 8½d. Sir Henry died on 25 November 1424 and his inquisition post mortem was taken at Preston on 28 May 1425.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 258, 272. <sup>2</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, ii, 12; *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 26-7. <sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 48. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 254. <sup>5</sup> *List of Preston Burgesses*. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 366. <sup>7</sup> T. L. Smith, *Earl of Derby's Expeditions* (Camden), 134, 138. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 534. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1391-96, 222. <sup>10</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 534. <sup>11</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 355. <sup>12</sup> *P.R.O.*, D.L. 29, bdle. 89, no. 1631. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 180. <sup>14</sup> Whitaker, *op. cit.*, i, 355. <sup>15</sup> *P.R.O.*, *op. cit.* <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 266. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. i, 188. <sup>18</sup> *P.R.O.*, *op. cit.* <sup>19</sup> *History of Leagram* (Chet.), 4. <sup>20</sup> *P.R.O.*, *op. cit.* <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 180. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 293. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 229. <sup>24</sup> *C.F.R.*, xiii, 97. <sup>25</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1405-09, 346. <sup>26</sup> Piccope, vii, 312. <sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 226. <sup>28</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 657. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. i, 188. <sup>30</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 76. <sup>31</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 11, no. 4. <sup>32</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, 407. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 348. <sup>34</sup> Wylie, vol. i. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 426. <sup>36</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 463. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 30. <sup>38</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 376. <sup>39</sup> Piccope, vii, 323. <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 326. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>42</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 252. <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 341. <sup>44</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 256. <sup>45</sup> *P.R.O.*, *op. cit.* <sup>46</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 12.



**Nicholas de Athirton** (January 1401; *chevalier*).<sup>1</sup>

Sir Nicholas was the second son of the Sir William de Athirton who sat in the parliaments of 1373 and 1381. His mother was Joan, sister and coheir of Ralph de Mobberley, lord of Mobberley, Cheshire. He married Joan, daughter and heir of Adam de Bickerstaffe who settled his manor of Bickerstaffe in Ormskirk parish on his daughter in 1377. It was probably soon after Sir Nicholas came into possession of the estate that in September 1389 the bishop of Lichfield granted him a licence for an oratory there. Shortly after his death, namely in 1424, the manor of Bickerstaffe was estimated as being worth 20 marks a year.<sup>2</sup> His elder brother, Sir William Athirton of Atherton, married Agnes the daughter and heir of Ralph Vernon of Shipbrook (near Northwich) Cheshire, who was sheriff of Chester in 1387. Sir William had livery of his wife's inheritance in 1397. He predeceased his younger brother by some six years.<sup>3</sup>

In March 1370 Nicholas de Athirton took service with John of Gaunt. In an indenture dated at the Savoy he was retained for life to serve the Duke in peace and war at a fee of £10 a year from the issues of the Duke's manor of Derby outside Liverpool.<sup>4</sup> Early in July Lancaster left England to join his brother Edward the Black Prince at Cognac who made him his lieutenant in Aquitaine early in 1371. Although he resigned his command in July 1371 he stayed on in France, returning to England in the spring of 1372. On 21 May Nicholas de Athirton received £10 2s. 4d. in part payment of £21 2s. 3d. which was owing him.<sup>5</sup> Less than a month later the Duke made an award in respect of an appeal to the King's Bench by Agnes, widow of Roger de Hulton of Shevington near Wigan, against three members of the Standish family and others, concerning the death of her husband who had been the Duke's *baron*. Lancaster awarded that the appealed were to pay Agnes de Hulton and Nicholas de Athirton (or an attorney) 120 marks; a hundred marks were to be paid over at three stipulated times in Wigan parish church, and the remaining 20 marks left in abeyance. The penalty for non-compliance on the part of the Standishes and their party was to be 600 marks. An obligation in 90 marks made by Athirton and Agnes Hulton was nullified.<sup>6</sup> In the expedition for the relief of Rochelle in August 1372, Lancaster accompanied his father Edward III and the Black Prince. On 18 July the receiver for Lancashire was informed of the provisions made by John of Gaunt for the requisition of a force of archers in Lancashire for the overseas expedition, and was ordered to pay the ten archers his esquire Nicholas de Athirton was furnishing.<sup>7</sup> On 6 May 1374, after Lancaster's return to England in April from the expedition in Aquitaine, two of Athirton's archers were ordered to be paid 6s. 8d. at the hands of the duke's treasurer for the war,<sup>8</sup> and on 1 October the receiver-general was ordered to meet in

full, out of the issues of his receipt, a bill for 100s. which Nicholas Athirton himself had under the seal of the treasurer for war.<sup>9</sup> In 1377 Nicholas Athirton was still one of the Duke's retainers.<sup>10</sup> In this year he was indicted for the death of William Bredkirk, one of the King's coroners of Lancashire in the last reign. On 6 November a writ of *supersedeas* at Athirton's petition was sent to Cavendish, chief justice of the King's Bench, accompanied by an order to deliver him from the Marshalsea prison whence he was to be taken to a prison in the duchy of Lancaster. Here he was to be kept until appealed in the following month before the Duke's chief justice, William Skipwith, at Lancaster at the suit of Bredkirk's heir. The prisoner had pointed out to the King that he could not both answer the indictment before the King and the appeal at Lancaster as well.<sup>11</sup> In a little over a year, on 26 January 1379, Athirton obtained the royal pardon at the supplication, significantly enough, of the Duchess of Lancaster.<sup>12</sup>

In March 1385 Athirton was a juror at the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on Sir Thomas de Lathom. In the following January he received royal letters of protection as a member of John of Gaunt's retinue in view of the expedition to Spain,<sup>13</sup> and on 12 April letters of attorney for a year.<sup>14</sup> The expedition sailed from Plymouth on 7 July. On 12 March 1387 Athirton received letters patent of protection under the seal of the county palatine, being with the Duke in Spain.<sup>15</sup>

In September 1397 in an indenture dated at London Athirton re-engaged to be retained for life by John of Gaunt to serve him in peace and war. The fee of retainer stipulated was 10 marks a year from the issues of the Duke's lands in the duchy of Lancaster. After Lancaster's death in February 1399, Richard II seized the Lancastrian estates on 18 March by withdrawing the leave he had extended to the Duke of Hereford to receive his inheritance by proxy. On 12 June the King granted an *inspeximus* and confirmation to Nicholas de Athirton of the 1397 indenture and also that of 1370, which carried with it an additional fee of £10 a year from the Lancashire manor of Derby, in view of the fact that Athirton now engaged to be a retainer of the King only.<sup>16</sup> Naturally enough Nicholas de Athirton fell in with the change of government which the revolution of 1399 effected. Along with Sir Robert Urswyk, he went up to Westminster as knight of the shire to the parliament originally summoned to meet at York in October 1400 but postponed to meet at Westminster on 20 January 1401. It sat until 10 March.

In the pleas held at Lancaster on the 29th of the following August before the King's justices, William Gascoigne and John Cokayn, Sir Nicholas de Athirton appeared both as appealed and appellant. Various pleas were instituted against him on the ground that he had been guilty of oppression in the pursuit of his office of bailiff of the wapentake of West Derby. Along with his son Nicholas and William Melling of



Bickerstaffe he was charged by Richard de Bradshagh with having carried from Aughton, *vi et armis*, horses, cattle and sheep worth £40. Sir Nicholas and his party did not appear and the sheriff was authorised to distrain and have them before the next session of the justices on 28 February 1402.<sup>17</sup> Again Robert de Fazacrelegh in person put himself against Sir Nicholas and John de Bickerstaffe, on a plea that on 13 September 1399 they reaped his crops at Walton, mowed his grass and removed forty wagon-loads of hay and other goods they found there—wood, cloth, linen, and wool—to the value of £20 and committed other enormities by which he had lost the equivalent of £40. Again Athirton did not appear. The sheriff was authorised to levy distraint and have him before the justices on 3 September when he and Bickerstaffe denied the charges and put themselves *in patria*. The process was postponed on three occasions until at the Lent sessions of 1404 the parties and jurors appeared. At this point Fazacrelegh challenged the array of the panel as having been made by John de Bickerstaffe, Sir Nicholas' deputy in the bailiwick and a party to the suit, and the panel was quashed. After a fresh array of jurors had been made by the sheriff, Sir Ralph de Radclyf, the suit remained *sine die* through the absence of the justices in August 1404. The new panel was challenged when the suit was renewed in the August sessions of 1406 on the ground of the late sheriff's kinship with the defendants. A further array was ordered for the Lent sessions of the following year.<sup>18</sup> In addition to this protracted charge, in the Lent sessions of 1401 at Lancaster a jury of the different wapentakes of the county had presented that Robert de Wiresdale of Bickerstaffe, a servant of Athirton's, had feloniously stolen in November 1392 from Robert de Fazacrelegh at Derby an ox worth 14s. He was acquitted.<sup>19</sup>

On 20 September 1399 at Lancaster Robert de Workesley and Ralph de Standish, as arbitrators between Sir Nicholas de Athirton and Hugh de Standish, adjudged that the latter should pay Sir Nicholas 10 marks. Apparently this sum was not paid over, with the result that in the pleas of August 1401 Sir Nicholas was attached to answer Hugh de Standish on a plea that on 7 March 1400 by force and arms—to wit swords, bows and arrows—he carried off 10 marks in ready money which he found belonging to Hugh at Lancaster. Sir Nicholas in reply denied breaking the King's peace and put himself *in patria*. As to the trespass he quoted the arbitration of September 1399.<sup>20</sup>

In August 1401 it was also presented that Henry Cadeson of Aughton and John Shakeshafte had stolen fish worth half a mark from Sir Nicholas de Athirton at Bickerstaffe on 12 April 1400 and had continued to do so every week up to this inquisition. The appealed were found not guilty and acquitted.<sup>21</sup>

It is possible that Sir Nicholas de Athirton's oppressions were in actual fact exactions and distraints for dues and rents which it was part

of his business, as bailiff of Derbyshire, to collect, and not mere lawlessness. In the case of the suit brought forward by Bradshagh he is appealed expressly as bailiff; and in the case of the presentations of Robert de Fazacrelegh the fact that the suit was directed against Sir Nicholas and John de Bickerstaffe, his deputy in the bailiwick, points to the seizures being made in an official capacity. This being the case, it may be that the exaction of 1392 from Fazacrelegh was executed in the same capacity. Whether Sir Nicholas had held the bailiwick of Derbyshire from 1392—which is highly hypothetical—it is reasonably certain that when he was returned as knight of the shire in January 1401 he was occupying that office.

The parliament of January 1401 was dissolved on 10 March leaving Sir Nicholas comfortable time in which to return to Lancashire before the Lent sessions of the justices at Lancaster when a jury of the different wapentakes presented that he and his sons, Ralph and Nicholas, and five others of Lathom and Bickerstaffe, at the latter place plotted on 17 September 1400 to kill Robert le Walssh. Sir Nicholas himself and his son Nicholas did not assist at the outrage but when his son Ralph and the others had murdered Walssh at Maghull on the highway from his house to Liverpool market, they were received at Sir Nicholas' manor house at Bickerstaffe. All except Ralph de Athirton were considered not guilty by the jury and went quit, including Sir Nicholas and his son Nicholas who were indicted for receiving them. The latter were released by mainprise of Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir John Dalton, Ralph de Standish and Roger de Pemberton who undertook to produce them before the justices at Lancaster at the Lent sessions of 1402. There, when the fact of the murder was presented before the coroner, Ralph de Athirton produced the King's pardon of the suit of his peace in letters patent of 8 January 1402 and proffered letters close to the royal justices in which it was stated that Ralph had found security in Chancery to be of good behaviour towards the King and his people according to statute, whereupon Ralph and the others, who had appeared in accordance with their mainprise, were set free *sine die*.<sup>22</sup> Between the date of the murder and the presentment of the jury in March 1401, Sir Nicholas de Athirton had served the county in parliament. The former may explain the latter fact.

On 12 August 1403, the day after Northumberland submitted to the King at York, by letters patent dated there Sir Nicholas de Athirton, the King's knight, received a grant of £100 from the estate of Sir Gilbert Halsall, late of Lancashire, the sum to be taken in three annual instalments beginning at Christmas next coming. A debt of £20 was also forgiven him. Sir Gilbert had evidently joined Hotspur's forces as they passed through Lancashire on their way to Shrewsbury where he probably met his death. By reason of his treason his lands and goods were forfeited to the Crown.<sup>23</sup> Henry IV also saw fit to increase Athirton's



long-standing allowance of £10 from the manor of Derby by a grant of a further £10 a year from the farm of the borough of Liverpool.<sup>24</sup>

On 19 November 1404, a week after the grant was made in the Coventry parliament, commissions to levy a tenth and fifteenth in Lancashire were issued under the seal of the county palatine to twelve persons, one of whom was Sir Nicholas de Athirton.<sup>25</sup> On 10 December 1407—eight days after the grant was voted in the Gloucester parliament—Sir Nicholas was again appointed as a collector of a fifteenth in the county.<sup>26</sup>

On 22 September 1412 Ralph, Sir William, and Sir Nicholas de Athirton, together with John Savage were bound in a recognisance for £100 to the Prince of Wales.<sup>27</sup>

Sir Nicholas was one of the thirty-six—eighteen of whom were knights—who affixed their seals to the indenture of election for the first parliament of Henry V, that of May 1413, to which Sir John Assheton and John Stanley were returned as knights of the shire for Lancashire. He also apposed his seal to the indenture which witnessed the election of Robert Laurence and John Stanley to the parliament of November 1414. On this occasion sixteen out of the thirty-five apposers of seals were knights.<sup>28</sup>

On 14 March 1416 Sir Nicholas was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the county palatine for defence of the kingdom against the Scots.<sup>29</sup> In April 1417 he was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken at Ormskirk on Hugh de Aghton.<sup>30</sup> On 20 November 1420 the writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued after Sir Nicholas's death.<sup>31</sup> By his will made in 1415 and proved at Lichfield in 1420 he made bequests to the four orders of friars, to various chaplains and clerks and expressed the desire to be buried at Ormskirk.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 261. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 277–8. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 261. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, 567. <sup>5</sup> *Reg.*, 969. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 53. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1005. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1430. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1663. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, 1377–81, 100. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1377–81, 100. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 313. <sup>13</sup> Rymer, vii, 490. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 508. <sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 525. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396–99, 566–7. <sup>17</sup> *L.P.P.R.* (Chet.), 9. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 101. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 45. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 56; *C.P.R.*, 1401–05, 31. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401–05, 252. <sup>24</sup> Muir and Platt, 310. <sup>25</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 532. <sup>26</sup> Piccope, vii, 305. <sup>27</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 14. <sup>28</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 11, no. 1A, no. 4. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 525. <sup>30</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 128. <sup>31</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 19. <sup>32</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 277 n.

**Robert Laurence** (January 1404) (March 1406) (November 1414).<sup>1</sup>

Robert was the son and heir of Edmund Laurence of Ashton who died at the end of 1381 holding burgages in Lancaster and lands in Skerton and Overton. His mother was Agnes, daughter and heir of

Robert de Wassington, who brought to the Laurence family by her marriage lands in Bolton-le-Sands and Carnforth. What holding Robert Laurence retained after his father's death in Ashton, where the family resided, is not clear, but in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry VI certain lands, later grouped together under the appellation 'Laurence lands' were demised to the family by the Methams.<sup>2</sup> Edmund Laurence had been a man of some influence in the county. In 1357 he had been a guardian of the alien priory of St. Mary Lancaster when its temporalities were in the King's hands on account of the war with France.<sup>3</sup> In 1362 when he was deputy sheriff, along with his fellow deputy he concealed the election writ and returned himself as knight of the shire. The return, however, was quashed.<sup>4</sup> In the next year, Philippa, Edward III's Queen, appointed him her receiver in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> In 1368 he was on a commission of array to choose a hundred archers in Lancashire<sup>6</sup> apparently for the governor of Ireland, William Windsor's retinue, in which he himself went to Ireland.<sup>7</sup> He stayed there until 1375 when he relinquished the office of the escheatry and keepership of the market and weights and measures in Ireland.<sup>8</sup> In November 1375 he was appointed to the escheatry of Lancashire<sup>9</sup> and in March 1377 was a collector in the county of a poll tax of 4d.<sup>10</sup> At Edmund's death in 1381 Robert Laurence was aged ten years. By March 1394, when he mainperned Richard de Chaderton in a grant from the Duke of the wardship of certain lands in Crompton, he had seemingly proved his age.<sup>11</sup>

In the Lancaster sessions of August 1401 Robert Laurence is in more than one suit referred to as 'one of the coroners of the lord King in the county.'<sup>12</sup> He had held this office at least as early as January 1400 when a case of housebreaking and homicide was brought before him.<sup>13</sup> On 14 March of this year he was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the county for the defence of the Kingdom against the Scots.<sup>14</sup> On 11 May 1402 he received a commission under the seal of the county by royal mandate to enquire into the spreading of falsities about the royal policy; to assure the King's lieges that Henry meant to preserve the laws and customs of the realm; and to arrest those who impugned the government's actions, certifying the King and Council from time to time.<sup>15</sup> On 10 August Laurence's services were requisitioned in a commission to supervise and try all the fencibles of the shire with a view to accompanying the King to resist the Welsh rebels under Glendower.<sup>16</sup> On 22 November he was appointed escheator in the palatinate in succession to Thomas del More of Liverpool.<sup>17</sup> He continued to hold the office until at least the end of 1408, during which time he was twice returned to parliament. By 1410 he had, however, been superseded by James del Holt.<sup>18</sup> Robert Laurence was included among the seventeen commissioners appointed from Burton-on-Trent six days after the battle of Shrewsbury, on 27 July



1403, to assemble all the knights, esquires and yeomen in the county, and join up with the King's forces at Pontefract which were going to meet Northumberland hurrying south to his son Hotspur's aid.<sup>19</sup> In the following January Sir Ralph de Radclyf and Robert Laurence were returned as knights of the shire to the Westminster parliament. With Sir William Botiller of Warrington as his fellow-knight, Laurence was returned to the next parliament but one. This parliament, which opened at Westminster on 1 March 1406, was not finally concluded until 22 December, with two adjournments: the first over Easter, while the second recess lasted from 19 June to 13 October. When Parliament broke up three days before Christmas the session had lasted 158 days. In the escheator's absence from Lancashire, an inquisition post mortem, which normally Laurence would have dealt with, had been taken on John de Hakenneshawe at Preston on 27 April before Sir Richard Hoghton the chief steward of the county and Sir Ralph de Radclyf the sheriff.<sup>20</sup> Robert Laurence may have been present during the session of the Gloucester parliament which sat from 20 October until 2 December 1407. Here on 14 November along with Hugh Lutterell, Henry Hoghton, Alan de Penyngton, respectively knights of the shire for Devon, Lancashire and Westmorland, he mainperned Sir John Haryngton, who received the wardship of the estates of Fulk fitz Waryn at a fee to be agreed upon but paying for the marriage of the heir a sum of 700 marks.<sup>21</sup>

Robert Laurence was one of the thirty-six who attended the county court at Wigan and apposed their seals to the indenture of election for the parliament of May 1413, to which Sir John de Assheton and John Stanley were returned.<sup>22</sup> He was himself returned with Stanley to the Westminster parliament of November 1414. It was dissolved on 7 December. On the 10th the two Lancashire members, Stanley and Laurence, along with Robert Derby, esquire, of Lancashire, bound themselves to Sir William Fulthorpe in a recognisance for £100 to be levied in Lancashire.<sup>23</sup>

Robert Laurence was one of the strong contingent which Lancashire provided for the Agincourt campaign of late 1415. In addition to serving in person he furnished two men-at-arms and six archers<sup>24</sup> and contracted with Sir Robert Urswyk the sheriff to provide 50 archers.<sup>25</sup> By August 1417 Laurence had been knighted, for as Robert Laurence of Ashton, *chivaler*, he and others were bound in a recognisance for £500 to Gilbert de Hesketh of Rufford. Hesketh was likewise bound to Laurence in the same amount.<sup>26</sup> Laurence does not seem to have undertaken much military service abroad (he was nearly fifty years old by this time) and early in March 1418 he was appointed a justice of the peace in Lancashire.<sup>27</sup> On 28 April he was made one of six commissioners *de mustro et arriacione* for the Lonsdale hundred.<sup>28</sup> On 12 June he was ordered with others to enquire and inform the

government touching an inquisition held before Robert de Halsall, the escheator, in which it had been elicited that on his death Sir John Haryngton was seised of no lands in the county, whereas the government understood that in actual fact he was.<sup>29</sup> On 23 June a fresh inquisition was taken at Lancaster before the sheriff and the other commissioners including Sir Robert Laurence.<sup>30</sup> In the following November in an indenture drawn up at Furness abbey Sir Richard Kirkby granted Sir Robert the wardship and marriage of his son Roger and his licence to marry him to Laurence's daughter Isabel, for which Sir Robert paid Kirkby £200.<sup>31</sup> On 25 September 1419 Sir Robert Laurence was one of the three knights present at the election in the county court at Lancaster, in which Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe and John Laurence were returned as knights of the shire to the parliament of the following month. John Laurence was a younger brother of Sir Robert. The latter apposed his seal to the indenture of election. The other two knights to affix their seals were Sir William Haryngton of Hornby and Sir John Croft of Dalton.<sup>32</sup> Two months later, almost to the day, Sir John Stanley, Sir Robert Urswyk, Sir Henry Hoghton, Sir Robert Laurence, and Ralph Radclyf were ordered by royal letters patent to negotiate amongst themselves for a loan to the King in aid of the French war. They were to induce all other well-to-do subjects in Lancashire to contribute and were to inform the Treasurer before 24 January of the result. The supplementary grant of a third of a tenth and fifteenth, voted in the parliament just concluded, was mortgaged for the repayment of the loan.<sup>33</sup> Along with Sir William Haryngton and Sir Henry Hoghton, Laurence was, on 8 May 1421, appointed to take 400 archers of the more skilful sort from Yorkshire and Lancashire, preferably men *de progenie generosa* or of yeoman stock, to return to France with Henry V, who had come over to England in February. The commissioners were instructed to provide for the levy reaching Canterbury before 1 June.<sup>34</sup> Henry left England on the 10th.

Sir Robert Laurence figures on the compotus for the year dating from September 1422, submitted by Thomas Urswyk, the receiver for the trustees of Henry V in the county palatine. In a list of annuities paid to forty-one knights and esquires of Lancashire—together totalling some £417—Laurence is accounted for as being in receipt of an annual grant of 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.). This sum he had received from the beginning of the reign.<sup>35</sup>

By February 1426 Sir Robert Laurence had succeeded Sir Richard de Radclif as sheriff of the county palatine. On the 9th he conducted in the county court at Preston the election of the knights of the shire for the Leicester parliament of 18 February.<sup>36</sup> Apparently he had been appointed in the previous December. The letter from Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, High Chamberlain and protector and defender



of England, given under his signet at London on 2 December, and addressed to William Troutbek esquire, chancellor of the county palatine, must belong to the year 1425. In it Gloucester observed that the King had ordained and assigned Sir Robert Laurence Knight to occupy the office of sheriff in county Lancaster during pleasure, and upon that grant charged Troutbek to make out letters of commission under the seal of the county in his keeping.<sup>37</sup> Sir Robert continued to occupy the shrievalty until he relinquished it to Sir John Byron who had been appointed by 5 November 1437.<sup>38</sup> The last election to parliament conducted by Sir Robert as sheriff was that of 24 December 1436 when Thomas Haryngton and Henry Halsall were returned to the parliament of the following month.<sup>39</sup> During his shrievalty Laurence had been party to the election of knights of the shire for eight parliaments. To the parliament of September 1429 his son Robert was returned. It may be convenient at this point to clear up an error on the part of the *Return of Members* where the indenture is interpreted as stating that the sealers of the indenture *eligerunt Johannem Byron militem et Robertum filium Roberti Laurence militem*. In point of fact the younger Laurence was still *armiger* at his death in 1450. The manuscript itself reads *Robertum filium Roberti Laurence milit*; the abbreviation must be taken to be that of the genitive case when the amended reading will be *Robertum filium Roberti Laurence militis*. On the ruling that the knight of the shire of 1429 was *armiger* and not *miles* the differentiation between the various activities of the two Laurences depends.<sup>40</sup> To the parliament of October 1435 Thomas Laurence, a second son of Sir Robert, was returned as knight of the shire.

Sheriff of the county palatine from December 1425 to 1437, Sir Robert Laurence served on numerous commissions subsidiary to his office. On 6 March 1430, under Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and along with Sir William Haryngton, he was appointed to serve on a commission of array for Lancashire.<sup>41</sup> In April 1431 he was, as sheriff, on a commission appointed to ascertain those in Lancashire liable for contribution, and in how much, to the grant of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental granted in the last parliament.<sup>42</sup> On the 12th of the following October the same commissioners were assigned by Gloucester, *custos Anglie*, to enquire *per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum* into tenures by any service held by both laics and spirituals, in the case of military fees down to the tenth part of a knight's fee. They were to inform the Exchequer of the results of the enquiry.<sup>43</sup> Apparently this new method of taxation was fore-doomed to failure from the difficulties inherent in the assessment of the subsidy. Meanwhile in August Laurence had assisted at Liverpool at the muster of the retinue of Sir Thomas Stanley, lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>44</sup> On 26 February 1434 Sir John Stanley, Sir William Haryngton and the sheriff of Lancaster

were instructed on advice of the Council to treat with the magnates of the county for a considerable loan to the government to be secured on the customs and peculiar revenues of the Crown as well as on the parliamentary grants of December 1433. The commissioners were to report as soon as possible to the Treasurer.<sup>45</sup> In pursuance of an act of the parliament of July 1433, on 1 May 1434 the commissioners were directed to issue their warrant to the sheriff, instructing him to proclaim in the next county court that those whose names the knights of the shire had certified in Chancery as persons who should take the oath not to maintain peace breakers, were to appear before the commissioners to take the oath. Sir Robert Laurence himself was fourth on the list.<sup>46</sup> In January 1436 he was appointed, as sheriff, an assessor for the graduated income-tax voted in the parliament dissolved a month earlier.<sup>47</sup> By November 1437 Sir Robert had been superseded in the shrievalty. He died on 8 September 1439. Later in the year Walter Strickland, as receiver for the lordship of Kendal, accounted for arrears of 10 marks which Sir Robert as late farmer of Ashton and Carnforth owed him.<sup>48</sup> Laurence's inquest post mortem regarding his lands in Westmorland was held at Burton in 1440. He was found to have held the manors of Routhworth and Dillicar.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 265, 269, 284. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 52. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1357, 523. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 52 n. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1363, 331. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1368, 185. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 207. <sup>8</sup> *C.F.R.*, viii, 263. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 301. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 383. <sup>11</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 55. <sup>12</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 27, 53, 94, 100. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 54. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>16</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 531. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 531. <sup>18</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 79, 81, 86, 91, 92. <sup>19</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 293. <sup>20</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 81. <sup>21</sup> *C.F.R.*, xiii, 97. <sup>22</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 11, no. 1A. <sup>23</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 197. <sup>24</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 381. <sup>25</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 212. <sup>26</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 22. <sup>27</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 328. <sup>30</sup> *Inq. p.m.*, i, 134. <sup>31</sup> Piccope, ix, 363. <sup>32</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 12, no. 3. <sup>33</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 252. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 341. <sup>35</sup> *P.R.O.*, D.L. 29, bdle. 89, no. 1631. <sup>36</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, bdle. 13, no. 4. <sup>37</sup> Piccope, vii, 259. <sup>38</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>39</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 15, 1. <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 1. <sup>41</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 71. <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 140. <sup>43</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 92. <sup>44</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 133. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 355. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 379. <sup>47</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>48</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 168 n. <sup>49</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 66.

#### James Haryngton (October 1404; *chvaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Sir James was the second son of the Sir Nicholas Haryngton of Farleton who was returned as knight of the shire five times between 1372 and 1402. His mother was Isabel daughter of Sir William English of Cumberland.<sup>2</sup> Sir James Haryngton himself married Ellen daughter of Thomas Urswyk and widow of Richard Molyneux who died in December 1397.<sup>3</sup> His elder brother was Sir William Haryngton who married into the Neville family of Hornby. Sir James himself seems



to have resided at Wolfege in Northamptonshire although he had a territorial interest in Lancashire in the manors of Tarleton, Chorley, and Hunsworth. He also had lands in Fishwick, Preston.<sup>4</sup>

Sir James Haryngton first appears associated with his father in a pardon for forest trespasses granted apparently early in 1397.<sup>5</sup> The location of their lands, apart from the connection of Sir Nicholas with John of Gaunt, predisposed the cadet branch of the Haryngtons in favour of the new régime which came in with the revolution of 1399. On 7 November 1401 James Haryngton, then King's esquire, received a grant for life of £20 a year at the Exchequer.<sup>6</sup> Seven years later Sir James had accidentally lost these letters patent but the grant was confirmed in an exemplification of the tenor of their enrolment, and Thomas Urswyk, Sir James' father-in-law, personally made oath in Chancery that if the letters patent of 1401 were found, the present issue would be surrendered.<sup>7</sup> Apparently they were not retrieved because in June 1413, at the outset of a new reign, it was the exemplification of November 1408 which was inspected and confirmed. Then the grant of £20 a year for life was renewed to Sir James Haryngton on condition that he was not retained with anyone else but the King.<sup>8</sup> In addition to this annuity of £20 Haryngton was in receipt of an annual sum of 100 marks, the occasion of which grant was his capture of the Earl of Douglas, Hotspur's prisoner, at the battle of Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403.<sup>9</sup> Made on 18 February 1404 this grant was levied on the issues of the herbage of the ducal pastures of Blackburnshire.<sup>10</sup> It seems probable that at this time Haryngton was a member of the King's personal entourage as he figures on no commissions in the shires. A month after Shrewsbury he was apparently with the King at Doncaster where on 17 August along with Sir Richard Hoghton of Lancashire, and Sir Richard Tempest who was knight of the shire for Yorkshire in the next parliament, he entered into a recognisance for £5 to the keeper of the hanaper of Chancery. The recognisance, to be levied of their possessions in Lancashire and Yorkshire, was cancelled on payment.<sup>11</sup> The second parliament of 1404 met at Coventry on 6 October. In the writ of summons the King inserted a clause prohibitive of the return of any *apprenticius sive aliquis alius homo ad legem*. To this 'unlearned' parliament Sir James Haryngton and Sir Ralph Staveley were returned as knights of the shire for Lancashire. It sat until 12 November. Nearly two years later, on 4 September 1406, along with Thomas More of Liverpool, Haryngton was commissioned by the government to supervise the muster at Liverpool of the men-at-arms and archers who were bound by indentures with Thomas of Lancaster, the King's second son, to serve in Ireland where the latter was lieutenant. The commissioners were to certify the King and Council immediately.<sup>12</sup> In April of the following year Haryngton farmed at the hands of the Receiver General of the Duchy of Lan-

caster the custody of the lands of William de Balderston of Balderston, Blackburn, and the wardship and marriage of the heir, at a rent of 350 marks.<sup>13</sup> The heir, Richard de Balderston, he married off to his daughter Joan.<sup>14</sup> Of Sir James' other children, his eldest son and heir Richard married Elizabeth the daughter and heir of Sir William de Bradshagh<sup>15</sup>; his daughter Elizabeth married William le Norreys of Speke in 1416<sup>16</sup>; his daughter Katherine in 1426-27 married Henry Halsall.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, on 4 February 1409, in company with Sir John Blount of Derbyshire, Haryngton mainperned Sir Robert Urswyk to whose custody were committed all the lands held by the late Sir William Threlkeld, a royal tenant-in-chief, with the wardship and marriage of the heir. Two days later Sir James was appointed with others to seise into the King's hands all Threlkeld's demesne lands in Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland and to make inquisition touching the lands and heir.<sup>18</sup> On 16 February, however, the commission was suspended by a writ of supersedeas until further order.<sup>19</sup> In 1410 he was included with the sheriff of Lancaster, John de Bold, Sir Richard Hoghton, Sir William Boteler, Sir Robert Urswyk and five esquires, in a commission to arrest Roger de Dalton and keep him in Lancaster gaol.<sup>20</sup> On 16 June of the same year Sir James was appointed to serve on a commission of nine instructed to arrest and take before King and Council at Westminster Richard de Townley, William de Skillicorne, Bernard de Singleton, Richard de Legh, and John de Bradley.<sup>21</sup> A year later, on 6 July 1411, with others he was appointed by letters patent under the great seal of the county, issued by royal mandate, to take Sir Nicholas Longford before King and Council in the octaves of Michaelmas (6 October) where he was to answer for divers contempts. The commissioners were to certify in Chancery before that date what they had done.<sup>22</sup> In February 1413 Sir James Haryngton was acting as arbitrator in an action in progress between John Walton and Robert de Fasacrelegh over the right to the manor of Walton. Each of the suitors was bound to the other in a recognisance for a thousand marks on condition that he abided Haryngton's award.<sup>23</sup> On 9 May Sir James Haryngton and his brother, Sir William, were two of the eighteen knights who with eighteen others attested the indenture of the election in the county court at Wigan of Sir John de Assheton and John Stanley the younger to Henry V's first parliament of 14 May 1413.<sup>24</sup> Sir James was made a justice of the peace in the county on 8 July.<sup>25</sup> On the next day he mainperned Sir Thomas Tunstall, who received a grant of the custody of the castles, manors and lands held by the late John de Par, tenant-in-chief, during the minority of the heir.<sup>26</sup> A month later, on 12 August, with John Stanley the younger and Ralph de Radclyf, Haryngton was commissioned to enquire about a forced entry into the lands of Richard Warburton at Pennington. The perpetrators *quomodo guerre arraiati* made the entry



*cum potentia armata* and were still in possession. In the following March, 1414, young Stanley and Haryngton were again on a commission to enquire whether Arthur de Workesley of Booths was *compos mentis*.<sup>27</sup> Early in May 1415 Sir James, acting in the capacity of lieutenant of Edward Duke of York, warden of the Eastmarch of Scotland, received an order by royal letters patent to arrest certain truce-breakers and take them into Berwick where they were to be kept until amends had been made according to his ruling.<sup>28</sup> Three days later along with Sir Robert Umfraville he was empowered to prorogue the truce with Scotland.<sup>29</sup> Before the resumption of the French war in August 1415 apparently Haryngton relinquished his lieutenancy of the East March. In June when on his way to attend the muster at Southampton he and the troops under him came into collision with the townsmen of Salisbury who were reluctantly being compelled to make the King a loan (Wylie). He took part in the Agincourt campaign serving with a personal retinue of ten men-at-arms and thirty archers.<sup>30</sup> In September 1416 a Lancashire esquire of Sir James Haryngton's company and two esquires of Sir Brian de Stapleton had been arrested by the sheriffs of London on information that certain hired soldiers had withdrawn from service without the licence either of the Duke of Bedford or their captains. When two more Lancashire esquires gave surety of £100 the sheriffs were ordered to release them.<sup>31</sup> In the minutes of the Council for 15 February 1417 is a list of three names of persons recommended to fill the office of marshal in the expedition of July 1417 for which preparations were being hurried on. Haryngton was one of the three proposed.<sup>32</sup> After this no further notice of him is forthcoming beyond the fact that in 1420 his executors gave fine for various writs issued apparently for the administration of his estate. They were Ellen his wife; Sir William Haryngton his elder brother; Sir Richard Molyneux his step-son; Richard Shirburne knight of the shire in 1420 and 1421; Nicholas Haryngton; and Thomas Urswyk the receiver for the county palatine and Sir James' father-in-law. It is probable that he was engaged in military service abroad at the time of his death, the precise date of which is not known. In 1462, however, his son Richard left his body for burial in the church of the Dominican Friars at Lancaster in the chapel where his father lay.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 267. <sup>2</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 111. <sup>3</sup> Piccope, vi, 58. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 20; *V.C.H.*, vii, 116 n. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 368. <sup>6</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 14. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 32. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, 74. <sup>9</sup> Piccope, viii, 155. <sup>10</sup> *Cal. Docs. re. Scotland*, iv, 136. <sup>11</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1402-05, 184. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 238. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 304. <sup>14</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 315. <sup>15</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 111. <sup>16</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 134. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 194. <sup>18</sup> *C.F.R.*, xiii, 141. <sup>19</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1405-09, 497. <sup>20</sup> Piccope, vii, 311. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 312. <sup>22</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1409-13, 163. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 418. <sup>24</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 1A. <sup>25</sup> Piccope, vii, 314. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, 57. <sup>27</sup> Piccope, vii, 714. <sup>28</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, 343. <sup>29</sup> Rymer, ix, 240. <sup>30</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 380. <sup>31</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 321. <sup>32</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, ii, 204. <sup>33</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 30 n.

**Ralph Staveley** (October 1404; *chivaler*) (October 1407; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Sir Ralph Staveley was the eldest son of Robert Staveley of Staveley in Derbyshire. The father had been a justice for the eyre of Macclesfield between 1389 and 1395 and again in 1398, and on 2 December 1399 was appointed seneschal of the courts of the town of Macclesfield in the stead of Peter de Legh of Lymm, an adherent of Richard II and beheaded by Henry of Bolingbroke when at Chester in 1399.<sup>2</sup> Robert Staveley apparently died before 1410 when Ralph, Thomas and Oliver, his three sons, gave fines for various writs as executors of his will.<sup>3</sup> The Staveley family was connected with the Assheton family by marriage, Sir Ralph's sister marrying Sir John Assheton,<sup>4</sup> the knight of the shire for Lancashire in 1382, 1388 and 1390 and father of the Sir John Assheton who served in the parliaments of 1411, 1413 and 1416.

Ralph Staveley was twenty-four years of age when he took part in the Scrope v. Grosvenor suit of 1385-89. Like most of the Lancashire and Cheshire knights and esquires who gave evidence, he made his deposition in favour of Grosvenor.<sup>5</sup>

In company with Henry Hoghton, whose fellow-knight of the shire he was in 1407, Staveley went on the expedition of Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, to Lithuania in July 1390. On this undertaking and on Bolingbroke's pilgrimage to the East in 1393 he acted in the capacity of seneschal to the Earl. The account roll of Henry's treasurer, Kyngeston, furnishes a close insight into his place in Derby's retinue. In the first expedition the carriage of the armour of the seneschal Staveley and his fellows at Calais was accounted for at 6s. 8d.<sup>6</sup> and the conveyance of his hackney was charged at 3d.<sup>7</sup> Between 10 and 19 July 1390 the expenses of the Earl *pro lusibus* at Wirtel were paid through Staveley's hands.<sup>8</sup> For the leading of the latter's own and his retinue's horses from the sea at Danzig the Earl's treasurer disbursed some 11s.<sup>9</sup> On 28 October Staveley received a gift from the Earl of five marks.<sup>10</sup> Three weeks later the treasurer paid to the Earl through the seneschal a similar sum to be expended on dicing.<sup>11</sup> The account represents Staveley as receiving wages from 9 May 1390 to 31 May for himself and one archer; from 1 to 5 June *in curiam* at 8d. a day and for a further period of 8 days in court in England at 7½d. a day. He received further stipends for service from November to the end of April 1391 when Derby returned to England.<sup>12</sup> On the 13th of the following November he mainperned in Chancery along with three other esquires under a pain of £100 that an esquire Thomas Skelton would keep the peace towards two Londoners, one of them a fishmonger.<sup>13</sup> Nine days later a memorandum was entered up that nearly a year had elapsed since Staveley, described as 'of Yorkshire,' was a mainpernor with three other esquires including Henry Hoghton



of Lancashire, for Roger Leche of Derbyshire, one of Skelton's mainpernors.<sup>14</sup> On 26 January 1392 by letters patent dated at London John of Gaunt granted Staveley, his son's esquire, an annuity of 10 marks to be paid out of the issues of the Duke's lands and lordships in Lancashire.<sup>15</sup> For attendance on Earl Henry from 21 July 1391 to the end of September 1392 the treasurer reimbursed Staveley to the extent of £16 6s. 1½d.<sup>16</sup> On Derby's pilgrimage of 1393 Staveley again acted as seneschal and through his hands the alms of the Earl were paid out, on 24 June 3 nobles at Amiens, and on the same day *furioso ex precepto domini* 6 crowns. On 6 April 15 shillings Venetian had been distributed by Staveley at Ragusa to the poor.<sup>17</sup> On 20 September 1398, four days after Richard's prohibition of the combat between Henry of Bolingbroke, now Duke of Hereford, and the Duke of Norfolk, at Coventry, and the pronouncement of their banishment, royal letters patent were issued from Leicester granting Ralph Staveley and his father Robert annuities of £20 at the Exchequer. His brother Thomas Staveley also received the grant of an annuity of 20 marks. All three were retained for life to stay with the King.<sup>18</sup> Less than a month before Bolingbroke landed in Yorkshire, on 10 June 1399 Staveley's annuity of 10 marks granted by John of Gaunt in 1392 received the royal *inspeximus* and confirmation.<sup>19</sup> Six weeks before, Henry Hoghton's fee of retainment with Lancaster of £20 a year had been similarly confirmed on condition of his being retained with the King only. (*Vide* Henry Hoghton). Staveley probably went over to Hereford soon after his return to claim his inheritance. On 8 November 1399 the grant of September 1398 of an annuity of £20 received the royal *inspeximus* and confirmation<sup>20</sup> and eight days later the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer received an order to pay Ralph de Staveley, esquire, the arrears of the annuity.<sup>21</sup>

In May 1403 Staveley got a grant from the King of the custody of the lands of Edmund, brother and heir of the late Henry de Trafford, with his marriage. The wardship embraced the manor of Trafford and two-thirds of the vill, held of the King as Duke of Lancaster, which together were worth a clear £20 a year; two-thirds of three parts of the hamlet of Chorlton-upon-Medlock held of Thomas le Warre; and lands in Hulme, Barton, Blackrod, and Edgeworth. Edmund only came of full age in 1414.<sup>22</sup> On the day of this grant Robert de Staveley and his two sons Oliver and Ralph, along with John and Thomas de Bothe, Sir John Radclyf of Ordsall, Sir Robert Legh, and Sir John Massey of Tatton, bound themselves to Henry prince of Wales in a recognisance for 625 marks, the residue of the 700 marks Massey owed the prince for the custody of the lands of Sir William Venables.<sup>23</sup> The recognisance was probably automatically voided by Massey's participation in the Hotspur rebellion which ended at Shrewsbury not three months later. Here Sir John Massey was killed and his estates

confiscated by the Crown. Six days after the battle, on 27 July, Ralph Staveley was appointed to serve on the commission issued from Burton-on-Trent ordering eight Lancashire notables to assemble all knights, esquires and yeomen in the county and see that they reached Henry at Pontefract, the objective of the united forces then being the Earl of Northumberland who was coming south.<sup>24</sup> The latter's march was, however, turned by the Earl of Westmorland. It was probably about this time that Staveley, his brother Oliver, and John de Bothe, were grantees by letters patent of the Earl of Chester, of the wardship of Alice and Dowse Venables whom they married in 1410 and 1411 into the Trafford and Bothe families.<sup>25</sup> On 11 August the King received Northumberland's surrender at York. At the beginning of September he was gathering his forces at Worcester for the defence of the Marches against Glendower. On 6 September Ralph Staveley was appointed a commissioner of array in the Peak to choose a suitable number of the best men and take them to join Henry at Hereford.<sup>26</sup> It may have been the great council held before Christmas 1403 to which Sir Ralph Staveley was summoned. His name appears in a list of names for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire of persons summoned to attend a Council about 1403.<sup>27</sup> In February 1404 he received a commission of the peace for Derbyshire.<sup>28</sup> In the following October he and Sir James Haryngton were returned as knights of the shire for Lancashire to the Unlearned Parliament which met at Coventry on 6 October. The writs *de expensis* were made out on 13 November. On 22 October along with Sir John Assheton, Sir Richard Tempest, and Sir William Atherton and four Lancashire esquires, Sir Ralph was commissioned to arrest a certain William de Singleton and bring him before King and Council in Chancery where he was to find security that he would do no bodily harm to Roger Pilkington or his servants and tenants.<sup>28</sup> On 8 November Staveley's commission of the peace for Derbyshire was renewed.<sup>29</sup> On the northern insurrection of 1405 Sir Ralph was appointed in letters patent dated at Hereford on 22 May to assemble with all haste the knights, esquires, yeomen and other fencibles of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire<sup>30</sup> and join the King who hurried north and was at Derby on the 28th. On 11 June 1405 three days after the execution of Archbishop Scrope the King committed the keeping of the temporalities of the see of York to Peter de Mellalieu and appointed Thomas Parker to receive all their issues. On 1 January 1406 Henry farmed the revenues from the temporalities to John Curteys, John Roundell, Hugh Tildesley, and James Greenhalgh. The farmers who were mainperned by Sir Roger Leche and Sir Ralph Staveley, both of Derbyshire, were to render 2,000 marks a year at the King's Chamber.<sup>31</sup> Later in the same month, along with Sir John Stanley, Sir John Littlebury of Lincolnshire, and Sir Robert Chalouns of Devon, Sir Ralph Staveley described as of Lancashire, mainperned



John Macclesfeld clerk, and a writ of *supersedeas omnino* was directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London in respect of their taking security from him and his servants that they would keep the peace towards Henry Tranke parson of St. Benedict Fynk, London, and thirteen others—hewers, chandlers, carpenters, skimmers, etc.<sup>32</sup> Three days after the issue of this writ of *supersedeas omnino*, on 20 January 1406 Sir Ralph Staveley was again appointed justice of the peace for Derbyshire.<sup>33</sup> On 1 March he was accorded letters patent of protection with clause *volumus* for three months, being engaged on the safe-keeping of the Welsh marches in company with the Prince of Wales.<sup>34</sup> On 27 July he was appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer on the complaint of Sir John Darcy that Thomas Chaworth and others had broken his closes and houses at Sherlond and Eckington in Derbyshire, and his park at Sherloch in which they hunted, drove away deer, besieged his men in his manors there, drove out beasts agisted in the park, depastured his corn and committed various assaults.<sup>35</sup> Sir Ralph probably found his way on to the commission by virtue of his office as justice of the peace. Along with Sir Henry Hoghton, who had been a fellow-member of Henry's retinue at the time of his expedition to Lithuania and was now steward of the Blackburn hundred and keeper of the forests there, Sir Ralph Staveley was returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire to the Gloucester parliament of October 1407. On 24 February 1410 Sir Ralph and his cousin Sir John Assheton and John Tuxford of Tuxford bound themselves to Robert and John Waterton in a recognisance, to be levied in Lancashire, for 10 marks payable on 11 November; and further sums of 10 marks payable at Whitsuntide and 11 November 1411 respectively.<sup>36</sup> No returns of the knights of the shire for Lancashire have been found for the parliament of 27 January 1410. There is just the odd chance that Sir Ralph Staveley, who had been returned in the last parliament, and Sir John Assheton, who was to be returned in the next, were the representatives of Lancashire in the parliament which was in session when this recognisance with the Watertons was entered into.

On 22 October 1410 Sir Ralph Staveley extended his interest in the estates of the Trafford family. By a bill of the chief steward of the county, Sir Richard Hoghton, he now received a grant of the custody of the lands of Thomas Trafford of Trafford with the wardship and marriage of his heir, John.<sup>37</sup> The lands of this branch of the Trafford family were situate in Chorlton. The wardships of the Trafford inheritance which Ralph Staveley acquired in 1403 and 1410 apparently resulted from the fact that he had married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Ralph Radcliffe of Smithills and widow of the Henry de Trafford who died in 1395 leaving a minor of six years of age.<sup>38</sup> Dr. Whitaker apparently erroneously called her Margaret.<sup>39</sup>

On 7 March 1411 Sir Ralph Staveley was appointed to the shrievalty

of Lancaster.<sup>40</sup> By virtue of his office he conducted the county court which met at Lancaster on 19 October 1411 and elected as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet fifteen days later his own kinsman, Sir John Assheton, and John del Bothe, with whom he was also associated over the Venables wardship. Only twelve attestors affixed their seals to the indenture of election.<sup>41</sup> He again conducted the parliamentary election of 9 May 1413 in the county court at Wigan when Sir John Assheton and John Stanley were chosen as knights of the shire.<sup>42</sup> On 10 April Sir Ralph had been re-appointed sheriff.<sup>43</sup> On 11 October 1413, however, he was replaced by Nicholas Longford<sup>44</sup> who apparently retained the office until June 1415.<sup>45</sup> On 16 May 1415 Sir Ralph Staveley was free then to enter Henry V's retinue. He received letters of protection as did one of his following, Richard Chaderton, some two months later.<sup>46</sup> The numbers of his own personal retinue in the Agincourt campaign are represented as being four men-at-arms and twelve archers,<sup>47</sup> but in addition he indentured with the sheriff to furnish another 50 archers.<sup>48</sup> No further notice of Sir Ralph Staveley exists apart from the fact that in August 1421 he was one of twelve jurors in an assize of recognition taken at the sessions at Lancaster as to the right to a moiety of the manor of Golborne in dispute between Sir Richard Kyghley and John Holland of Thorpwater who complained of disseisin.<sup>49</sup>

Apart from those which he attested as sheriff Sir Ralph sealed no indentures of election for Lancashire.

The date of his death is not known for sure. Ormerod asserts that he died, leaving a will, in 7 Henry V but this is probably the date of his will, certainly not that of his death.<sup>50</sup>

(Note.—The name 'Staveley' has been subject to much understandable palaeographical inaccuracy, sometimes appearing as 'Staneley' as in the *Return of Members* (p. 272). At this period there was, however, no Ralph Stanley. The letters *n* and *v* are easily confused. Miss L. T. Smith apologises for such an error.)

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 267, 272. <sup>2</sup> Ormerod, iii, 867. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 8. <sup>4</sup> Piccope, iv, 26. <sup>5</sup> Nicolas, *Scrope v. Grosvenor*, 280. <sup>6</sup> Smith, *E. of Derby's Expeditions*, 37. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 31. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 106. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 115. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 120, 126, 134, 138. <sup>13</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1389-92, 506. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 532. <sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 566. <sup>16</sup> L. T. Smith, *op. cit.*, 266. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 276, 278. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 411. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 566. <sup>20</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 67. <sup>21</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1399-1402, 20. <sup>22</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 63. <sup>23</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 446. <sup>24</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 292. <sup>25</sup> Ormerod, iii, 866. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, *op. cit.*, 286. <sup>27</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, ii, 88. <sup>28</sup> *C.P.R.*, *op. cit.*, 506. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 516. <sup>30</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 66. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 110. <sup>32</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1405-09, 86. <sup>33</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 490. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 145. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 236. <sup>36</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1409-13, 78. <sup>37</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 97. <sup>38</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 332 n.; Piccope, v, 214. <sup>39</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, ii, 318. <sup>40</sup> *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>41</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 10, 6. <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 1A. <sup>43</sup> Piccope, vii, 313. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>45</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>46</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlv, 571. <sup>47</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 384. <sup>48</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 212. <sup>49</sup> Piccope, viii, 135. <sup>50</sup> Ormerod, iii, 867.



**William Botiller** (March 1406).<sup>1</sup>

Born about 1373 William was the eldest son of Sir John Botiller of Warrington and Alice the daughter of Sir William de Plumpton.<sup>2</sup> Sir John was returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire on ten occasions between 1366 and 1398. Apparently he died in 1399 and on 21 March 1400 the escheator of the county palatine was directed to give Sir William Botiller, his son and heir, seisin of his father's lands held *in capite*, and provision was made for Sir John's widow by a writ *de dote assignanda*.<sup>3</sup> From the inquisition post mortem taken on Sir William Botiller after his death in 1415 it appears that he had appointed Sir Robert Standish, Sir John Assheton, and Ralph Standish, the trustees of his estates in Warrington. On 1 March 1410 these granted to his use messuages and lands in Burtonwood worth a clear £40 a year; tenements in Warrington and Great Sankey worth £20; and the site of the manor of Bewsey and its park worth £10 a year. On 4 April 1415 at Laton Sir William enfeoffed Roger de Fishwick chaplain and Thomas de Ashton of the manor of Magna and Parva Laton, Magna Bispham, Norbreck, Le pull Threlfald, and Magna Merton, worth 80 marks.<sup>4</sup> He also held lands of the King in chief in Nottinghamshire and died seised of the manor of Eccleshall in Warwickshire.<sup>5</sup> In April 1404 Sir William had married Elizabeth the daughter of Sir Robert Standish of Standish who became one of the trustees of his estate.<sup>6</sup>

Botiller was made one of the forty-six knights of the Bath on the foundation of the order at Henry IV's coronation on 13 October 1399.<sup>7</sup> On the 14th of the following March he was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the county palatine for defence against the Scots.<sup>8</sup> At the sessions held at Lancaster on 29 August 1401 before the King's justices, William Gascoigne and John Cokayn, he made pleas in person in respect of certain lands and messuages in Warrington, Burtonwood and Great Sankey. Probably his father's death had given opportunity for his displacement. In the case of 15½ acres of land in Burtonwood and Great Sankey which he claimed as his right by a writ *de forma donacionis in le reverti*, Sir William recovered seisin by default. He further complained of disseisin by Sir Gilbert Haydock and Thomas Baxter of Warrington of 12 acres—his freehold in Burtonwood. The dispute was put to an assize. Sir William Botiller was himself one of a jury of recognition in an assize to determine whether Robert de Workesley or Sir John Massey of Tatton possessed the manors of Worsley and Hulton.<sup>9</sup>

On 11 May 1402 the royal mandate was directed to the chancellor of the county palatine authorising the issue of letters patent under the seal of the county to Robert Lord Haryngton, and fourteen knights and esquires of the county, Sir William Botiller among them, appoint-

ing them commissioners to bring to the notice of the King's lieges his desire to maintain the laws and the commonwealth; to enquire the names of malcontents and impugnors of the government's policy and their maintainers, and to imprison such, to which end the commissioners were empowered to assemble the fencibles of the shire. The King and Council were to be periodically informed of what transpired.<sup>10</sup> On 10 August Botiller was appointed a member of a commission of nine to supervise and try all the fencibles of the county whose array the sheriff had recently ordered, and meet with the King at Shrewsbury, whence a campaign against Glendower was to be conducted.<sup>11</sup> Nearly a year later, on 27 July 1403, Sir William was on the commission appointed from Burton-on-Trent after the battle of Shrewsbury to assemble all knights, esquires and yeomen in Lancashire and see that they joined the royal forces at Pontefract to go with the King against Northumberland.<sup>12</sup> In the following February he was appointed a justice of the peace for the county.<sup>13</sup> Together with Robert Laurence, the escheator of the county palatine, Sir William Botiller was returned as knight of the shire to the parliament which met at Westminster on 1 March 1406. The first session lasted until 3 April when parliament was adjourned over the Easter recess; the second session continued from 26 April to 19 June when business was again suspended to be resumed on 15 October, parliament finally being dissolved on 22 December. The days when parliament had been in session numbered 158. In the writs *de expensis* made out on 22 December in favour of Botiller and Laurence their days of service were computed at 189.<sup>14</sup> The disparity of thirty-one days would be accounted for by the allowance made in the expenses for travelling up to and down from Westminster. Apparently on one of these journeys Botiller fell foul of the Earl of Warwick's tenants of his manor of Patyncham at Wrottesley in Staffordshire. On 12 December, ten days before parliament was dissolved, Sir William undertook to abide the Earl's award in respect of all the strife and trespasses for which the Earl was suing a writ of oyer and terminer against John Standish and others, and on condition that Warwick's award was made in his presence after due notice, Botiller further undertook not to meddle directly or indirectly with any but those whose names he would give. As earnest of this agreement Sir William entered into a recognisance in which he was obliged to the Earl of Warwick in £200 to be levied in Shropshire.<sup>15</sup>

In 1410 Botiller was on the commission appointed by the King to apprehend Roger de Dalton and see to his being lodged in Lancaster gaol.<sup>16</sup>

Sir William Botiller was one of the attestors of the election in the county court at Wigan on 9 May 1413 when Sir John Assheton, one of his trustees, and John Stanley were returned as knights of the shire. He was present at the county court of Lancaster on 15 October 1414 when Stanley was again elected with Robert Laurence as knight of



the shire. On both occasions he apposed his seal to the indentures of election.<sup>17</sup> In 1413 he had joined with Sir William Babbington, trier of English petitions in parliament and afterwards chief justice of Common Pleas, in selling to the Warwickshire priory of Erdbury some lands at Nuneaton.<sup>18</sup>

On 29 April 1415 Sir William indentured with the King to attend him in an expedition to Guienne and the parts of France for one year with 10 men-at-arms and 30 archers, at the wages of 2s. a day for himself, 1s. for the men-at-arms, and 6d. a day each archer, with the accustomed bonus of 100 marks a quarter for every 30 men-at-arms. If the voyage were only to Guienne, the rewards were to be at a lower rate.<sup>19</sup> On 14 May as a member of the King's retinue Sir William Botiller was granted letters of protection.<sup>20</sup> Besides this indenture with the King, Botiller was one of the ten Lancashire knights who contracted with Sir Robert Urswyk, the sheriff, to bring 50 archers each to serve in the French expedition.<sup>21</sup> He also had another 16 archers serving under Sir Richard Hastings.<sup>22</sup> Sir William Botiller never lived to fight at Agincourt; he perished of dysentery, as did Sir John Southworth of Samlesbury, at the siege of Harfleur. The inquisition post mortem of his lands in Lancashire was taken at Wigan on 17 January 1416 when Sir William Anderton and Sir John Pilkington and others were jurors. It was there stated that he died on 26 September 1415 and that his heir was his son John, still a minor of twelve years.<sup>23</sup> On 5 April 1416 the escheator of Nottinghamshire was ordered to seise into the King's hands all Sir William's lands in his bailiwick and to make inquisition touching the lands and heir.<sup>24</sup> Six days later the escheator of Warwickshire received an order, pursuant to an inquisition post mortem he had taken, to give full seisin of the manor of Eccleshall to Sir William's brother John, who was usher of the Chamber to Henry V (Beamont). Here it was stated that Sir William had no heir of his body and that John was next heir by virtue of the entail.<sup>25</sup> When the accounts between the King and Sir William Botiller came up for settlement with his executors £84 11s. 3d. was due for a quarter's pay to himself and his 9 men-at-arms and 30 archers and £55 19s. 2½d. for their 'accustomed' reward.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, Sir William's body had been shipped home from Harfleur and interred in the Friary Church at Warrington.<sup>27</sup> By October 1416 his widow had married Sir William Ferrers of Groby.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 269. <sup>2</sup> Beamont, 226. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 1. <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 112-14. <sup>5</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 142, 148. <sup>6</sup> Beamont, 226. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>9</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 8, 31, 53, 80. <sup>10</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 138 (*D.K.R.*, xl, 531). <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 292. <sup>13</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 532. <sup>14</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1405-09, 281. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 279. <sup>16</sup> Piccope, vii, 311. <sup>17</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, II, 4; 1A. <sup>18</sup> Beamont, 229. <sup>19</sup> Rymer, ix, 223. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlv, 568. <sup>21</sup> Beamont, 229. <sup>22</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 353. <sup>23</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 112. <sup>24</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 142. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 148. <sup>26</sup> Beamont, 245. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>28</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 13.

**John de Assheton** (November 1411; *chivaler*) (May 1413; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup> (March 1416).<sup>2</sup>

Sir John was the son of the Sir John de Assheton returned as knight of the shire in 1382, 1388 and 1390. His mother was Margery Legh the daughter of Sir Peter Legh of Lymm,<sup>3</sup> an adherent of Richard II and beheaded by Henry of Bolingbroke when at Chester in 1399. Sir Peter Legh was superseded in his office of seneschal of the courts of the town of Macclesfield by Robert Staveley. Sir John de Assheton the father, the last mention of whom occurs in 1392, had, apparently as his second wife, married a daughter of this Robert Staveley,<sup>4</sup> by which marriage Sir John de Assheton the younger was brought into kinship with Sir Ralph Staveley, knight of the shire in 1404 and 1407 and sheriff of Lancashire from March 1411 to October 1414.<sup>5</sup>

In October 1399 John de Assheton was one of the forty-six esquires summoned to attend the coronation of Henry IV in honour of which event they were admitted to the order of the Bath.<sup>6</sup> On 14 March 1400 he was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the county palatine for defence against the Scots.<sup>7</sup> In the September following the King granted him the custody of all the estates held by Richard Byron at his death in June 1397, during the minority of John Byron his son.<sup>8</sup> The Byron estates in Lancashire comprised the manor of Clayton (Manchester) and lands in Royton, Butterworth and Woodhouse in Ashton. On 20 July 1401 the King confirmed his 'dear bachelor' in the wardship with the exception that 80 marks of the issues were to be paid in annuities to Robert, Peter, and Nicholas de Assheton.<sup>9</sup> The Assheton-Byron connection was perpetuated by inter-marriage between the two families. Sir John Assheton himself married for his second wife Sir John Byron's daughter Margaret, and in 1415 Thomas de Assheton, Sir John's son by his first wife, Jane, daughter of Sir John Savile of Tankersleigh, married Sir John Byron's other daughter Elizabeth.<sup>10</sup> A month after the confirmation of the Byron wardship, at the sessions of August 1401 held before the royal justices at Lancaster, the sheriff was ordered to distrain on Sir John de Assheton's lands and goods to the extent of £10 to deliver to Sir Nicholas Longford as the residue of 20 marks which he had recovered against Assheton before the justices. The sheriff reported that he had taken cattle whose sale would realise £20.<sup>11</sup> In May 1402 Assheton was appointed a member of the commission which was to investigate the spread of false rumours about the King's non-fulfilment of his accession promises and to arrest those who impugned the government's activities, and if need be call out the fencibles of the shire to resist them and their maintainers. The King and Council were to be kept informed of any sedition.<sup>12</sup> On 10 August following Sir John was a commissioner of array in Lancashire of the forces that were to join



the King at Shrewsbury for the Welsh campaign against Glendower.<sup>13</sup> He was also among the eight Lancashire notables who were directed in the commission, dated from Burton-on-Trent on 27 July 1403, six days after Hotspur's rout at Shrewsbury, to assemble all the knights, esquires, and yeomen in the county and join Henry at Pontefract on 1 August to go against the rebels who were coming south under Northumberland.<sup>14</sup> On 3 November Joan of Navarre, Henry's queen, made over to Sir John de Assheton, her Knight, the custody of the manor and town of Rothwell in Northamptonshire during the minority of Humphrey son of the late Earl of Stafford, for which grant Assheton was to render £56 5s. 10½d. a year. The farm comprised the profits of the hundred, leet, and other courts and markets and fairs. On the following day the Queen's letters patent received the royal inspeximus and confirmation.<sup>15</sup> In February 1404 Sir John was made a justice of the peace in Lancashire.<sup>16</sup> On 22 October later in the year, when Sir Ralph Staveley was sitting on the Coventry parliament, he and his cousin Assheton were appointed with half a dozen other Lancashire knights and squires to apprehend William de Singleton and see that before King and Council in Chancery he found security to keep the peace towards Roger Pilkington and his tenants.<sup>17</sup> Assheton and Staveley were again associated along with John Tuxford of Tuxford in a recognisance to Robert and John Waterton esquires, dated 24 February 1410, for three sums of 10 marks each, to be levied in Lancashire, payable on 11 November 1410, 10 June 1411 and 11 November 1411 respectively.<sup>18</sup> At the time this recognisance was dated the Westminster parliament of January 1410 was in session. Sir Ralph Staveley had been returned to the parliament of Gloucester 1407 which was its immediate precursor and Sir John de Assheton was to be returned to the next parliament. The official returns of the knights of the shire for Lancashire in this parliament are missing. It is not altogether unlikely that the members returned were Staveley and Assheton. Certainly the latter was up at Westminster when the last instalment of the recognisance was due to be paid. In March 1410 at Bewsey Sir John de Assheton, Sir Robert and Ralph Standish, as trustees by Sir William Botiller of the manor of Warrington, re-granted to him certain messuages and lands in Burtonwood and Great Sankey and the site of the manor of Bewsey and its demesne lands.<sup>19</sup>

On 18 June 1410 the royal justices, Gascoigne and Cokayn, and three local men were commissioned to investigate the truth of an outrage which had precipitated a *gravis querela* between Sir John de Assheton and Thurstan de Holland, and others, who at Ashton took fodder and turf worth 40 marks and smashed up palings there.<sup>20</sup> The same date saw the issue of a commission to the same justices and four others, who included Sir John de Assheton, to enquire by an oath of the *probi et legales* of the county into a complaint of Roger Banastre

against Richard Townley.<sup>21</sup> On 19 October in the following year Sir John and John del Bothe were elected in the county court at Lancaster as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 3 November 1411. Sir Ralph Staveley made out the return and was party to the indenture of election, as sheriff of the palatinate. On 17 December, two days before parliament broke up, Assheton and Bothe were assigned to be justices of the peace and charged to maintain observance of ordinances and statutes in county Lancaster, particularly those relating to servants and artificers, and weights and measures.<sup>22</sup> Sir John was again returned as knight of the shire to the first parliament of Henry V. He and John Stanley the younger were elected in the county court held at Wigan on 9 May 1413, five days before parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster. In March 1414, he and Robert del Holt, an esquire, who had attested the indenture of election to the last parliament, were bound in a recognisance to the King for 100 marks. Apparently Sir John had under Henry IV farmed the lordship of Whitley in Cheshire, and had committed certain wastes and destruction of houses and wood there. The recognisance was only to be voided if he made good at his own cost all defects within a year of their assessment by inquisition of the King's officials.<sup>23</sup> In the Agincourt campaign Assheton served with a retinue of twelve archers, three of whom were mounted.<sup>24</sup> Apparently two of his retinue, Lancashire men, stayed on in France and on 23 February 1416 received royal letters of protection.<sup>25</sup> He was back in England, however, in the new year and was returned with John Morley as *miles de parlamento* to the Westminster parliament of March 1416, the election being conducted in the county court at Lancaster on 2 March, a fortnight before parliament was summoned to meet.<sup>26</sup> Sir John crossed to France with the expedition which sailed on 30 July 1417. On 20 September, the day of the formal surrender of Caen, he was appointed seneschal of Bayeux which had been taken by the Duke of Gloucester.<sup>27</sup> He was still occupying this position in December 1417.<sup>28</sup> Assheton's military service abroad lasted at least until the spring of 1422 when the last reference to him on the French Rolls appears. By 16 April 1418, when he was instructed to keep a record of the names of those to whom he sent bills under his seal and who had sworn fealty to Henry V, he was bailiff of the Côtentin.<sup>29</sup> In this capacity he took all oaths of fealty in his bailiwick—for example, in February 1419 from the abbot of St. Trinity de l'Essay and the brethren;<sup>30</sup> served on commissions of array—for example, of the men of the Duke of Gloucester in June 1418,<sup>31</sup> and of the men-at-arms and bowmen in the castles of Pontorson and Avranches in the following December;<sup>32</sup> took charge of the suppression of brigandage as in May 1419;<sup>33</sup> executed currency mandates;<sup>34</sup> and in September 1421 with the Earl of Suffolk undertook the destruction of the castle of Chanteloup and Briqueville in lower



Normandy.<sup>35</sup> Sir John's bailiwick marched with the territories of the Duke of Brittany and he was continually engaged on commissions appointed to redress infractions of the truce existing between the Duke and the English King.<sup>36</sup> In February 1421 along with the Earl of Suffolk and Allington, the treasurer of Normandy, Assheton was appointed a conservator of the truce with Brittany.<sup>37</sup> In addition to being seneschal of Bayeux and bailiff of the Côtentin, Sir John de Assheton functioned as captain of Coutances and Carentan which were in his bailiwick.<sup>38</sup> In January 1421 he received a mandate to see to the repair of the fortifications of Coutances.<sup>39</sup> In letters of protection granted on 5 March 1422 to a member of his retinue, Robert de Radclyf of Osbaldestone, Assheton was described as bailiff of Coutances.<sup>40</sup> This is the latest date at which he appears as being on military service in France. He had, however, been in England in the previous summer. At the Lancaster sessions held in August 1421 he had sat on a jury in an assize of recognition over the right to a moiety of the manor of Goldburne in dispute between Sir Richard Kyghley and John de Holland.<sup>41</sup> In the *compotus* of the receiver of the county palatine for the year from Michaelmas 1422 to 1423, in the list of annuities a grant of £10 to Assheton is accounted for.<sup>42</sup> In July 1424 Sir John was appointed a justice of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>43</sup> significant that by this time at the latest he had relinquished the bailiwick of the Côtentin and his other posts in Normandy. In March 1427 he was on a commission of array in Lancashire.<sup>44</sup> On the following 21 September he was present in the county court at Wigan and affixed his seal to the indenture which attested the election of Sir Ralph de Radclyf and Thomas de Stanley as knights of the shire.<sup>45</sup>

Sir John de Assheton died on 3 September 1428 seised of the manor of Ashton-under-Lyne which was estimated to be worth £40 a year and was held of the Kirkby family, who in turn held of Thomas le Ware of Manchester. In addition he held a rood of land in Manchester, and messuages and lands in Wardle in Hundersfield (of which he had made a grant with reversion to his heir), in Copthurst, Oldham, held of John Budworth. He was also seised of the manor of Alttum which he held of the King as Duke. He possessed the right of advowson to Ashton church, which was held of William de Walton and worth 2s. a year. On 20 October the writ *diem clausit extremum* was issued<sup>46</sup> and the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on 5 March 1429 when it was found that he held the lands enumerated and that his son and heir Thomas was aged twenty-five years and upwards.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 276, 279. <sup>2</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 11, 8. <sup>3</sup> D.N.B., ii, 177. <sup>4</sup> Piccope, iv, 26. <sup>5</sup> *q.v.* <sup>6</sup> D.N.B., ii, 177. <sup>7</sup> D.K.R., xi, 528. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>9</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 65. <sup>10</sup> V.C.H., iv, 284. <sup>11</sup> L.P.P.R., 22. <sup>12</sup> C.P.R., 1401-05, 130. <sup>13</sup> C.C.R., 1409-13, 78. <sup>14</sup> C.P.R., 1401-05, 292. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>16</sup> D.K.R., xi, 532. <sup>17</sup> C.P.R., 1401-05, 506. <sup>18</sup> C.C.R., 1509-13, 78. <sup>19</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i,

112-13. <sup>20</sup> Piccope, vii, 309. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 310. <sup>22</sup> D.K.R., xxxvii, App. i, 174. <sup>23</sup> D.K.R., xxxiii, 22. <sup>24</sup> Nicolas, *Agin-court*, 375. <sup>25</sup> D.K.R., xlii, 588. <sup>26</sup> Cf. ref. 2. <sup>27</sup> Wylie, iii. <sup>28</sup> Rymer, ix, 525. <sup>29</sup> D.K.R., xli, 708. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 753. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 713. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 720. <sup>33</sup> D.K.R., xlii, 317. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 318. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 433. <sup>36</sup> D.K.R., xli, 688, 696. <sup>37</sup> D.K.R., xlii, 401. <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 427. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 407. <sup>40</sup> D.K.R., xlii, 634. <sup>41</sup> Piccope, viii, 135. <sup>42</sup> P.R.O., D.L. 29, 89, 1631. <sup>43</sup> C.P.R., 1422-29, 573. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 405. <sup>45</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 13, 5. <sup>46</sup> D.K.R., xxxiii, 30. <sup>47</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 19, 22.

### John del Bothe (November 1411) (December 1420).<sup>1</sup>

The eldest son of Thomas del Bothe, John succeeded his father in 1368 in the manor of Barton (Eccles).<sup>2</sup> At his own death in 1422 besides the manor of Barton, John del Bothe was seised of 60 messuages, 1,000 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 40 acres of wood, and 200 acres of pasture in Manchester, held in socage of Thomas la Warre and worth £60 a year.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this strong holding in Manchester in 1400 Bothe received from James Barlow 1½ acres in Clayton, lying between the high street and the Medlock, and another 1½ acres between the Medlock and Cronshaw Brook. These lands he transferred in 1417 to John Byron.<sup>4</sup> In 1401 he acquired a grant for 20 years of the custody of a moiety of 7 acres of land in Salford,<sup>5</sup> and in 1414 a 20-years lease from the King of 4 acres of waste recently appropriated to the vill of Pendleton.<sup>6</sup> Bothe first married into the neighbouring family of Trafford, his wife being Joan the daughter of Sir Henry Trafford of Trafford.<sup>7</sup> His second wife was Maud, daughter of Sir John Savage of Clifton, Cheshire.<sup>8</sup>

On 5 July 1387 John del Bothe received royal letters of protection in event of his going to Picardy on the King's service in the company of the castellan of Guines, Sir John Drayton. On 10 May in the next year these were, however, revoked because Bothe had stayed on in England on his own affairs and had not been abroad.<sup>9</sup> In August 1390, when Robert de Workesley (knight of the shire in 1386 and 1391) received the wardship of the lands of John de Astley, John del Bothe was one of his manucaptors.<sup>10</sup> He was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken in 1393 at Liverpool on the lands of Geoffrey de Workesley,<sup>11</sup> and again in July 1396 at the inquisition taken at Manchester on his father-in-law, Sir Henry Trafford.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile on 20 March 1396 Bothe had been appointed a collector of a fifteenth.<sup>13</sup> Two years later, in March 1398, Richard II retained him for life at a fee of 10 marks a year from the issues of the county of York.<sup>14</sup> The revolution of 1399, however, passed him over and in February 1400 he farmed at 300 marks the custody of the lands and the wardship and marriage of the heir of Thomas Weaver. Thomas his son was one of a commission appointed by Henry, Prince of Wales, to collect in the hundred



of Edesbury as much as fell to that area of the £2,000 subsidy voted to him by the commonalty of Chester.<sup>15</sup> On 21 March 1401 John del Bothe stood surety for Ralph de Radclyf who received a grant of a moiety of the manor of Flixton.<sup>16</sup> At the Lancaster assizes held on the following 29 August before Gascoigne and Cokayn, Bothe appeared in person on a plea against William Glazebrook and others, two of whom were of Flixton, that they were detaining cattle and sheep they had sold him for £10. The sheriff was ordered to see that they appeared at the next sessions in February 1402.<sup>17</sup>

John del Bothe served on the commission appointed on 11 May 1402 to assure the King's lieges of Lancashire of the good intentions of the government to maintain the commonwealth, and resist and arrest those who cast doubt on the King's policy and preached lies.<sup>18</sup> In the following month Thurstan de Culcheth granted to Bothe and the vicar of Eccles all his holding in Culcheth and Hindley and the dowry of Gilbert de Culcheth's widow.<sup>19</sup> On 10 August John del Bothe was one of fifteen commissioners of array appointed for Lancashire in connection with the campaign Henry was making against Glendower from Shrewsbury. Here the Lancastrian forces were to join the King.<sup>20</sup> On 4 May 1403 John and his son Thomas del Bothe were associated with the Staveleys of Staveley in Derbyshire, Sir John de Radclyf of Ordsall, Salford, Sir Robert Legh and Sir John Massey of Tatton, in a recognisance to the Prince of Wales for 625 marks, the residue of a debt of 700 marks which Sir John Massey owed the Prince for the custody of the lands of Sir William Venables.<sup>21</sup> Massey joined the Hotspur rebellion and was killed at Shrewsbury on 21 July. Apparently the Venables wardship was granted to Sir Ralph and Oliver Staveley, and the elder Bothe. Sir William Venables' daughters, Alice and Dowse, the grantees married in 1410 and 1411 into the Trafford and Bothe families.<sup>22</sup> On the occasion of the insurrection of Northumberland, Mowbray, and Archbishop Scrope, in 1405, John del Bothe esquire was one of the five commissioners appointed to assemble with all speed the knights, esquires, yeomen and other fencibles in the county palatine and see that they met the King. The commission was issued from Hereford on 22 May.<sup>23</sup> Henry himself was at Derby on the 28th.

In the county court at Lancaster held by Sir Ralph Staveley as sheriff on 19 October 1411 Sir John de Assheton and John del Bothe were elected *milites parlamenti* for Lancashire to the Westminster parliament summoned to meet on 3 November. On 17 December, two days before the session broke up, the two members were assigned to be justices of the peace in the county.<sup>24</sup> The latter apposed his seal to the indenture drawn up between the sheriff and the electors, attesting the free election in the county court at Wigan of John Stanley the younger to the parliament of May 1413. John del Bothe does not appear on the regular indenture which included the name of the other

knight of the shire, Sir John de Assheton, his own fellow-member in 1411.<sup>25</sup>

In December 1403 John del Bothe was administering the possessions of Sir Robert de Workesley who died in March 1402—principally the manor of Booths (Worsley)—and acting as guardian of Arthur de Workesley the heir who was stated to have been an idiot from birth. On 20 November 1413 the guardianship was transferred to John Stanley. Six days later, however, the grant of wardship was renewed to Bothe and a writ *de permittendo occupare* issued on his behalf in view of his having found security to answer for the issues of the Workesley estates if they were adjudged to the King. In the following year he was accused of having caused waste in the possessions in his charge.<sup>26</sup> On 28 April 1415 pardon was granted him for all transgressions.<sup>27</sup> In the meantime on 8 February 1414 John del Bothe senior, James del Holt, and John del Bothe the younger, of Lancashire, and John Fynderne of Derbyshire mainperned in Chancery under pain of 1,000 marks, that Henry del Bothe would not try to escape from the Tower where he was a prisoner by the King's orders, until delivered in due process of law.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that he must have been mixed up in the abortive Lollard rising nearly a month before. On 26 January, 1416 John del Bothe senior and Robert del Bothe, both of Barton, stood surety for Thomas la Warre, clerk, when the custody of the manor of Withington was committed to him. Sir Nicholas Longford, whose estate Withington was, had died in the previous September. La Warre's wardship was to last until it was decided in the royal courts whether the manor was held either of him or of the King.<sup>29</sup> John del Bothe was the second on the list of the seven who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the election, in the county court at Lancaster on 2 March 1416, of Sir John de Assheton and John Morley as knights of the shire.<sup>30</sup> On 28 April 1418 he was appointed to serve on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* for Salfordshire. Sir John Pilkington and Sir John Byron were also members of it.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile on 14 July 1415 John and Robert, sons of John del Bothe, had been granted the farm of all lands in Barton held by Geoffrey de Bold to hold as from the previous Easter as long as they remained in the King's hands. Geoffrey de Bold had forfeited them to the Crown by reason of his having fought on the rebel side at Shrewsbury in 1403. John del Bothe the father and Henry del Bothe of Derbyshire stood surety.<sup>32</sup> Apparently Geoffrey, intent on reversing the forfeiture, directed his efforts to oust the Bothes from his Barton lands. In 1420 John del Bothe entered into a recognisance with him for 700 marks to be levied in Lancashire, which was to stand if he and his sons did not abide by the decision of Sir Richard de Radclyf, sheriff of Lancaster, Ralph de Radclyf, Richard Shirburne and Nicholas Blundell, in respect of all disputes between them. This arbitration was to be completed before 2 February 1421, failing which Peter Massey was



to make the award before the last day of the next Lancaster sessions.<sup>33</sup> Although the precise date of the recognisance is not given in the Calendar of Close Rolls there can be little doubt that this Bothe *v.* Bold dispute was in mind when John del Bothe was returned as knight of the shire to the parliament of 2 December 1420. One of the adjudicators of the dispute, Richard Shirburne, was his fellow-representative. The election was returned as having been made in county court at Lancaster on 18 November. The sheriff who conducted the election, Sir Richard de Radclyf, was another adjudicator in the action.<sup>34</sup> Henry del Bothe of Derbyshire who was joint mainpernor of the Bothe brothers, John and Robert, in 1415 was also a member of the same parliament, being knight of the shire for that county.<sup>35</sup> At this period the connection between the Byrons of Clayton and the Booths of Barton seems to have been pretty close. In 1417 a transference of land was made by John del Bothe to Sir John Byron. In February 1418 the latter stood surety for Bothe when he took out a ten-years lease of the vaccary of Bacup and two tracts of pasture in Rossendale.<sup>36</sup> The alliance between the two families was cemented by Byron's marriage with Margery, daughter of John del Bothe.<sup>37</sup> Events of early 1421 go to show that Sir John Byron was up at Westminster too, at the time when the Bothe *v.* Bold dispute was in process of settlement. On 16 February 1421, with three others, John del Bothe senior was one of Byron's mainpernors who undertook that he would do no harm to Ralph de Cotton.<sup>38</sup> On 28 February Byron and John del Bothe senior were associated in a recognisance for 1,000 marks to the King, the attached condition being that they were to see that John del Bothe junior appeared in Chancery one month after the subsequent Easter. Young Bothe did in fact appear and again on 19 September when he fulfilled the judgment of the court of Chancery.<sup>39</sup> He and Sir John Byron found further security on 8 December in a recognisance for 1,000 marks.<sup>40</sup> Sir John Byron was knight of the shire for Lancashire in the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster a week previous to the taking of this recognisance. His fellow-knight was Richard Shirburne. Their election had been conducted in county court at Lancaster on 15 November when John del Bothe senior was present. He apposed his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>41</sup> In March 1422 John del Bothe senior died. On 12 March 1423 the writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued and by August the escheator had received instructions to amove the King's hand from the Bothe estates.<sup>42</sup> His son and heir Thomas, over forty years of age, succeeded his father. Other sons were Robert and John who farmed the Bold lands in Barton. Two other sons were William and Laurence who came to high preferment in the Church, being Archbishops of York in 1452 and 1476 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 276, 295. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 336. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, App. 24, 5.  
<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 287 n. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 529. <sup>6</sup> Piccope, vii, 315. <sup>7</sup> Baines, iii, 243.

<sup>8</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 12. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1385-89, 444. <sup>10</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 43.  
<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 47. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 63. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 301. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 324.  
<sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 43. <sup>16</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 530. <sup>17</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 37. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>19</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 9. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 531. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 446.  
<sup>22</sup> Ormerod, iii, 866. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 66. <sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. i, 174.  
<sup>25</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 1B. <sup>26</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 382; *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 11. <sup>27</sup> Piccope, vii, 317. <sup>28</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 116. <sup>29</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 136. <sup>30</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 8. <sup>31</sup> Piccope, vii, 327. <sup>32</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 130. <sup>33</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 129.  
<sup>34</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 12, 4. <sup>35</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 294. <sup>36</sup> Baines, ii, 48. <sup>37</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 285. <sup>38</sup> Piccope, vii, 265. <sup>39</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 137. <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 214. <sup>41</sup> C. 219, 12, 6. <sup>42</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 24-25.

### John de Stanley (May 1413) (November 1414).<sup>1</sup>

The eldest son and heir apparent of Sir John Stanley of Lathom and Knowsley and his wife Isabel daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom, John Stanley succeeded his father in 1414. Sir John Stanley, the father, came of a younger branch of the Staffordshire family of Audley. The cadet line, which took its name from the manor of Stanlegh, settled in Cheshire in the reign of Edward II when it acquired by marriage the manor of Storeton and the hereditary forestership of Wirral. In 1385 Sir John Stanley, the father, who was a younger son, married Isabel the daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom, which alliance made him lord of a considerable part of the hundred of West Derby, including Knowsley and Lathom. He went to Ireland in 1386 as deputy for Richard II's favourite Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and from 1389 to 1391 was lieutenant there. He subsequently held important posts on the Welsh and Scottish borders. In December 1400 he was warden of Roxburgh Castle with an annual fee of 250 marks.<sup>2</sup> His adhesion to Henry IV met with a grant of the castles of Hope on the Dee and Mold in Flintshire and a re-grant on 10 December 1399 of the lieutenancy of Ireland. In this office he was, however, superseded in 1401 when he became officially bankrupt. From 1403 he was steward of the household to Henry, Prince of Wales, and in 1405 was admitted to the Order of the Garter. The King rewarded his services during the rebellion of that year by a grant, first for life and then in perpetuity, of the Isle of Man, which was forfeited by the Earl of Northumberland's treasons. In November 1409 Stanley was made constable of Windsor Castle. Henry V once more sent him to govern Ireland and he died at Ardee on 18 January 1414.<sup>3</sup> John Stanley, his eldest son, succeeded him. He was married to Isabel daughter of Sir Nicholas Haryngton and sister of Sir William Haryngton, who succeeded to the estates *jure uxoris* of the Nevilles of Hornby in 1424. In November 1407 John Stanley esquire had been granted an annuity of £20 for life by Henry, Prince of Wales.<sup>4</sup> Stanley was returned along with Sir John Assheton to



the first parliament of Henry V. The election was made by Sir Ralph Staveley as sheriff in county court at Wigan on 9 May 1413, five days before parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster. His brothers-in-law Sir William and Sir James Haryngton were among those who apposed their seals to the indenture of election. A separate indenture attested the free election of John de Stanley junior. This was sealed by only five of the thirty-six who attested the first indenture. The most important of these was Sir Nicholas Longford who was the first to seal the second indenture.<sup>5</sup> John Stanley was made a justice of the peace in Lancashire on 8 July 1413.<sup>6</sup> In September 1403 Sir John Stanley, the father, had been appointed surveyor of the forests of Macclesfield for life.<sup>7</sup> After his death, on 1 February 1414, John Stanley esquire was appointed steward of Macclesfield, master forester of the forests of Macclesfield and Delamere, and surveyor and equitator in them for life.<sup>8</sup> On 15 October in the same year Stanley was again elected to parliament, his fellow-knight of the shire being Robert Laurence. The election was conducted by Sir Nicholas Longford as sheriff in county court at Lancaster. Stanley's brother-in-law, Sir William Haryngton, was again present at the election.<sup>9</sup> Parliament met at Westminster on 19 November. On 20 November Stanley had a grant of the custody of Arthur Workesley whose idiocy had been the object of a commission of enquiry issued in the previous March.<sup>10</sup> On 10 December Stanley, Robert Laurence his fellow-representative, and Robert Derby, also a Lancashire esquire, were bound in a recognisance for £100 to Sir William Fulthorpe.<sup>11</sup> On 1 March 1415 a commission was issued to John Stanley appointing him a justice on eyre for the three hundreds of Macclesfield. He served in this capacity almost year by year until his death in 1437.<sup>12</sup> On 15 June an inquisition post mortem was taken at Ormskirk on his mother who had survived her husband and died on 26 October 1414. John Stanley was stated to be the son and nearest heir and to be twenty-eight years old at her death.<sup>13</sup> Three days before the inquisition he received royal letters of protection as a member of the King's retinue.<sup>14</sup> He contracted about the same time with Sir Robert Ureswyk the sheriff of Lancaster to provide 50 archers<sup>15</sup> for the renewal of the French war for which preparations were being feverishly pursued. He himself served in the campaign which culminated at Agincourt with a retinue of 8 men-at-arms and 24 archers.<sup>16</sup> His brother-in-law, Sir William Haryngton, was bearer of the royal standard in the battle. Apparently John Stanley was knighted for his services. In the following May 1416, along with Ralph Radclyf and Nicholas Blundell, he was an adjudicator in a dispute pending between Sir John Savage, his fellow-justice in the three hundreds of Macclesfield, and John de Legh of Booths. Savage and his mainpernors had bound themselves to the King in a recognisance for £2,000 that he would abide the award of

the arbitrators.<sup>17</sup> Precept was given to the auditor for county Lancaster on 8 November 1416 to discharge Sir John Stanley of the payment of his farm for the wardship of the manor of Withington which he was surrendering.<sup>18</sup> In the previous March *in recompensacionem expensarum et assidui laboris* directed to the finding that the late Sir Nicholas Longford's manor of Withington was held of the King in chief as of his Duchy of Lancaster, Sir John Stanley had been allowed the farm of the manor for 35 marks a year.<sup>19</sup> In June 1417 he shared with James Strangeways a grant of the custody of the lands left by John de Trafford and the wardship of the heir.<sup>20</sup> In the November parliament of 1417 John Walton petitioned for the restitution of his manor of Walton near Liverpool from which he had been ejected by Robert Fazacreley, backed up by Sir John Stanley. Stanley, Fazacreley and others were now bound in a recognisance for £100 that they would allow Walton to occupy his manor undisturbed.<sup>21</sup> On 2 March 1418 Sir John was appointed a justice of the peace for Lancashire<sup>22</sup> and on 28 April a commissioner *de mustro et arriacione* for the West Derby hundred.<sup>23</sup> Late in November 1419 Sir John Stanley, Sir Robert Ureswyk sheriff of Lancaster, Sir Henry Hoghton, Sir Robert Laurence, and Ralph Radclyf were instructed to treat among themselves for a loan to the King and to induce all other sufficient lieges in Lancashire to contribute. The Treasurer or his deputy was to be advised before 24 January of what the commissioners had effected. The repayment of the loan was secured on a third of a tenth and fifteenth assigned specifically for that purpose by the last parliament.<sup>24</sup> Early in the new reign, on 27 January 1423, Stanley was confirmed in his Cheshire offices and in the annuity of £20 which he had held from 1407.<sup>25</sup> Apparently he succeeded Sir Henry Hoghton, who died in November 1424, as steward of the Wapentake of Blackburn. At Michaelmas 1425 Stanley was the accountant—it was one of his functions as steward—for the profits from the halmotes held in the manors of Colne, Hightenhill, Accrington, Pendleton, Chatburn and Worston.<sup>26</sup> He was still occupying the position of steward of Blackburnshire in 1430<sup>27</sup> and only resigned it a month before his death, in November 1437, along with the offices of chief forester of Pendle, Rossendale and Trawden, and *staurator* in the wapentake of Blackburn, as well as the stewardship of the manors of Tottington, Rochdale, and Penwortham.<sup>28</sup> Sir Henry Hoghton had held all these offices jointly under the survey of the trustees of Henry V's will. In 1425 Stanley was accounting for the stewardship of Blackburnshire. It may be conjectured that he took over the other offices, which were in the same gift, simultaneously on Hoghton's decease in November 1424. On 15 August 1425 along with his brother-in-law, Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, Stanley was an adjudicator in a suit between John Talbot and Richard Golyn concerning lands held in Yorkshire and Lancashire



by Richard Radclyf's widow. The parties to the suit were bound in 1,000 marks to stand by the award.<sup>29</sup> The six weeks which intervened between the issue of the summons for parliament to meet and its opening at Leicester on 18 February 1426 were spent in an attempt to reconcile Duke Humphrey of Gloucester with the chancellor Bishop Henry Beaufort. The Beaufort connection of the Haryngtons of Hornby with whom Sir John Stanley was allied by his marriage, coupled with the fact that the Bishop of Winchester was the most influential of the trustees of the Lancastrian estates of the Crown, probably predisposed Stanley in support of the chancellor. With Haryngton and Eastcourt he seems to have acted as a negotiator with Gloucester and reported to Bedford, who had recently returned from France to compose the quarrel, Gloucester's fear of a riot if both his and the chancellor's household were lodged in the same town—Northampton—where a preparatory council was to be held five days before parliament met.<sup>30</sup> On 23 July later in the year, along with Sir William Haryngton his brother-in-law, Sir Peter Dutton, Henry Halsall Archdeacon of Chester, and William Troutbeck Chamberlain of Chester and Chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, Sir John Stanley was appointed a commissioner for a loan to the government. The committee was first to see what it could arrange within its own compass and then to treat with the more well-to-do persons of Lancashire and Cheshire, the clergy excluded. The loan was to be paid into the Receipt of the Exchequer by 1 September and repayment was to be undertaken in the following July from the wool subsidies and tunnage and poundage granted as security in the Leicester parliament in May 1426.<sup>31</sup> On 12 April 1427 Stanley was commissioned with Henry Litherland to seise all corn and other grain being brought in the hundred of Wirral and carried to the north from where it was being exported without licence.<sup>32</sup> The commissioners for the loan of 1426 were re-appointed on 13 May 1428 to raise further sums in the same counties and to have the money at the Lower Exchequer before 20 June. The commissioners were given full authority to promise repayment from the parliamentary subsidies, on 13 October.<sup>33</sup> Stanley and Troutbeck together with a baron and an auditor of the Exchequer of Chester were appointed on 8 February 1430 commissioners to treat with that county regarding the subsidy of 1,000 marks granted in aid of the King's expedition to France.<sup>34</sup> The parliament of January 1431 granted, besides fifteenths and tenths, tunnage and poundage, and the continued subsidy, an additional subsidy of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental. The grants were made on 20 March. On 12 April Sir John Stanley, Sir William Haryngton, Sir Ralph Radclyf, Thomas Urswyk esquire, the receiver for the county palatine, James del Holt, a fellow-justice of Stanley's on the Macclesfield eyre, William Garnet, knight of the shire in the last parliament, John Urswyk, and the Sheriff of Lancaster, Sir Robert Laurence, were appointed to

give effect to the grant by ascertaining those in Lancashire liable to contribute and for what amounts.<sup>35</sup> Apparently grave difficulties in the way of assessment attended the efforts of the commission. On 12 October, six months after the letters patent authorising the first commission had been issued, the commissioners were ordered by the Duke of Gloucester as *custos Anglie* to conduct inquisitions in the county palatine into tenures by any service, military or otherwise, and to report under their seals to the Exchequer. Inquisitions were taken at Lancaster on 17 November into tenures in the wapentake of Lonsdale and at Preston on 10 December into tenures in the wapentakes of Leyland, West Derby, Salford, and Amounderness. Stanley himself was stated by the jurors for Derbyshire to be seised of the manors of Hulton, Scarisbrek, which made up a third of a knight's fee, and the manors of Childwall, Dalton, and Allerton, which together were equivalent to half a knight's fee. In Amounderness he was stated to be seised of the manors of Weaton, Treales, Wesham, and Thistleton, which comprised half a knight's fee.<sup>36</sup> Apparently the collection of this complicated tax on land and income proved too difficult and the next parliament, that of May 1432, annulled it. Sir William Haryngton and Sir John Stanley, and their nephew-in-law Sir Richard Molyneux, were present in county court held at Lancaster on 25 June 1433 when the sheriff, Sir Robert Laurence, conducted the election of Sir Thomas Stanley (Sir John's eldest son who had previously been returned in 1427) and Sir Thomas Radclyf as knights of the shire.<sup>37</sup> Early in the following year, on 26 February 1434, Stanley, Haryngton, and the sheriff of Lancaster, were commissioned to treat with the important persons in the county for a considerable loan to the King and report as soon as possible to the Treasurer.<sup>38</sup> The last parliament had authorised the Council to give security for a debt of 100,000 marks. It had also passed an ordinance for an oath, to be sworn by the magnates of the different counties, directed against the maintenance of criminals in the courts. On 20 January 1434 Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radclyf as knights of the shire were ordered to put into Chancery a list of those persons in Lancashire whom they considered ought to take the oath not to maintain peace breakers. The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Sir William Haryngton, and the two representatives, were instructed on 1 May to give the sheriff their warrant to be published in county court along with the list of those certified into Chancery so that these might come up and take the oath before the commissioners. Sir John Stanley was the first on the list.<sup>39</sup> In December 1435 he was appointed to serve on the commission of the peace for Lancashire and this commission was renewed on the 21st of the following March,<sup>40</sup> and again on 15 February 1437.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile on 14 February 1436 when writs were issued by order of the Council requesting loans for the equipment of the army about to be sent to France, Sir John Stanley



was asked to advance 100 marks.<sup>42</sup> Ten days later, along with his brother-in-law Sir William Haryngton, his son Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir John Byron, he was commissioned to induce notables of the county palatine to lend the King a considerable sum to be repaid out of a third of a tenth and fifteenth due at Whitsuntide, 1437, which parliament had allocated for the purpose.<sup>43</sup>

Sir John Stanley died at the beginning of December 1437. On 7 November he had resigned his offices under the trusteeship of the executors of Henry V's will—the master forestership, stewardship, and office of *staurator*, of Blackburnshire, and the stewardship of the manors of Tottington, Rochdale and Penwortham.<sup>44</sup> A week later he surrendered the stewardship, master forestership and the offices of survey and equitator of Macclesfield, Delamare, and Mondrem to be appointed to a joint tenure of the offices with Ralph Lord Cromwell, Treasurer of England.<sup>45</sup> The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued to the escheator of Lancashire, his kinsman Thomas de Lathom, on 14 December.<sup>46</sup> On the 28th his annuity of £20, which he had received in 1407 from Henry V as Prince of Wales, was surrendered.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 279, 284. <sup>2</sup> *Cal. Docs. re. Scotland*, iv, 114. <sup>3</sup> Notice in *D.N.B.* <sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 447. <sup>5</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 1A and B. <sup>6</sup> Piccope, vii, 314. <sup>7</sup> Ormerod, i, 90. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 666. <sup>9</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 4. <sup>10</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 118. <sup>11</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 197. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 666-70. <sup>13</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 106. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlv, 564. <sup>15</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 212. <sup>16</sup> Nicholas, *Agin-court*, 384. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 637. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 13. <sup>19</sup> Piccope, vii, 319. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 323. <sup>21</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 411. <sup>22</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>24</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 252. <sup>25</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 63. <sup>26</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 273. <sup>27</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 269. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 335. <sup>29</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 39. <sup>30</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iii, 183. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 355. <sup>32</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 670. <sup>33</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 482. <sup>34</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 670. <sup>35</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 140. <sup>36</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 92-6. <sup>37</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 4. <sup>38</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 355. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 379. <sup>40</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 534. <sup>42</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iv, 323. <sup>43</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 530. <sup>44</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 335. <sup>45</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 484. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 38. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 672.

**Ralph de Radclyf** (April 1414) (October 1423; *del Smethilles, armiger*) (October 1427; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

Ralph de Radclyf was the son and heir of the Sir Ralph returned as knight of the shire in 1398 and 1404. His mother was Margery, daughter of Robert Ince and widow of Sir Henry Trafford.<sup>2</sup> He succeeded his father in 1406. On 18 June the escheator was ordered to give him livery of the moiety of the manor of Blackburn and the moiety of the manor of Flixton and certain tenements in Harwood. Security was to be taken for the payment of the relief.<sup>3</sup> Ralph de Radclyf married Cecelia, widow of William Venables, Baron of Kinderton.

On 11 August 1407 Ralph de Radclyf was a juror at the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on Sir Roger Pilkington.<sup>4</sup> He was also a juror at the inquisition taken at Middleton on 28 February 1410 on James Radclyf of Radcliffe.<sup>5</sup> On 14 April 1413 in a recognisance for £500 he entered into an obligation with the King to quit claim of the manor of Ulneswalton.<sup>6</sup> On 9 May he assisted at the election in the county court at Wigan of Sir John de Assheton and John Stanley and apposed his seal not to the regular indenture but to the indenture which attested the *libera electio* of young Stanley.<sup>7</sup> By 8 June, when he received precept to have public proclamation made that all those who had obtained writs in the last reign should keep their day at the next Lancaster sessions, Ralph de Radclyf was receiver in the county palatine.<sup>8</sup> In March 1417 he was still holding this office when he received instructions to pay Alexander Blackburn, one of the barons of the duchy exchequer at Lancaster, his fee of 10 marks still overdue from the Lent sessions held at Lancaster in 1403.<sup>9</sup> In this year, however, Radclyf was succeeded at the receipt of the county by Thomas Urswyk. Meanwhile, on 8 July 1413, he had been commissioned a justice of the peace.<sup>10</sup> On 12 August with his fellow-justices, Sir James Haryngton and John Stanley, he received a commission to enquire of the entry *cum potentia armata* and occupation of the lands of Richard Warburton at Pennington.<sup>11</sup> Radclyf and Nicholas Blundell were the knights of the shire for Lancashire in the parliament which met at Leicester on 30 April 1414. On 15 October following he sealed the indenture of election at Lancaster which attested the return of John Stanley and Robert Laurence.<sup>12</sup> On 28 April 1415 Radclyf was grantee of royal letters of pardon.<sup>13</sup> He and William Ambrose, who was in July 1422 clerk of Common Pleas at Lancaster, had been appointed justices to hold pleas at Lancaster, but on 12 August 1415 they received writs of discharge.<sup>14</sup> In the following May, along with Sir John Stanley and Nicholas Blundell, Radclyf was an adjudicator in the dispute pending between John Savage and John de Legh of Booths. In a recognisance to the King in £2,000 Savage and his mainpernors undertook to abide the award.<sup>15</sup> On 12 July 1416 Radclyf's commission as a justice of the peace was re-affirmed,<sup>16</sup> and again on 2 March 1418.<sup>17</sup> On 28th April of this year Ralph de Radclyf was a member of the commission *de mustro et arriacione* for the hundred of Salford.<sup>18</sup> On 26 November 1419 Radclyf was instructed to confer with Sir John Stanley, Sir Robert Urswyk, Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir Robert Laurence about a loan to the King. Having consulted among themselves, the commissioners were to induce other sufficient secular lieges of the county palatine to contribute. Clerics who would make an advancement at Candlemas (2 February) were to be let alone. Meanwhile, before two months had elapsed from the issue of the letters patent, before 24 January 1420 the commissioners for the loan were to advise the Treasurer of what they had been able to effect.



Re-payment of the loan was secured on a supplementary grant in the parliament of October 1419 of a third of a tenth and fifteenth.<sup>19</sup> In 1420 Radclyf, along with Sir Richard Radclyf, Richard Shirburne, and Nicholas Blundell, acted as arbitrator in the action between John del Bothe and Geoffrey Bold. If award had not been made by 2 February 1421, Peter Massey was to be adjudicator.<sup>20</sup> Ralph de Radclyf was present in county court at Croston when Sir Thomas de Radclyf of Wynmarleigh and Thomas Urswyk were elected knights of the shire to the parliament of May 1421. He apposed his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>21</sup> In county court again held at Croston on 13 October 1423 the election of Knights of the shire for the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster a week later, was conducted by Sir Richard de Radclyf. Sir Thomas de Radclyf, the sheriff's son, and Ralph de Radclyf, esquire of Smithills, their kinsman, were returned. At this time the receiver for the county palatine, Thomas Urswyk, was accounting for an annuity of £20 to Ralph de Radclyf paid out of the issues of the county. In the list of annuities paid out for the year dating from Michaelmas 1422 to 1423 it was the third largest. He had been in receipt of it from the beginning of the reign.<sup>22</sup> At the election in county court at Lancaster on 2 April 1425 Ralph de Radclyf *del Smethilles* assisted. He apposed his seal to the indenture which attested the return of Ralph Longford and Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe.<sup>23</sup> Radclyf of Smithills together with James del Holt were as justices of the peace concerned in the Stanley *v.* Molyneux *émeute* of June 1425. When wind of the intended affray reached the sheriff, Sir Richard de Radclyf, who was at Manchester, showing them a writ from the King mentioning rumours of riot between Molyneux and Stanley factions, he ordered the two justices to accompany him to Liverpool. They arrived there two days later, on 27 June, to find Thomas Stanley in his father's house and his supporters in the town to the number of 2,000 and more. Stanley was prepared to furnish security to keep the peace provided Sir Richard Molyneux did the same. Two days later the sheriff arrested Stanley and put him in ward. The sheriff appealed to the people there in Liverpool to help him execute his office, which they did, marching out towards West Derby. On a moor there they met with Molyneux with a retinue of a thousand men ready to fight and coming in fast towards the town of Liverpool. The sheriff arrested Sir Richard and committed him to ward when he was conveyed to Lancaster. Ralph de Radclyf and James del Holt, in a letter dated 16 July to William Troutbek, the Chancellor of the Duchy, and to the King's Council, certified of the riot and added that the sheriff would not sponsor their report. Later Troutbek himself tried to get Sir Richard de Radclyf to record it but he refused to sanction it in all particulars.<sup>24</sup> It was during the 'parliament of battes' held at Leicester that Ralph de Radclyf, on Whitsunday 1426, was there knighted by the young King who had himself

just received the honour at the hands of his uncle, Bedford.<sup>25</sup> On 16 September 1427 Radclyf, now described in the return as *chivalier*, was elected along with the Thomas Stanley, who had been implicated in the quarrel of 1425, to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 13 October 1427. The election, conducted by Sir Robert Laurence as sheriff, took place in the county court held at Wigan.<sup>26</sup> On 12 April 1431 a commission was set up, comprising Sir John Stanley, Sir Ralph de Radclyf, Sir William Haryngton, Thomas de Urswyk, the receiver of the Palatinate, James del Holt, William Garnet knight of the shire in the last parliament, John Urswyk, and Sir Robert Laurence the sheriff, to ascertain the persons in Lancashire liable, and for how much, to contribute to the grant made in the last parliament which had met in January 1431. Besides the fifteenths and tenths, tunnage and poundage, and the continued subsidy, a grant had been made of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental.<sup>27</sup> Six months later to the day, on 12 October, the commissioners were ordered by Humphrey of Gloucester, the *custos Anglie*, to enquire *per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum* as to tenures by any service, held by both lay and clerical persons; in the case of military fees the scope of the inquisition was to embrace tenures as small as the tenth of a knight's fee.<sup>28</sup> As a member of the commission Sir Ralph was present at inquisitions taken at Lancaster and Preston.<sup>29</sup> In the following March he was a juror at the inquisition taken at Lancaster on Sir Ralph de Longford.<sup>30</sup> Radclyf himself died on 19 September 1432. The writ of *Diem clausit extremum* was issued on 12 March 1433<sup>31</sup> and the inquisition post mortem held at Wigan on 15 April 1433. Apparently in addition to the Blackburn and Flixton moieties he had had a life interest in 24 messuages, 400 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow and one windmill in the vills of Great Hoole, Croston, Eccleston, Walton, Leyland and Standish. These were worth £10 a year and descended in fee tail to Sir Ralph's son who had married Elena daughter of Sir John Massey of Tatton. In 1431 Sir Ralph had made a settlement of a plot of land in Salford and a tenement in Eccleston together worth £3.<sup>32</sup> His executors were Margaret, the widow of Milo de Blakebourne, Ralph de Radclyf his son, Thomas Urswyk, esquire, the receiver for the county Palatine, and Richard de Blundell.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 281, 306, 313. <sup>2</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, ii, 319. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 6. <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 86. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 94. <sup>6</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1413-19, 66, 71. <sup>7</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 1B. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxii, 10. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. <sup>10</sup> Piccope, vii, 314. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>12</sup> *P.R.O.*, *op. cit.*, 4. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 318. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 12. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 637. <sup>16</sup> Piccope, vii, 320. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 326. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>19</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 252. <sup>20</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 129. <sup>21</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 12, 5. <sup>22</sup> *D.L.*, 29, 89, 1631. <sup>23</sup> C. 219, 13, 3. <sup>24</sup> Piccope, vii, 253. <sup>25</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 13 n. <sup>26</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 13, 5. <sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 140. <sup>28</sup> *Feudal Aids*, 272. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 92. <sup>30</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 29. <sup>31</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 34. <sup>32</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 34. <sup>33</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 33.



**Nicholas Blundell** (April 1414).<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas was the son of Henry Blundell who died in 1406-07. He lived at Little Crosby in the parish of Sefton and married Ellen, daughter and heir of Nicholas de Tyldesley of Tyldesley.<sup>2</sup>

On 3 August 1396 Nicholas Blundell and his father served on a jury of recognition at the sessions held at Lancaster before the Duke's justices, the issue being the unjust disseisin of John de Dyneley, the lord of the manor of Downham, of his freeholding in Clitheroe.<sup>3</sup> On 22 March 1398 Nicholas Blundell esquire took out letters of retainment with the King and received as his fee a grant for life of 10 marks a year.<sup>4</sup> Apparently this sum was charged on the issues of the county of Nottingham. On 1 October of the same year the sheriff of Nottingham was ordered to pay Blundell his annuity and the arrears due from the previous March.<sup>5</sup> In 1408 Nicholas and his wife gave fine in the palatine Chancery for various writs.<sup>6</sup> Returned as knight of the shire with Ralph de Radclyf, the receiver of the county palatine, to the Leicester parliament of April 1414, Nicholas Blundell was the first of the seven esquires who, on 2 March 1416 in county court at Lancaster, apposed their seals to the indenture which attested the election of Sir John de Assheton and John Morley.<sup>7</sup> On 30 May together with Sir John Stanley and Ralph de Radclyf, his fellow in the Commons two years before, Blundell was an arbitrator in a dispute between John Savage and John Legh the elder of Booths. Savage and his mainpernors had bound themselves in a recognisance to the King in £2,000 that he would abide by the award of the adjudicators.<sup>8</sup> In the following year Blundell and Robert Halsall the escheator were given the wardship of Hugh, the son and heir of Hugh de Aughton who died early in 1417 seised of the manors of North Meols and Thistleton in Amounderness.<sup>9</sup> Later in the same year, on 20 December, three days after parliament had been dismissed after its grant of two-tenths and fifteenths, Nicholas Blundell was appointed to be one of the twelve collectors of the fifteenth in the county palatine.<sup>10</sup> In the grant it was stipulated that this levy was to be made by 2 February 1418. On the following 28 April Blundell was appointed one of eight commissioners *de mustro et arriacione* for the hundred of West Derby.<sup>11</sup> In 1420, probably at the close of the year when parliament was sitting, Nicholas Blundell again appeared in the position of arbitrator. He and the sheriff of Lancaster, Sir Richard de Radclyf, Ralph de Radclyf, and Richard Shirburne who was knight of the shire in the parliament of December 1420, were to make award before 2 February 1421 in a dispute between John del Bothe of Barton and Geoffrey de Bold. The former of the two parties to the action, returned along with Shirburne, one of the arbitrators, as knight of the shire to the December parliament, was bound in a recognisance for 700 marks to abide by the judgment of the adjudicators. If these did

not make award before 2 February they were to be replaced by Peter Massey.<sup>12</sup> In the pleas held before the royal justices at Lancaster on 10 August 1421 Nicholas Blundell and his wife were involved with Sir Richard de Kyghley, William and Geoffrey de Bradshagh, Thurstan de Anderton, Richard del Crosse, and Nicholas de Hyton, in a dispute with John de Holland of Thorpwater who complained of disseisin of his free tenement of a moiety of the manor of Golburne. The jurors of the assize of recognition were in favour of Holland's claim.<sup>13</sup> Blundell in the following year was again acting as arbitrator. John de Torbock of Huyton before his death arranged for the succession of his estates by enfeoffing Henry Halsall the archdeacon of Chester and Richard Smith a chaplain. The death of his son Henry de Torbock on 21 July 1421 raised complications. His sisters were his heirs, but William their uncle claimed the manors in right of the entail. Sir John Stanley the feudal superior and Laurence Standish as kinsman obtained on behalf of the two sisters from Archdeacon Halsall what he apparently refused to concede. The services of Nicholas Blundell were called on as arbitrator in the dispute 'upon the high trust, truth, and affection they had in him, a simple man of their kin, more than for any cunning that was in his person.'<sup>14</sup> He took a journey to Westminster to take counsel with a judge and apprentices to the law, the serjeants being retained, and gave his decision in June 1422 to the effect that William, the heir male, was to take the manors whilst the two daughters of John de Torbock were to renounce their claim on them but were to receive in recompense 200 marks on reaching their majority. This ruling apparently failed to satisfy both parties and the case was later reopened. Nicholas Blundell died early in the following year. The writ of *diem clausit extremum* on his death was issued on 12 March 1423.<sup>15</sup> His executors were his three sons, Henry, John and Robert.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 281. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 87. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 42. <sup>4</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 321. <sup>5</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1396-99, 337. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 8. <sup>7</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 8. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 637. <sup>9</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 232. <sup>10</sup> Piccope, vii, 324. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>12</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 129. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 135. <sup>14</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 180 n., quoting Croxeth, *D.Z.*, 1, 18. <sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 24. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

**John Morley** (March 1416)<sup>1</sup> (January 1431).<sup>2</sup>

The son of William Morley by Joan, daughter and eventual heir of Gilbert de Wennington, John Morley in 1419 was living at Wennington in the Lonsdale wapentake.<sup>3</sup> He apparently also held land in Great Mearley, Clitheroe. At his death in 1416 John Dyneley of Downham was seised, conjointly with his wife Margaret, of three



messuages, 100 acres of land, and 20 acres of meadow in Clitheroe, John Morley being their grantor.<sup>4</sup> He married Anne Booth of Barton.<sup>5</sup>

John Morley served as an esquire in the retinue of Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, when the latter went to the help of the Teutonic Knights against the Lithuanians in the summer of 1390. He seems to have acted as a minor steward. On 14 and 15 August 28 crowns were disbursed by the treasurer of the expedition to the clerk of the marshalsea through the hands of John Morley, for fodder which he had bought. Through the same agency 7 crowns were paid out for the ferrying of Derby's horses between Danzig and Königsberg.<sup>6</sup> Thus one of the new King's friends, Morley was appointed to serve on the commission of 11 May 1402 headed by Robert Lord Haryngton and composed of fourteen other influential men of the county palatine, who were directed to do their utmost to stamp out in the county all seditious propaganda and arrest those who questioned Henry's good faith regarding his accession promises to rule constitutionally.<sup>7</sup> A certain Morley of Craven served with Henry Hoghton, the sheriff of York, and other West Yorkshire notables, on a commission appointed on 17 March 1406 to investigate rumours that, under pretence of riding to help the Prince of Wales against the Welsh, certain of the King's people of the North were going in array to help the Welsh rebels, tarrying in the day and riding on by night to avoid hindrance. These the commissioners were to arrest and report to King and Council.<sup>8</sup> It is not improbable that this Morley of Craven was John Morley of Lonsdale. Certainly in July 1410 John Morley served with Sir Robert Neville of Hornby and Sir William Haryngton of Lonsdale, on a commission of array in the West Riding of Yorkshire for defence against the Scots.<sup>9</sup> Early in Henry V's reign, on 1 July 1413, John Morley esquire received an annuity of £20 charged on the receipt of the county palatine. The charge figures on the *compotus* of the receiver of the county, Thomas Urswyk, for the year dating from Michaelmas 1422. Of the forty-one annuities accounted for it was the fourth largest, the average allowance being £10.<sup>10</sup> On 22 March 1415 in view of the proposed renewal of the French war Henry V ordered a proclamation commanding all knights and esquires who owed service by virtue of fiefs, wages, or annuities, to hasten to London by 24 April (Wylie). Apparently as a retainer of the King John Morley complied. He served on the Agincourt campaign with a following of two archers.<sup>11</sup> In county court held at Lancaster on the following 2 March he and Sir John Assheton were returned as *milites de parlamento* to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster a fortnight later.<sup>12</sup> Assheton had likewise served on the Agincourt campaign. Judging from the non-occurrence of Morley's name on the French and Norman Rolls of the reign he did not see further military service abroad. In April 1417 pardons of outlawry were conceded to two persons who had failed to

appear to answer pleas of debt brought against them by John Morley. The first grantee was a Yorkshire 'chapman' of Lauclyf who had failed to answer touching a debt of 20 marks; the second a Ribblesdale yeoman whom Morley had sued for a similar sum.<sup>13</sup> On 31 March 1418 at the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on John de Croft of Claughton in Lonsdale John Morley was a juror.<sup>14</sup> On 28 April he served on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* for the Lonsdale hundred.<sup>15</sup> John Laurence, a fellow-commissioner in the Lonsdale hundred, and Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe, who had served on a like commission for Amounderness, were returned as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to Westminster for 16 October 1419. John Morley was present at their election in the county court held at Lancaster on 25 September when he put his seal to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>16</sup> In August 1423 Morley was again a juror at the inquisition post mortem held at Lancaster on Henry de Croft of Claughton, the son of John de Croft on whom inquisition had been taken in 1418.<sup>17</sup> Morley was one of the eight esquires who apposed their seals to the indenture which attested the election in county court held at Preston on 9 February 1426, of John Botiller of Bewsey and Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Leicester on 18 February.<sup>18</sup> He also assisted at the next election made in county court held on 16 September 1427 at Wigan, when Sir Ralph de Radclyf of Smithills and Thomas Stanley were returned.<sup>19</sup> On 5 March of the following year, he was a juror at an inquisition *probandi aetatem* taken at Lancaster, on Thomas de Hesketh of Harwood.<sup>20</sup> A year later, on 6 March 1430, Morley served on a commission of array for county Lancaster under the superintendence of the Earl of Salisbury, Richard Neville, and the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percý. The commissioners, besides these, numbered eight, one of whom was a Westmorland squire, and five of the remaining seven, men who lived in the Lonsdale hundred.<sup>21</sup> In the next parliament, which met at Westminster on 12 January 1431, John Morley and William Gernet sat as knights of the shire for Lancashire. Sir Robert Laurence, a member of the commission of array, as sheriff conducted the election in the county court held at Lancaster on 1 January. This was the first election after the fixation by statute of the forty-shilling freehold as the qualification for voting. The sheriff himself undertook to see that the two representatives returned should attend.<sup>22</sup> While parliament was still in session, on 12 March, along with others who included three members of the commission of array of a year ago—the Earl of Salisbury, Sir William Haryngton and Sir Thomas Tunstall—John Morley esquire was appointed to serve as a commissioner in the muster and array of 200 archers of the parts of Kendal, Lonsdale, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The commissioners were to advise the Council of their names and condition before



23 April.<sup>23</sup> Unlike his fellow-knight of the shire, John Morley took no part in the negotiation of the assessment of the tax of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental, voted in the parliament. On 24 June 1433 Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas de Radclyf were elected knights of the shire in the county court held at Lancaster. John Morley was one of the attestors of the election in the indenture to which he apposed his seal.<sup>24</sup> When this parliament of July 1433 passed an act directed against the suppression of riotous assemblies which were becoming increasingly prevalent in the country, the knights of the shire in this parliament were given the task of drawing up the names of those persons in their counties who should take the oath, required in the act, not to maintain peacebreakers. John Morley figured in the list of knights and esquires of Lancashire certified into Chancery by Stanley and Sir Thomas de Radclyf. Those whose names had been thus certified and proclaimed by the sheriff in county court were to appear to take the oath before a commission set up on 1 May 1434 comprising, in the case of Lancashire, Morley's kinsman, William Bothe Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, and the two knights of the shire.<sup>25</sup> John Morley *armiger* was present on 24 December 1436 at the election in county court held at Lancaster when his neighbour of Hornby, Thomas Haryngton, and Henry Halsall were returned as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 21 January 1437. Morley affixed his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>26</sup> He again attached his seal to the indenture of election to the parliament of November 1449 when Sir Thomas Stanley and John Botiller were returned.<sup>27</sup> Apparently Morley was still alive in February 1458 when he was a juror in an inquest post mortem taken at Lancaster on Sir Thomas Dacre.<sup>28</sup> The date of his death is not known.

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 11, 8. <sup>2</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 319. <sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 297 n. <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 122. <sup>5</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 71. <sup>6</sup> T. L. Smith, 44-5. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130. <sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 229. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 223. <sup>10</sup> P.R.O., D.L. 29, 89, 1631. <sup>11</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 375, 382. <sup>12</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 11, 8. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 90. <sup>14</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 130. <sup>15</sup> Piccope, vii, 327. <sup>16</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 12, 3. <sup>17</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 4. <sup>18</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 13, 4. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 135. <sup>20</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 21. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 71. <sup>22</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 14, 2. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 131. <sup>24</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 14, 4. <sup>25</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>26</sup> P.R.O., C. 219, 15, 1. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. <sup>28</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 65.

**Nicholas Botiller** (October 1419; *de Rouclif*) (February 1426; *de Rauclyf*).<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Botiller succeeded his father Sir John in the family estates in September 1404, when he was about twenty years old. Sir John Botiller of Rawcliffe had been escheator of the county palatine from

December 1391 to 1393.<sup>2</sup> From 1393 to 1396,<sup>3</sup> and again from July 1401 to September 1404,<sup>4</sup> he occupied the shrievalty of Lancaster. Besides the succession of Middle and Out Rawcliffe, Nicholas Botiller held messuages and lands in Stalmine, Staynall, Thistleton, Kirkham, and Freckleton.<sup>5</sup> He had married in 1401 Margery the daughter of Sir Richard de Kirkby,<sup>6</sup> an important landowner in the county. (He was for example overlord of the Asshetons of Ashton-under-Lyne.) At the August sessions held at Lancaster before the royal justices in 1401 Nicholas Botiller and his wife Margery paid a mark to the King for a licence to concord with his father, Sir John Botiller, on a plea of covenant touching a tenement in Little Hoole and they obtained a cirograph to that effect.<sup>7</sup> Nicholas' second wife, whom he married by licence in 1442, namely, Katherine, widow of Sir Thomas Radclyf of Winmarleigh, and sister of William Booth, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, brought lands assigned to her in Catterall and Garstang.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these estates Nicholas Botiller was, in 1446, holding the manor of Hoole, with Richard Clifton a sixth of the manor of Goosnargh, and, with Thomas Goosnargh, the manor of Stalmine. Besides these he had lands in 1443 in Catterall, Rowall, Stirzacre, and Wrightington, with a moiety of the manor of Whittle. He appeared, moreover, on the lists of 'foreign burgesses' of Preston for 1397 and 1415.<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Botiller's estates then, though confined within the limits of the Amounderness hundred, were extensive.

In 1410 Botiller was on the commission appointed to arrest Roger de Dalton and keep him in ward in Lancaster castle.<sup>9</sup> On 9 May 1413 he was present in the county court held at Wigan when Sir John de Assheton and John Stanley were returned as knights of the shire.<sup>10</sup> He also apposed his seal to the indenture which attested the election, in county court at Lancaster on 15 October 1414, of John Stanley and Robert Laurence.<sup>11</sup> On 28 April 1418 Nicholas Botiller served on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* for the wapentake of Amounderness.<sup>12</sup> He and John Laurence, who had served on a like commission in the Lonsdale hundred, were returned as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 16 October 1419. The election took place in the county court at Lancaster held on 25 September. The Sheriff, Sir Robert Urswyk, was lord of the manor of Upper Rawcliffe; Nicholas Botiller was one of his free tenants.<sup>13</sup> The latter was present in county court held at Croston, when Sir Thomas Radclyf of Winmarleigh and Thomas Urswyk of Badsworth, the receiver of the county, were returned to the parliament of May 1421.<sup>14</sup> Sir Thomas Radclyf was Nicholas Botiller's brother-in-law.<sup>15</sup> The former's first wife was Botiller's sister, Isabella. Again on 2 November 1422 when Thomas Urswyk, for the second time, and John Gerard of Bryn were returned as knights of the shire Nicholas Botiller *armiger* was present in county court at Lancaster and sealed the indenture of



election.<sup>16</sup> He and four others, among them Thomas Urswyk and William Ambros, clerk of the Common Pleas at Lancaster, were arbitrators in a dispute between the Abbot of Furness and Sir Richard de Kirkby, Nicholas Botiller's father-in-law, touching a parcel of moss, moor and pasture, in Broughton-in-Furness, called Angerton Moss, which Kirkby claimed as his soil and freehold. In June 1424 the adjudicators made award to the effect that Angerton Moss was to belong to the abbot while Kirkby was to receive 80 cartloads of turf a year from it.<sup>17</sup> On 19 March 1425 an inquisition was taken at Lancaster before William Babyngton and John Cokayn, justices, by virtue of a writ of privy seal which directed them to enquire into all points raised by a petition of Geoffrey Werburton of Newcroft, which petition was enclosed in the writ. Nicholas Botiller was a juror at the inquisition.<sup>18</sup> He was returned as knight of the shire to the 'parliament of battes' which met at Leicester on 18 February 1426. The election took place nine days earlier in county court held at Preston by Sir Robert Laurence the sheriff. Nicholas' fellow member in this parliament was John Botiller of Bewsey, Warrington, with whom he had agreed in 1423 on a marriage between his own son John and Elizabeth sister of John Botiller and daughter of Sir William Botiller.<sup>19</sup> At the time of his second return to parliament Nicholas Botiller was brother-in-law to the escheator of the county palatine, Richard Botiller of Kirkland, who held the office from 1420 apparently to 1427 when he was accused of making false returns of the profits of his escheatorship. This Richard Botiller had married Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Botiller of Rawcliffe in 1401, by papal dispensation.<sup>20</sup> In March 1428 Nicholas Botiller was a juror at an *inquisitio probandi aetatem* taken at Lancaster in connection with Thomas de Hesketh of Harwood.<sup>21</sup> He sealed the indenture which attested the election of Sir John Byron and Robert Laurence the sheriff's son to the parliament of September 1429.<sup>22</sup> He was also present at Lancaster at the next election when John Morley and William Gernet were returned to the parliament of January 1431. This was the first election held after the constitution of the county court had been regulated by the statute which imposed a franchisal qualification of an annual income of 40s.<sup>23</sup> Botiller was on the jury-list for an inquisition into the military and other tenures in the wapentake of Amounderness taken at Preston in accordance with instructions issued on 12 October 1431 to Sir John Stanley and other commissioners who had in hand the assessment of the subsidy on land and income voted in the last parliament.<sup>24</sup> A month before the issue of this commission Nicholas Botiller, Richard Shirburne, and Hamond Massey of Rixton, were bound in a recognisance for 300 marks to assign to Sir Ralph Langton's widow her reasonable dower from her late husband's lands, a parcel of which had, apparently, been in their administration since his death in the

previous July.<sup>25</sup> Botiller again assisted at the election of the knights of the shire in the county court held at Lancaster on 7 April 1432 when Sir William de Assheton and Thomas de Haryngton were returned.<sup>26</sup> His name was one of those certified into Chancery by his neighbour, Sir Thomas Radclyf, and Sir Thomas Stanley, the knights of the shire for Lancashire in the parliament of July 1433, in accordance with an act of that parliament, as one of those who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers. On 1 May 1434 the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, William Bothe, and Sir William Haryngton together with the two knights of the shire were commissioned to issue their warrant to the sheriff for proclamation in the next county court that the oath was to be taken before them.<sup>27</sup> In March 1435 Botiller was one of seven mainpernors who bound themselves in a recognisance to Sir Robert Laurence, the sheriff, that William de Radclyf the younger of Todmorden would not escape from Lancaster castle. Fresh recognisances were entered into in the following September and again in March 1436. Botiller did not, however, participate in further recognisances of December 1436, and March and September 1437. These obligations would be undertaken at the half-yearly sessions of the royal justices at Lancaster.<sup>28</sup> On 19 September following Nicholas Botiller sealed the indenture attesting the election of Henry Halsall and Thomas Laurence as knights of the shire.<sup>29</sup> He assisted in the same way at the elections of the knights of the shire to the parliaments of January 1437,<sup>30</sup> February 1449, when he headed the list of sealers of the indenture,<sup>31</sup> and November 1450, when he again was the first to seal the indenture of election.<sup>32</sup>

Nicholas Botiller was dead by 1455.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 292, 311. <sup>2</sup> *D.K.R.*, xliii, 363; *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 46. <sup>3</sup> Gregson, 300. <sup>4</sup> *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>5</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 39. <sup>6</sup> Piccope, iv, opp. p. 39. <sup>7</sup> *L.P.P.R.*, 20. <sup>8</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 309 n. <sup>9</sup> Piccope, vii, 311. <sup>10</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 1A. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. <sup>12</sup> Piccope, vii, 327. <sup>13</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 269. <sup>14</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 12, 5. <sup>15</sup> Piccope, iv, 28. <sup>16</sup> C. 219, 13, 1. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. i, 170. <sup>18</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 9. <sup>19</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 269. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 313 n.; *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 139; ii, 13. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 21. <sup>22</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 14, 1. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. <sup>24</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 95. <sup>25</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 40, 32. <sup>26</sup> C. 219, 14, 3. <sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>28</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 41-2. <sup>29</sup> C. 219, 14, 5. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 15, 1. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 6. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, 1. <sup>33</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 269.

#### John Laurence (October 1419).<sup>1</sup>

A younger son of Edmund Laurence (*vide* Robert Laurence) who died in 1381, John Laurence was the grantee at the hands of his father's trustees of lands in Skerton and Heysham. By 1420 he apparently had holdings in Lancaster, Poulton and the Scale, where he and his wife



Margery received the licence of the Archdeacon of Richmond to have oratories.<sup>2</sup> Robert Laurence, who was a coroner in 1401, escheator from 1402 to 1408, knight of the shire in 1404, 1406 and 1414, and sheriff of Lancaster from 1425 to 1437, was an elder brother of John Laurence.

On 15 August 1397 John Laurence of Poulton was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken on Adam de Catterall of Little Mitton, near Whalley.<sup>3</sup> He figures at the Lancaster sessions four years later in a plea of Novel Disseisin against Sir John de Dalton and others.<sup>4</sup> In this year, 1401, John Laurence was retained for life, in an indenture dated at Lancaster, by Giles Louvell, prior of the alien house of St. Mary Lancaster, as steward at an annual fee of £4 6s. 8d. with other perquisites. This indenture received the royal inspeximus and confirmation on 12 October 1402.<sup>5</sup> In the following February when the custody of the priory, which was a daughter house of the abbey of St. Martin of Sées in Normandy, was farmed at the Exchequer by Giles Louvell, the prior and a monk of Sées, and Sir Richard Hoghton, John Laurence of Poulton was one of their mainpernors.<sup>6</sup> On 19 November 1404 he was appointed to serve on a commission directed to levy a tenth and fifteenth in the county palatine.<sup>7</sup> He was a member of a commission, appointed under letters close dated at Worcester on 29 August 1405, with strict orders to cause all knights and fencibles of Lancashire to meet the King at Hereford to go against the Welsh rebels, reinforced by a considerable number of French, who had landed in Wales. In view of the peril attendant on insufficient resistance as little delay as possible was urged in the execution of the commission.<sup>8</sup> In March 1407 John Laurence served on a jury at the inquisition taken at Lancaster into the extortions of Sir John Lovell, Lord Holland, as bailiff of the wapentake of Lonsdale. The jurors stated that the vill of Netherkellet had been held from the reign of John by serjeantcy of providing the bailiff of the wapentake.<sup>9</sup> In June 1410 the sheriff of Lancaster was given precept to have elected in county court three fresh coroners in the stead of Richard Crook, Henry Hoghwyke and John Laurence, on the grounds that they could not easily fulfil their obligations as coroners in the county.<sup>10</sup> As early as April 1407 a certain John Laurence esquire had been granted royal letters of protection for a year because he was engaged in the service of the Prince of Wales in the defence of the Welsh marches.<sup>11</sup> Early in the reign of Henry V, on 2 September 1413, he was appointed for life as bailiff and beadle of the Cheshire hundred of Bucklow and he was confirmed in this office in January 1423.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately there is no confirmatory evidence that the John Laurence who saw service in the Welsh marches in Henry IV's reign and was promoted to the bailiwick of a Cheshire hundred under Henry V, was the same as John Laurence knight of the shire in 1419. Indeed, the fact that prior to 1410 John Laurence had been occupying the office of coroner in the county palatine of

Lancaster would go against the possibility of his being the same person who served in the retinue of the Prince of Wales.

On 28 April 1418 John Laurence, along with his brother Sir Robert, was a commissioner *de mustro et arriacione* in the hundred of Lonsdale.<sup>13</sup> On 12 June they were both commissioned along with the sheriff and two others to furnish the government with fuller information regarding the lands Sir John Haryngton held at his death in Lancashire, because it was understood that he had a holding in the county although a recent inquisition post mortem taken before Robert Halsall the escheator indicated that he had not.<sup>14</sup> In accordance with this commission Sir Robert Urswyk, the sheriff, Sir Robert Laurence, John Laurence, Walter Culwen, and John Urswyk held an inquisition at Lancaster on 23 June. The jury found that Haryngton died seised of the manor of Aldingham, a moiety of the manor of Ulverston held of the abbey of Furness, and the manor of Thirnum.<sup>15</sup> Before the following March Laurence apparently had seriously quarrelled with the same prior of Lancaster who had obtained him as steward in 1401. Laurence, however, gave security to keep the peace and proceedings, which had begun before the justices of the peace, were stopped.<sup>16</sup> Along with Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe, John Laurence was returned as knight of the shire to the next parliament, that of Westminster, October 1419. The election was made in county court at Lancaster on 25 September by the sheriff, Sir Robert Urswyk. Among the nineteen who apposed their seals to the indenture of election were Sir William the brother and heir of Sir John Haryngton, Sir Robert Laurence, his own brother, and Walter Culwen a member of the commission of 12 June 1418.<sup>17</sup> John Laurence was himself present in the county court held at Lancaster on 18 November 1420 when Richard Shirburne and John del Bothe were returned as knights of the shire;<sup>18</sup> and again on 2 November 1422 when Thomas Urswyk and John Gerard of Bryn were elected.<sup>19</sup> The date of his death is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 292. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 60 n. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 66. <sup>4</sup> *L.P.R.*, 87. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 159. <sup>6</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1399-1405, 208. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 532. <sup>8</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1402-05, 460. <sup>9</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 85. <sup>10</sup> Piccope, vii, 309. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1405-08, 318. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 44; *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 438. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 327. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 328. <sup>15</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 134. <sup>16</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii 16. <sup>17</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 12, 3. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 1.

#### Richard de Shirburne (December 1420) (December 1421).<sup>1</sup>

Richard de Shirburne was third in descent from John de Bailey who assumed the Shirburne surname upon entering the Stonyhurst estate *jure matris*. At his grandfather's death in 1391 Richard and



his wife Agnes, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton, were in ward to Sir Nicholas Haryngton.<sup>2</sup> The son and heir of Richard de Shirburne, he obtained livery of his lands early in 1404. The escheator was given precept to grant livery on 13 March, taking security for the payment of the relief.<sup>3</sup> In the previous year his paternal grandmother had demised her dower lands in Aighton in Mitton parish to Richard de Shirburne. At his death in 1440 he was holding the manor of Aighton in fee tail of the King as Earl of Lincoln. The annual value of this manor, in which he resided at Stonyhurst, was £20. He held manors and lands elsewhere, however. Besides the manors of Inskip, Longton, a moiety of Wiswell, a fourth part of the manor of Chorley, and a fourth part of the manor or vill of Bolton-le-Moors, Shirburne held 16 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow in Stalmine; 70 acres of land and 15 acres of meadow in Hambleton; 2 messuages, 40 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, and 100 acres of pasture in Freckleton; a messuage in Leyland; certain messuages in Chorley; tenements and messuages in Longton held of Sir William Assheton of Croston; two burgages in Clitheroe; a messuage and land in Poulton held in socage of the abbess of Syon. With the two exceptions given, his manors and lands were held of the King either as Duke of Lancaster or Earl of Lincoln.<sup>4</sup>

When John Stanley and Robert Laurence were elected knights of the shire in county court at Lancaster on 15 October 1414, the indenture of election was attested by 16 knights and 19 others, for the most part *armigeri*, among whom was Richard de Shirburne.<sup>5</sup> On 12 February 1418, at the manucaption of Sir Richard de Radclyf and Ughtred de Shotelworth, Richard de Shirburne took out a ten-years lease, at £17 a year, of the vaccary called Over Barrowford, Over Roughlea, and Nether Barrowford, and a pasture called the Craggs-in-Pendle, both in the chace of Pendle.<sup>6</sup> Along with Sir Richard de Radclyf, sheriff from 1420 to 1425, he later paid 6s. 8d. for the fishery of Colne Water in the forest of Trawden.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile on 28 April 1418 he served with six others, among them Sir Henry Hoghton and Sir Richard de Radclyf, on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* for the wapentake of Blackburn.<sup>8</sup> Shirburne and John del Bothe, who had been a like commissioner for Salfordshire, were returned as knights of the shire to the parliament, summoned to meet at Westminster on 2 December 1420. The election was conducted by the sheriff, Sir Richard de Radclyf, in county court held at Lancaster on 18 November. The thirteen persons who attested the election in the indenture included Thomas Urswyk the receiver, Richard Botiller of Kirkland the escheator of the county, and John Laurence one of the knights of the shire in the last parliament.<sup>9</sup> In the previous year Urswyk had been acting with Shirburne as co-executor in the administration of the estate of Sir James Haryngton, the knight of the shire in 1404. Other executors

were Sir William Haryngton of Hornby and Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton.<sup>10</sup> As late as 1425 the executors were still administering the estate together.<sup>11</sup> It is tolerably certain that the recognisance for 700 marks, entered into at Westminster by John del Bothe to Geoffrey de Bold in 1420, was concluded whilst he was up in the December parliament. The condition of the recognisance was that he and his sons should perform the award of Sir Richard de Radclyf, the sheriff of Lancaster, Ralph de Radclyf and Nicholas Blundell, who had been members of the Leicester parliament of 1414 together, and Richard de Shirburne, John del Bothe's fellow-knight of the shire in this December parliament. The arbitration was to be made in respect of all actions and disputes between the parties and their sons and was to be effected by 2 February 1421. If not made by then Peter Massey was to be adjudicator in the dispute.<sup>12</sup> Before this date some nine days John Breton, a Preston yeoman, was accorded royal letters patent of pardon of outlawry for not appearing before the King's justices to answer Richard Shirburne regarding a trespass.<sup>13</sup> Shirburne was one of the twelve who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the election of Thomas Urswyk, the receiver for the county, and John Gerard, in county court held at Lancaster on 2 November 1422.<sup>14</sup> He was a juror at an inquisition taken at Lancaster on 19 March 1425 before William Babyngton and John Cokayne, the King's justices. The inquisition, which concerned certain messuages and lands in Chipping, was taken by virtue of a writ of privy seal which directed that an inquisition should be taken on all points raised by a petition of Geoffrey Warburton which was enclosed with the writ.<sup>15</sup> Some four years later Richard Shirburne was embroiled with Sir William Assheton of Croston, of whom Shirburne held certain messuages and lands in Longton. Both were bound before William Babyngton and other King's justices in the county palatine to abide by the decision of the Council in certain disputes between them. On 4 June 1429 they appeared before the Council, and, promising to keep the peace towards each other, were discharged.<sup>16</sup> On the same day Shirburne, described as 'of Aghton, county Lancaster gentelman' and three other 'gentilmen,' Robert Suthwelle of Chesthunt, Hertfordshire, William Thornam of Thornom, Yorkshire, and Thomas Bretherton of Bretherton, Lancashire, mainperned in Chancery under a pain of £40 for Sir William Assheton who undertook under a pain of £100 that he would keep the peace. Assheton and three other esquires of Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire made a like mainprise on behalf of Richard Shirburne who undertook a similar obligation.<sup>17</sup> In September 1431 Shirburne, along with Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe and Hamond Massey of Rixton, was administering a parcel of the estates of Sir Ralph Langton who had died in the previous July. They undertook in a recognisance for 300 marks to assign his widow her reasonable dower.<sup>18</sup>



Richard de Shirburne was one of the 68 persons in Lancashire whose names were certified into Chancery by the knights of the shire in the parliament of July 1433, in accordance with an act of that parliament, as being one who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers.<sup>19</sup>

The next parliament of October 1435, in addition to a tenth and fifteenth, voted a grant of a heavy graduated income-tax. Incomes of £5 paid 2s. 6d. and 6d. in the pound up to £100; over £100 they paid 8d. in the pound up to £400; over £400, 2s. in the pound.<sup>19</sup> The session closed on 23 December. On 29 January 1436 warrant was issued to the chancellor of the county palatine to appoint assessors for the subsidy. On 6 March twelve were appointed. They included Richard de Shirburne.<sup>20</sup>

In 1440 Shirburne died, leaving a widow Agnes who survived until 1444. His will, dated in January 1437, made provision for his burial in his parish church of Mitton. Twenty poor men in white gowns were to hold torches at his exequies. The friars of Preston were bequeathed a pound; those at Warrington and Appleby a mark each. Shirburne's principal was Sir Robert Haryngton whose brother Thomas was another executor. The testator's son-in-law Sir John Tempest of Bracewell—the same who succoured Henry VI after Hexham field in 1464—was appointed overseer of the will. Proof was granted at York on June 7 1440. Tempest along with Peter Gerard, knight of the shire in 1445, were executors in 1444 of the will of Shirburne's widow. Her kinsman Sir Thomas Stanley and Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, her husband's executor, were appointed surveyors.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 295, 300. <sup>2</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 87. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 4. <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 52; and *V.C.H.* <sup>5</sup> *P.R.O.*, C. 219, 11, 4. <sup>6</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 326. <sup>7</sup> *V.C.H.*, vi, 549. <sup>8</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 327. <sup>9</sup> C. 219, 12, 4. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 19. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 26. <sup>12</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419–22, 129. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416–22, 292. <sup>14</sup> C. 219, 13, 1. <sup>15</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 9. <sup>16</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iii, 327. <sup>17</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1422–29, 456. <sup>18</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 32, 40. <sup>19</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 486–7. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>21</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 52. <sup>22</sup> *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees), ii, 75.

**Thomas de Radclyf** (May 1421; *miles*) (October 1423; *chivaler*).  
(July 1433; *chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

The grandson of Thomas de Radclyf who served as knight of the shire in 1385 and 1395, and the son of Sir Richard de Radclyf who was sheriff of Lancaster from 1420 to 1425, Sir Thomas de Radclyf did not succeed his father in the family manors of Winmarleigh and Astley until the latter's death in September 1431. For his first wife he married Isabel the third daughter of Sir John Botiller of Raw-

cliffe.<sup>2</sup> This brought him into relationship with Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe who was knight of the shire in 1419 and 1436. Richard Botiller of Kirkland, escheator of the county palatine from 1420 to 1427, married another daughter of Sir John Botiller of Rawcliffe. Sir Thomas seems to have married a second time, for Nicholas Botiller married his widow Katherine Booth, sister of William Booth, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in the year after Sir Thomas de Radclyf's death.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear when this second marriage took place, however.

In April 1414, twelve days before the Leicester parliament opened, Thomas de Radclyf received there an annuity of 20 marks. In 1423 he was still in receipt of this sum taken at the hands of the receiver of the county. His father, Sir Richard de Radclyf, was being paid £30 a year from the same issues.<sup>4</sup> The latter provided some 50 archers for the French expedition of 1415<sup>5</sup> while Thomas de Radclyf himself served on the Agincourt campaign with a following of 5 archers.<sup>6</sup> On 9 August 1418 a commission was given before Rouen, which had been invested some eleven days before, to array among others the men of Thomas de Radclyf.<sup>7</sup> On 1 February 1421 Henry V returned to England from Normandy. It is highly probable that Sir Thomas de Radclyf (now knighted) returned with him. On 16 February he stood surety for Sir John Byron who undertook to do no harm to Ralph Cotton.<sup>8</sup> The sheriff of Lancaster in 1421 was Sir Thomas' father Sir Richard de Radclyf, and he conducted the county court which at Croston returned his son and the receiver of the county palatine, Thomas de Urswyk, as knights of the shire for Lancashire to the parliament of May 1421, the last at which Henry V was present in person. The parliamentary writ is superscribed to the effect that it was handed in to the Clerk of Parliament by Sir Thomas himself. Two of Radclyf's relatives were among the twelve who sealed the indenture of election, namely, Nicholas Botiller and Richard Botiller the escheator.<sup>9</sup> Apparently Sir Thomas returned with Henry V to France in June. On 29 February 1422 a Bedfordshire member of his retinue received letters of protection.<sup>10</sup> He was, however, back in England in 1423 when on 13 October, in county court held again at Croston by his father as sheriff, he was returned with Ralph de Radclyf of Smithills as knight of the shire to the Westminster parliament summoned to meet a week later.<sup>11</sup> Both knights of the shire were present at the next election held by Sir Richard de Radclyf in county court at Lancaster on 2 April 1425 when Ralph Longford and Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe, a relative of the Radclyfs of Winmarleigh, were elected.<sup>12</sup> On 6 March 1430 Sir Thomas served on a commission of array for the county of Lancaster, headed by Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury and Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland.<sup>13</sup> On 4 September 1431 Sir Thomas' father Sir Richard de Radclyf died and, as son and heir, he succeeded at the age of forty to the estates of the Radclyfs in the manors of



Winmarleigh and Astley. In addition he held eight burgages in Clitheroe at his death. The inquisition post mortem on Sir Richard's holding in the second manor was held on 30 October.<sup>14</sup> On 10 December, eight days after the escheator was directed by precept to give livery and seisin of the manor of Astley,<sup>15</sup> Sir Thomas de Radclyf was a juror at an inquisition taken at Preston into tenures by knight's or any other service in the wapentake of Amounderness.<sup>16</sup> In the parliament of the previous January a subsidy had been granted of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental. To the next parliament but one Sir Thomas de Radclyf was returned as knight of the shire along with Sir Thomas Stanley. In county court held by Sir Robert Laurence, as sheriff, at Lancaster on 24 June 1433 the election was made for the parliament that was to meet at Westminster on 8 July. Bedford had returned to England at the end of June and was present at the beginning of the session. The parliament was notable for the new Treasurer's (Lord Cromwell) financial statement, but mainly centred round the person of Bedford, who defended himself against rumoured charges of mismanagement of the French war and received a vote of full confidence. His continued presence in England was the object of a petition on the part of the Commons. On 18 December Bedford laid before parliament the articles of condition on which he proposed to assume the office of chief counsellor. On the same day Sir Thomas de Radclyf and Sir William Haryngton were appointed to enquire whether Richard Botiller (who had been escheator of Lancashire from 1420 to 1427) held a market at Kirkhouse-in-Wyresdale without licence and to the prejudice of the tenants of the Duke of Bedford.<sup>17</sup> On 3 November the Commons had protested against the way magnates maintained criminals in the courts. On the 20th of the following January the chancellor of the county palatine was ordered by letters close to command under seal of the county the knights of the shire for Lancashire in the last parliament to have delivered to the Chancellor by 10 May indentures bearing the names of those in the county whom they thought fit to be sworn to observe the ordinance made in the last parliament.<sup>18</sup> By 1 May William Bothe, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and probably at this time Radclyf's brother-in-law, Sir William Haryngton, and Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas de Radclyf, the knights of the shire immediately concerned, were commissioned to issue the warrant to the sheriff for proclamation in the next county court that the sixty-eight persons, whose names Stanley and Radclyf had certified into Chancery as being those who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers, were to appear before the commissioners, or a quorum, to do so.<sup>19</sup> At this time along with Sir William Haryngton, his co-executor, Sir Thomas was administering the estate of William Berdesay of Bardsea in Furness who had been a collector of a parliamentary fifteenth in 1416.<sup>20</sup>

On 15 December 1435 Sir Thomas de Radclyf was appointed a commissioner of the peace for the county palatine.<sup>21</sup> The commission was renewed on 12 March<sup>22</sup> and 20 August 1440<sup>23</sup> when the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk headed the list of justices. In the meantime on 6 March 1436 Radclyf had been appointed an assessor of the graduated income-tax voted in the last parliament,<sup>24</sup> and when in the next parliament of January 1437 the levy was not renewed he was appointed a collector of the tenth and fifteenth which it voted. The appointment was made on 6 February 1438.<sup>25</sup> On 2 May the Earl of Stafford received a grant for life of the £33 15s. 6d. which Sir Thomas de Radclyf and Thomas Haryngton, who had already been returned to two out of the last four parliaments, paid to the King for two parts of the manor of Wyresdale.<sup>26</sup> A year later, on 22 May 1439, Sir Thomas's son Thomas was embroiled at Clitheroe in an assault with William Radclyf the younger of Todmorden and his cousin Thomas Worsley of Whalley. Five days later he died from head wounds received in the mêlée. On 4 June an inquest was held before one of the coroners. On the grounds that one of the jury was a private enemy of Worsley, the latter in October 1441 received the royal pardon of the felony and the outlawry consequent upon his having fled the county.<sup>27</sup> The sentence of a petition addressed by William Radclyf and Worsley to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal of England, was, however, that the blame rested entirely with young Thomas de Radclyf, who assaulted the petitioners with over a score of *harnaysed men* and was killed in self-defence. Thomas Haryngton and Thomas Urswyk, appointed arbitrators by the ruling of the Earl of Salisbury, decided that the petitioners should pay a fine of 11 marks, of which charge they were praying the cardinal to relieve them.<sup>28</sup>

Sir Thomas de Radclyf, himself, only survived his son by eighteen months. He died on 22 November 1440.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 297, 306, 324. <sup>2</sup> Piccote, iv, 28. <sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 269. <sup>4</sup> *D.L.*, 29, bdle. 89, no. 1631. <sup>5</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 212. <sup>6</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 383. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xli, 715. <sup>8</sup> Piccote, vii, 265. <sup>9</sup> *C.*, 219, 12, 5. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlii, 632. <sup>11</sup> *C.*, 219, 13, 2. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 71. <sup>14</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 34. <sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 32. <sup>16</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 95. <sup>17</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>18</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1429-35, 271. <sup>19</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 31. <sup>21</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 535. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 536. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 533. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 535. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 161. <sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 21. <sup>28</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 519.

#### Thomas de Urswyk (May 1421) (November 1422; *armiger*).<sup>1</sup>

Thomas de Urswyk was a younger son of Sir Robert de Urswyk (q.v.) who died in 1402. His elder brother, Sir Robert de Urswyk, who was sheriff of Lancaster from 1415 to 1419, succeeded to the father's



estates. In 1420 he made a feoffment of his lands in Claughton, Rawcliffe, Eccleston, Goosnargh, and Bilsborrow, and soon afterwards died when his brother Thomas was found to be his heir. Although the manor of Upper Rawcliffe went to the daughters of Sir Robert de Urswyk, Thomas succeeded to the Yorkshire manor of Badsworth of which he was in possession by 1425.<sup>2</sup> By the marriages of his son Robert and his daughter Ellen he linked up the Urswyk and Haryngton families. The son married Katherine Haryngton of Hornby,<sup>3</sup> and the daughter, Sir James Haryngton.<sup>4</sup> In November 1408 Thomas de Urswyk swore in Chancery that the letters patent of 1401 granting his son-in-law £20 a year had been accidentally lost, and secured a re-issue.<sup>5</sup> He was a member of the commission appointed in 1410 to apprehend Roger de Dalton and have him in ward in Lancaster castle.<sup>6</sup> By March 1419 Thomas de Urswyk was filling the position of receiver to the King in the county of Lancaster.<sup>7</sup> He had probably succeeded Ralph de Radclyf of Smithills, however, in 1417. In a grant of March 1442 it was stated that he had held the office of receiver of the palatinate for twenty-five years.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, on 2 March 1418 he was made a justice of the peace for the county,<sup>9</sup> and on 28 April was appointed to serve on a commission *de mustro et arriacione* for the wapentake of Amounderness.<sup>10</sup> Thomas de Urswyk *armiger* was the first to appose his seal to the indenture attesting the election in county court at Lancaster of Richard Shirburne and John del Bothe as knights of the shire to the parliament of December 1420.<sup>11</sup> Urswyk was at this time incidentally a co-executor of Shirburne's in the administration of the estate of Sir James Haryngton, Urswyk's son-in-law. Other executors were Sir William Haryngton and Sir Richard Molyneux.<sup>12</sup> Apparently the administration had not been wound up by as late as 1425.<sup>13</sup> Along with Sir Thomas de Radclyf, the receiver of the palatinate was himself returned to the next parliament, convoked to meet at Westminster on 2 May 1421. Henry V, who had returned from France in February, himself opened the parliament. A week after the opening of the session Urswyk managed the transference from his brother Sir Robert to himself of a lease of the herbage and pasturage of Myerscough and Fulwood, of thirteen vaccaries in Wyresdale and seven in Bleasdale at a yearly farm of £84 15s.; Sir Robert had previously paid some 20 marks less. The lease which was originally for ten years was renewed in 1442 for a further term of twenty years at the same rent.<sup>14</sup> Three days after Thomas de Urswyk had secured the renewal of his brother's lease to himself, on 12 May, he and John Kingsley of Cheshire mainperned William Troutbek who received the custody of the lands, chiefly in Cheshire, of Thomas Holes, late tenant-in-chief. Troutbek paid 350 marks for the marriage of the heir.<sup>15</sup> Along with John Gerard of Bryn, Urswyk was again returned as knight of the shire to the first parliament of the reign of Henry VI,

in which the all-important problems of regency, the protectorship of Gloucester and its limitations, and the powers of the Council, were tackled. The election took place at Lancaster on 2 November, a week before parliament was summoned to meet. The session was opened on 9 November 1422 and closed on 18 December. The Speaker, Roger Flower, returned as knight of the shire for Rutlandshire, was chief steward of the Lancastrian estates north of Trent and so in the county of Lancaster for the trustees of the Duchy.<sup>16</sup> A great part of the Lancastrian inheritance of Henry V had, by charters of feoffment, been put in the hands of trustees for the payment of his debts, charitable endowments, and trusts of his will. The first of the feoffees was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chichele, but the most influential the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort. Receiver to the King in the county palatine from 1417 Thomas de Urswyk had his commission to that office renewed by the feoffees of the late King on 24 February 1423 at a fee of 10 marks a year.<sup>17</sup> Apparently Urswyk was up in London at the time. On 3 March in the London house of the Friars preacher the *receptor generalis* and the four *receptores in singulis comitatibus* of the duchy of Lancaster in England and Wales, including Thomas de Urswyk, were ordered to pay the Duke of Gloucester the sum of 4,000 marks, each contributing in proportion to his receipts and receiving in return an acquittance from the Duke. This arrangement was transacted in the presence of Gloucester and the Duke of Exeter, Archbishop Chichele, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl Marshal, and the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal.<sup>18</sup> Apparently Urswyk spent thirty-four days on this piece of business and in his *compotus* he made allowance for his expenses *pro compoto isto faciendo eundo morando et redeundo* at a rate of 2s. a day. The customary procedure seems to have been for the *receptor generalis*, John Leventhorp the younger, son of John Leventhorp the executor to Henry IV and Henry V, to collect the biggest amounts at Clitheroe, and for the receiver of the lordship of Clitheroe and the remaining duchy estates in the county to take up only small sums to London. On 6 November 1422 Leventhorp had collected at Clitheroe some £300. On 20 January at London Urswyk had turned over the small sum of £7 12s. 11½d. The latter again went up to London from Lancashire in June and stayed there well on into July. In his list of personal expenses incurred in the execution of his office, Urswyk included his wages for a visit to London *mensibus Julii et Junii ex precepto consilii tam pro solutione 50 librarum pro aliis negotiis officium suum tangentibus*, over which he occupied twenty-four days. The sum of £50, was, in fact, paid over to the *receptor generalis* on 13 July. On 6 November 1423 Urswyk accounted at Clitheroe for £150 1s. 11½d., making up a total for the financial year of £507 14s. 11½d., the net issues of the *receptor domini de Clitherhawe*



*et alibi in comitatu Lancastrie.* The *compotus* of Thomas de Urswyk took into account the issues of the various manors of the lordship of Clitheroe—Hightenhill, Colne, Pendleton, Worston, Chatburn, Accrington, Huncoat, and Haslingden—the wapentake of Blackburn; the forests of Bowland and those of Blackburnshire; the fines which the sheriff collected consequent upon the sessions before the royal justices held at Lancaster; and the fines proceeding from the pleas before the barons of the Exchequer at Lancaster. Through the hands of the receiver were paid out the wages of the ministers and officials employed in the management of the duchy estates in the county, the chief steward of the county, the bailiffs, the master foresters and the parkers, for example, and finally the annuities, in 1423 numbering forty-one and accounting for some £417.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, eight days before the parliament of 1422 was dissolved, Thomas Chaucer, Henry Beaufort's cousin and confirmed during the session in the chief butlership, appointed Urswyk to be his deputy at Liverpool. In May 1429 this commission was amplified to include Lancaster and all other ports in the county.<sup>19</sup>

On 28 June 1424 Urswyk was an arbitrator in a dispute between the abbot of Furness and Sir Richard Kirkby over Angerton Moss in Broughton-in-Furness which the latter claimed as his freehold. Judgment was given in favour of the abbot but Kirkby was to receive four score cartloads of turf a year from the moss.<sup>20</sup> On 11 March 1427 Urswyk was appointed to serve on a commission of array in the county palatine.<sup>21</sup> On 6 March in the following year he again served as a commissioner of array.<sup>22</sup> Urswyk as receiver was a very necessary member of the commission directed in April 1431 to ascertain the persons in Lancashire liable to contribute, and for how much, to the subsidy of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental voted in parliament in the previous month.<sup>23</sup> Apparently the commission to carry the levy into effect proved *in se* difficult of execution. On 12 October, six months later, the Duke of Gloucester as *custos Anglie* ordered the commissioners to enquire into tenures in the county by knight's or any other service. Thomas de Urswyk was present with Sir John Stanley at an inquisition taken at Lancaster on 17 November regarding tenures in the wapentake of Lonsdale, and at Preston three weeks later when inquisitions were taken regarding the wapentakes of Leyland, West Derby, Amounderness and Salford.<sup>24</sup> Naturally Urswyk appeared in the list of notables of the county palatine who were certified into Chancery in the spring of 1434 by the knights of the shire in the last parliament, as those who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers.<sup>25</sup> In December 1435 a commission of the peace was served to Thomas de Urswyk.<sup>26</sup> He was re-appointed justice in March 1436,<sup>27</sup> February 1437,<sup>28</sup> March 1440,<sup>29</sup> in August of the same year,<sup>30</sup> in February, May and August 1442.<sup>31</sup> All these commissions of the peace included Richard Neville, Earl of Salis-

bury, who since 1434 had occupied the offices of master forester of Blackburnshire and of Bowland,<sup>32</sup> and in 1440 and after the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole, figured on them. Meanwhile, on 24 December 1436 Thomas de Urswyk *armiger* had sealed in county court at Lancaster the indenture attesting the election of Thomas Haryngton and Henry Halsall as knights of the shire in the forthcoming parliament of January 1437.<sup>33</sup> In May 1439 Thomas Radclyf the younger was killed in an affray in Clitheroe by William Radclyf the younger of Todmorden and his cousin, Thomas Worsley of Whalley.<sup>34</sup> The latter party petitioned Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal of England, stating that they had been set on by Thomas Radclyf with a following of twenty-four harness men, and had only killed him in self-defence. The Earl of Salisbury, who had the matter in his ruling, had appointed Thomas Haryngton and Thomas de Urswyk as arbitrators, and they had made award that the petitioners should pay 11 marks in money in which they prayed Beaufort to relieve them.<sup>35</sup> Urswyk had been one of six to be bound in December 1436 in a recognisance to the sheriff for 400 marks that William Radclyf the younger of Todmorden would not escape from Lancaster castle.<sup>36</sup> In 1441 Urswyk was master forester of Quernmore.<sup>37</sup> It is not clear how long he had held the office or how long he continued to hold it. In the following year, in view of his services as receiver of the palatinate for twenty-five years, Thomas de Urswyk received a grant, on 15 March, of a life-annuity of £10 to be taken from the profits of the pastures of Myerscogh and Fulwood and the vaccaries of Wyresdale. On the following day his lease of these estates, which he had farmed since 1421, was renewed for a further term of twenty years at an annual rent of £84 15s., the same as before. The annuity would mean, in fact, that the rent he paid was £74 15s.<sup>38</sup> He had been present at the election of Sir Thomas Stanley and Thomas Haryngton, as knights of the shire, earlier in the year, on 15 January 1442, when he was the first of the fifty-three who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>39</sup> Stanley succeeded him as receiver. The date of Urswyk's death is not known. The Thomas Ursuyk, serjeant-at-law and King's attorney in Lancashire, who died in 1456, was another person, though almost certainly a relative.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 297, 303. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, vii, 269. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 111. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 32. <sup>6</sup> Piccope, vii, 311. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 16. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 536. <sup>9</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>11</sup> *C.* 219, 12, 4. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 19. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 26. <sup>14</sup> Piccope, vii, 329. <sup>15</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 391. <sup>16</sup> *D.L.* 29, 89, 1631. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>18</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iii, 51. <sup>19</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 8, 537. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. i, 170. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 405. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1429-36, 71. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 140. <sup>24</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 92. <sup>25</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>26</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 533. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 534. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 535. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 536. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 537. <sup>32</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 355-6. <sup>33</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 1. <sup>34</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-6, 21. <sup>35</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 519. <sup>36</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 41. <sup>37</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 75. <sup>38</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 536. <sup>39</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 2.



**John Byron** (December 1421; *chivaler*) (September 1429; *miles*); Lincs. (February 1447; *miles et chivaler*).<sup>1</sup>

John Byron's father, Richard, died on 27 June 1397 seised of the manor of Clayton (Manchester) which he held of the Duke of Lancaster in chief by military service. He held, in addition, 4 messuages and 12 bovates of land in Royton; 14 messuages, 200 acres of tillage, 100 acres of meadow, 10 acres of woodland, and 400 acres of pasture in Butterworth; and 10 messuages, 60 acres of land and 20 acres of meadow in Woodhouses in the vill of Ashton-under-Lyne, all held of the Duke by military service. The inquisition post mortem was taken on 15 August when the heir, John Byron, was stated to be a minor of ten years.<sup>2</sup> The wardship was first granted free of charge to Ralph de Radclyf on 3 October.<sup>3</sup> He died in the following year<sup>4</sup> and on 4 September 1400 Sir John de Assheton was given the custody of the Byron lands.<sup>5</sup>

On 12 October 1415 John Byron esquire received a royal grant of an annuity of £10.<sup>6</sup> In 1423 he was receiving an annuity of that amount through the hands of Thomas de Urswyk, receiver for the county palatine.<sup>7</sup> In 1415 Joan the widow of Sir Richard Byron complained to the Lord Chancellor that her son Sir John Byron had forcibly carried her off from Colwick in Notts. to Lancashire and compelled her to promise not to alienate her lands.<sup>8</sup> In the same year Byron's daughter Elizabeth married Thomas, Sir John Assheton's eldest son, and a settlement was made of various lands in Droylesden.<sup>9</sup> Another daughter Margaret married Sir William Atherton of Atherton. She survived her husband and married before 1443 Sir Robert Harcourt.<sup>10</sup> Apparently an alliance with the Byron family was a valuable asset. Richard Radclyf, who held the manor of Middleton, in 1418 made a settlement of certain tenements to be held for his mother during his life, and then to go to that one of his sons who should marry a daughter of Sir John Byron.<sup>11</sup> Sir John himself is stated to have married Margery the daughter of John Bothe of Barton.<sup>12</sup> An incident which happened during the wardenship of John Huntingdon (1422–58), probably in 1446, illustrates the closeness of the connection between the Byron and Bothe families. One of the clerks of the collegiate church of Manchester, Thomas Barbour, had offended the Bothes and others who attempted his arrest in church. The people protecting him, the Bothes summoned Sir John Byron and others of the gentry who, with their men to the number of five hundred, all armed, laid siege to the warden's house. The clergy dare not enter the church which remained closed.<sup>13</sup> When John Bothe of Barton in February 1418 leased the vaccary of Bacup and two pastures in Rossendale, Sir John Byron and the former's son, William Bothe, clerk, were his mainpernors.<sup>14</sup> Again in 1433, in the same year that he acquired lands in Blackley from Lord la Warre,<sup>15</sup>

Byron and William Bothe, clerk, were enfeoffed by Sir Robert Bothe of his lands in the hamlet of Gorton.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile on 28 April 1418 Sir John Byron served on the commission *de mustro et arriacione* appointed for the wapentake of Salford.<sup>17</sup> In the following March he was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on Henry de Sale.<sup>18</sup> On 24 November 1419, eleven days after the levy had been voted in parliament, the chancellor of the county palatine was ordered to appoint trustworthy men of the county to levy and collect in Lancashire a whole and third part of a tenth and fifteenth. Although the chancellor was allowed a month in which to certify the names of the appointees to the Exchequer, commissions were sent out on the same day appointing twelve collectors, among whom were Sir John Byron and his son-in-law, Sir William Atherton.<sup>19</sup> The latter, along with Sir John Radclyf of Ordsall, Salford, and Byron's father-in-law, John Bothe of Barton, was present when Sir John Byron and Richard Shirburne were returned as knights of the shire on 15 November 1421 to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 1 December.<sup>20</sup> Byron's attendance in this parliament seems to have been one in a sequence of events. Earlier in the year, on 16 February, Sir John Pilkington the younger, Sir Thomas Radclyf, Sir Edward Weaver of Weaver in Cheshire, and John Bothe of Barton the elder, had mainperned Sir John Byron that he would do no bodily harm to Randolph de Cotton.<sup>21</sup> Twelve days later he and John Bothe the elder entered into a recognisance to the King in 1,000 marks, that John Bothe the younger would appear in Chancery a month after Easter. He appeared on this day and again on 20 October.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, on 10 July Byron had amplified the undertaking of 16 February by engaging in Chancery under pain of £160 to procure no harm to Randolph de Cotton.<sup>23</sup> On 8 December, when up at Westminster as knight of the shire, Byron, along with John Bothe the younger, bound himself to the King in a recognisance for 1,000 marks that the latter would again appear in Chancery a month after Easter 1422.<sup>24</sup> On 23 March John Bothe mainperned Robert Trafford in Chancery that the latter would sail to France to join the King there with one lance and three archers in his company, in the name of Sir John Byron; Bothe's brother William, parson of Hakeney, had undertaken a similar obligation on Bothe's behalf.<sup>25</sup> These appearances in Chancery and obligations in recognisance seem to have ended with the order of 8 November 1424 to suspend the mainprise undertaken in February 1421 with regard to Randolph de Cotton.<sup>26</sup>

The chancellor of the county palatine was ordered on 9 July 1427 to amove the King's hand from certain messuages and over 200 acres of land lying between Manchester and Stockport of which Thomas la Warre died seised in fee tail. As he had died without heirs these went to Sir John Byron, Robert de Longley, Robert Bothe, and William



Bothe clerk, and the escheator was to be instructed to turn over to them the rents he had taken.<sup>27</sup> Robert de Longley, Byron's two sons-in-law Thomas de Assheton and Sir William Atherton, and Thomas Bothe were among the eighteen persons who signed the indenture attesting the election on 15 August 1429 of Sir John Byron and Robert Laurence the younger, son of the sheriff, as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to Westminster for 22 September.<sup>28</sup> While parliament was in session, on 9 November, letters of pardon were granted to Hugh Tyldesley of Newton, yeoman, of his outlawry incurred by not appearing *Coram Rege* to answer a plea of trespass brought by Sir John Byron.<sup>29</sup> The latter and his two sons-in-law, Atherton and Assheton, were jurors at the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster in September 1431 on Sir Ralph de Langton of Newton-in-Makerfield.<sup>30</sup> On 10 December, later in the same year, Byron sat at Preston on a jury empanelled to serve at an inquisition into tenures, by knight's or any other service, in the wapentake of Salford.<sup>31</sup> The parliament of January 1431 had voted a subsidy of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental and on 12 October the commissioners for Lancashire had been ordered to conduct enquiries into tenures in the county *per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum* and report to the Exchequer the results. In March 1433 Sir John was again a juror in an inquisition *probandi aetatem* of Thomas de Trafford taken before the escheator at Lancaster.<sup>32</sup> Byron appeared on the list of those whose names were certified into Chancery by Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radclyf, knights in the parliament of July 1433, as persons who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers. On 1 May 1434 the commissioners in Lancashire, William Bothe, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and Sir John Byron's brother-in-law, Sir William Haryngton and the two knights of the shire, were directed to issue their warrant to the sheriff for proclamation in the next county court that they had been appointed to administer the oath.<sup>33</sup> On 24 February 1436 Byron was associated with Sir William Haryngton, Sir John and Sir Thomas Stanley, on a commission appointed to induce notables of the county palatine to make a considerable loan to the government on the security of the third of a tenth and fifteenth, due at Whitsuntide 1437. An early report was to be tendered to the Treasurer of all that the commission was able to effect.<sup>34</sup> By 5 November 1437 Sir John Byron had superseded Sir Robert Laurence as sheriff of the county palatine.<sup>35</sup> About the time of this appointment Sir John was acting as an executor of the will of the abbot of Vale Royal, Edmund Ffrere.<sup>36</sup> In this capacity as sheriff he conducted the county court which met at Lancaster on 15 January 1442 when Sir Thomas Stanley and Thomas Haryngton were returned as knights of the shire.<sup>37</sup> Some two years later, on 5 February 1444, a grant in survivorship was made to Sir John Byron and his son Nicholas, of the shrievalty of the palatinate for

which Sir John surrendered a former grant. Nine days later a writ *de intendendo* was issued to give effect to the grant.<sup>38</sup> In June 1446, however, a commission was directed to William Lord Haryngton, Sir Thomas Haryngton, and five others who included Robert Laurence, son of the last sheriff and knight of the shire in 1429, and John Urswyk apprentice-at-law. They were to enquire touching the *malfeasance* of Sir John Byron as sheriff.<sup>39</sup> The unspecified *malfeasance* was probably Byron's participation in the fracas involving the Bothes and the collegiate clergy of Manchester. Apparently the grant in survivorship took effect, for the election to the next parliament was conducted in county court held at Lancaster on 6 February 1447,<sup>40</sup> by his son Nicholas, who continued to occupy the shrievalty until 1460.<sup>41</sup> Sir John was himself returned to this Bury St. Edmunds session as knight of the shire for Lincs. His father had resided on his manor of Cadney and Sir John had other property in the county.<sup>42</sup> In January 1450 along with his brothers-in-law, William Bothe Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Richard Bothe, Laurence Bothe clerk, and Seth Worsley, Byron obtained the royal licence to found a chantry of two chaplains in Eccles parish church, and amortize possessions worth 24 marks a year.<sup>43</sup> Probably Sir John died soon after this provision for his soul's wealth. As early as 1440 he had made a settlement of his lands in the counties of Lancaster, Lincoln and Northampton.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 300, 316, 336. <sup>2</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 65. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1396-99, 204. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 164 n. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 528. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 77. <sup>7</sup> *D.L.*, 29, 89, 1631. <sup>8</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 284. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 436. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 164 n. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 284. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 194 n. <sup>14</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 255 n. <sup>15</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 277. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>17</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 327. <sup>18</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 136. <sup>19</sup> *C.F.R.*, 1413-22, 300, 302. <sup>20</sup> *C.* 219, 12, 6. <sup>21</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 265. <sup>22</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1419-22, 137. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 207. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 214. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 255. <sup>26</sup> *Piccope*, vii, 265. <sup>27</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1422-29, 303. <sup>28</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 1. <sup>29</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 8. <sup>30</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 31. <sup>31</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 95. <sup>32</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 37. <sup>33</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 530. <sup>35</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>36</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 38. <sup>37</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 2. <sup>38</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 538. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>40</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 4. <sup>41</sup> *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>42</sup> *Test Ebor* (Surtees), i, 222. <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 322. <sup>44</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 284.

#### John Gerard (November 1422; *del Bryn*, armiger).<sup>1</sup>

The son of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn and Kingsley (Cheshire), who was returned as knight of the shire to the parliaments of 1384, 1388 and 1394, John Gerard was married in 1402 to Alice the daughter of Sir John Botiller of Warrington.<sup>2</sup> In December 1408 he was one of the two mainpernors when the lands of Sir William Threlkeld, tenant-in-chief, were committed to Sir Robert Urswyk and Thomas Strickland.<sup>3</sup> John Gerard was a juror at the inquisition post mortem taken



in June 1415 at Wigan on Sir William Atherton.<sup>4</sup> On 27 March 1416 John Gerard's father died. At his death Sir Thomas was seised of a moiety of the manor of Kirkby and the manor of Melling held of the King as Duke of Lancaster; the manor of Windle held in fee as of the manor of Warrington; two parts of the manor of Ashton held of Henry de Langton, Baron of Newton; the manor of Brindle and Anderton with the advowson of the church of Brindle; the manor of Skelmersdale held of Matilda Lovel, Lady Holland; a moiety of the manor of Rainhill held of the heir of Henry de Eccleston; 2 messuages and 40 acres of land in Eccleston; messuages and land in Sutton, Goldburne and Newton, Grimsargh, Rainford. At the inquisition post mortem taken on Sir Thomas at Warrington on 22 April it was estimated that his lands in Lancashire were worth some £150 a year. His son and heir, John Gerard, was stated to be thirty years old.<sup>5</sup> Late in the year, on 16 July, along with Sir Peter Dutton, Sir Gilbert Haydock, and his brother-in-law William Garnet, John Gerard was a grantee of the custody of the Lancashire estates of Sir William Botiller of Warrington, his brother-in-law, who had died at Harfleur in the previous September. By December 1417 Sir Peter Legh had taken Gerard's place.<sup>6</sup> On 2 March 1418 John Gerard was appointed a justice of the peace for the county palatine.<sup>7</sup> On 28 April he was made a commissioner *de mustro et arriacione* for the hundred of West Derby.<sup>8</sup> He and Thomas Urswyk, the receiver of the county, were returned as knights of the shire to the first parliament of Henry VI's reign. The election was made by Sir Richard de Radclyf, sheriff, at Lancaster on 2 November 1422. Sir Ralph de Langton, who had succeeded his father Sir Henry as baron of Newton in 1419 and as such was one of John Gerard's overlords, was the first to seal the indenture attesting the election.<sup>9</sup> Parliament began a week later. In the following June Gerard was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken at Warrington on Matilda Lovel, daughter and heiress of Robert de Holland,<sup>10</sup> of whom Gerard held the manor of Skelmersdale. On 11 March 1427 a commission of array in Lancashire was issued to Sir Richard Neville, Sir William Haryngton, Sir John Stanley, Sir Thomas Tunstall, Sir John Assheton, Thomas Urswyk, and John Gerard.<sup>11</sup> On 6 November 1431 John Gerard of Bryn (so-called to distinguish him from his cousin John Gerard of Ince) died. On 22 January 1432 the writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued to the escheator of Lancashire.<sup>12</sup> A like writ issued on 10 December 1431 appears on the recognisance rolls of Chester. A writ of livery of 14 March 1432 set forth the findings of an inquisition into John Gerard's Cheshire lands. At his death he was stated to have held 3 messuages and 30 acres of land in Ledesham held of the Earl of Chester in chief by knight's service and worth 40s. a year. His son Peter, knight of the shire in 1445, was his heir.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 303. <sup>2</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 196. <sup>3</sup> *C.F.R.*, xiii, 137. <sup>4</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 107. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 123. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 114. <sup>7</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>9</sup> *C.* 219, 13, 1. <sup>10</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 1. <sup>11</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 405. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 32. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 301.

**Ralph de Longford** (April 1425; *Radulphus filius Nicholas de Longford militis*).<sup>1</sup>

Ralph's grandfather was Sir Nicholas de Longford who served in John of Gaunt's retinue in the 'seventies of the previous century,<sup>2</sup> and was later a justice of the peace in Derbyshire.<sup>3</sup> He died in 1401 holding a moiety of the town of Kynwaldemersh, held of the King in chief as of the honour of Peverell, and a moiety of the town of Thurstaston, also in Derbyshire. His son Nicholas, the father of Ralph de Longford, succeeded him.<sup>4</sup> A justice of oyer and terminer in 1402 in the counties of Derby, Warwick, Leicester and Stafford, and a commissioner of array in Derbyshire in 1403,<sup>5</sup> Sir Nicholas was returned as knight of the shire for Derbyshire to the parliament of January 1404.<sup>6</sup> He held in Lancashire the manor of Withington of Thomas la Warre, lord of the manor of Manchester. In 1411 the latter, as rector of Manchester, complained that Sir Nicholas and other evildoers had violently carried off his corn in Withington<sup>7</sup> and in July a commission was appointed in Lancashire to arrest Longford and have him before King and Council in Chancery, in October, to answer for divers contempts.<sup>8</sup> Early in the following year Sir Nicholas served on a commission in Derbyshire appointed to enquire the names of those who would be required to contribute to the parliamentary subsidy of 6s. 8d. on every £20 worth of income from land, and for how much they were taxable.<sup>9</sup> He was present in the county court held at Wigan on 9 May 1413 when John Stanley and Sir John Assheton were elected knights of the shire, and sealed both the regular indenture of election and that giving assurance of the free election of John Stanley.<sup>10</sup> In October of the same year Longford was made sheriff of Lancaster.<sup>11</sup> He conducted in this capacity the election of October 1414 when John Stanley and Robert Laurence were returned as knights of the shire.<sup>12</sup> In May 1415 he was superseded in the shrievalty by Sir Robert Urswyk<sup>13</sup> with whom in the following month he contracted to provide 50 archers for the coming expedition to France.<sup>14</sup> Sir Nicholas himself served in person with a retinue of three men-at-arms.<sup>15</sup> He either died of dysentery or was killed during the siege of Harfleur on 17 September 1415. The inquisition post mortem on his Lancashire estates was taken at Manchester on 18 January 1416 when it was stated that the manor of Withington was worth £40 a year and that Sir Nicholas'



heir was his son Ralph, then aged fifteen years.<sup>16</sup> A further inquisition taken at Lancaster on 21 March found that the manor of Withington was held of the King, and not Thomas la Warre as had been determined in January. It was now also stated to be only worth £20 a year, and the age of Ralph de Longford heir was put down as forty years. The findings of this second inquisition were doubtless incorrect: on 24 March the custody of the heir, still apparently in his nonage, was granted to Sir John Stanley.<sup>17</sup> On 8 November 1416 however, Stanley surrendered the wardship of Withington in favour of Thomas la Warre the overlord.<sup>18</sup> Ralph de Longford also succeeded his father in the moiety of the manor of Thurstaston in Derbyshire.<sup>19</sup> According to the first inquisition on Sir Nicholas de Longford in January 1416 his son Ralph would attain his majority in 1422. On 1 March in that year Ralph, son of Sir Nicholas de Longford, complained to the Council that his mother, Margaret, had entrusted for his use certain goods and jewels with the prior of Gisburn, who now refused to surrender them. The latter, summoned to appear before the Council with the property at issue, did so by his attorney, who produced an indenture in which the jewels and plate mentioned therein were committed by Richard Cliderhawe esquire and his wife, formerly Sir Nicholas' widow, to the prior and convent of Gisburn in trust for the petitioner. The articles in dispute were delivered up to Ralph de Longford by command of the Council on 9 March.<sup>20</sup> In February 1423 at Staveley in Derbyshire Longford was a witness to a charter with warranty conveying the manors of Staveley and Alvaston and the other lands of Gervase Frecheville in Parkhall, Stedeley, and Chesterfield, in Derbyshire.<sup>21</sup> Later in the year Ralph de Longford was present in county court held at Croston on 13 October, when Sir Thomas de Radclyf and Ralph de Radclyf of Smithills were elected as knights of the shire. Longford was the first to appose his seal to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>22</sup> In 1426 he seems to have been made a knight for his conduct at the battle of Verneuil which was fought on 17 August 1424.<sup>23</sup> He had returned to England from abroad, however, in time to be returned as knight of the shire, along with Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe, to the parliament of 30 April 1425. The election was made in county court at Lancaster on 2 April.<sup>24</sup> On 7 June 1429 by charter drawn up at Withington Sir Ralph made over his manor of Withington and all his other estates in Lancashire to Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, Sir Ralph Shirley, who was knight of the shire for Leicestershire in 1420, Sir Nicholas Montgomery of Derbyshire, Sir Richard de Radclyf, late sheriff of Lancaster, and Roger Venables, parson of Routhestorn (Rosthern?) church. Sir Richard de Radclyf predeceased Longford by some three weeks. The latter died on 26 September 1431. The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 20 March 1432<sup>25</sup> and the inquisition post mortem was

taken six days later at Lancaster. The jury—half of whom had been present in county court when Longford was elected knight of the shire in 1425—stated that he held no lands at all in Lancashire in view of the charter of 1429. He left a son and heir Nicholas, who was aged thirteen years.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 308. <sup>2</sup> Armitage-Smith, App. iii. <sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1381-85, 84, 139, 245, 347. <sup>4</sup> *C.F.R.*, xii, 149. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 130, 237. <sup>6</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 265. <sup>7</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 289 n. <sup>8</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1409-13, 163. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 379. <sup>10</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 1 A and B. <sup>11</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 115. <sup>12</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 4. <sup>13</sup> *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, ix. <sup>14</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 212. <sup>15</sup> Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 357. <sup>16</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 114. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. <sup>18</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 13. <sup>19</sup> Piccope, iv, 56. <sup>20</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, ii, 328. <sup>21</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1422-29, 127. <sup>22</sup> *C.* 219, 13, 2. <sup>23</sup> Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, 1. <sup>24</sup> *C.* 219, 13, 3. <sup>25</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 33. <sup>26</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 29.

#### Richard de Radclyf (April 1425; *de Radclyf*; *armiger*).<sup>1</sup>

Richard was the eldest son of Joan, daughter of Sir John Tempest,<sup>2</sup> and James de Radclyf who was escheator of the county palatine in March and September 1400,<sup>3</sup> although superseded by April 1401.<sup>4</sup> James received royal letters patent in 1403 licensing him to rebuild his manor house at Radcliffe, erecting a hall and two towers of stone, and fortifying them with crenellated battlements.<sup>5</sup> He died in November 1409 seised of the manor of Radcliffe, the fourth part of the manor of Culcheth, the manor of Oswaldtwistle,<sup>6</sup> and certain lands and tenements in Harwood. The manor of Radcliffe was held of the King as Duke of Lancaster, and the fourth part of Culcheth of Sir William Botiller of Warrington.<sup>7</sup> The heir, Richard de Radclyf, who was then thirty years of age, was granted livery of his lands eight days after the inquisition post mortem on his father, namely, on 8 March 1410.<sup>8</sup> His younger brother, the second son of James de Radclyf, was Sir John de Radclyf who married Cecilia, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Mortimer of Attleborough in Norfolk, and in her right held the lands of the Mortimers of Attleborough. Before his death in 1420 Sir John de Radclyf was seneschal of Aquitaine, a knight banneret and a knight-elect of the Garter. His eldest son, Sir John, was in 1421 captain of the castle of Fronsac and constable of Bordeaux.<sup>9</sup> In 1424-25 he was seneschal of Aquitaine, and was later created Earl of Longueville for life. He died in 1440-41.<sup>10</sup> Richard de Radclyf married another Cecilia, the daughter of probably Sir John Assheton of Ashton-under-Lyne who was knight of the shire in 1411, 1413 and 1416, and in 1418 bailiff of the Côtentin in Normandy.<sup>11</sup>

On 9 May 1413 Richard de Radclyf *de Radeclif* was present in county court, held at Wigan by the sheriff Sir Ralph Staveley, when



his probable father-in-law, Sir John Assheton, and John Stanley were elected as knights of the shire to the first parliament of the new reign. He sealed the regular indenture attesting the election and also an indenture attesting the *libera electio* of John Stanley.<sup>12</sup> On 23 March 1414 he took a lease, for a term of twenty years, of the park of Musbury at an annual farm of £8 6s. 8d.<sup>13</sup> On the 15th of the following October Radclyf again was present at the parliamentary election made in county court at Lancaster by the sheriff, Sir Nicholas Longford. John Stanley, along with Robert Laurence, was again returned.<sup>14</sup> Richard de Radclyf was appointed a justice of the peace in Lancashire on 2 March 1418,<sup>15</sup> and on 28 April was appointed a commissioner *de mustro et arriacione* for the wapentake of Salford.<sup>16</sup> On 2 April 1425 he and Ralph de Longford were elected in county court held at Lancaster to serve as knights of the shire in the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 30 April. The sheriff who conducted the election was Sir Richard de Radclyf of Winmarleigh, the first cousin of Richard's father, James de Radclyf of Radcliffe. The sheriff's son, Sir Thomas de Radclyf, and thus the second cousin of Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe, was one of the three knights to seal the indenture of election. The other two were Sir John Pilkington of Bury, Richard de Radclyf's near neighbour, and Sir Henry Norreys.<sup>17</sup>

In May 1428 Richard le Strange of Knockin and Constance his wife received licence to make a grant to Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe, James his son, and four others, of the manors of Dunham-Massey, Hale, and Altrincham, and 30 messuages, 300 acres of arable land, 20 acres of woodland, 200 acres of pasture, and 200 acres of turbary in the same manors. The grantees were to pay 100 marks a year to Richard le Strange and his wife until their death when the payment was to cease.<sup>18</sup> Richard de Radclyf was one of five who had a remainder in 30 acres of land held before his death by Thomas la Warre, Lord of Manchester. A royal writ of *amoveri facias* was issued on 12 February 1429.<sup>19</sup> On 15 December 1435 Richard de Radclyf esquire was again given a commission of the peace in the county palatine.<sup>20</sup> On 6 May 1440 a writ *ad inquirendum* was directed to Sir John de Radclyf of Ordsall, Richard de Radclyf of Radcliffe, and Richard de Barton of Middleton, who had been present in county court when Richard de Radclyf was elected knight of the shire. The object of the enquiry was the title of Hugh Massey's wife, Agnes, to the manor of Quikeliswyke-in-Barton.<sup>21</sup>

Richard de Radclyf died in or before 1442.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 308. <sup>2</sup> Baines, iii, 6. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 157, 158. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 75. <sup>5</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1401-05, 255. <sup>6</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 59. <sup>7</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 94. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 8. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, xlv, 631, 634. <sup>10</sup> Baines, iii, 6. <sup>11</sup> Baines, ii, 424. <sup>12</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 1 A and B. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, vii, 317. <sup>14</sup> *C.* 219, 11, 4. <sup>15</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 327. <sup>17</sup> *C.* 219, 13, 3. <sup>18</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 690. <sup>19</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 20. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 535. <sup>22</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 59 n.

**John Botiller** (February 1426; *de Beausee*).<sup>1</sup>

The son and heir of Sir William Botiller, knight of the shire in 1406, John Botiller was born on 2 March 1403. In 1411 he was married to Isabel, daughter of Sir William Haryngton of Farleton, on which occasion Sir William Botiller settled his estates in Essex, Wiltshire, and Bedfordshire, on his son and daughter-in-law with remainder in tail to the former.<sup>2</sup> John Botiller's wife's brother, Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, was knight of the shire for Lancashire in 1432, 1437, 1442, 1447, 1449, and for Yorkshire in 1455. Sir William Botiller died of dysentery at Harfleur in September 1415. John Botiller at the inquisition post mortem on his father, taken at Wigan on 17 January 1416, was stated to be twelve years of age. A minor custody of the Lancashire estates held of the King was in the following July granted to Sir Peter de Dutton, Sir Gilbert de Haydok, John Gerard, and the latter's brother-in-law, William Garnet. In December 1417 when Sir Peter Legh took the place of Gerard, Botiller's uncle by marriage, a sum of 100 marks a year was being paid for the wardship.<sup>3</sup> In this year John Botiller sued Nicholas Croft of Dalton before the justices at Lancaster for an acre of land in Great Merton of which Croft had unjustly disseised his father Sir William Botiller. In retaliation Nicholas alleged that John was a bastard and could not be heir to anyone. The cognisance of this question of legitimacy pertained to the ecclesiastical court of the Archbishop of York. A writ *de supersedendo* was however addressed to the latter commanding him not to execute the King's writ seeing that a collusion had been effected between the parties.<sup>4</sup> In August 1418 Sir John Stanley and others were bound to John Botiller and William Garnet in a recognisance for £200.<sup>5</sup> In 1421 John Botiller was found to be heir to his uncle for the Botiller lands in Crophill, Nottinghamshire, granted him for life by his brother Sir William. This uncle, John Botiller esquire, was one of the ushers of the King's Chamber in Henry V's reign.<sup>6</sup> On 20 November 1424 John Botiller formally proved he was of full age, sued out livery of his lands in Lancashire, and did homage for them before Richard Botiller of Kirkland the escheator, a kinsman of the family. In 1423 he had contracted to marry his only sister Elizabeth to John son of Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe.<sup>7</sup> It was with Nicholas Botiller that on 9 February 1426 in county court held at Preston by the sheriff, Sir Robert Laurence, John Botiller was elected as knight of the shire in the parliament summoned to meet at Leicester nine days later—"the parliament of battes." Only eight persons sealed the indenture attesting the election. The first was Hamond le Massey of Rixton, one of John Botiller's trustees.<sup>8</sup> Botiller was one of the thirty-six who received the honour of knighthood, during the session of Parliament, from the young Henry VI. The ceremony was the occasion of the King's own



elevation to that rank.<sup>9</sup> In 1429 Sir John was a witness to a charter in which Reginald West, baron of Manchester, granted his park in Blackley to the recently collegiate church of Manchester. Botiller died on 12 September 1430. The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 4 November 1430.<sup>10</sup> Besides the estates in Wiltshire, Essex, and Bedfordshire, which his father had settled on him and his wife, he died possessed of Crophill-Boteler in Nottinghamshire, the manor of Exul in Warwickshire, the manors of Great and Little Laton and Bispham, and the Warrington lands, in Lancashire.<sup>11</sup> In November 1420 with others he had had a remainder in the manor and royal lordship of Talgarth in Wales.<sup>12</sup> Botiller's trustees—Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, Sir William Haryngton, Botiller's father-in-law, Hamond le Massey, and William Arrowsmith, mercer—were responsible for an assignment of dower on 12 April 1431 to his widow who survived until May 1441.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 311. <sup>2</sup> Beamont, 248-9. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 114. <sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 14. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. <sup>6</sup> Beamont, 255. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 255; Piccope, vii, 263. <sup>8</sup> *C.* 219, 13, 4. <sup>9</sup> Metcalfe, 1. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 31. <sup>11</sup> Beamont, 256. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 307. <sup>13</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 48.

**Thomas Stanley** (October 1427) (July 1433; *chivaler*) (November 1439)<sup>1</sup> (January 1442; *miles*) (February 1447; *miles*) (February 1449; *miles*) (November 1449) (November 1450; *miles*) (March 1453)<sup>2</sup> (July 1455; *miles*).<sup>3</sup>

The eldest son of Sir John Stanley, knight of the shire in 1413 and 1414, and his wife Isabel Haryngton, the sister of Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, Thomas Stanley married Joan, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Goushill of Hoveringham, Notts, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, and widow of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.<sup>4</sup> At his father's death in 1437 Thomas Stanley was stated to be thirty-one years of age.<sup>5</sup> In 1425 young Stanley (he was then only nineteen years) was embroiled in a serious disturbance with his twenty-eight-year-old cousin, Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton, appointed constable of Liverpool Castle, steward of the wapentakes of West Derby and Salford, and forester of West Derby in February 1422. This appointment may very well have been the cause of the rivalry. The feud in June 1425 threatened to break out into an armed contest between the contending parties. The disturbance was serious enough to draw the immediate attention of the government and sufficiently widespread to have momentarily paralysed the action of the local authorities. On 25 June—according to an early fifteenth-century English version of the affair tendered by the justices of the peace involved to William Troutbeck, Chancellor of the Duchy—Sir

Richard Radclyf, sheriff of Lancaster, submitted at Manchester to Ralph Radclyf and James del Holt, justices of the peace, a writ he had received from the King which mentioned rumour of disorder between Molyneux of Sefton and Stanley of Liverpool and ordered the sheriff to put an end to it, mustering the 'power of the county' if need be. Justices and sheriff and other gentry went down to Liverpool, on 27 June. There they found Stanley entrenched in his father's tower and the town full of his men to the number of 2,000. When asked to account for the assembly Stanley informed the official party that he was being threatened by Sir Richard Molyneux, whom he would withstand if he might. He offered, however, to accept arbitration and keep the peace if Molyneux would do the same, and allowed himself to be taken into custody by the sheriff two days later and conveyed to Clitheroe. The official party then went out to West Derby where they met Molyneux with an armed following of a thousand men coming fast towards Liverpool. The sheriff arrested and took him to Lancaster. On 10 July the King ordered Stanley to Kenilworth and Molyneux to Windsor.<sup>6</sup> Two years later, Stanley was returned as knight of the shire with Sir Ralph Radclyf to the Westminster parliament of October 1427. The election was made in county court held at Wigan on 16 September.<sup>7</sup> On 16 December 1428 Sir Laurence Fitton, Sir John Stanley, Sir Peter Dutton, Sir John Savage, and Thomas Stanley esquire appeared in the exchequer at Chester before William Troutbeck chamberlain of Chester and undertook that Fitton should appear before the Council. After doing so he was dismissed and with the others was discharged from his recognisance.<sup>8</sup> On 29 January 1431, by which date he had been knighted, Sir Thomas Stanley was appointed by advice of the Council to be the King's Lieutenant in Ireland for six years, the appointment to date from 12 April.<sup>9</sup> On 28 June John Talbot serjeant-at-arms and Sir Henry Norreys of Speke (Liverpool), who had been present in county court at Wigan when Sir Thomas Stanley was elected in 1427, were ordered to arrest ships along the coast from Bristol to Lancaster, as required, for the transportation of Stanley and his retinue with their 700 horses to Ireland.<sup>10</sup> Commissioners were appointed on 17 July to take the muster of his retinue at Liverpool.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile on 16 March it had been decided in Council to defer the payment of Stanley's fee as lieutenant, despite the warrant issued to the Treasurer authorising it, in favour of the stronger claims made on the Exchequer by affairs in France.<sup>12</sup> The government's debt to Stanley had attained by February 1434 the proportions of a sum of 5,000 marks. At this point the Treasurer protested his inability to pay this off at once because of pressing demands for money for other purposes; the Council authorised him to make Stanley such assignment as seemed fit.<sup>13</sup> Stanley's tenure of office as Lieutenant of Ireland did not preclude him from passing considerable periods on other business in England.



He was returned with Sir Thomas Radclyf as knight of the shire to the Westminster parliament of July 1433. At the election, which took place in county court at Lancaster on 24 June, Sir Thomas's father, Sir John Stanley, was present along with Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, Sir Thomas's uncle, and Sir Richard Molyneux, his antagonist in 1425.<sup>14</sup> By this time a reconciliation must have been effected. In 1440 Stanley's daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Molyneux's son, Sir Richard, one of the privy chamber to Henry VI.<sup>15</sup> The parliament of 1433 sat from the beginning of July until nearly the end of December. In February Stanley was apparently making representations to the Council for the payment of his fees as lieutenant of Ireland. Meanwhile on 20 January 1434 he and Radclyf, as knights of the shire, were ordered to certify into Chancery the names of those in Lancashire whom they considered fit to take an oath not to maintain peace-breakers,<sup>16</sup> in pursuance of an ordinance of the last parliament. On 1 May, along with the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and his uncle, Sir William Haryngton, Stanley and Radclyf as members of the last parliament were appointed commissioners to take the oath of the sixty-seven persons whose names had been put into Chancery.<sup>17</sup> On 14 February 1436 writs were issued by order of the Council requesting loans for the equipment of the army about to be shipped across to France under the command of Gloucester. Sir Thomas Stanley contributed £40; his father, Sir John, another 100 marks.<sup>18</sup> On 24 February both had, with their relative Sir William Haryngton and Sir John Byron, been appointed to induce notables of Lancashire to lend the government a considerable sum to be repaid out of the third of a tenth and fifteenth due at Whitsuntide 1437.<sup>19</sup> Eleven days later Sir Thomas was appointed an assessor in the county palatine for the subsidy voted in the last parliament.<sup>20</sup> In November 1436 he was still occupying the post of lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile on 25 October he was appointed a member of a commission for the arrest of William Pule and others responsible for the abduction and rape of Stanley's cousin, Isabel widow of John Botiller of Bewsey.<sup>22</sup> She petitioned in the parliament which met on 21 January following. Stanley is mentioned in the petition as having found her at Birkenhead and brought her to Chester.<sup>23</sup> While this parliament was in session, on 28 February, Sir Thomas Stanley and John Savage esquire took out a 12 years' lease on the castle of Hawarden, the manors and lordships of Hawarden and Mold, and the manor, lordship, and hundred of Macclesfield. They had formed part of the estates of the Queen-mother who had died on 3 January. Sir Richard Molyneux and Edmund Trafford stood surety for the grantees.<sup>24</sup> Sir Thomas, at the beginning of December 1437, about the time of his father's death, was made constable of Chester castle for life in the stead of John Hampton.<sup>25</sup> On 14 November 1437 Sir John Stanley had surrendered a grant made

to him in 1414 of the offices of steward, master forester, surveyor and equitator of Macclesfield, Delamere and Mondrem. His death a month later left Ralph Lord Cromwell, Treasurer of England, who had been appointed in a new grant to hold the offices conjointly with him, alone in their administration. On 21 February 1439 Sir Thomas Stanley was appointed to take his father's place and hold his Cheshire offices conjointly with Cromwell.<sup>26</sup> By April 1439 when he received a grant of the office of chamberlain of North Wales, Stanley was controller of the royal household.<sup>27</sup> On 26 September following he received a commission as justice for the three hundreds of the eyre at Macclesfield. He served in this capacity yearly until December 1444 and again in 1452.<sup>28</sup> Along with Henry Kighley, Stanley was again a member for the county palatine in the parliament of November 1439. William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in April 1437 appointed steward of the duchy of Lancaster north of the Trent, was on 19 February 1440 made chief justice of North Wales and Chester, and of South Wales. Four days later he deputed Sir Thomas Stanley, William Burley, Speaker in 1437 and 1445, and Richard Bold, to be his lieutenants as chief justice of Chester.<sup>29</sup> In the following year Stanley was made lieutenant-justice for Chester, Flint, and North Wales with a fee of £40 a year. This office he continued to hold until his death, although from December 1443 he was no longer lieutenant but fellow-justice with Suffolk, after whose murder in May 1450 he administered the office alone, by deputy.<sup>30</sup> In the May following his first appointment as Suffolk's deputy, Stanley received a grant by bill of the Treasurer of the office of gauger in all the ports of North Wales and Cheshire.<sup>31</sup> In February 1441 this was followed up by a grant in survivorship under the privy seal of £40 a year from the manors of Hawarden and Mohaudesdale, to be shared between Stanley and Roland Lenthall, a knight of the body.<sup>32</sup> Sixteen days later Stanley, as controller of the household, and John Troutbeck, chamberlain of Chester, received instructions to furnish two dozen barrels of wine against the King's arrival in Chester.<sup>33</sup> On 23 October later in the same year, both Stanley and Troutbeck were associated with the Earl of Suffolk and two auditors for Cheshire and Flint, on a commission to confer with the county of Flint and the lordships of Hawarden and Mold about a subsidy to be made to the King.<sup>34</sup> Within the month Stanley as *sometyme lieutenant of your saide londe* was entrusted with the responsibility of declaring to the Council the Earl of Ormond's unfitness to be deputy-lieutenant of Ireland, when the Irish parliament requested the appointment of an English peer in his stead.<sup>35</sup> Stanley's appointment as lieutenant of Ireland had terminated in April 1437. In January 1442 Sir Thomas was returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire along with his first cousin, Thomas Haryngton of Hornby. It may be appropriate to recapitulate Stanley's official position at this stage. He was, first and



foremost, controller of the royal household; then chamberlain of North Wales; constable of Chester Castle; gauger in the North Wales and Cheshire ports; lieutenant-justice of Chester, Flint and North Wales, justice on eyre for the three hundreds of Macclesfield; and steward, master-forester, surveyor and equitator of Macclesfield, Delamere and Mondrem, which offices he held conjointly with the Earl of Suffolk. Three days before parliament met this last group of offices was made hereditary in the Stanley family.<sup>36</sup> A year hence he was to succeed Thomas Urswyk as duchy receiver in the county palatine, which office he held for life. During the session Stanley leased certain pasturages in the forest of Macclesfield for a period of six years at an annual farm of £16.<sup>37</sup> On 29 August 1442 he received letters of pardon for any conveyances without licence of lands held of the King in chief in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Stafford and Chester, to which he had been party.<sup>38</sup> In July 1441 Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, had been publicly arraigned on a charge of practising sorcery, and condemned to lifelong imprisonment. In the following January she had been committed to the wardship of Sir Thomas Stanley who was to see to her being lodged in Chester castle. Here she remained for one and a half years. In 1444 Stanley was ordered to take her to Kenilworth and then in 1446 to the Isle of Man.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile in February 1443 the custody of the abbey of St. Mary 'Kymmer' in North Wales was committed to Stanley to the use of the convent and the abbot who had petitioned the King for protection from disturbance.<sup>40</sup> On 7 June Stanley was appointed along with the Earl of Salisbury, Adam Moleyns (the keeper of the privy seal), and others, to take at Portsmouth the muster of the Duke of Somerset,<sup>41</sup> who had been made Captain-general of all France and Guinne on 30 March. From Michaelmas 1443 until 1458 he accounts as receiver for the county palatine. Although the duchy accounts do not give the date of appointment, the grant was expressly for life. The appointment is very comprehensible in view of the fact that since 1439 the unappropriated revenues of the duchy of Lancaster had been allocated to the charge of the Household, of which Stanley was Controller. On 15 October the castles, lordships and manors of Hawarden and Mold were granted to Stanley in fee tail. On the previous day he had received an hereditary grant of the "several pastures" in the forest of Macclesfield at £4 a year as fee-farm instead of the previous rent of £16.<sup>42</sup> Almost a year later, on 4 October 1444, Stanley and John Troutbeck chamberlain of Chester were granted a 44 years' lease of the pasturage and underwood in Delamere and Mondrem forests at a rate of £16 a year.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile on 11 July Stanley had been appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer, in Buckinghamshire.<sup>44</sup> He was a member of a commission appointed in June 1445 to whose charge were committed all the *temporalia* of the priory of Holy Trinity London during a

vacancy.<sup>45</sup> In this year the King gave him the wardship and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Weever. Stanley married her to his son John who in her right became lord of Weever and Alderley.<sup>46</sup> In 1445 also Sir Thomas acquired a lease of the Dee fishery.<sup>47</sup> In October of the following year Stanley, Geoffrey Starkey of Northwich, and Robert More leased for twenty years the offices of bailiff and beadle of the hundreds of Eddesbury and Wirral at a farm of £15 a year.<sup>48</sup> At the beginning of the year, on 2 January, Stanley had served on a commission of gaol delivery in Lancashire, and in March had been appointed a justice of the peace in the county.<sup>49</sup> Along with his cousin of Hornby Stanley was returned as knight of the shire for Lancashire to the parliament of the following year, first summoned to meet at Cambridge and then at Bury St. Edmund's, where the Earl of Suffolk's influence was powerful. The election was made at Lancaster on 6 February; parliament met on 10 February 1447. Proceedings relating to Gloucester's conduct as protector were expected to take place. At his arrival on 18 February Gloucester was met outside Bury by the treasurer and controller of the King's household, Sir John Stourton and Sir Thomas Stanley respectively. He was there bidden to retire to his hostel where he was arrested. The Duke died five days later. The last day of the session was 3 March. Six days before, Stanley had been given the advowson and patronage of Eccleston church in the Leyland hundred.<sup>50</sup> Three weeks after parliament's dissolution Sir James Fenys, Lord of Say, Sir Thomas Stanley, John Somerset (chancellor of the Exchequer), and Richard Chester a clerk, were given the right to dispose of the effects of the late Duke Humphrey who had died intestate.<sup>51</sup> Stanley and Suffolk on 11 December were given the office of chief steward of those parcels of the duchy of Lancaster settled for the King's use and in trust for the execution of his will on a committee of feoffees from November 1443. On 2 March 1448 Sir Thomas was included in a supplementary list on which the existing feoffees were to draw in case of attenuation of their own numbers. (Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 311.) Still the local landowner with his chief seat at Knowsley, by this time Stanley was farming the park and turbarry of Toxteth and the moss of Smithdown in the West Derbyshire hundred. He and James Harebrown had a grant for life or in survivorship of the office of parker of Toxteth and Croxteth. The master-forestership of West Derbyshire was being administered by Stanley's cousin by marriage, Sir Richard Molyneux.<sup>53</sup> Stanley and his cousin Haryngton of Hornby were again returned knights of the shire, for the second time in succession, to the Westminster parliament summoned to meet on 12 February 1449. The election had taken place at Lancaster on 20 January, two days after which Stanley had been given the royal licence to hunt either in person or by his servants in any of the royal parks, forests and chaces in Cheshire and Lancashire



and elsewhere and kill two harts and two hinds, two bucks and two does.<sup>54</sup> Parliament had been in session five days when Stanley was pardoned over £15 which as chamberlain of North Wales he had levied on the Bishop of Bangor as his share towards a clerical tenth voted in 1445.<sup>55</sup> It was probably in his capacity as chamberlain of North Wales that on 14 January, earlier in the year, he had been a commissioner appointed to enquire into some royal rents from certain Flintshire lands and mills.<sup>56</sup> Stanley was again returned along with his cousin's son, John Botiller of Bewsey, to the second parliament of 1449 which met at Westminster on 6 November. The election was not effected at Lancaster until 10 November. The first session of this parliament was notable for the violent reaction against Suffolk and his party produced by the cession of Normandy and Maine. On 23 March 1450, during the parliamentary recess, Stanley was appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer on which also sat Thomas Chalton, mayor of London, Sir John Stourton, treasurer of the household, Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the King's Bench, and others; they were to make inquisition in the City as to suspected treason on the part of a London vintner John Frammesley.<sup>57</sup> Ten days later Stanley was made a member of a committee of six entrusted for the next five years with the guardianship of Calais, in whose composition were included James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, Henry Viscount Bouchier, and Stourton, the treasurer of the household.<sup>58</sup> After the adjournment parliament met again at Leicester on 29 April and passed a general act of resumption in which Stanley secured for himself the insertion of a clause of non-prejudice.<sup>59</sup> The session closed on 17 May. Six weeks later, on 1 July, Stanley and his cousin Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby were appointed commissioners of array in Cheshire and Lancashire with the advice of the Council. The measure was apparently prompted by the Kentish insurrection under Cade, who entered London two days after the issue of the letters patent of appointment.<sup>60</sup> Along with Sir Richard Haryngton, who succeeded him as controller of the household, Stanley was again returned to parliament in November 1450. Only three weeks before parliament met Stanley was replaced as justice of North Wales, although he had been appointed for life, owing to his preoccupation with other business which afforded him no time to execute the office.<sup>61</sup> It is more likely that this change was a repercussion of the Yorkist ascendancy. Early in September Stanley had participated in efforts by the curialist party to hinder the Duke of York's return from Ireland. After an unwelcome landing at Beaumaris, gangs at Holt and Chester attempted to intercept the Duke's march to his estates on the Welsh border. In a petition of protest to the King, York himself mentioned Sir Thomas as having *lain in wait for to hearken upon me* in Cheshire (*Paston Letters*, i, lx). It is not surprising that the delayed Lancashire elec-

tion was apparently a difficult one. Although parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on 6 November 1450, the election of the knights of the shire for Lancashire was not made until 23 November. When parliament met after the Christmas recess on 20 January 1451 the Commons, in whom the Yorkist interest was strongly represented, petitioned the King for the dismissal from court of the Duke of Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk, the Lord Dudley, the Bishop of Lichfield, and the abbot of Gloucester, with several knights and gentlemen, among whom Sir Thomas Stanley found himself numbered. Although he refused to dismiss the lords, Henry thought wise to comply with the rest of the demand and consented to the removal of the others for a year.<sup>62</sup> This temporary eclipse of the Somerset party to which Stanley had attached himself after Suffolk's death, brought with it no such exemption from the re-enacted act of resumption as he had been accorded in the previous parliament. The castle, manor, and town of Mold, which Stanley had been granted in tail male nearly eight years before, were resumed into the King's hands.<sup>63</sup> On 8 March while parliament was still in session, the abbot of St. Werbergh Chester, Sir Thomas Stanley justice of Chester, Sir John Mainwaring and others, were ordered through the chamberlain of Chester to surcease the execution of letters of commission appointing them assessors of a subsidy. This was after the franchises of the county palatine of Chester had been confirmed in response to a petition against the imposition of a fifteenth in 1450.<sup>64</sup> On 15 April Stanley was superseded as chamberlain of North Wales by Sir William Beauchamp Lord of St. Amand.<sup>65</sup> In the following September he shared in a twenty-years lease of the fishery called *the Kynges poole* in the Dee near Chester at an annual rent of £16.<sup>66</sup> The setback occasioned by the Yorkist triumph of the spring of 1451 was seemingly part of a policy in the nature of a sop to that faction and was bound to be only temporary as long as Somerset was not ousted. By July 1452 Stanley was back in his offices of justice and chamberlain of North Wales, and serving as such on a commission which included Somerset and Sir William Beauchamp, appointed to investigate in North Wales, notably in Merioneth, the reasons why audits, courts, and sessions, had not been held and the King's rents not paid since Michaelmas 1450, to assess the deficits and compel payment of arrears. If this was impossible the commission was to arrange for a subsidy in recompense for the King's losses, security for which was to be furnished in the Exchequer of Caernarvon. Stanley was given power to grant letters of pardon under the seal of North Wales.<sup>67</sup> Three weeks before the issue of this commission a Reginald de Elston had been bound at Chester in a recognisance for £300 that he would keep the peace towards Sir Thomas Stanley.<sup>68</sup> On 12 January 1453 Stanley was accorded a general pardon with an accompanying provision that it was not to apply to arrears



in the accounts of his offices as receiver of county Lancaster and chamberlain of North Wales.<sup>69</sup> In May 1453 Stanley was engaged in negotiations with Scotland as a commissioner for the arrangement of a truce.<sup>70</sup> At this time he was along with Sir Richard Haryngton, his successor in the controllership of the household, serving in the parliament which had met at Reading on 6 March, as member for the county palatine. During the second recess on 12 July he was appointed a member of a commission charged with an enquiry in the North Riding of Yorkshire into risings and distribution of liveries. The commission was re-issued on the 25th.<sup>71</sup> On 12 August the year-old commission to enquire into deficits in the farms of Merioneth, Carnarvon, and Anglesey, was renewed.<sup>72</sup> A month later Stanley figured on a further commission of enquiry in the same counties into seditious proceedings as well as malpractices on the part of royal officials there.<sup>73</sup>

The appointment of York to the protectorate late in March 1454 resulted in anything but political extinction for Sir Thomas Stanley. After the dissolution of parliament he received letters of summons to attend a meeting of the Council at Westminster on 8 May.<sup>74</sup> During his short exercise of power York was mainly concerned with the suppression of the quarrel between the Nevilles and the Percies. The latter party had been strengthened by the Duke of Exeter, who was doing his best to incite Yorkshire and Lancashire against the Duke of York. The protector himself went north to disperse the insurgents. On 16 May Sir Thomas Stanley and his Yorkist cousin, Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, were instructed to be intendant on the Duke of York in his commission and to discourage any movement *in the contree where as ye be* to participate in the rising.<sup>75</sup> A fortnight later Stanley and Haryngton were both summoned along with two other knights to a Great Council convoked for 25 June which was to advise on measures to be taken for the *defense of this oure reaume outward and the restefull and pollitique reule thereof inwarde* and for the resistance of the French who were said to *daily besy thaim to pulle from us oure towne of Calais*.<sup>76</sup> This attachment to the protectorate dissolved when York was deprived of the protectorate, and with it of all influence, on the King's recovery early in 1455. When the battle of St. Albans of 22 May 1455 returned York to power and put Somerset, hitherto his chief opponent, out of the contest, Stanley's fortunes suffered no eclipse in spite of the fact that he had been in company with the Lancastrian Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Cromwell, coming up to join the King at St. Albans with large reinforcements.<sup>77</sup> Four days after the battle parliament was summoned to meet on 9 July. The election of the representatives for Lancashire took place in county court at Lancaster on 30 June when Sir Thomas Stanley and Alexander Radclyf, Sir Thomas Haryngton's brother-in-law, were returned as knights of the shire. Sir Thomas Haryngton, who was himself returned for

Yorkshire, was present at the election.<sup>78</sup> When parliament met five committees were appointed to deal with the business awaiting attention. Stanley, as *miles et officarii dicti Hospitii* was made a member of the committee charged with the establishment of an *ordinate and a substantiall rule for the Kynges honourable houshold*.<sup>79</sup> A member of the privy or continual council on 6 August,<sup>80</sup> Stanley was exercising the office of lord chamberlain at this time. When he was appointed is not clear. He was at any rate either made chamberlain on the Yorkist triumph as a conciliatory gesture, or retained the office. (A certain knowledge as to when his eldest son Thomas married Eleanor Neville, daughter of the Earl of Salisbury and sister of the Kingmaker, might help here. The union had taken place by 1460.) In the act of resumption passed in the parliament Stanley took care to have inserted a clause exempting himself from its effects. On the day following the beginning of parliament's third session, on 13 January 1456 Stanley was summoned to the house of peers as Lord Stanley and his petition to be exempted from the act of resumption was phrased as coming from *your humble and contynuell servaunt Thomas lord Stanley your chamberleyn*. The clause of reservation provided that the act of resumption was not to prejudice Lord Stanley *our chamberleyn or by what name so er he be called* in any grants made him under the seal of the county palatine of Chester of his offices in the forests of Macclesfield, Delamere, and Mondrem.<sup>81</sup> Lord Stanley continued to exercise the office of chamberlain. He was still occupying it in October 1456 when he informed the Chancellor that the abbot of Grimsby had performed his fealty and homage and that it was the King's will that his temporalities should be restored.<sup>82</sup> Meanwhile on 30 April Stanley had served on a commission of oyer and terminer in London and the suburbs.<sup>83</sup> On 27 July he and John Walsh, auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, were commissioned to audit the accounts from Easter 1453 to 30 April 1456 kept by Richard Merston, treasurer of the chamber and keeper of the King's jewels.<sup>84</sup> On 28 January 1457 Stanley was one of the Lancastrian group entrusted with the counsel and care of Edward the young Prince of Wales.<sup>85</sup> On the day before the issue of this commission he had figured on a list of *barones* summoned to attend a Great Council at Coventry on 14 February.<sup>86</sup> On 8 March he was appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer in the counties of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester.<sup>87</sup> On May 14 1457 Lord Stanley was installed a Knight of the Garter (G.E.C.). On 7 June he and Sir Richard Tunstall, a Lancashire knight who was to succeed him as receiver for the county palatine in the following year, were given the right, after the King had made one presentation, to collate to a canonry and prebend in the free chapel of St Stephen within the palace precincts at Westminster.<sup>88</sup> Both were on a commission of 17 December charged with the apportionment of the 113 archers, at which Lancashire



was assessed, among the hundreds, towns and villages of the county with the assignment of the sources of their upkeep. The commissioners were to acquaint the Exchequer before 9 February 1458 in indentured bills of what they had effected.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile Stanley was again summoned to a Great Council to be held on 27 January.<sup>90</sup> He continued to attend meetings of the continual council. He was present on 4 March 1458 when it was agreed to furnish Warwick with £500, for the keeping of the sea, from the proceeds of the last general pardon, and another £500 from the duchy of Lancaster<sup>91</sup>; and again in October.<sup>92</sup>

Stanley died on 20 February 1459 and was buried at Burscough Priory.<sup>93</sup> The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 9 March.<sup>94</sup> An inquisition post mortem found that Stanley's Cheshire holding comprised lands in Hale worth £8 a year; the manors of Bosley, Bides-ton, Neston, worth nearly £63; Hawarden Castle worth 80 marks; the stewardship and master-forestership of Macclesfield worth 100 marks; and other lands and messuages in the county.<sup>95</sup> His eldest son Thomas who succeeded him had been from 1454 one of Henry VI's esquires.<sup>96</sup> He narrowly escaped impeachment in the Coventry parliament of November 1459 on a charge of connivance with the Earl of Salisbury at Bloreheath and keeping his forces out of the battle. His brother William fought openly on the Yorkist side.

<sup>1</sup> Fine Roll, 18 Henry VI. <sup>2</sup> Fine Roll, 31 Henry VI. <sup>3</sup> *Return of Mem.*, 313, 324, 333, 336, 339, 342, 345, 350. <sup>4</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 94. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 672. <sup>6</sup> Piccope, vii, 253. <sup>7</sup> C. 219, 13, 5. <sup>8</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iii, 346. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 105. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 153. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 133. <sup>12</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iv, 80. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 198. <sup>14</sup> C. 219, 14, 4. <sup>15</sup> Piccope, vi, 61. <sup>16</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1429-35, 271. <sup>17</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>18</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iv, 327. <sup>19</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 530. <sup>20</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>21</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlvi, 315. <sup>22</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 83. <sup>23</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 497. <sup>24</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 671. <sup>25</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 128. <sup>26</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 434. <sup>27</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 286. <sup>28</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 485. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 673. <sup>30</sup> Ormerod, i, 64. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 398. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 513. <sup>33</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 673. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 592. <sup>35</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, v, 320. <sup>36</sup> Ormerod, i, 90. <sup>37</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 673. <sup>38</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 100. <sup>39</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 51. <sup>40</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 164. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 201. <sup>42</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 674. <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 44. <sup>44</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 292. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 371. <sup>46</sup> Ormerod, iii, 574. <sup>47</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 674. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 49. <sup>49</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 538. <sup>50</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 43. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 45. <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 123. <sup>53</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 42-3; *D.K.R.*, xl, 539. <sup>54</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 213. <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 224. <sup>56</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 675. <sup>57</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 320. <sup>58</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlvi, 382. <sup>59</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 190. <sup>60</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 95. <sup>61</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 403. <sup>62</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 216. <sup>63</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 539. <sup>64</sup> Ormerod, i, 126. <sup>65</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 419. <sup>66</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 675. <sup>67</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 581. <sup>68</sup> *D.K.R.*, *op. cit.* <sup>69</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 36. <sup>70</sup> *Cal. Docs. re. Scotland*, iv, 225. <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 121, 123. <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 124. <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. <sup>74</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 175. <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 130. <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 186. <sup>77</sup> *Paston Letters*, i, 333. <sup>78</sup> C. 219, 16, 3. <sup>79</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 297. <sup>80</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 257. <sup>81</sup> *P.R.O.*, S.C. 8/28, no. 1365. <sup>82</sup> *Ancient Petitions*; *Rot. Parl.*, v, 312. <sup>83</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 290. <sup>84</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 306. <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 293. <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 359. <sup>87</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 334. <sup>88</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 348. <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 410. <sup>90</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 292. <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 295. <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 297. <sup>93</sup> *D.N.B.* <sup>94</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 676. <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 676. <sup>96</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 223.

**Robert Laurence** (*Robertus filius Roberti Laurence militis*: September 1429).<sup>1</sup>

The eldest son of Sir Robert Laurence of Ashton, Lancaster, who was knight of the shire in 1404, 1406 and 1414, and sheriff of Lancaster from 1425 to 1437, Robert Laurence must be distinguished from Robert Laurence of Laton the son of John Laurence who had estates in Thornton, Great and Little Layton, a moiety of the manor of Ribbles-ton and a fourth part of the manor of Ashton (Preston).<sup>2</sup> This Robert Laurence *de Laton* sealed the indenture of election of the knights of the shire to the parliaments of January 1431<sup>3</sup> and July 1433<sup>4</sup> and probably was the Robert Laurence who attested the parliamentary elections of November 1450<sup>5</sup> and June 1455.<sup>6</sup> Robert Laurence of Laton was a juror at the inquisition taken at Preston in December 1431 into the tenures by knight or any other service in the wapentake of Amounderness,<sup>7</sup> and in March 1442 was appointed to assess and collect a tenth and fifteenth.<sup>8</sup>

In county court held at Lancaster on 15 August 1429 by the sheriff Sir Robert Laurence, Sir John Byron and the sheriff's son, then aged thirty, were elected as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 22 September. In this year Robert Laurence the younger married Agnes the daughter of Nicholas Croft of Dalton and received lands in Middleton, Heysham and Lancaster.<sup>9</sup> Croft was present in county court at the election. Laurence was himself present at the election held by his father, still sheriff, on 24 December 1436 at Lancaster when Thomas Haryngton and Henry Halsall were returned<sup>10</sup>; again in January 1442 when Haryngton and Sir Thomas Stanley were elected, when he was third in the list of those who sealed the indenture of election<sup>11</sup>; and again in January 1449 when he and his father-in-law, Nicholas Croft, were the second and third respectively to appose their seals to the indenture.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile on 15 June 1446 along with William Lord Haryngton, Sir Thomas Haryngton, and others, Robert Laurence esquire was appointed to serve on a commission of enquiry touching the *malfeasance* of the sheriff of the county palatine, Sir John Byron, his fellow-knight of the shire in 1429.<sup>13</sup> Robert Laurence died on 3 April 1450. The inquisition post mortem was taken at Garstang on 22 April. He was found to have died seised of 4 messuages, 60 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture in Ashton (Lancaster); the manor of Carnforth; a parcel of land in Salteracre in Carnforth with the advowson of Warton Church; 3 messuages, 60 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture in Bolton-in-Lonsdale; a moiety of the manor of Carleton; 3 messuages in Warton; a moiety of the manor of Scotforth; 8 burgages, 63 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow in Lancaster; a moiety of the manor of Middleton-in-Lonsdale jointly with his wife



Agnes; a fourth part of the manor of Sowerby. These lands were all held of the King as Duke of Lancaster. In addition Laurence held 2 messuages, 30 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, and 60 acres of pasture in Skerton; and 4 messuages, 100 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 20 acres of wood, and 200 acres of pasture in Ellall of Richard Molyneux and Sir Henry Pleasington. The value of these estates was estimated to be some £25 a year. Robert Laurence was succeeded by his son and heir, James, aged twenty-two years.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. 219, 14, 1. <sup>2</sup> V.C.H., vii, 106. <sup>3</sup> C. 219, 14, 2. <sup>4</sup> Ibid., 4. <sup>5</sup> C. 219, 16, 1. <sup>6</sup> Ibid., 3. <sup>7</sup> Feudal Aids, iii, 95. <sup>8</sup> D.K.R., xl, 537. <sup>9</sup> V.C.H., viii, 52. <sup>10</sup> C. 219, 15, 1. <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 2. <sup>12</sup> Ibid., 6. <sup>13</sup> D.K.R., xl, 538. <sup>14</sup> Lancs. Inq. p.m. ii, 56.

#### William Gernet (January 1431).<sup>1</sup>

William Gernet or Garnet was probably a member of the Garnet family of Rainhill, Prescot.<sup>2</sup> He married into the Gerard family, his wife being Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn and widow of Gilbert Langton.<sup>3</sup> The close family connection between the Warrington Botillers and the Gerards would account for Gernet's identification with the former too. On 11 June 1416 he was appointed serjeant-at-law in the counties of Chester and Flint with an annual salary of 5 marks.<sup>4</sup> Peter Massey was appointed at the same time. The latter apparently died in 1426 and was succeeded by William Bulkyley. The appointment of William Chauntrell in September 1427 probably meant, then, that he took the place of William Gernet.<sup>5</sup> In July 1416 along with Sir Peter Dutton, Sir Gilbert Haydok, and his brother-in-law John Gerard, William Gernet was a grantee of the wardship of the Lancashire estates of Sir William Botiller of Warrington who died at Harfleur in September 1415. When Sir Peter Legh took the place of Gerard in December 1417 the grantees of the wardship were rendering annually 100 marks.<sup>6</sup> It was probably in relation to this custody that in August 1418 Sir John Stanley with others entered into a recognisance for £200 to John Botiller, Sir William's son and heir, and William Gernet.<sup>7</sup> Gernet seems to have acted as 'solicitor' to the Botiller family in general. In February 1421 John Botiller esquire, Sir William's brother and usher of the Chamber to Henry V, nominated him one of his executors and an administrator of his will.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, on 2 March 1418, Gernet had been made one of the justices of the peace for Lancashire.<sup>9</sup> In July 1421 when he was ordered by the King to allow the borough of Liverpool to have its farm at £23 and to advise with the baron of the Exchequer at Lancaster and with

the Receiver of the county there as to how the farm had been held in the past, William Gernet was seneschal of the wapentake of West Derby.<sup>10</sup> This office was assumed by Sir Richard Molyneux in the following February. In July 1427 the chancellor of the county palatine was ordered to remove the King's hand from 28 messuages and some 2,000 acres of land in Heaton Norreys held by Thomas la Warre in fee tail; of which he had died seised. Enfeoffment had been made him by Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham with remainder to James Strangeways, James Holt, John Walsh, William Strangeways, William Gernet, and Peter Massey (deceased), fellow serjeant-at-law with Gernet from 1416 to 1426. The clear annual value of the lands was 10 marks.<sup>11</sup> Since 1426 Gernet had been acting as the Duke of Bedford's attorney in various assignments of dower to the widowed countess of March (the wardship of the Mortimer lands after the death of the Earl in 1425 had been committed to the Dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, and Exeter). In 1429 the Countess was married to the Earl of Huntingdon. The parliament of 1431 authorised the subsequent entail of the Huntingdon estates. It was, doubtless, the desirability of his presence as Bedford's attorney at the transaction of the entail, coupled with official pressure, which prompted Gernet's return to this parliament. Nicholas Caldecote, who had been party to the dower arrangements as attorney for Lord Tiptoft, whose wife was one of the Mortimer heirs, was knight of the shire for Cambridgeshire. Elected in county court held on 1 January 1431 at Lancaster along with John Morley, Gernet was returned as knight of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 12 January. On 20 March it made a grant of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental, besides fifteenths and tenths, tunnage and poundage and the continued subsidy. On 12 April Sir John Stanley, Sir Ralph Radclyf, Sir William Haryngton, Thomas de Urswyk, the receiver of the county, James del Holt, William Gernet, John Urswyk and Sir Robert Laurence, the sheriff, were commissioned to carry into effect the ordinance and ascertain the persons in the county palatine liable to contribute to the grant and in how much.<sup>12</sup> This commission was renewed on 12 October when the same committee was ordered to enquire *per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum* into tenures by any service in the county palatine and to report under seals to the Exchequer. In accordance with these directions the commissioners or a quorum of them took inquisitions at Lancaster on 17 November as to tenures in the wapentake of Lonsdale and at Preston three weeks later as to tenures in the wapentakes of Leyland, West Derby, Amounderness and Salford.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile on 17 July along with Sir William Haryngton, Sir Robert Laurence, William Troutbek the Chancellor of the county palatine, and John Talbot serjeant-at-arms, William Gernet, *gentilman*, had been appointed to take the muster of Sir Thomas Stanley, recently appointed lieutenant-governor of Ireland.



The muster of his retinue was to be made in the following month of August at Liverpool and Rede Bank.<sup>14</sup> Gernet was again appointed a justice of the peace in Lancashire in December 1435.<sup>15</sup> This commission was renewed in August 1442 when he was associated with the commission headed by the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Suffolk.<sup>16</sup> In November 1443 he was one of eight, four of whom were justices of the peace, appointed to hold a special gaol delivery for the warden of the collegiate church of Manchester, John Huntingdon.<sup>17</sup> Gernet was again appointed to serve on a commission of gaol delivery on 2 January 1446.<sup>18</sup> In March his commission of the peace in the county palatine was renewed.<sup>19</sup> In the previous November he had paid 110 marks for the marriage of his daughter Joan to Adam de Lever of the Great Lever branch of that family.<sup>20</sup> In December 1452 Gernet was on a committee appointed to enquire into certain matters touching the castle and manor of Hawarden.<sup>21</sup> The date of his death is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 319. <sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 371. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 108 n. <sup>4</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 303. <sup>5</sup> Ormerod, i, 69. <sup>6</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 114. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 23. <sup>8</sup> *Chichele Register*, ex. inf. Prof. Jacob. <sup>9</sup> Piccope, vii, 326. <sup>10</sup> Muir and Platt, 311. <sup>11</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 324; *C.C.R.*, 1422-29, 305; *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 17. <sup>12</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 140. <sup>13</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 92-5. <sup>14</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 133. <sup>15</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 537. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 537. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 538. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 538. <sup>20</sup> *V.C.H.*, v, 183. <sup>21</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 592.

#### William de Assheton (May 1432; miles).<sup>1</sup>

William de Assheton was the son of Thomas de Assheton of Croston by Alice, daughter of William de Lea, and in her right inherited a moiety of the manor of Croston and Mawdesley and a fourth part of the manors of Longton and Litherland in the Leyland hundred.<sup>2</sup> William de Assheton was, at the death of Sir Robert Neville of Hornby in 1413, holding of him a moiety of the manors of Croston and Mawdesley.<sup>3</sup> For his first wife he married Alice, daughter of John Lacy, from whom he obtained a divorce between 1434 and 1438.<sup>4</sup> In January 1399 as an esquire William de Assheton received a grant of an annuity of 10 marks from the issues of the earldom of Chester.<sup>5</sup> Nothing further is heard of him until the reign of Henry V when he seems to have seen considerable service in the field in the French war. In August 1415 he served in the retinue of Sir William Botiller who succumbed in the following month during the siege of Harfleur.<sup>6</sup> In June 1418, however, he was in England, being appointed a collector of a subsidy in the hundred of Macclesfield.<sup>7</sup> Nearly eighteen months later, on 16 November 1419, Edmund Langton and others undertook in an

obligation for £100 that William de Assheton of Croston, 'gentlemen,' would keep the peace to Alice widow of Sir William de Hoghton. She had apparently begun proceedings against Assheton in whose behalf a writ of supersedeas was addressed to the sheriff of Lancaster.<sup>8</sup> On 22 February following Assheton received letters of protection as a member of the King's retinue; these were supplemented three days later by a grant of letters of attorney.<sup>9</sup> Assheton apparently returned with Henry V to England early in February 1421. The election to the Westminster parliament summoned for 2 May was held in county court by the sheriff Sir Richard de Radclyf, the 'venue' being Assheton's own place of residence, Croston. He attended the county court and as William de Assheton, *chivaler*, was the first to appose his seal to the indenture attesting the election. He had apparently been knighted for his services while in France. The sheriff's son, Sir Thomas de Radclyf, who had also returned to England with Henry V, was returned as knight of the shire, with the receiver for the county palatine, Thomas Urswyk, as his fellow-representative.<sup>10</sup> Sir William attended no other elections. Early in May 1423 Assheton was again going abroad and received letters of attorney.<sup>11</sup> The next notice of Sir William de Assheton occurs in March 1429 when with William de Assheton esquire, and Edward de Chernok, he entered into a recognisance of a debt of 8 marks to the prioress of St. Mary, Chester.<sup>12</sup> Three months later, on 4 June, he and Richard Shirburne of Stonyhurst, who held certain messuages in Longton of Sir William, appeared before the Council at Westminster. They had been bound in separate recognisances before the King's justices in the county palatine to appear before the Council and stand by its decision *super certis debatis et discordiis inter eos motis et habitis* to the confusion of the King's peace. Before the Council they promised to keep the peace towards each other and were dismissed.<sup>13</sup> On the same day the parties gave surety in Chancery. Shirburne, Robert Suthwell of Chesthunt, Hertfordshire, William Thornom of Thornom, Yorkshire, and Thomas Bretherton of Bretherton, Lancashire, mainperned for Assheton under pain of £40 and he undertook under pain of £100 that he would procure no harm to any of the King's people. He and three others made a similar mainprise on behalf of Shirburne who entered into a like obligation.<sup>14</sup> On October 1431 Sir William was pardoned for not appearing before the justices of the Bench to answer a plea of debt for 8 marks brought against him by Henry de Chadderton.<sup>15</sup> In accordance with a commission issued on 12 October to give effect to an ordinance passed in the parliament of January 1431 making a grant of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental, an inquisition into tenures by any service was held at Preston on 11 December in the same year. The jurors for the Leyland hundred on oath affirmed that Sir William de Assheton was seised of a moiety of the manor of Croston with appurtenances and that he



held it by service of a quarter of a knight's fee.<sup>16</sup> On the 7th of the following April in county court held at Lancaster by Sir Robert Laurence as sheriff, Sir William and the son of his feudal superior, Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, were elected knights of the shire and returned to the parliament summoned to Westminster for 12 May 1432. Sir William Haryngton, to whom the inheritance of Sir Robert Neville had descended in 1424 in right of his wife, was the first in the list of those who sealed the indenture of election.<sup>17</sup> In the following December Assheton was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken at Clitheroe on Henry de Hoghton.<sup>18</sup> On 18 February 1434 Sir William was succeeded by Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, as master-forester of Bowland.<sup>19</sup> How long he had held this office is not clear but in all probability he had been in occupation of it when knight of the shire not two years before. He appeared sixth in the list of those whose names were certified into Chancery by the knights of the shire in the parliament of July 1433 as those of persons who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers. On 1 May 1434 the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Sir William Haryngton, Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas de Radclyf, were instructed to issue their warrant to the sheriff to publish in county court the list of names sent into Chancery so that the oath might be taken before the commissioners.<sup>20</sup> No further notice of Sir William de Assheton occurs for 16 years. In 1450 the sheriff of Lancaster made certain seizures in the lands of John Pilkington, Thomas Bothe, William Norreys, William de Assheton, and William Faryngton, at Croston, apparently for defaults as collectors of a subsidy.<sup>21</sup> In May 1454 Sir William de Assheton settled his estates in Croston and Maudesley on his trustees William Haryngton, Sir John Botiller of Warrington, and Nicholas Millington.<sup>22</sup> For his second wife Sir William had married Anne the daughter of Roger Millington. Their son Thomas married Ellen, a daughter of Thomas Urswyk.<sup>23</sup> Sir William's daughter Alice in June 1455 married William Farrington, one of the defaulting collectors of 1450, a landowner in Leyland, Farrington and Preston, and a frequent attestor of county elections.<sup>24</sup>

The date of Sir William de Assheton's death is not known. In 1455 he had a grant from the feoffees of the manors stated above to himself and his wife Anne. He was still alive in 1466 but his son Thomas claimed his inheritance in the aforesaid manors in 1468.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 321. <sup>2</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 2. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 100. <sup>4</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 3. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvi, App. ii, 11. <sup>6</sup> Beamont. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 15. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 17. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, xlv, 616. <sup>10</sup> C. 219, 12, 5. <sup>11</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlviii, 224. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 39. <sup>13</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, iii, 327. <sup>14</sup> *C.C.R.*, 1422-29, 456-57. <sup>15</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 158. <sup>16</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 93. <sup>17</sup> C. 219, 14, 3. <sup>18</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 43. <sup>19</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, i, 356. <sup>20</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>21</sup> *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, ix, 245. <sup>22</sup> Beamont. <sup>23</sup> Piccope, ix, opp. 229. <sup>24</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 62. <sup>25</sup> H. Hornyard-Strickland, 3.

**Thomas Haryngton** (May 1432) (January 1437) (January 1442; *de Hornebe*) (February 1447; *notabilis armiger*) (February 1449; *notabilis armiger*); Yorks. (July 1455; *miles*).<sup>1</sup>

Thomas was the son of Sir William Haryngton and his wife Margaret, the daughter of Sir Robert Neville of Hornby, by Margaret, daughter of William de la Pole, the founder of the fortunes of that family. On his death in 1413 Sir Robert was succeeded by his grand-daughter, and thus Thomas' cousin, Margaret, who had married Thomas Beaufort Earl of Dorset and later Duke of Exeter. The latter survived his wife and died in 1426. He had, however, demised his interest in Hornby to Sir William Haryngton in 1424. Sir William, the eldest son of Sir Nicholas Haryngton of Farleton, knight of the shire for Lancashire five times between 1372 and 1402, and brother of Sir James Haryngton returned for the county palatine in 1404, was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire in November 1408, November 1413, April 1422, and again in November 1428.<sup>2</sup> He was a cousin of William Lord Haryngton.<sup>3</sup> Sir William served as royal standard bearer in the Agincourt campaign<sup>4</sup> and continued to serve in the French wars, being severely wounded at Rouen in 1419. He died on 22 February 1440 when his son Thomas was aged thirty years and more, and his wife dame Margaret in or before 1451 when she was found to have held the castle and manor of Hornby with its appurtenances of the King as Duke of Lancaster by knight's service. Sir Thomas Haryngton one of his father's executors<sup>5</sup> was the heir.<sup>6</sup> His father's sister Elizabeth had married the second Sir John Stanley. Sir Thomas' own sister Isabel married in 1411 John Botiller of Bewsey who was knight of the shire in 1426.<sup>7</sup> Sir William Haryngton found his son Thomas a wife in the Dacre family to whom the Cliffords were allied. On the death of her father Thomas Lord Dacre in December 1419 the wardship of Elizabeth Dacre was granted to Sir William Haryngton who within three months married her to his son.<sup>8</sup> The grandmother of Elizabeth Dacre was Philippa a daughter of Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland, and her aunt, Joan Dacre, had married Thomas Lord Clifford. While the nucleus of the Dacre estates was at Gillesland, the family also held lands in Lonsdale—the manor of Halton, and land in Aghton, Caton and Bare.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Haryngton himself acquired the Dacre manors of Heysham and Tatham on his marriage.<sup>10</sup> He was, then, by birth and marriage, connected with some of the highest families in the realm—the Beauforts, De la Poles, Nevilles, Stanleys, Dacres and Cliffords. A politically active life was almost inevitable.

Seneschal of the Hornby Court in 1427,<sup>11</sup> on 6 May 1430 Thomas Haryngton received letters of protection when he accompanied the young Henry VI to France.<sup>12</sup> On 7 April 1432 in county court held by Sir Robert Laurence, as sheriff, at Lancaster, Sir William Assheton, who held his moieties of the manors of Croston and Mawdesley of the



Hornby fee, and young Haryngton, then about twenty-two years of age, were returned as knights of the shire to the Westminster parliament summoned to meet on 12 May. Sir William Haryngton, who had served as a commissioner in Lancashire for loans to the King in 1426 and 1428,<sup>13</sup> and in 1431 one of the commission charged with the assessment of a parliamentary subsidy on knight's fees in Lancashire,<sup>14</sup> was the first to appose his seal to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>15</sup> This parliament saw Cardinal Beaufort secured by statute against all risks of praemunire and accorded a royal declaration accounting him loyal. Probably the Haryngton connection with the Beauforts via the Nevilles secured the election of Assheton and Thomas Haryngton who were almost bound to support the cardinal. Both were on the list of those whose names were certified into Chancery by the Lancashire members of the next parliament, as those who should take an oath not to maintain peace-breakers. The knights of the shire in this parliament, that of July 1433, namely Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radclyf, along with Sir William Haryngton and William Booth Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, were on 1 May 1434 appointed commissioners to take the oath.<sup>16</sup> Sir Thomas Radclyf and Thomas Haryngton esquire were, in May 1438, farming two parts of the manor of Wyrèsdale paying the King a yearly rent, then transferred to the Earl of Stafford, of over 50 marks.<sup>17</sup> In the meantime Haryngton had seen military service in Picardy in 1436 and had been again returned as knight of the shire with his cousin-in-law, Henry Halsall, to the Westminster parliament summoned for 21 January 1437. Again Haryngton's father Sir William, who had been a commissioner in Lancashire for the raising of a loan in 1434 and 1436,<sup>18</sup> was the first to seal the indenture of election. On 22 February 1438 Thomas was appointed sub-steward for life of Lonsdale and Amounderness, with an annual fee of £4.<sup>19</sup> Apparently in 1439 Thomas Haryngton and Thomas Urswyk, the receiver of the county, were appointed adjudicators by the Earl of Salisbury when Thomas, the son of Sir Thomas Radclyf, was killed in an assault at Clitheroe on 22 May 1439 by William Radclyf the younger of Todmorden and his cousin Worsley. The latter party petitioned against the award to Cardinal Beaufort.<sup>20</sup> In October of the following year Haryngton was made a justice of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>21</sup> On 6 July 1441 he was appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer, along with the Earl of Northumberland and Thomas Lord Clifford, touching a complaint of close-breaking and robbery of livestock in Westmorland. Two days later he was charged with Northumberland and Sir Thomas Percy to apprehend a certain Thomas Malhan of Calton and others and have them before the King in Chancery.<sup>22</sup> At this stage Thomas Haryngton was parker of Quernmore, his fee of £4 10s. being chiefly derived from the letting of the herbage.<sup>23</sup> His father Sir William Haryngton had been

master-forester of Quernmore.<sup>24</sup> On 15 January 1442 Thomas Haryngton *de Hornebe* and his cousin Sir Thomas Stanley, who was Controller of the Household as well as the holder of several offices in Cheshire and North Wales, were elected knights of the shire to the Westminster parliament summoned to meet ten days later. On 15 February he was appointed a justice of the peace in Lancashire, which commission was renewed on 12 May and 24 August.<sup>25</sup> On 4 May he was given a like commission in the West Riding which was renewed on 7 June 1442 and 23 November 1443.<sup>26</sup> In October 1444 along with Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Sir John Neville and Sir John Tempest, Thomas Haryngton was made a feoffee of the castle and lordship of Skipton in Craven by Thomas Lord Clifford.<sup>27</sup> His commission of the peace in Lancashire was renewed on 16 March 1446.<sup>28</sup> Three months later he was appointed with others, notably William Lord Haryngton of Aldingham, to enquire into the *malfeasance* of the sheriff of the county palatine, Sir John Byron.<sup>29</sup> Haryngton was again returned with his cousin Stanley, who was now receiver for the county palatine as well as controller of the Household, to the parliament summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmund's on 10 February 1447. The election took place four days before the session opened and was engineered by Nicholas Byron esquire, son of the last sheriff and husband of Haryngton's niece Alice Botiller.<sup>30</sup> Sir Thomas was made a justice of the peace for Cumberland on 12 February 1448<sup>31</sup> and on 4 May for the West Riding.<sup>32</sup> In this year he and Sir Thomas Stanley acted as arbiters between members of the Talbot family and Richard Hoghton of Leagram who were bound in 1,000 marks.<sup>33</sup> Stanley and Haryngton were again returned together to the parliament summoned to Westminster for 12 February 1449. The election took place at Lancaster on 20 January. Parliament met again in the following November when Stanley along with Thomas Haryngton's nephew, John Botiller of Warrington, accompanied him as knight of the shire. Thomas Haryngton was present in county court at Lancaster on 10 November when the election was made, being the first to appose his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>34</sup> After his father's death in 1440, Thomas Haryngton had been one of the trustees for the Botiller estates.<sup>35</sup> It seems likely that Haryngton, whose own daughter, Jane, had married into the Savile family, negotiated in 1452 the alliance of Anne, the daughter of Sir John Savile of Howley Yorkshire with his nephew John Botiller's son John.<sup>36</sup> John Botiller's first wife died in 1452. Sir Thomas Haryngton two years later found his nephew a second wife in Isabel daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland, his own wife's family.<sup>37</sup> In this parliament to which Stanley and John Botiller were returned a general act of resumption was passed by which all grants made since the King's accession were nullified. In it, however, Haryngton secured the insertion of a clause exempting himself from its operation. The act was not to prejudice his twenty-



years lease of the herbage and pastures of Radholme park, Lies or Newa, or his lease of the two vaccaries Brenand and Whittledale, or the herbage and pastures of Graydale, Wardsley, and Stotclose, Whor-mor (Quernmore) park, or Scaethwaite, which he had received as a consideration for the inconvenience he had suffered when recently taken prisoner in Scotland while in the royal service. The clause of reservation also recited how he had taken part in the relief of Crotoi with three spears and sixty bows, riding from his own country *atle his grete labour, costes and expenses*; and how he had also gone to the rescue of Calais with six spears and 120 bows, apparently in August 1436 when it was threatened by Burgundy. In addition he had spent three half-years together in France and had assisted in *the fecchyng home of the Quene* with a retinue of four gentlemen and a dozen yeomen early in 1445.<sup>38</sup> Like his cousin, the controller of the royal Household, Haryngton had inclined to the court party centring round his relatives, Suffolk and the Beauforts. The parliament which passed this act of resumption was dissolved on 17 May 1450. On 1 July Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Haryngton were appointed commissioners of array in the counties of Chester and Lancashire,<sup>39</sup> apparently a despairing measure on the part of the government to counteract the Cade rebellion which culminated in the defeat of the insurgents on London Bridge on 5 July. By the following year Sir Thomas Haryngton's mother, Dame Margaret, was dead. Sir Thomas succeeded to her share of the Neville inheritance. At this point his Lancashire estates comprised the castle and manor of Hornby with its members and pertinences—Melling, Wennington, Wray, Botton, Tunstall, Roeburndale, Erghom, Heath Charnock, and Chorley, held of the King in chief of his duchy of Lancaster.<sup>40</sup> Haryngton was present in county court at Lancaster when, on 23 November 1450, his cousins Sir Richard Haryngton and Sir Thomas Stanley were returned to the Yorkist parliament which had already been sitting some seventeen days when the election was held.<sup>41</sup> Sir Thomas was again appointed to serve on the commission of the peace in the West Riding on 28 January 1452 and again on 12 July.<sup>42</sup> Both branches of the Haryngton family, the elder line of Aldingham and the cadet line of Hornby, were becoming ardently Yorkist in their sympathies. The only daughter of the last male representative of the Haryngton lords of Aldingham had married the son of Lord Bonville of Devonshire who was a pronounced Yorkist. The connection was further tightened when the son of this marriage (in 1458 Lord Haryngton) married a sister of Warwick the Kingmaker.<sup>43</sup> Since 1442 Sir Thomas had been deputy duchy-steward of the Blackburn hundred for their father Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. The first protectorate of Richard of York was sanctioned on 27 March 1454. One of his first tasks was the pacification of the north where the Neville-Percy quarrel was being fanned by the joint efforts of the Duke of Exeter and Lord Egremont, who had attached

themselves to the Percy party and were employing the King's name to stir up Yorkshire and Lancashire against the Duke of York. On 16 May Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Haryngton were exhorted in a letter, purporting to come from the King, to do their utmost to crush any attempts or movements *in the contree where as ye be* in favour of the insurgent lords and to assist the protector with all diligence.<sup>44</sup> Thirteen days later Stanley and Haryngton were two out of the four knights summoned to attend a meeting of the Great Council at Westminster on 25 June, whose function was to advise measures for the *defense of this oure reaume outward and the restefull and pollitique reule thereof inward*.<sup>45</sup> On 1 June 1454, three days after this council was convoked, Haryngton was again appointed a justice of the peace in the West Riding.<sup>46</sup> In November he invested Lancaster castle and held it against a rising of supporters of the Duke of Exeter who was then in the county. In co-operation with young Stanley, his cousin's eldest son, he shortly afterwards helped to pacify a movement in favour of Lord Egremont (D. L. Accts.). Early in 1455 the King recovered his wits and the protectorate of York automatically was dissolved. The Duke's deprivation of all power in a government completely controlled by Margaret of Anjou made the outbreak of civil war inevitable. On 22 May 1455 the affray at St. Albans returned the Yorkists to power. York did his best to secure a compliant Commons. Sir Thomas Haryngton was returned with Sir James Pickering as knight of the shire for Yorkshire. The return was dated on 23 June 1455. A week later Sir Thomas was present in county court at Lancaster when Sir Thomas Stanley, his cousin, and Alexander Radclyf of Ordsall, his brother-in-law, were elected for Lancashire. Sir Thomas Haryngton was second to appose his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>47</sup> Parliament met on 9 July at Westminster. Within a month the Yorkist Council voted him a reward of some £75 for his expenses incurred in the defence of Lancaster castle and pacifying the anti-Yorkist insurgents of the previous winter. Eight days before parliament met after the recess, on 4 November Sir Thomas was appointed to the shrievalty of York.<sup>48</sup> On the 19th York's second protectorate began. Haryngton's commission of the peace in the West Riding was reaffirmed on 25 June 1456, on 10 July 1458, and again on 23 November later in the same year.<sup>49</sup> On 6 December 1457 Sir Thomas had been a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken at Garstang on Walter Curwen esquire of Caton.<sup>50</sup> In the same month that he was re-appointed a justice of the peace in the West Riding, namely in November 1458, Haryngton was alleged to have taken part in a Yorkist council held by the Earl of Salisbury at Middleham castle in Wensleydale. Incidentally, from January 1456 to September 1459, Salisbury was chief steward of the duchy in Lancashire and Cheshire.<sup>51</sup> On his return to Hornby castle Sir Thomas *remembryng hymselfe of the grete werres and troubles likelie*



to fall among suche mightie princes, not having . . . (knowledge) howe God woulde dispose thame, by th advise of manie of hys kinsmen and frendes made a feffment of all his landes to the Lancastrians, William Booth the Archbishop of York, John the Earl of Shrewsbury, John Lord Clifford and divers others, to thintent that for the same lords war myghty and in consorte with the contrari partie, (they) sholde be faire meaynes if God fortuneth the feld in the sayde werres to goo ageyne that partie that the seide Sir Thomas was opon, and yf the lawe happened to procede as wel ageyn hym as oder and he bee attaynted, sholde safe hys landes unforfeted.<sup>52</sup> Late in August of 1459 Sir Thomas was appointed under the signet to enquire in the West Riding into the truth of complaints against Henry Walron, bailiff of Bawtre, who had been committed to Coventry gaol for treasonable talk.<sup>53</sup> On 14 September he made his will. If he should die in Lancashire he desired to be buried in the church of the Friars preacher at Lancaster where his uncle Sir James Haryngton lay; if he died elsewhere, in the priory of Monk Seaton, Northumberland. He left a bequest to the upkeep of Lancaster bridge through Nicholas Croft of Dalton, whose name appears on the indentures of election in 1419, 1420, 1426, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1435, 1437, 1442 and 1449 (on the last three occasions Haryngton himself had been returned). Sir Thomas' wife Elizabeth was to have all his plate for life with remainder to his son John. His sister Agnes, who had married Alexander Radclyf, and their daughter Isabel were to have a gift of 40 marks. Haryngton appointed as his executors his wife, Sir Thomas Neville, John Hudleston, John Haryngton his son and Alexander Radclyf esquire, his brother-in-law. Significant of Haryngton's close attachment to the Yorkist party is the fact that the supervisors of the will were Alice Countess of Salisbury and her son Sir John Neville.<sup>54</sup> This settlement must have been made immediately prior to the Earl of Salisbury's muster of a force of some 5,000 men at Middleham and his march south to join the Duke of York with whom he was to visit the King. Sir Thomas Haryngton was an influential member of this force which collided with a detachment of the Queen's forces under Lord Audley at Bloreheath on 23 September. In the petition presented by the Commons in the Coventry parliament of November for the attainder of Lord Stanley it was stated that after the engagement Stanley sent a letter to Salisbury *thankyng God of the good spede of the said erle* and expressing his regret that he had not been able to be of any service, which letter Salisbury sent to Sir Thomas Haryngton and he shewed hit openly, saying: "*Sirres, be mery, for yet we have moo frendis.*"<sup>55</sup> In point of fact Stanley had been no more than half a dozen miles from Bloreheath when the battle was fought, but had done the Yorkists a signal service in keeping out of the fight the 2,000 men he had raised for the Queen. Salisbury after the battle marched on to join York and Warwick at Ludlow. At the King's approach, however,

the Yorkist lords took to flight. On 14 October Sir Thomas Haryngton's estates in Lincoln were ordered to be confiscated into the King's hands.<sup>56</sup> Five days previously the King had called a parliament to meet at Coventry on 20 November. On 12 November the elections in county Lancaster had taken place. Haryngton's eldest son John was the first to attest the indenture which recorded the election of Sir Thomas's two cousins, Sir Richard Haryngton and Henry Halsall. The business of the session was purely of a vindictive and party nature. York, Salisbury, and Warwick with their chief associates, among whom was Sir Thomas Haryngton, were attainted of high treason. Haryngton's estates, save those held by him as an executor and joint feoffee, were declared forfeit.<sup>57</sup> On 15 March 1460 receivers of the sequestrated estates were appointed for three years.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile along with the two sons of the Earl of Salisbury, Thomas and John Neville, and others, Sir Thomas Haryngton and his son James, taken in the flight from Ludlow, had been in the ward of Sir John Mainwaring in Chester castle. On 13 July 1460 warrant was given for their release to their relative Lord Stanley whom the King had commissioned to receive them.<sup>59</sup> This was four days after the battle of Northampton had put the King into the power of the Yorkist nobles. The Duke of York did not return from Ireland until September. Meanwhile on 28 July along with the Earl of Salisbury's two sons who had been his fellow-prisoners at Chester, Sir Thomas Haryngton was appointed a member of a commission for the imprisonment of certain disaffected persons in Yorkshire.<sup>60</sup> Less than a month later, on 23 August he was again appointed a justice of the peace in the West Riding.<sup>61</sup> On 24 August he was serving on a commission appointed to imprison certain gentry, yeomen, and tradesmen of York and district who, it was alleged, were spreading false tales to the detriment of the Yorkist cause.<sup>62</sup> The same commission was two days later told off to imprison till further order all oppressors of the King's people and their abettors in the county and city of York. This meant the proscription of all anti-Yorkists.<sup>63</sup> On 12 November Sir Thomas and his son James were given power to call out the lieges of Westmorland, Cumberland and adjacent counties to effect the imprisonment of all frequenting unlawful assemblies.<sup>64</sup> Six days later Sir Thomas was pardoned, and his mainpernors with him, of the sum of £600 in which they had bound themselves in October 1458 that Sir Thomas would appear in Chancery on 14 October 1459 and in the meantime do no harm to a certain Brian Clapham. It was pointed out that ten days before he was to have appeared in Chancery he had been imprisoned in Chester castle, and detained there for long after. This was after the rout of Ludlow.<sup>65</sup>

In a letter from the prior of the Benedictine house at Durham dated on 30 November 1460, in which Sir Thomas was appointed arbiter in a dispute between the prior and Sir John Botiller's deputy-steward of



the priory's dependent cell at Lytham, the prior of Durham expressed his gladness at the turn Haryngton's fortunes had taken with the Yorkist success, *thankyng God that ye are past the trouble that ye wer in and praiying God for your good prosperite*.<sup>66</sup> On 8 December Sir Thomas was appointed along with the Yorkist lords, York, Warwick, Salisbury, Westmorland and Beaumont, to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer in the midland and northern counties touching treasons, insurrections, and illegal liveries.<sup>67</sup> On 29 December the Yorkist forces under Duke Richard and Salisbury were overwhelmed at Wakefield by the united Lancastrian contingents of Somerset, Northumberland, and Neville. York was killed in the fight. Salisbury was taken and beheaded at Pontefract. Sir Thomas Haryngton's eldest son, Sir John, fell in the battle, while Sir Thomas himself died next day from wounds.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 321, 350, 33, 336, 339, 352. <sup>2</sup> *Lists and Indexes*, ix, 162. <sup>3</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 39. <sup>4</sup> Nicholas, 362; *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 44. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 39. <sup>6</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 194. <sup>7</sup> Beaumont, 248-49. <sup>8</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 139-40. <sup>9</sup> Piccope, iv, opp. 20. <sup>10</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 111. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 194. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlviii, 272. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1422-29, 355, 482. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 33. <sup>15</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 3. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>17</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 161. <sup>18</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 355, 530. <sup>19</sup> *D.L.*, 29, 117, 1933. <sup>20</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 519; *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 21. <sup>21</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 594. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 576. <sup>23</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 75. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 446. <sup>25</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 537. <sup>26</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1441-46, 482. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 324. <sup>28</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 538. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 30. <sup>30</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 4. <sup>31</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 588. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 598. <sup>33</sup> Piccope, ix, 293. <sup>34</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 7. <sup>35</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 49. <sup>36</sup> Beaumont, 275. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 280. <sup>38</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 191. <sup>39</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 95. <sup>40</sup> Piccope, ix, 217. <sup>41</sup> *C.* 219, 16, 1. <sup>42</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 598. <sup>43</sup> *V.C.H.*, ii, 130. <sup>44</sup> *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vi, 130. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 186. <sup>46</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 683. <sup>47</sup> *C.* 219, 16, 3. <sup>48</sup> *Lists and Indexes*, ix, 162. <sup>49</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 683. <sup>50</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 64. <sup>51</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 194. <sup>52</sup> Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, 11, 261. <sup>53</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 518. <sup>54</sup> Piccope, iv, 154. <sup>55</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 369. <sup>56</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 561. <sup>57</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 348, 350; *Wars of the English in France* (Rolls), vol. ii, part ii, 771. <sup>58</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 572. <sup>59</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 560. <sup>60</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 607. <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 683. <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 683. <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 610. <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 651. <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 636. <sup>66</sup> Beaumont, 291. <sup>67</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 653. <sup>68</sup> Beaumont, 264.

#### Henry Halsall (October 1435) (January 1437) (November 1459).<sup>1</sup>

The son of Robert Halsall and Ellen daughter of Henry de Scaresbrek, Henry Halsall was the grandson of Sir Gilbert Halsall who was escheator for the county of Lancaster in 1398, and who fought in the French wars and became bailiff of Evreux. Sir Gilbert's elder son was Henry Halsall, Archdeacon of Chester from 1413 until his death in 1423.<sup>2</sup> Robert Halsall, the father of the knight of the shire, a second son, was escheator of the county palatine 1415-19. Heir to his brother, Robert Halsall succeeded to the manors of Halsall (held under the manor of Warrington), Renacres (held under the Hospitallers), Lydiate

(a moiety), and Barton, and 50 messuages, 300 acres of land, 40 acres of wood, 100 acres of meadow, in the vills of Birkdale, Argar Meoles, Melling, Liverpool, Ormskirk and Aughton. By approximately 1429 these had descended to Henry Halsall, as son and heir of Robert. At his death in 1471 Henry Halsall's lands were estimated to be worth about £50 a year, to which the manor of Halsall contributed 40 marks.<sup>3</sup> In November 1426 Henry Halsall was settled with 3 tenements in Melling, Downholland, Aspenwall, a plot of land in Barton called the New Intack and 44 acres of land in Halsall, the occasion being his marriage to Catherine, the daughter of Sir James Haryngton.<sup>4</sup> In 1430 Henry Halsall was escheator for the county palatine.<sup>5</sup> By September 1431 he had, however, been superseded by Thomas de Lathom who held in that month an inquisition post mortem on Sir Ralph de Langton at which Henry Halsall was a juror.<sup>6</sup> Later in the year, on 11 December, Halsall was a juror at an inquisition taken at Preston into tenures by knight or other service in the wapentake of West Derby. This inquisition was taken before the commissioners appointed for the assessment in Lancashire of the subsidy of 20s. on the knight's fee or £20 rental voted in parliament in the previous March.<sup>7</sup> On 26 March 1432 Henry Halsall was again a juror at the inquisition post mortem taken at Lancaster on Sir Ralph de Longford.<sup>8</sup> In 1434 he was on the list of those certified into Chancery as persons who should take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers.<sup>9</sup> Along with Thomas Laurence, Halsall was knight of the shire in the next parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 10 October 1435. The election took place at Lancaster three weeks before this date. Halsall accompanied Thomas Haryngton, his cousin by marriage, as knight of the shire to the next parliament which was opened at Cambridge on 21 January 1437. Halsall's wife's uncle, Sir William Haryngton of Hornby, was the first to seal the indenture attesting the election which was made by Sir Robert Laurence as sheriff at Lancaster four weeks before the meeting of parliament.<sup>10</sup> In June 1439 Henry Halsall was one of the four mainperners who appeared in person in the chancery at Lancaster on behalf of Henry de Bold for whom they stood bail until the next sessions of the justices at Lancaster and undertook that he would keep the peace, notably towards Richard de Kyghley.<sup>11</sup> Halsall was a juror at an inquisition post mortem taken in July 1441 at Warrington on Isabel the widow of John Botiller of Bewsey<sup>12</sup>; and again in June 1445 at Ormskirk at an inquisition post mortem on William de Ferrers.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, with Sir Richard Molyneux and Henry Hoghton he had stood surety when his cousin Sir Thomas Haryngton received, in March 1442, a grant of the custody of the manor of Laton during the minority of John Botiller.<sup>14</sup> When Sir Thomas was returned along with Sir Thomas Stanley as knight of the shire to the parliament of February 1447, Henry Halsall was the first to appose his seal to the indenture



attesting the election,<sup>15</sup> and when Sir Thomas Stanley and John Botiller of Bewsey were returned to the parliament of November 1449 Halsall was next after Sir Thomas Haryngton to seal the indenture of election.<sup>16</sup> In July 1453 he was pardoned for not appearing to answer a plea of debt for £6 brought before Richard Newton and his fellow justices by John Wotton a London draper.<sup>17</sup> At an inquisition post mortem taken on William Farrington on 24 February 1456 it was stated that in a charter dated at Leyland he enfeoffed Henry Halsall and Edmund Farrington rector of Halsall church, of all his estates in the villis of Leyland, Farrington, and Preston.<sup>18</sup> On 20 September 1459 Henry Halsall settled his own estates on Sir Thomas Haryngton, Sir Richard Haryngton, his brother-in-law, Robert Molyneux, Edmund Farrington rector of Halsall, Alan Singleton and John Tarleton chaplain.<sup>19</sup> Three days later Sir Thomas was taken prisoner at the battle of Bloreheath. The business of the parliament summoned to meet at Coventry on 20 November was the attainder of the Duke of York and his friends. Sir Thomas Haryngton was among those attainted of high treason and his estates, saving those held by him as an executor and joint feoffee, were declared forfeit. To this Coventry parliament Henry Halsall and his brother-in-law Sir Richard Haryngton were returned as knights of the shire for Lancashire. The election was made in county court held at Lancaster on 12 November. Among the ninety-one persons who attested the election in the indenture were Sir John and Sir William Haryngton, sons of Sir Thomas and Sir Richard respectively, and Richard Halsall, Henry's brother.<sup>20</sup> In August 1460 Henry Halsall was present as a juror at the inquisition post mortem on William de Bolron taken at Lancaster.<sup>21</sup> Probably of Yorkist sympathy by virtue of his close family connection with the Haryngtons, Henry Halsall did not incur any disabilities consequent upon the accession of Edward IV. The act of resumption of 1464 passed him over as regards an annuity of £10 which he enjoyed.<sup>22</sup> Halsall's cousin Sir Thomas Haryngton and his son Sir John Haryngton had fallen at Wakefield in 1460 fighting for the Duke of York. In June 1468 Halsall was on a commission appointed to enquire what lands they held in Yorkshire and who were their heirs.<sup>23</sup> He died on 20 July 1471. Inquisitions post mortem were taken on his estates at Warrington on 23 March, at West Derby on 24 June 1472, and at Ormskirk on 15 June 1479.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 327, 330, 353. <sup>2</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 24. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 84-91, 109. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 29. <sup>7</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iii, 94. <sup>8</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 29. <sup>9</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>10</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 1. <sup>11</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 42. <sup>12</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 48. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 536. <sup>15</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 4. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. <sup>17</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 15. <sup>18</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 61. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 109. <sup>20</sup> *C.* 219, 16, 5. <sup>21</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 68. <sup>22</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 547. <sup>23</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1467-77, 103. <sup>24</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 84-91, 109.

### Thomas Laurence (October 1435).<sup>1</sup>

Thomas was the second son of Sir Robert Laurence of Ashton, Lancaster, who was knight of the shire in 1404, 1406, and 1414 and sheriff of Lancaster from 1425 to 1437. Apparently he resided at Yealand Redmayne. Thomas Laurence was present in county court held by his father as sheriff at Lancaster on 7 April 1432, when Sir William de Assheton and Thomas Haryngton of Hornby were elected. He sealed the indenture attesting the election.<sup>2</sup> He was himself elected with Henry Halsall to serve as knight of the shire in the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 10 October 1435. The election was made by his father as sheriff at Lancaster on 19 September.<sup>3</sup> Both Thomas Laurence and his elder brother Robert, who had been knight of the shire in 1429, were present in county court at Lancaster on 24 December 1436 when Halsall and Thomas Haryngton were returned to the Cambridge parliament of the following month.<sup>4</sup> In a deed of settlement of 18 December 1438 his father, who died in the following year, granted him lands in Natland, Westmorland, and at the inquest post mortem in 1440 it was found that he still held them of Sir Thomas Strickland.<sup>5</sup> On 25 May 1440 Laurence was appointed a collector of a tenth and fifteenth granted in the parliament which met at Westminster in the previous November.<sup>6</sup> When Sir Thomas Stanley and Thomas Haryngton were elected on 15 January as representatives for the county palatine to the parliament of January 1442, Thomas Laurence was present in county court at Lancaster. He and his brother Robert were second and third respectively to seal the indenture attesting the election.<sup>7</sup> In the following year, 1443, Thomas Laurence was subjected to various outrages. He complained before the royal justices at Lancaster that Thomas Beetham and others came to kill him and that they set his house on fire.<sup>8</sup> He was present at the elections to the parliaments of February 1447,<sup>9</sup> February 1449 when his brother Robert also apposed his seal to the indenture,<sup>10</sup> and of July 1455.<sup>11</sup>

The date of the death of Thomas Laurence is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 327. <sup>2</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 3. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 5. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 15, 1. <sup>5</sup> *H. Hornyold-Strickland*, 67. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 535. <sup>7</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 2. <sup>8</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 176 n. <sup>9</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 4. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 6. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, 3.

### Henry Kyghley (November 1439)<sup>1</sup> (February 1445).<sup>2</sup>

Sir Richard Kighley, Henry's father, was killed at Agincourt in 1415, having served on the campaign with a retinue of 50 archers.<sup>3</sup> In 1413 and 1414 he had attested in county court indentures respec-



tively affirming the "free election" of John Stanley and the election of Stanley and Robert Laurence.<sup>4</sup> At his death Henry Kighley, then aged twenty-four years, was found to be heir to the family manors of Inskip and Lightshaw. The Inskip lands were stated—erroneously perhaps—to be held of the Botillers of Warrington. As his father's executor Henry rendered account with the Exchequer for monies spent in the expedition.<sup>5</sup> In April 1418 he was placed on a commission of muster and array in the West Derby hundred.<sup>6</sup> Almost two years later as Henry de Kighley, esquire, he was appointed by Ralph Langton esquire, a feoffee of his manors of Newton-in-Makerfield and Walton-le-Dale and all his other lands in Lancashire, together with the advowson of Wigan church. Sir Ralph (he had been knighted by November 1422 when he was first to attest the indenture of election) died in February 1431 and the writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 24 July. On 10 September along with his co-feoffee James Langton parson of Wigan and brother of Sir Ralph, Kighley was bound before the chancellor of the county palatine to Alice the widow in a recognisance for 300 marks to assign her her reasonable dower out of her late husband's lands. More Langton feoffees were Richard Shirburne, Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe, and Hamond le Massy of Rixton.<sup>7</sup> It was in company with Massy and his future fellow-knight of the shire in 1445, Peter Gerard, that Kighley apposed his seal to the indenture attesting the election on 24 June 1433 of Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radcliffe.<sup>8</sup> In the following May he was on the list of those in the county palatine certified into Chancery by the last two knights of the shire, to be sworn not to maintain peace-breakers. A relative, Sir John Kighley of Walton, was also sworn to the peace.<sup>9</sup> In February 1436 Henry Kighley with three other West Derby squires gave surety for the appearance before the justices at the Lancaster assizes of some half-dozen gentry of the Wigan district. These included Nicholas Kighley of Golburne and his son, together with yeomen and artisans to the number of forty-one from the same neighbourhood.<sup>10</sup> On 23 June 1438 he was on a commission whose personnel was of the West Derby hundred, appointed to make certain arrests and bindings-over to keep the peace.<sup>11</sup> Kighley was by this time almost certainly on the commission of the peace, although no note of his appointment before 1446 has been found. Along with Sir Thomas Stanley, controller of the household, Henry Kighley was elected member for the county in the Westminster parliament of November 1439. In February 1443 along with Henry Byron, Stanley and Kighley shared a grant of the manor of Bosley in the Macclesfield hundred.<sup>12</sup> Two years later Kighley was again returned to Westminster as knight of the shire with Sir Peter Gerard of Bryn. This parliament sat with several prorogations from 25 February 1445 until 9 April 1446. Before the dissolution on 16 March, Kighley was appointed a justice of the peace in the

county palatine.<sup>13</sup> On 1 April he quitclaimed with his fellow-feoffees all his interest in the manor of Bosley in favour of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who re-granted it to Sir Thomas Stanley and his heirs with reversion in case of non-issue.<sup>14</sup> Kighley's connection with Stanley had almost undoubtedly been the reason for his return in 1445 as in 1439. On 23 November 1450 he was third in the list of those who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the return of Stanley and Sir Richard Haryngton.<sup>15</sup> At Stanley's election along with Alexander Radcliffe on 30 June 1455 Henry Kighley was the first to attest the indenture.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile in 1453 as an executor of the will of Henry Vavasour he had founded a chantry at Hesilwood, Yorkshire.<sup>17</sup> He himself died in 1473 when his executors were Constance his wife, and James, Ralph, and Christopher Kighley.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.R., 18 Henry VI. <sup>2</sup> List in *Times*, 13 July 1933. <sup>3</sup> V.C.H., vii, 280. <sup>4</sup> C. 219, II, 1 B; *ibid.*, 4. <sup>5</sup> V.C.H., *op. cit.* <sup>6</sup> Piccope, vii, 327. <sup>7</sup> D.K.R., xxxiii, 23, 32, 40. <sup>8</sup> C. 219, 14, 4. <sup>9</sup> C.P.R., 1429-36, 379. <sup>10</sup> D.K.R., xxxiii, 36. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 535. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 673. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, 538. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 63. <sup>15</sup> C. 219, 16, 1. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. <sup>17</sup> *Ex inf. Hist. of Parlt. Comm.* <sup>18</sup> V.C.H., *op. cit.*

#### Sir Piers Gerard (February 1445).<sup>1</sup>

The son and heir of John Gerard of Bryn, knight of the shire in the first parliament of Henry VI, Peter Gerard succeeded his father on the latter's death in November 1431. In 1416 the Gerard lands in Lancashire had been stated to be worth £150 a year. The estates in Cheshire inherited by Peter Gerard comprised moieties of the manors of Kingsley, Ledsham, and Nether Bradley, and lands round Frodsham, held of the Earl of Chester by knight's service. These were not worth more than £10 a year. A writ of livery for an estate in Ledsham was issued in Peter Gerard's favour on 14 March 1432. On 10 April his mother, Alice daughter of Sir John Botiller of Warrington, as widow of John Gerard had a writ of *ouster le main* and livery issued conveying to her the remaining Cheshire lands of her husband. On the death of his mother in September 1441 when he succeeded to these, Peter Gerard was stated to be thirty-four years of age. This seems to be correct since in 1431 at his father's death he had been found to be twenty-four years old.<sup>2</sup> Peter had been holding since 1428 a grant John Gerard had made him and his wife Isabel (probably a daughter of Thomas Strangeways) of lands in Rainhill, with Smalley, Lawfield, and other parcels in Ashton.<sup>3</sup> While the process of succession to his paternal estates was still uncompleted, Peter Gerard attended the election held on 7 April 1432 in county court at Lancaster when Sir William



Assheton and Thomas Haryngton were returned.<sup>4</sup> The last-named and Gerard were distantly related through the Warrington Botillers. Peter Gerard was again present in county court held at Lancaster on 24 June 1433 at the next elections to parliament when Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radcliffe were returned. He was the first of the esquires to attest the indenture of election.<sup>5</sup> On 15 October of the same year he was associated with Sir John Talbot, Sir John Stanley, and James Strangeways, Chief Justice in 1436 and probably a member of Kighley's wife's family, in a grant made to them by John Walsh of Chester of all his goods and chattels.<sup>6</sup> (In 1439 Walsh was appointed one of the two auditors for the counties of Flint and Chester.) In 1434 Peter Gerard was on the list of those certified into Chancery by the last two knights of the shire and required to take the oath not to maintain peace-breakers.<sup>7</sup> He was put on the commission of the peace in December 1435.<sup>8</sup> In 1440 he negotiated a marriage between his eldest son Thomas and Douce daughter of Sir Thomas Assheton.<sup>9</sup> Along with Sir Thomas Stanley, Gerard was in 1442 (February) a witness to a deed of Henry Rainford who was quitclaiming to Troutbeck, the Chancellor of the county palatine and Stanley's son-in-law, all his right in the manor of Rainford and his brother's wife's dower in the towns of Rainford, Billinge, and Eccleston.<sup>10</sup> By 1444 Sir Peter Gerard (he had been knighted by this time) had purchased the wardship and marriage of his cousin's son John Botiller of Bewsey, who was member for Lancashire in 1449. Young Botiller he married in 1444 to his own daughter Margaret.<sup>11</sup> This transaction would bring him into close connection with the Botiller trustees the chief of whom was by this time Thomas Haryngton esquire of Hornby. In the following February he and Henry Kighley were returned to Westminster as members of the parliament which lasted with prorogations until 9 April 1446. On 2 January 1446 he was appointed to a commission of gaol delivery in the county palatine. On 16 March along with his fellow member Sir Peter was re-appointed justice of the peace.<sup>12</sup> His uncle by marriage, William Gernet, was also on the commission of the peace. He died on 26 March 1447<sup>13</sup> and the writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 6 May. The custody of his Cheshire lands during the minority of his son Thomas (then sixteen years old) was leased to Thomas Daniel esquire of Frodsham, King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer. Gerard's widow, Isabel, was granted dower in February 1448. Livery of the Cheshire estates was given his son and heir in August 1452, his wardship in the meantime having been transferred from Daniel to Sir Thomas Assheton, young Gerard's father-in-law.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Additional list of M.P.s in *Times*, 13 July 1933. <sup>2</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 301-02. <sup>3</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, 38. <sup>4</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 3. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, *op. cit.*, 760. <sup>7</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 379. <sup>8</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 533. <sup>9</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, *ut supra*. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, 611. <sup>11</sup> Beamont, ii, 263. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 538. <sup>13</sup> H. Hornyold-Strickland, *ut supra*. <sup>14</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, 302, 15.

### John Botiller (November 1449).<sup>1</sup>

John Botiller was born on 12 March 1429 the son of John Botiller of Bewsey, knight of the shire in 1426, and his wife Isabel daughter of Sir William Haryngton of Hornby. In March 1431 following the death of his father John Botiller's wardship was granted by the King to Sir John Radclyf who was to render 500 marks for it at the following Whitsuntide.<sup>2</sup> The Botiller estates were, however, in the hands of trustees appointed by John Botiller deceased. These were Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, Sir William Haryngton, Hamond le Massy, and William Arrowsmith mercer. John Botiller's mother Isabel survived till 1441 by which time Thomas Haryngton esquire, her brother, had superseded their father Sir William Haryngton in the trusteeship. At the inquisition post mortem taken on 24 July 1441 at his mother's death, John Botiller was stated to be twelve years old.<sup>3</sup> On 18 August 1444 Thomas Haryngton, the surviving trustee of the Botiller estates, granted to Peter Gerard, William Massy of Rixton, and Thomas Massy and Gilbert Halsall clerks, the manor of Crophill-Botiller and all other hereditaments which Sir William Haryngton and his co-feoffees had received at the hands of John Botiller deceased. About this time young Botiller appears to have married Margaret the daughter of Peter Gerard esquire, of Kingsley and Bryn, knight of the shire in 1445.<sup>4</sup> On 20 July 1447 John Botiller, already knighted, was granted view of frankpledge in Warrington, Burtonwood, and Sankey, parcels of the manor of Bewsey.<sup>5</sup> During his minority his lands had suffered from waste and neglect, to repair which on 2 August 1448 the King granted Sir John, his 'servitor,' a sum of £100 in money forfeited as bail by the non-appearance of Peter Arderne before the King's justices, the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Stanley, at Chester. The grant was made expressly in consideration of the decay into which Botiller's houses had fallen whilst he was in the King's ward.<sup>6</sup> On the 16th of the previous January livery had been granted of all his lands in the county palatine.<sup>7</sup> The term 'servitor' would seem to indicate that Botiller was a member of the royal Household. The word is normally used in that connection. On 10 November 1449 in county court held at Lancaster, together with Sir Thomas Stanley, he was elected knight of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 6 November, four days before the election actually was made. Nicholas Byron, who as sheriff conducted the election, was Botiller's brother-in-law, having married one of his sisters Alice Botiller.<sup>8</sup> Botiller's uncle, Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, was the first to appose his seal to the indenture of election.<sup>9</sup> Sir John Botiller was not yet of age. The second session of this parliament opened on 29 April 1450 at Leicester. The first session was occupied with Suffolk's trial; in the second, parliament busied itself over financial problems. One of its measures was a general act



of resumption by which all grants made since the King's accession were annulled. Botiller managed to secure that his view of frankpledge, granted in July 1447, was included in the list of exceptions and reservations modifying the force of the act.<sup>10</sup> A clause of exemption covering certain perquisites of his uncle, Sir Thomas Haryngton, was inserted in the list too. Sir John Botiller was present and apposed his seal to the indenture attesting the election of Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Richard Haryngton who were returned to the next parliament of November 1450.<sup>11</sup> In this year Sir John and his wife Margaret received letters of fraternity from the priory and convent of Durham. He was steward of its dependent cell at Lytham.<sup>12</sup> In an indenture dated 12 August 1452 he undertook that his son John should marry, before Christmas, Anne the daughter of Sir John Saville of Howley, Yorkshire,<sup>13</sup> and a granddaughter of Sir William Gascoigne, Henry IV's chief justice. Apparently the Botiller-Saville marriage was part of the Haryngton system of alliances. Sir Thomas Haryngton's daughter Jane had married Anne Saville's brother. Sir John Saville paid 300 marks for the Botiller marriage. Its completion was not effected, however, owing to the death of John Botiller the younger not long afterwards. About the same time Sir John contracted to marry his daughter Isabel to Geoffrey Massy whose wardship and marriage he purchased from his father William Massy and Sir Geoffrey Massy of Tatton and Worsley.<sup>14</sup> On 1 January 1453 Botiller conveyed the whole of his manors and lands in Lancashire and all his manors of Exul in Warwickshire and Grafton in Wiltshire to Sir Thomas and Sir Richard Haryngton, Thomas Dutton, Hamond le Massy, Thomas Massy parson of Warrington, Richard Massy, John Holcroft, and Thomas Pemberton.<sup>15</sup> On 20 May 1454 Sir John Botiller was himself associated with William Haryngton, son of Sir Richard, and Nicholas Millington as trustee of Sir William Assheton for his estates in Croston and Mawdesley.<sup>16</sup> Botiller's wife Margaret Gerard died in 1452. About 1454 he married for his second wife Isabel the daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilsland, with which family Sir Thomas Haryngton was allied by his own marriage. The alliance was, however, voided by the procurement of a divorce on 24 November 1458.<sup>17</sup> In 1459 Sir John Botiller's name was entered on the roll of foreign burgesses of Preston.<sup>18</sup> Whether or not he fought at Bloreheath in September 1459 is not clear. His uncle, Sir Thomas Haryngton, was captured while fighting with the Earl of Salisbury and along with one of Botiller's kinsmen William Stanley was attainted in the Coventry parliament of November 1459. On 23 January 1460 Botiller obtained a dispensation to marry Margaret the eldest daughter of Thomas, first Lord Stanley, and widow of Sir William Troutbeck of Dunham-on-the-Hill in Cheshire, grandson of a former chancellor of Lancaster, who was killed fighting on the Lancastrian side at Bloreheath in the previous September. Both were

descended from Sir Nicholas Haryngton.<sup>19</sup> In this year Sir John Botiller and his wife procured letters of fraternity from the priory at Durham. As steward of the Lytham cell dependent on the priory, Sir John was called upon to settle a dispute between his deputy-steward and the prior of Durham.<sup>20</sup> Botiller was discharged from the stewardship in September 1461 in favour of Sir William Stanley. By letters patent of 8 January 1463 Edward IV granted to Sir John and his lady the wardship and marriage of her son by the first marriage, William son and heir of Sir William Troutbeck. He was affianced to Jane daughter of Sir John by his first wife Margaret Gerard. Adam, a younger son of Sir William Troutbeck, married another daughter Margaret and Sir John's eldest surviving son William was affianced to Sir William's daughter Jane. Sir John Botiller died on 26 February 1463.<sup>21</sup> The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 28 April and the inquisition post mortem taken at Warrington on 24 July 1464.<sup>22</sup> Both Sir John Botiller and his wife Margaret were buried in the Botiller chantry in Warrington parish church.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Memrs.*, 342. <sup>2</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 116. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 48. <sup>4</sup> Beamont, 263. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 539. <sup>6</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxvii, App. ii, 69. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 539. <sup>8</sup> Baines, iv, 402. <sup>9</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 7. <sup>10</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 191. <sup>11</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 7. <sup>12</sup> Beamont, 268. <sup>13</sup> Piccope, ix, 365. <sup>14</sup> Beamont, 275. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 276. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 280. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 281. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 285. <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-91. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 296. <sup>22</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 73-4. <sup>23</sup> Beamont.

**Richard Haryngton** (November 1450 ; *miles*) (March 1453)<sup>1</sup> (November 1459, *miles*).<sup>2</sup>

The eldest son of Sir James Haryngton, knight of the shire in 1404, and his wife Ellen daughter of Thomas Urswyk, Richard Haryngton had by 1414 married Elizabeth the daughter and heir of Sir William Bradshagh who died in October 1415. In right of his wife Richard Haryngton succeeded to the Bradshagh manors of Blackrod, Westleigh, worth 40 and 30 marks respectively, and messuages and lands in Pennington and Tarton worth 8 marks.<sup>3</sup> Later, on his father's death Richard succeeded him in the Haryngton estates at Wolfage and Brixworth in Northamptonshire.<sup>4</sup> Early in 1422 Richard Haryngton was apparently on military service in France as a member of the King's retinue, receiving letters of protection and attorney at Southampton on 7 April when about to leave for Normandy.<sup>5</sup> The date of his appointment is not clear, but by 12 March 1427 he was occupying the office of escheator in the county palatine of Lancaster. This position he continued to enjoy until superseded before July 1430 by Henry Halsall his brother-in-law.<sup>6</sup> The latter had in 1427 married



Richard Haryngton's sister Catherine. Haryngton's sister Elizabeth had in 1416 married William Norris of Speke.<sup>7</sup> Another sister, Ellen, married Sir Richard Molyneux who in 1421 was appointed steward of the wapentakes of Salford and West Derby, constable of Liverpool castle, and forester in West Derbyshire.<sup>8</sup> In 1442 Sir Richard Haryngton's daughter Margaret married her second cousin Sir Thomas Pilkington, who was heir to his uncle Sir John Pilkington of Bury in 1451. In 1442 also, Haryngton's son William married Elizabeth daughter of Edmund Pilkington and sister of Sir Thomas. Licences of consanguinity were issued for both marriages.<sup>9</sup> In September 1437 Haryngton was with his brother-in-law Molyneux and uncle Sir William Haryngton, in the administration of the will of Sir John Lancaster.<sup>10</sup> Most of the period 1430-50 meant for Richard Haryngton military service in Normandy. An enumeration of the forces in the different garrisons of Normandy during the financial year from Michaelmas 1433 records that he was stationed at Evreux with a retinue of 35 men-at-arms and 105 archers. At the time of Bedford's death in September 1435 Haryngton figured in his retinue as a knight-banneret. As early as the previous winter he had been occupying the captaincy of the town and castle of Caen. By 1443 he was *bailli* of the same. He continued in this office until the French took the town on 23 June 1450. Five months later he was returned to the Commons.<sup>11</sup>

On 23 November 1450, in county court held at Lancaster by Nicholas Byron as sheriff, Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Richard Haryngton were elected knights of the shire in the parliament which had already been in session at Westminster since 6 November. Among those who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the election were Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, Sir Richard's first cousin, and Sir William Haryngton, Sir Richard's own son.<sup>12</sup> On 18 December parliament was prorogued. It met again on 20 January 1451. In the recess, on 13 January Sir Richard Haryngton was appointed to serve with the Earls of Warwick and Worcester, both friends of the Duke of York, on a commission of enquiry in Kent touching the treasonable conduct of fourteen Kentish artisans and tradesmen.<sup>13</sup> On the next day Sir Richard and Hugh Spenser esquire were associated on a commission of oyer and terminer touching the petition presented by a certain William Kirkby in which he complained of arrears of wages due to him for service in Normandy notably in the fortalice of Saint Lo where he had been stationed with 16 lances and a number of archers for two months and in the castle of Caen, where he had been under the orders of Lord Hastings chancellor of the duchy of Normandy.<sup>14</sup> Here, as a year later, Haryngton owed his commission to his being *ex-bailli* of Caen and thus competent to judge any peculation cases. Parliament's second session lasted from 20 January to 19 April 1451. On 16 March Sir Richard Haryngton was appointed to serve on a commission headed

by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, for an enquiry in Kent regarding the misdeeds of a Nottingham bowyer.<sup>15</sup> Both the commissions of enquiry in Kent addressed to Sir Richard Haryngton were conditioned by the aftermath of local disturbance and the governmental policy of repression occasioned by the Cade rebellion of May and June 1450. On February 1452 in company with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Scales, Huls the keeper of the privy seal, and two lawyers, Sir Richard was deputed to examine, hear and determine, complaints brought forward by soldiers home from Normandy against Lord Hastings, Sir Andrew Ogard late captain of Caen, and other military officials, who were accused of detaining the pay due to the soldiers under their indentures of retainment.<sup>16</sup> On the 4th of the following September Haryngton was appointed to serve on a commission of oyer and terminer in Buckinghamshire touching insurrections and treasons, meaning participation in the Yorkist disturbances, and on 28 September the scope of this commission was widened to include the counties of Essex, Hertford, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Oxford and Berkshire.<sup>17</sup> The commission was renewed on 8 January 1453.<sup>18</sup> In the following March Haryngton was again elected knight of the shire for the county palatine along with Sir Thomas Stanley to the Reading parliament. An exemption was accorded him in the act of resumption passed in the third session of the Yorkist parliament which met at Westminster in July 1455. Haryngton, who was described in the exemptory clause as Controller of the Household, which office he took over from Sir Thomas Stanley, secured exemption from the act particularly with regard to an annual fee of £40. This he had been granted by letters patent under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster from the revenues of the honour of Pontefract.<sup>19</sup> The unappropriated revenues of the duchy of Lancaster had been devoted to the charge of the household in 1439. On 12 November 1459 in county court held at Lancaster Sir Richard Haryngton and his brother-in-law Henry Halsall were elected as knights of the shire to the parliament summoned to meet at Coventry on 20 November. With his cousin of Hornby, Sir Thomas Haryngton, who was captured while fighting with the Earl of Salisbury at Bloreheath three days later, Sir Richard Haryngton was one of the feoffees when Henry Halsall made a settlement of his estates on 20 September 1459.<sup>20</sup> The business of the strongly Lancastrian Coventry parliament was the attainder of the Duke of York and his friends among whom was included Sir Thomas Haryngton. The election of Sir Richard and Halsall had been a crowded one, no less than ninety-one persons having sealed the indenture attesting it. Among the first to seal it were Sir Thomas Haryngton's son, Sir John, and Sir Richard's own son, Sir William Haryngton, and the county court had been filled with Lonsdale and Furness supporters of the Haryngton family.<sup>21</sup> Officially a loyalist like the second



Lord Stanley, he was closely connected with the Yorkists in case of accidents: a 'trimming' policy. His more downright cousin incurred forfeiture. The Coventry parliament sat only a month.

Sir Richard Haryngton's inquisition post mortem was taken in 1467.<sup>22</sup> In 1462 he had arranged that his body should be buried in the church of the Dominican Friars at Lancaster in the chapel where his father, Sir James, already lay.<sup>23</sup> In 1464 Thomas the son of William Norris of Speke, and a nephew of Sir Richard's, arranged with the prior and convent of Upholland for daily celebration of mass for the souls of his uncle Sir Richard Haryngton, his parents and benefactors. Every year on 17 August, the day of Sir Richard's death, his obit was to be kept at the high altar. He must have died, then, between 1462 and the time of this transaction.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fine Roll, 31 Henry VI. <sup>2</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 345, 353. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 109-10. <sup>4</sup> *Piccope*, iv, 20. <sup>5</sup> *D.K.R.*, xlv, 634-35. <sup>6</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 17-28. <sup>7</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 134. <sup>8</sup> *Piccope*, vi, 61. <sup>9</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m. (Chet.)*, i, 111; ii, 173-74. <sup>10</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 534. <sup>11</sup> *Kingsford*, 137; *Stevenson*, ii, 347, 436, 542, 631. <sup>12</sup> *C.*, 219, 16, 1. <sup>13</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 437. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 435. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 443. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 537. <sup>17</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 54. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 60. <sup>19</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 318. <sup>20</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 110. <sup>21</sup> *C.*, 219, 16, 5. <sup>22</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 111. <sup>23</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 30 n. <sup>24</sup> *V.C.H.*, iii, 134 n.

#### Alexander Radcliff (July 1455).<sup>1</sup>

Alexander was the son of Sir John Radcliff of Ordsall, Salford, and his wife Clemency the daughter of Hugh Standish of Duxbury.<sup>2</sup> Sir John died in July 1442 holding the manor of Ordsall of the King as Duke of Lancaster. The manor was worth £10 in 1422.<sup>3</sup> He had given his moiety of Flixton to his son and heir Alexander Radcliff on the latter's marriage to Agnes the daughter of Sir William Haryngton of Hornby. The moiety was worth £5 a year in 1422. In 1445-46 when he had succeeded his father, Alexander Radcliff was found to be holding a sixth part of the fee of Ordsall, and the manor of Shoresworth in Pendlebury and the Flixton moiety jointly with his wife.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Radcliff was present in the county court held at Lancaster on 24 June 1433 in which were elected as knights of the shire Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Radclyf, a kinsman. Alexander's father-in-law, Sir William Haryngton, was the first to appose his seal to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>5</sup> Radcliff was also present at the election of his brother-in-law Thomas Haryngton and Henry Halsall conducted in county court at Lancaster on 24 December 1436. Again

his father-in-law was the first to seal the indenture. Radcliff himself was eighth on the list.<sup>6</sup> Along with Thomas and John Haryngton, he was one of his father-in-law's executors on the latter's death early in 1440.<sup>7</sup> In 1440 he was farming Lune mill, Skerton, at 10 marks which he paid to the greave of Skerton. He was bound to keep it in repair but might take timber free from the forest.<sup>8</sup> This source of profit was probably an outcome of his connection with the Haryngtons. His uncle Sir William was master-forester of Quernmore in 1414<sup>9</sup> and in 1440 Thomas Haryngton his brother-in-law was parker of Quernmore.<sup>10</sup> On 15 January 1442 the latter and Sir Thomas Stanley were elected knights of the shire in county court at Lancaster. Radcliff was seventh on the list of those who apposed their seals to the indenture attesting the election.<sup>11</sup> In the following July he succeeded his father in the Ordsall lands. Alexander Radcliff esquire was appointed *inter alios* to hold a special gaol delivery for John Huntingdon the warden of the collegiate church of Manchester on 25 November 1443.<sup>12</sup> On 21 April 1446 he was the recipient along with Sir John Pilkington and Sir Thomas Assheton of a warrant for the attachment of Thomas Trafford of Chorlton, gentleman, John, son of John Huntingdon, clerk, and others.<sup>13</sup> In 1451 Alexander Radcliff himself brought a charge against Laurence Hyde of Barton and others that they were responsible for the death of his brother Hugh Radcliff.<sup>14</sup> Early in January 1454 the personal quarrel between the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Egremont went a stage further when the curialist Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, went north to Tuxford and Doncaster, where he met with Egremont and swore an alliance of friendship. The appointment of the Duke of York as Protector in the following month gave a new complexion to this fomentation of the Neville-Percy dispute. Exeter's *seditions letters* to the commons of Lancashire and Cheshire and distribution of liveries of white and blue with the injunction *Take her the Due of Lancastre lyvery*, stirred up political disquiet into an anti-Yorkist insurrection. Many gentry of Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, were affected. In spite of his close family relationship with Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby, the retainer of the Earl of Salisbury, Radcliff of Ordsall was immediately involved with his near neighbour of Withington, Sir Nicholas Longford, the Vernons of Haddon, and their brother-in-law John Cockayne of Ashbourne, as an anti-Yorkist partisan of the Duke of Exeter. The movement came to a head when on 5 May 1454 at Longford in Derbyshire, where Sir Nicholas Longford's chief estates were centred, there gathered companies to the number of a thousand men. Animosity found a vent in the destruction of property of local gentry attracted to the Yorkist cause, notably that of Walter Blount, esquire. Grandson of Sir Walter Blount, retainer and executor of John of Gaunt and killed at Shrewsbury in 1403 when standard-bearer to Henry IV, and son of Sir Thomas Blount, former



Treasurer of Calais, Blount was to be appointed to that office in 1460, to fight at Towton in 1461, to be made Treasurer of England in 1465, and raised to the peerage as Baron Mountjoy. On the day following the meet at Longford, the insurgents rode to Derby where they pulled down a house of a servant of Blount's and a house of his in the Dominican friary there. A royal proclamation in the market-place of Derby by the Yorkist-minded sheriff, Sir John Gresley, Blount's cousin, backed by a *littera assistens* of the Protector, was ignored and the "rebels" went on to sack Blount's manor house at Alvaston. There they slashed with their swords three pieces of tapestry-work charged with Blount's device hanging in the hall, saying, *For that Walter Blount was gone to serve Traytours: therefore his armes shall thus be quartered*. In spite of the issue of letters of privy seal on 10 May to Longford, Blount and others, requiring their appearance before the Council (on the following day the Duke of Exeter was charged to attend), reprisals and counter-reprisals extended over a fortnight between the tenancies of Blount and Longford. The latter, who had retired to his Lancashire manor of Withington, refused to accept the privy seal, and the over-persistent servant of the sheriff of Derby serving the writ, was assaulted there by Longford's men. Assemblies and disturbances continued in Yorkshire in favour of the Duke of Exeter until the Protector himself came north at the end of May, and Exeter sought sanctuary in London. York held sessions of oyer and terminer at York and Derby during the following month (*Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Journal*, Vols. 34 and 35). Probably the influence of Sir Thomas Haryngton, who had been intendant on the Protector in the suppression of the rising, was brought to bear in the interest of his brother-in-law of Ordsall. Four days after the first battle of St. Albans, set up the Yorkists in high places, on 26 May 1455 writs were issued summoning parliament to meet at Westminster on 9 July. On 30 June Nicholas Byron conducted the election of the knights of the shire for Lancashire in a county court held at Lancaster. Sir Thomas Stanley, first cousin to Radcliff's wife, and Alexander Radcliff himself were returned. His Yorkist brother-in-law of Hornby was the second to attest the election in the indenture.<sup>15</sup> The shire elections were generally weighted in the Yorkist interest, for example, in Derbyshire where the sheriff had not scrupled to resist such people as was not well disposed. One of the Staffs members was Sir William Vernon, the Treasurer of Calais, who had been closely implicated with Radcliff in the Exeter movement of the previous summer. On 17 December 1457 the chancellor of the county palatine was instructed by royal letters patent to appoint commissioners to assign what proportion each hundred, borough, town, and hamlet in Lancashire was to contribute towards the exhibition of its quota of 113 archers and how the burden of their maintenance was to be distributed. This commission was giving effect to a grant of

13,000 archers to be maintained by the counties, cities and towns according to their wealth, made in the Reading parliament in March 1453. The commissioners, among whom were Sir Thomas Stanley, his son Thomas, and Alexander Radcliff, were to give in one part of their indenture to the Exchequer before 10 February 1458.<sup>16</sup> Radcliff was made an executor of the will of Sir Thomas Haryngton on 14 September 1459, nine days before Bloreheath. The latter's sister Agnes, Radcliff's wife, and their daughter Isabel received in its provisions a sum of 40 marks.<sup>17</sup> In spite of his Lancastrian sympathies and Yorkist ties Radcliff came through the crises of 1459-60. The reign of Edward of York brought him no discomfiture. He procured the insertion in the act of resumption passed in the parliament of 1463-65 of a proviso which exempted a grant of 20 marks he held by letters patent, from the scope of the act.<sup>18</sup> He died in April 1475 leaving a son and heir William who was forty years of age.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Mems.*, 350. <sup>2</sup> Piccope, iv, 29. <sup>3</sup> *Lancs. Inq. p.m.*, i, 148. <sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 211. <sup>5</sup> *C.* 219, 14, 4. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 15, 1. <sup>7</sup> *D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 39. <sup>8</sup> *V.C.H.*, viii, 59. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 446. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, 75. <sup>11</sup> *C.* 219, 15, 2. <sup>12</sup> *D.K.R.*, xl, 537. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 538. <sup>14</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 211 n. <sup>15</sup> *C.* 219, 16, 3. <sup>16</sup> *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 410. <sup>17</sup> Piccope, iv, 154. <sup>18</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, v, 546. <sup>19</sup> *V.C.H.*, iv, 211; Ormerod, i, 415.



## APPENDIX A

*P.R.O., C 219, bde. 9, no. 13.*

The following return to the writ of election to the Westminster Parliament of 17 September 1397 is typical of the returns of the election of knights of the shire for the county palatine of Lancaster under the dukedom of John of Gaunt. The writ was addressed in Richard II's name "*carissimo avunculo suo Johanni Duci Aquitanie et Lancastrie vel eius cancellario in eodem ducatu Lancastrie.*" The endorsement of the writ ran thus:— "*Responsio Johannis ducis Aquitanie et Lancastrie. Virtute istius brevis eligi fecimus de comitatu Lancastrie Johannem Botiller de Weryngton Chivaler et Radulphum de Radclyff chivaler milites gladiis cinctos magis idoneos et discretos comitatus predicti et non sunt aliqui cives vel burgenses infra comitatum predictum qui ad aliqua parlamenta retroactis temporibus venire consueverunt.*"

After the accession of Henry IV, the returns of the election for the county palatine were recorded on the dorse of two writs. The royal writ to the chancellor of the county palatine was endorsed and returned to the Chancery of England. Along with it went the writ issued from the Chancery of Lancaster as precept to the sheriff of Lancaster to conduct an election in the county palatine. This writ the sheriff had endorsed with the result of the election and returned to the Chancery of Lancaster, whence it was sent on to the Chancery of England. After 1406, when the statute 7 Hen. IV, C 15, provided for the attachment to the writ authorising election of an indenture between the sheriff and those who had chosen the knights of the shire, there were then three instruments returned for the county palatine:—the royal writ of election to the chancellor of the county palatine endorsed by him, the writ out of the Chancery of Lancaster to the sheriff endorsed by the latter, and the indenture drawn up as between the sheriff and those attesting the validity of the election.

The following returns to the Parliament of 19 November 1414 are examples of the practice used after the 1406 statute came into operation.

*P.R.O., C 219.11.4.*

The writ to the chancellor of the county palatine was dated, along with those to the sheriffs of England at large, on 26 September 1414. It was endorsed: "*Coram domino Rege in cancellaria sua die lune proxima post octavas sancti martini (5 November).* Responsio huius brevis patet per indorsamentum brevis domini Regis de comitatu palatino Lancastrie huic brevi consuti. Per Johannem Wodehous cancellarium in comitatu palatino Lancastrie."



The writ to the sheriff of Lancaster emanating from the Chancery of Lancaster was dated 30 September and endorsed: "Responsum Nicholai de Longford vicecomitis Lancastrie. Virtute istius brevis eligi feci Johannem de Stanley et Robertum Laurence duos milites gladiis cinctos magis idoneos et discretos comitatus Lancastrie de essendo coram domino Rege ad parlamentum in die et loco infra specificatis ad faciendum et consentiendum hiis que tunc ibidem ordinari contigerint in omnibus prout hoc breve in se requirit prout manifeste patet in quibusdam indenturis inde inter me et communitates comitatus predicti factis quarum vere indenturarum alteram partem vobis mitto una cum hoc brevi consutam. Et non sunt aliqui cives aut burgenses infra dictum comitatum qui ad dictum parlamentum venire possunt propter eorum inopiam et paupertatem."

The third instrument was the indenture:

"Hec indentura facta inter Nicholaum de Longford vicecomitem Lancastrie ex una parte et Ricardum de Hoghton, chivaler, Willielmum de Haryngton, chivaler, Thomam de Tunstall, chivaler, Willielmum Botiller, chivaler, Johannes de Bold, chivaler, Willielmum de Athirton, chivaler, Thomam Gerard, chivaler, Robertum de Urswyk, chivaler, Willielmum de Hoghton, chivaler, Henricum de Hoghton, chivaler, Ricardum de Radclif, chivaler, Nicholaum de Athirton, chivaler, Johannem de Sotheworth, chivaler, Gilbertum de Haydok, chivaler, Ricardum de Kyghley, chivaler, Johannem de Pilkyngham, chivaler, Radulphum de Radclif, Willielmum de Bradshagh, Henricum de Longton, Henricum de Scaresbrek, Robertum de Halsall, Ricardum de Shirburne, Ricardum de Radclif, Thurstanum de Holland, Robertum del Holt, Ricardum de Barton, Johannem de Haryngton de Kertmell, Gilbertum de Barton, Thomam de Clifton, Hamonem le Mascy, Thomam de Bradshagh de Hagh, Radulphum de Standissh, Hugonem de Standissh, Nicholaum le Botiller, et Nicholaum de Hesketh ex altra (*sic*) parte testatur de electione militum prout in brevi hiis indenturis consuto inferius fit mentio videlicet facta proclamatione in pleno comitatu Lancastre tento ibidem die lune proxima post festum sancti Wilfridi anno regni Henrici quinti secundo predicti vere Ricardus de Hoghton Chivaler et omnes alii post se infra istas indenturas nominati qui vere proclamationi huius modi interfuerunt unanimi concensu (*sic*) et ascensu eligi fecerunt Johannem de Stanley et Robertum Laurence duos milites gladiis cinctos magis ydoneos et discretos comitatus predicti et dictos milites ad diem et locum infra dictum breve hiis indenturis annexum contenta venire facient qui quidem milites plenam et sufficientem potestatem pro se et communitate comitatus predicti ab ipsis habent ad faciendum et consentiendum hiis que in parlamento domini Regis prout infra dictum breve hiis indenturis annexum fit mentio de communi consilio dicti domini Regis Anglie favente domino ordinari contigerint in omnibus prout dictum breve in se requirit. In cuius rei testimonium tam predictus Nicholaus de Longford vicecomes Lancastre quam predictus Ricardus de Hoghton Chivaler et omnes alii post se infra istas indenturas sigilla sua alteruatim apposuerunt. Data die loco et anno supradictis."

The statute 8 Hen. VI, C 7 (1429), laid down that the knights of the shires were to be chosen by the residents of the respective counties holding free tenement to the value of forty shillings a year at least, over and

above all charges. The Lancastrian indenture of election echoed the terminology of the writ which embodied the form of statute. The indenture made no mention, however, of freehold. Moreover, the form taken by the indenture of election to the parliament assembled next after the enactment of the statute, that of January 1431, was not repeated.

C 219, *bdle.* 14, *no.* 2.

"Hec indentura facta inter Robertum Laurence militem vicecomitem Lancastre ex una parte et Nicholaum de Croft, Nicholaum le Botiller, Thomam de Rygmayden, Ricardum le Botiller de Kirkclond, Johannem de Claghton juniorem, Robertum Laurence de Laton, Johannem de Clayton de Byrnhyll, Nicholaum de Ryldones, Thomam Latewys, Gilbertum de Rysley, Johannem de Byrkehede, et Ricardum del Lache, in comitatu Lancastre commorantes et residentes ex altera parte testatur quod virtute brevis domini Regis huic indenture consuti ad comitatum Lancastre tentum apud Lancastriam die lune in festo circumcisionis domini anno regni Henrici sexti novo facta proclamatione ut predictum breve exigit et requirit, predicti Nicholaus, Nicholaus, Thomas, Ricardus, Johannes, Robertus, Johannes, Nicholaus, Thomas, Gilbertus, Johannes, et Ricardus, quorum quilibet quadraginta solidos per annum et ultimum expendere potest eligerunt duos milites gladiis cinctos magis idoneos et discretos comitatus predicti Johannem de Morley et Willielmum Gernet iuxta formam statutorum in dicto brevi specificatam et dictos milites ad diem et locum infra dictum breve contenta prefatus vicecomes venire fecit et non sunt aliqui cives aut burgenses infra comitatum qui venire possunt propter suam paupertatem et debilitatem. In cuius rei testimonium presente indenture tam prefatus vicecomes quam prefati electores sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Data die loco et anno supradictis."



## APPENDIX B

### THE EXTANT INDENTURES OF ELECTION, 1411-59 (NONE SURVIVES FOR 1407 OR 1410)

[Notes on those who apposed their seals to the indentures have not been repeated after the first attestation.]

*P.R.O.*, C 219.10.6.

Parliament of 3rd November, 1411. Knights elected: John de Assheton kt., John del Bothe. Sheriff: Ralph de Staveley. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: October 19th. Attestors of the election: William de Hoghton kt.,<sup>1</sup> John de Sotheworth kt.,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Gerard kt.,<sup>3</sup> Roger de Skerton,<sup>4</sup> Roger de Chernok,<sup>5</sup> Henry de Hoghwyke,<sup>6</sup> Richard de Bur-scogh (?), Thurstan de Tyldesley, Roger de Assheton,<sup>7</sup> Richard de Assheton,<sup>8</sup> Richard de Bikerstath, William Balshagh.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Richard Hoghton M.P. (q.v.), chief steward of the county palatine; possibly appearing as his father's attorney; predeceased his father, who died in 1422.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sir Thomas Sotheworth, M.P. 1380; died Harfleur October 1415.

<sup>3</sup> M.P. 1384, 1388, 1394 (q.v.).

<sup>4</sup> Of Skerton (*V.H.C.*).

<sup>5</sup> Again attested the election indenture in 1427; April 1413 too infirm to execute the office of coroner.

<sup>6</sup> In 1400 coroner.

<sup>7</sup> Received exemption from the office of coroner on grounds of infirmity, July 1417 (*D.K.R.*, xxxiii, 14).

<sup>8</sup> In 1400 bailiff of the West Derbyshire hundred.

*P.R.O.*, C 219.11.1(a).

Parliament of May 14th, 1413. Knights elected: John de Assheton kt., John de Stanley junior. Sheriff: Ralph de Staveley. Place of election: Wigan. Date: May 9th. Attestors of the election: Thomas de Tunstall,<sup>1</sup> William de Haryngton,<sup>2</sup> James de Haryngton,<sup>3</sup> Richard de Kirkby,<sup>4</sup> Nicholas de Longford,<sup>5</sup> Gilbert de Haydok,<sup>6</sup> John de Bolde,<sup>7</sup> Henry de Torbek,<sup>8</sup> Henry Norres,<sup>9</sup> Nicholas de Atherton,<sup>10</sup> John de Croft,<sup>11</sup> Thomas Flemyng,<sup>12</sup> William Botiller,<sup>13</sup> Thomas Gerard,<sup>14</sup> William de Athirton,<sup>15</sup> John de Sotheworth,<sup>16</sup> Richard de Radeclif,<sup>17</sup> John de Radeclif,<sup>18</sup> knights; Henry de Longton,<sup>19</sup> Ralph de Standissh,<sup>20</sup> William de Bradshagh,<sup>21</sup> Edmund de Trafford,<sup>22</sup> Robert Laurence,<sup>23</sup> John de Haryngton of Cartmell,<sup>24</sup> Richard de Hodilston,<sup>25</sup> Thomas de Dacre, Nicholas de Syngleton,<sup>26</sup> Nicholas le Botiller,<sup>27</sup> Thomas de Rygmayden,<sup>28</sup> Richard Botiller de Kirkclond,<sup>29</sup> Gilbert de Barton,<sup>30</sup> Roger de Edilston senior,<sup>31</sup>

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Richard de Radeclif of Radcliffe,<sup>32</sup> Richard de Barton,<sup>33</sup> John de Hulton,<sup>34</sup> and Robert del Holt.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of Tunstall in the lordship of Hornby, attested the indenture of October 1414; justice of the peace in 1413.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indentures of 1414, 1419, 1432, 1433, 1437; sworn to the peace in May 1434; brother-in-law of John Stanley junior; sheriff of Yorks. 1408-09; re-appointed in the following November; again in 1422 and 1428; Henry V's standard bearer at Agincourt; at the siege of Rouen; by 1422 in receipt of an annuity of £100 from Catherine the queen-mother.

<sup>3</sup> Brother of the last attestor and brother-in-law of John Stanley junior, M.P. Lancs. 1404 (q.v.).

<sup>4</sup> Of Kirby Ireleth. April 1418 commissioner of array for the wapentake of Furness (Piccope); January 1422 collector of the fifteenth.

<sup>5</sup> Of Withington; knight of the shire for Derbyshire 1404; sheriff of Lancaster in the following October, which office he held for about a year. He died in 1415 at Harfleur.

<sup>6</sup> Of Haydock; attested the indenture of election, October 1414.

<sup>7</sup> Sheriff of Lancaster from 1407 to 1411, when he was made constable of Conway Castle which office he retained until his death in 1436; attested the indenture of October 1414 and 1433; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>8</sup> Held the manors of Torbok, Daltonleghes, Turton.

<sup>9</sup> Of Speke; attested the indentures of 1425 and 1427; March 1416 mainperned Stanley when granted the custody of the manor of Withington; May 1416 collector of a fifteenth.

<sup>10</sup> M.P. 1401 (q.v.); attested the indenture of October 1414.

<sup>11</sup> Of Dalton, which manor he held in fee of the Duke of Lancaster in chief and by suit at the county court and the wapentake court of Lonsdale; was M.P. 1388, 1390; died 1419.

<sup>12</sup> April 1418 commissioner of array for the wapentake of Furness (Piccope).

<sup>13</sup> Of Warrington, kt. of the shire in 1406; attested again in October 1414.

<sup>14</sup> Attested the indenture of 1411.

<sup>15</sup> Of Atherton; July 1411 on commission to bring Sir Nicholas Longford before King and Council; collector of the fifteenth in December 1416, November 1419; commissioner of muster and array in April 1418; in ward in Clitheroe Castle in October 1423 and before the Council in November; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 20 marks on the issues of the county palatine; May 1434 sworn to the peace; again attested indentures of election in 1414, November 1421 (first to attest), 1427, 1429.

<sup>16</sup> Attested the indentures of 1411, October 1414.

<sup>17</sup> Attested again in 1414; of Winmarleigh near Garstang; held also the manor of Astley of the King as Duke of Lancaster; collector of a fifteenth, December 1416; sheriff of Lancaster c. 1420-23; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of £30 from the issues of the county palatine.

<sup>18</sup> Held the manor of Ordsall, a moiety of Flixton, the bailiwick of Rochdale, of the King as Duke of Lancaster; died 1422; attested the indentures of November 1421.

<sup>19</sup> Baron of Newton; 1410 on a commission "certis de causis" issued by the Council to make certain arrests; 1411 commissioned to bring Nicholas Longford before the King and Council; April 1418 commissioner of array for the Blackburn hundred; attested the indenture of October 1414.

<sup>20</sup> Attested the indenture of October 1414; of Standish; January 1418 superseded as King's escheator in Ireland by Sir John Pilkington junior; April 1418 commissioner of array in the Leyland hundred; August 1421 juror in an assize of recognition.

<sup>21</sup> Attested the indenture of October 1414; of Westley; held the manor of



Blackrod as of the duchy of Lancaster; March 1413 was escheator in the county palatine; died October 1415; father-in-law of Sir Richard Haryngton, M.P. 1450, whose father, Sir James, was the third to attest this indenture.

<sup>22</sup> Attested the indentures of November 1421, 1423, 1425, 1429 (the first to attest), 1432; April 1418, commissioner of array for the Salford hundred; held the manor of Trafford and the vill of Stretford as of the duchy of Lancaster; knighted by the Duke of Bedford at Leicester in 1426; December 1431 juror of assessment of land and rental tax in Salford hundred; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>23</sup> Attested the indenture of 1419; as sheriff conducted the elections of 1426, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1435, 1437; knight of the shire 1404, 1406, November 1414 (q.v.).

<sup>24</sup> Attested the election of October 1414; April 1418, commissioner of array for the wapentake of Furness.

<sup>25</sup> Of Millom, Cumberland; made a knight-banneret by Henry V at Agincourt; married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Haryngton.

<sup>26</sup> April 1418 commissioner of array in the Amounderness hundred.

<sup>27</sup> Attested the indentures of October 1414, April 1421, 1422, 1429, 1431, 1432, 1435, 1437, 1449, 1450; knight of the shire in 1419 and 1426 (q.v.).

<sup>28</sup> Attested the indentures of 1421 (April), 1422, 1425, 1426, 1429, 1431, 1435; resident at Wedacre, and held lands in Garstang; April 1418 commissioner of array in Amounderness; in 1423 was enjoying an annuity of £10 at the receipt of the county palatine; 1434 sworn to the peace; William Rigmaiden constable of Lancaster Castle, 1401-42.

<sup>29</sup> Attested the indentures of 1419, 1420, 1421 (April and November), 1422, 1425, 1429, 1431; April 1418 commissioner of array in Amounderness; 1420-27 escheator for the county palatine; 1427 accused of having made false returns of the profits of his escheatorship; in December 1431 juror of assessment of land and rental tax in Amounderness.

<sup>30</sup> Attested the indentures of October 1414, 1432.

<sup>31</sup> One of the jurors at the inq. p.m. taken on Sir Richard Hoghton at Preston in 1422.

<sup>32</sup> Attested the indenture of October 1414; knight of the shire in 1425.

<sup>33</sup> Attested the indentures of October 1414, December 1421, 1425, 1427, 1429; held at Middleton.

<sup>34</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1421; of Farnworth; April 1418 commissioner of array for Salfordshire.

<sup>35</sup> Attested the indentures of October 1414, 1429; collector of a fifteenth December 1416, November 1419; April 1418 commissioner of array in Salfordshire.

*P.R.O., C 219.11.1 (b).*

The previous indenture was afforced by another similar instrument attested by forty-three electors, only three of whom had sealed the first indenture. As the second document does not follow the usual form—it only mentions, moreover, one of the knights of the shire—it is given in its entirety.

"Hec indentura testatur quod Radulphus de Staveley vicecomes Lancastrie ex una parte et Nicholaum de Longford chivaler et omnes alios post se infra istas indenturas nominatos (*sic*) qui quidem Nicholaus et omnes alii post se unanimiter consensu et assensu elegi fecerunt et liberam electionem dant Johanni de Stanley juniore ac aciam plenam potestatem pro se ipso et omnibus suis essendi militem in parlamento domini Regis proximo tenendo apud Westmonasterium die lune proxima post . . . ad respondendum pro se et omnibus suis et pro omnibus communitatibus

comitatus Lancastrie ad omnia que in dicto parlamento favente deo ordinari contigerint. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla sua alteruatim apposuerunt. Nicholas de Longford kt.,<sup>1</sup> Richard de Kyghley kt.,<sup>2</sup> Ralph de Radclif,<sup>3</sup> Richard de Radclif,<sup>4</sup> Richard de Barton,<sup>5</sup> Thurstan de Holand,<sup>6</sup> William de Heton,<sup>7</sup> Thomas de Bradshagh,<sup>8</sup> Thurstan de Anderton,<sup>9</sup> Oto de Redwhich,<sup>10</sup> John de Radcliff of Chadderton,<sup>11</sup> Ralph de Prestwiche,<sup>12</sup> Elias de Entwisill,<sup>13</sup> Roger de Bolton,<sup>14</sup> William de Worthington junior,<sup>15</sup> William de Worthington senior,<sup>16</sup> John de Lever, John de Barlaw, Roger de Medocroft, John de Chetham, Thomas de Bradshagh of Bradley,<sup>17</sup> Edmund de Anderton,<sup>18</sup> Richard de Chorley, John de B . . . (illegible) . . . de Bolde (John?), John del Bothe,<sup>19</sup> John de Banastre,<sup>20</sup> . . . , William de Athirton junior, John de Radcliff junior, Nicholas de Athirton, Nicholas de Orell, William de Orell,<sup>21</sup> John de Pemburton, John de Birteswesall, . . . de Aynesworth, John de Aynesworth, Alexander de Pylkyngton,<sup>22</sup> Oto de Holand, Alan de Holdene, John de Walton,<sup>23</sup> Thomas del Croke,<sup>24</sup> Ralph de Holcroft.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attested the regular indenture for the election.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of October 1414 when Stanley was again returned; killed at Agincourt September 1415; of Inskip in Amounderness.

<sup>3</sup> Knight of the shire 1414, 1423, 1427 (q.v.); attested the indentures of November 1414, April 1421, 1425.

<sup>4</sup> Knight of the shire in 1425; had attested the regular indenture.

<sup>5</sup> Had attested the regular indenture.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of October 1414 and November 1421; in October 1423 was in ward in Clitheroe Castle and before the Council in November; May 1434 sworn to the peace; May 1436 collector of a tenth and a fifteenth.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; J.P. by March 1418; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks charged on the issues of the county palatine; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>8</sup> Of Hag; March 1416 mainpernor for Sir John Stanley when granted the custody of the manor of Withington; December 1417 collector of a fifteenth; April 1418 commissioner of array in West Derbyshire.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; November 1419 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; 1423 in receipt of a "duchy annuity" of 10 marks; held a moiety of the manor of Healy in Chorley.

<sup>10</sup> Attested the indenture of 1425; in receipt of an annuity of £5 charged on the county issues in 1423; of Reddish.

<sup>11</sup> Attested the regular indenture; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>12</sup> Attested the indenture of 1425; on two inquests post mortem in 1429 and 1445 at Lancaster and Manchester respectively; December 1431 juror of assessment of land and rental tax in Salford wapentake.

<sup>13</sup> May 1416 appointed collector of a fifteenth.

<sup>14</sup> Held the manor of Little Bolton as of the duchy of Lancaster; died September 1421.

<sup>15</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; juror at inquests post mortem at Wigan in 1425 and 1433 and Lancaster in 1431; juror of assessment in December 1431 for Leyland hundred.

<sup>16</sup> April 1418 commissioner of array for Leyland-shire.

<sup>17</sup> Attested the indentures of October 1414, 1427; had taken the Percy side in the rising of 1403 and present at the battle of Shrewsbury, afterwards being pardoned by Henry IV; November 1419 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; 1423 in receipt of a £10 annuity from the issues of the county palatine.

<sup>18</sup> Attested the indenture of 1423; 1431 juror on tax assessment in Leyland hundred.



<sup>10</sup> Knight of the shire in 1411, 1420 (q.v.); attested the indentures of 1416, November 1421.

<sup>20</sup> Attested the indentures of 1420, April 1421, 1423; of Lostock Hall in Walton-le-Dale; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>21</sup> Attested the indentures of 1427, 1433; of Orrell near Wigan.

<sup>22</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; of Rivington.

<sup>23</sup> Attested the indenture of 1425; of Walton near Liverpool.

<sup>24</sup> Attested the indenture of 1423; of Crook in Leyland.

<sup>25</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; of Culcheth; 1420 collector of a fifteenth; December 1431 juror of tax assessment in West Derby hundred.

*P.R.O., C 219.11.4.*

Parliament of 19 November 1414. Knights elected: John de Stanley, Robert Laurence. Sheriff: Nicholas de Longford. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: October 15th. Attestors of the election: Richard de Hoghton,<sup>1</sup> William de Haryngton, Thomas de Tunstall, William Botiller, John de Bolde, William de Athirton, Thomas Gerard, Robert de Urswyk,<sup>2</sup> William de Hoghton, Henry de Hoghton,<sup>3</sup> Richard de Radclif, Nicholas de Athirton, John de Sotheworth, Gilbert de Haydok, Richard de Kyghley, John de Pilkynghon,<sup>4</sup> kts.; Ralph de Radclif, William de Bradshagh, Henry de Longton, Henry de Scaresbrek,<sup>5</sup> Robert de Halsall,<sup>6</sup> Richard de Shirburne,<sup>7</sup> Richard de Radclif, Thurstan de Holand, Robert del Holt, Richard de Barton, John de Haryngton of Cartmell, Gilbert de Barton, Thomas de Clifton,<sup>8</sup> Hamo le Mascy,<sup>9</sup> Thomas de Bradshagh of Haggh, Ralph de Standish, Hugh de Standish,<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Botiller, and Nicholas de Hesketh.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chief steward of the county palatine; M.P. 1383, 1402 (q.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Appointed sheriff May 1415, and as sheriff made out the returns in March 1416, September 1419.

<sup>3</sup> Knight of the shire in 1399 and 1407 (q.v.).

<sup>4</sup> Of Bury; went to Germany in retinue of Lady Blanche in 1402; fought at Agincourt.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1427 and 1433; juror in assize of recognition August 1421; of Scarisbrick near Ormskirk; 1434 sworn to the peace; son-in-law of Sir John Pilkington and father-in-law of Robert Halsall.

<sup>6</sup> Of Halsall; March 1415-19 escheator in the county palatine; April 1418 on a commission of muster and array in the West Derby hundred; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of £10 from the county issues; brother of Henry Halsall, Archdeacon of Chester.

<sup>7</sup> Knight of the shire in 1420 and December 1421 (q.v.); attested the indenture of 1422.

<sup>8</sup> Again attested an indenture of election in 1419; held the manors of Clifton, Salwick, and Westby, in Kirkham parish, of the King in socage by suit at the county court from six weeks to six weeks, and at the wapentake court from three weeks to three weeks.

<sup>9</sup> Of Rixton; attested the indentures of 1426, 1427, 1432, 1433; 1431 juror of tax assessment for West Derby hundred.

<sup>10</sup> Of Standish; August 1421 juror in assize of recognition.

<sup>11</sup> Of Great Harwood in the Blackburn hundred; died 1417.

*P.R.O., C 219.11.8.*

Parliament of 16 March 1416. Knights elected: John de Assheton, John Morley. Sheriff: Robert de Urswyk. Place of election: Lancaster.

Date: 2 March. Attestors of the election: Nicholas Blundell,<sup>1</sup> John del Bothe,<sup>2</sup> Richard Tounley,<sup>3</sup> William Oxclif,<sup>4</sup> Richard . . . slak, Thomas del Burgh of Bolton,<sup>5</sup> William de Bolton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.P. April 1414 (q.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Father-in-law of John Morley.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1425; of Townley; June 1410 one of five to be arrested "certis de causis" and brought before the Council; April 1418 commissioner of array in the Blackburn hundred; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks from the county issues; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>4</sup> Of Oxcliffe, Lancaster; attested the indentures of 1419, 1420, 1427, 1429, 1432, 1433, 1435, 1437; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1419, 1427, 1437; January 1422 collector of a fifteenth.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indentures of 1419 and 1427.

*P.R.O., C 219.12.3.*

Parliament of 16 October 1419. Knights elected: Nicholas Botiller of Rawcliffe, John Laurence. Sheriff: Robert de Urswyk. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 25 September. Attestors of the indenture: William de Haryngton, Robert Laurence, John de Croft, kts.; William de Tunstall,<sup>1</sup> John de Morley,<sup>2</sup> Thomas de Dacre, Walter de Culwen,<sup>3</sup> Nicholas de Croft,<sup>4</sup> John de Croft,<sup>5</sup> John de Berwyk,<sup>6</sup> William de Oxclif, William de Bolton, Thomas de Burgh, John de Claghton,<sup>7</sup> Thomas de Bolton,<sup>8</sup> Edmund Frere,<sup>9</sup> Richard Botiller, Thomas de Clifton, William Clifton, esquires.

<sup>1</sup> Resided at Thurland in Lonsdale; held the manor of Tunstall as of the lordship of Hornby; the manors of Burrow and Leck of Thomas Lord Dacre; the manor of Cantsfield of John Lord de Haryngton; the manors of Newton and Hoburthornes of John Duke of Bedford; April 1418 commissioner of array in the Lonsdale hundred.

<sup>2</sup> M.P. in 1416 and 1431 (q.v.); attested the indentures of 1426, 1427, 1433, 1437, 1449.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1422; held a moiety of the manor of Caton in Lonsdale as of the duchy of Lancaster; April 1418 commissioner of array in Lonsdale; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks from the county issues; sworn to the peace in 1434; February 1438 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; died October 1457.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1420, 1426, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1435, 1437, 1442, January 1449; son of Sir John Croft of Dalton; his daughter Agnes married Robert Laurence junior; December 1417 collector of a fifteenth; April 1418 commissioner of array in Lonsdale; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1420 and 1427; probably a member of the Dalton family; resident at Yealand.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indentures of 1420, 1426, 1427, 1429, 1432, 1435, 1437; of Borwick in Lonsdale; May 1416 collector of a fifteenth; November 1431 juror of assessment of land and rental tax for the Lonsdale hundred; May 1434 sworn to the peace; died 1438.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indentures of 1421 (November), 1437, 1442, 1449, 1459; probably of Claghton in Lonsdale; November 1431 juror of tax assessment in Lonsdale hundred.

<sup>8</sup> Attested the indentures of 1435 and 1437.

<sup>9</sup> Probably of Lancaster; in 1400 a coroner in the county palatine.



*P.R.O., C 219.12.4.*

Parliament of 2 December 1420. Knights elected: Richard de Shirburne, John del Bothe. Sheriff: Richard de Radclif kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 18 November. Attestors of the indenture: Thomas de Urswyk,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas de Croft, Richard Botiller of Kirkland,<sup>2</sup> esqs.; Richard Botiller of Rawcliffe,<sup>3</sup> William de Faryngton,<sup>4</sup> John de Berwyk senior, John Laurence,<sup>5</sup> John de Croft of Yealand, William de Oxclif, John Banastre, Roger de Caterall,<sup>6</sup> Thomas de Curwen,<sup>7</sup> and William del Riddyngs.<sup>8</sup>

Manucaptors: Roger de Lever,<sup>9</sup> Thomas de Helme.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442; 1417-42 receiver of the county palatine; M.P. May 1421, 1422.

<sup>2</sup> Escheator of the county palatine.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1435.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of April 1421, 1423, 1425, 1429, 1432; held messuages and lands in the vills of Leyland, Farrington and Preston; April 1418 commissioner of array for Leyland hundred; December 1431 juror of tax assessment in the same hundred; May 1434 sworn to the peace; March 1436 assessor of parliamentary subsidy; died January 1456.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1422, 1427; M.P. 1419.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1442; probably a son of Richard Caterall of Garstang.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442; probably of Caton, Lonsdale.

<sup>8</sup> December 1417 collector of a fifteenth; November 1431 juror of tax assessment for Lonsdale hundred.

<sup>9</sup> Manucaptor in 1423; sworn to the peace in May 1434; held lands in Burden, Great Lever.

<sup>10</sup> Manucaptor in December 1421, 1425, February 1449; 1423 deputy King's bailiff in the Blackburn wapentake.

*P.R.O., C 219.12.5.*

Parliament of 2 May 1421. Knights elected: Thomas de Radclif kt., Thomas de Urswyk. Sheriff: Richard de Radclif kt. Place of election: Croston. Attestors of the indenture: William de Assheton kt.,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Botiller, Thomas de Rigmayden of Wedacre, Ralph de Radclif, William de Faryngton, Richard de Botiller of Kirkland, John Banastre of Lostock, Thomas de Faryngton,<sup>2</sup> Adam de Clayton,<sup>3</sup> William de Clayton, Hugh Banastre, William de Chisnall.<sup>4</sup> Manucaptors: Thomas Travers,<sup>5</sup> John del Grene.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of Croston; M.P. 1432 (q.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Again attested in 1423.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1423, 1425, 1432, 1433; held the manor of Clayton-le-Woods of Sir Richard Hoghton as part of the fee of Penwortham; December 1431 juror in tax assessment for the Leyland hundred.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; probably of Chisnall in the parish of Standish; January 1422 collector of a fifteenth.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of November 1421, 1432, 1435, 1442; of Thornton in the Fylde; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>6</sup> Probably of Gressingham, Lancaster.

*P.R.O., C 219.12.6.*

Parliament of 1 December 1421. Knights elected: John Byron kt., Richard Shirburne. Sheriff: Richard de Radclyf kt. Place of election:

Lancaster. Date: 15 November. Attestors of the indenture: William de Athirton kt., John de Radclyf of Ordsall kt., Edmund de Trafford, John del Bothe senior, Robert de Longley,<sup>1</sup> John de Hulton of Farnworth, Geoffrey Masse,<sup>2</sup> Richard de Barton, Thurstan de Holand, Richard Botiller of Byreworth,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Travers, Richard le Botiller of Kirkland, Thomas de Nutshagh,<sup>4</sup> William de Coton, John de Clayton, Thomas de Barton, John Breton,<sup>5</sup> William de Thornewton.<sup>6</sup> Manucaptors: Roger Cay, Thomas de Helme.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indenture of 1429; held the manors of Prestwich, Alkrington, Pendlebury; December 1431 juror of tax assessment for Salford hundred; May 1431 sworn to the peace.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1433; 1420 succeeded to the manor of Worsley; December 1431 juror of tax assessment for Salford hundred; May 1434 sworn to the peace; died 1462.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1422; of Byreworth in Garstang parish.

<sup>4</sup> December 1431 juror of tax assessment for Leyland hundred.

<sup>5</sup> Of Preston.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; manucaptor in 1450; held a moiety of the manor of Thornton in socage.

*P.R.O., C 219.13.1.*

Parliament of 9 November 1422. Knights elected: Thomas de Urswyk esq., John Gerard of Bryn esq. Sheriff: Richard de Radclif kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 2 November. Attestors of the indenture: Ralph de Langton kt.,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Botiller esq., Thomas de Rigmayden, Richard Botiller of Kirkland, Richard Botiller of Byreworth, John Laurence, Walter de Curwen, Thomas de Syngleton,<sup>2</sup> Roger de Clifton, Richard de Shirburn, Henry de Workesley,<sup>3</sup> Richard de Caterall,<sup>4</sup> Manucaptors: Thomas de Haydok, Alexander Hassol.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; held the manors of Newton-in-Makerfield and Walton-le-Dale; October 1423 in ward in Liverpool Castle to appear before the Council in November; died February 1431.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; of Brockholes near Broughton; 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks at the hands of the receiver for the county palatine, Urswyk himself; sworn to the peace in May 1434.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1423, 1425, 1433; 1422-23 was "instaurator" of the forest of Bowland.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1435, 1437, 1442, January 1449, 1450; of Catterall, Garstang; December 1417 collector of a fifteenth; April 1418 commissioner of array for Amounderness; 1420 collector of a fifteenth; December 1431 on a jury of tax assessment in the Amounderness hundred; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

*P.R.O., C 219.13.2.*

Parliament of 20 October 1423. Knights elected: Thomas de Radclif kt., Ralph de Radclif of Smithells esq. Sheriff: Richard de Radclif kt. Place of election: Croston. Date: 13 October. Attestors of the indenture: Ralph de Longford,<sup>1</sup> Edmund de Trafford, William de Faryngton, Adam de Clayton, Henry de Chernok,<sup>2</sup> William del Birches,<sup>3</sup> Laurence de Barlawe, Thomas del Bothe,<sup>4</sup> Henry de Worsley, John Banastre of Lostock,



Thomas de Faryngton, Edmund de Anderton, Thomas del Croke. Manucaptors: Roger de Lever, Robert de Balshagh.

<sup>1</sup> M.P. 1425 (q.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indentures of 1426, 1427, 1435; December 1431 juror of tax assessment for Leyland hundred.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1425 and 1433; December 1431 juror of assessment in the hundred of West Derby.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of 1429; succeeded to the manor of Barton in September 1422 on the death of his father, John del Bothe; December 1417 collector of a fifteenth; May 1434 sworn to the peace when a knight.

*P.R.O., C 219.13.3.*

Parliament of 30 April 1425. Knights elected: Ralph de Longford, Richard de Radclif of Radcliffe. Sheriff: Richard de Radclif kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 2 April. Attestors of the indenture: John de Pilkington,<sup>1</sup> Henry Norreys, Thomas de Radclyf<sup>2</sup> kts., Edmund de Trafford,<sup>3</sup> Ralph de Radclyf of Smithells, Robert de Radclyf of Osbaldestone,<sup>4</sup> William de Faryngton, Adam de Clayton, Richard de Tounley, Thomas de Rigmaiden, Ralph de Prestwyche, Oto de Rediche, William del Birches, Elias de Aynesworth,<sup>5</sup> John de Livesay of Livesay, Laurence de Standish,<sup>6</sup> Richard de Walton, John de Stansfeld,<sup>7</sup> Henry de Workesley, Roger Travers,<sup>8</sup> Richard de Barton, Hugh de Orell,<sup>9</sup> Richard Botiller of Kirkland, William de Lever.<sup>10</sup> Manucaptors: Thomas de Helme, Nicholas Rylandes.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; made a knight-banneret at Agincourt; January 1418 appointed King's escheator in Ireland; February 1419 appointed clerk of the market and keeper of the weights and measures in Ireland for life; 1423 confirmed in that office; 1431-33 one of the sheriffs of Chester; 1434 sworn to the peace in Lancashire; 1440-42 mayor and escheator of Chester; died February 1451.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the sheriff; M.P. in May 1421, 1423, and 1433 (q.v.).

<sup>3</sup> Father-in-law of Sir John Pilkington.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of 1423; uncle of Richard de Radclif of Radcliffe.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; of Pleasington and Ainsworth near Middleton.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indentures of 1427, 1432, 1435; held the manor of Standish from 1418 to 1434; April 1418 commissioner of array for the Leyland hundred; October 1423 in ward in Liverpool Castle to appear before the Council; May 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>7</sup> Held the manor of Worsthorne with Hurstwood in the Blackburn hundred.

<sup>8</sup> Held the manor of Nateby, lands in Preston and Elswick, and a fourth part of the manor of Ashton, at Preston; a near neighbour of the sheriff; dead by 1430.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of 1427; probably of Orrell near Wigan; juror on several inquests post mortem.

<sup>10</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; held the manor of Great Lever; October 1423 in ward in Clitheroe castle awaiting appearance before the Council; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>11</sup> Manucaptor for Sir John Byron and Robert Laurence in 1429; attested the indenture of 1431; held lands in Westoughton, Lowton, and Pemberton.

*C 219.13.4.*

Parliament of 18 February 1426. Knights elected: John Botiller, Nicholas Botiller. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election:

Preston. Date: 9 February. Attestors of the indenture: Hamond le Massy of Rixton, Nicholas de Croft, Thomas de Rigmaiden of Wedacre, John de Morley, John de Berwyk, Henry de Chernok, Robert de Walshagh,<sup>1</sup> Ughtred de Dokesbury.<sup>2</sup> Manucaptor: Henry de Lache.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of Walshagh; held lands in Briercliffe near Burnley; 1425-26 married Alice daughter of Thomas Rigmaiden, his fellow-attestor.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indentures of January 1449, 1450; had an estate in the township of Duxbury in Standish; 1445 accused of breaking a close at Anglezarke.

<sup>3</sup> Manucaptor in February 1447 when Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Haryngton were elected.

*C 219.13.5.*

Parliament of 13 October 1427. Knights elected: Sir Ralph Radclif, Thomas de Stanley. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Wigan. Date: 16 September. Attestors of the election: John de Assheton,<sup>1</sup> Ralph de Langton, William de Athirton, Henry Norreys kts.; Henry de Scarisbrek, Henry Blundell, Richard de Walton,<sup>2</sup> Laurence de Standish, John de Fasacreley, Hugh de Orell, William de Orell, Thomas de Bradshagh, James de Bradshagh,<sup>3</sup> Richard de Barton, William de Heton, Hamond le Massy, John de Holcroft,<sup>4</sup> Nicholas de Risley,<sup>5</sup> William de Worthington, Henry de Chernok, William de Ireland,<sup>6</sup> Ralph de Holcroft, Thurstan de Anderton, Richard de Longtree,<sup>7</sup> William de Holand,<sup>8</sup> William de Cophull,<sup>9</sup> William de Chisnall, John de Chisnall, Roger de Chernok, Hugh de Adlyngton,<sup>10</sup> Nicholas de Croft, John de Morley, James de Pikeryng,<sup>11</sup> John de Berwyk, Ralph de Hodeliston,<sup>12</sup> William de Oxclif, William de Bolton, John de Croft of Yealand, Thomas de Burgh, John Laurence of Laton, Thomas de Bolron,<sup>13</sup> William Skilicorne,<sup>14</sup> William de Thornteton. Manucaptors: John de Sothworth,<sup>15</sup> Nicholas Lunt.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.P. 1411, 1413, 1416 (q.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1447.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1433, 1442; held the manor of Haigh as of the duchy of Lancaster and lands in Wigan of the rector; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1433, February and November 1439; manucaptor November 1449; of Holcroft; December 1431 juror of assessment in West Derby hundred.

<sup>5</sup> Juror in 1431 at inquest post mortem on Sir Ralph de Langton; held lands in Risley, Culcheth, Kenyon, Croft, Lowton, Warrington, and at Penketh.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1433; December 1416 collector of a fifteenth; December 1431 juror for tax assessment in West Derby hundred; 1434 sworn to the peace; held the manor of Hale from 1411 to 1435.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1447; of Langtree in Standish parish; married Elizabeth daughter of Ralph Standish; December 1431 juror for tax assessment in Leyland hundred; 1434 sworn to the peace; May 1436 collector of a tenth and fifteenth.

<sup>8</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; probably of Downholland.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; held lands in Coppull, Worthington, Eccleston, Heskin, Wrightington, Chorley, and Pleasington; 1432 or later a petition preferred against him in Chancery by the rector of Eccleston; 1434 sworn to the peace; 1436 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; 1443-48 disputed with James Standish of Arley the rights of Birkacre mill in Chorley.

<sup>10</sup> Attested the indentures of 1447, 1450, 1459; December 1431 juror of assessment in Leyland hundred.



<sup>11</sup> Attested the indenture of 1437; held the manors of Preesall and Hackinsall; April 1418 commissioner of array in Amounderness; juror of assessment in the same hundred for the land and rental tax of 1431.

<sup>12</sup> Attested the indenture of 1435; in 1428 succeeded as s. and h. of Sir Richard Hudleston of Millom, Cumberland, to the manor of West Hall in Lonsdale and the advowson of Whittington church, the tenure of the manor being as of the duchy of Lancaster by knight's service and suit to the county and wapentake courts; had seen service in the French wars in the Earl of Salisbury's retinue; died 1438.

<sup>13</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; of Bolron, Lancaster; the tenant of Bolron did suit to the county and wapentake courts and to Lune mill to the sixteenth measure.

<sup>14</sup> Attested the indentures of 1429, 1433; held the manor of Preese as of the honour of Penwortham and burgages in Lancaster; born 1385, proved his age in 1408; 1410 one of five arrestands to be brought before the Council; died 1437.

<sup>15</sup> Attested the indentures of 1435, 1437, 1442, 1459.

<sup>16</sup> Again manucaptor in 1442 when Stanley again elected; held lands in Aintree, near Liverpool.

#### C 219.13.6.

Parliament of 22 September 1429. Knights elected: Sir John Byron, Robert Laurence, son of Robert Laurence kt. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 15 August. Attestors of the indenture: Edmund de Trafford kt., William de Athirton kt., Richard de Hoghton,<sup>1</sup> Thomas del Bothe,<sup>2</sup> Richard de Barton, Robert del Holt, John de Radclif of Ordsall,<sup>3</sup> Thomas de Assheton,<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Botiller, Nicholas de Croft, Robert de Longley, Thomas de Rigmaiden, William Skillicorne, Richard Botiller, William de Faryngton, William de Oxcliff, John de Berwyk, John Travers.<sup>5</sup> Manucaptors: Nicholas Rilondes, John de Clayton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indentures of 1432, 1437, 1442; 1434 sworn to the peace as a knight; son of Sir William Hoghton; succeeded his grandfather Sir Richard in 1422 when aged twenty-four years; 1445 complained of intrusion into his park at Hoghton by the Shirburnes and Baileys; died 1468.

<sup>2</sup> Brother-in-law of Sir John Byron.

<sup>3</sup> Son and heir of Sir John who died in 1422; May 1416 collector of a fifteenth; 1431 juror for subsidy assessment in Salford hundred; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of 1432; s. and h. of Sir John Assheton of Ashton-under-Lyne, whom he succeeded in 1428; son-in-law of Sir John Byron; sworn to the peace in 1434; 1442 exempted from serving on assizes.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1432, 1435; of Cartmell; November 1419 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; January 1431 on jury of assessment in Lonsdale.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1431 as "of Byrnhyll," i.e. Brindle. The manor was held of the Gerards of Brynn.

#### C 219.14.2.

Parliament of 12 January 1431. Knights elected: John de Morley, William Gernet. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 1 January. Attestors of the election: Nicholas de Croft, Nicholas le Botiller, Thomas de Rygmayden, Richard le Botiller of Kirkland, John de Claghton junior,<sup>1</sup> Robert Laurence of Laton, John de Clayton

of Byrnhyll (Brindle), Nicholas de Rylandes, Thomas Latewys,<sup>2</sup> Gilbert de Rysley, John de Byrkehede,<sup>3</sup> Richard del Lache.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indentures of 1432 and 1437.

<sup>2</sup> December 1431 juror of tax assessment for West Derby hundred.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455; of Wigan; March 1418 a collector of a fifteenth; in the same month attorney for Sir John Pilkington.

#### C 219.14.3.

Parliament of 12 May 1432. Knights elected: William de Assheton kt., Thomas Haryngton. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 7 April. Attestors of the election: William de Haryngton kt.,<sup>1</sup> Edmund de Trafford kt., John de Pilkington kt., Richard de Hoghton kt., Thomas de Assheton kt., Nicholas Botiller, Hamond le Massy, Thomas de Hesketh,<sup>2</sup> Peter Gerard,<sup>3</sup> Laurence de Standish, John de Berwyk of Borwick, Edward de Hoghton,<sup>4</sup> William de Faryngton, William de Lever, John de Bradshagh,<sup>5</sup> Henry de Lever,<sup>6</sup> Alexander de Pilkington, Richard Banastre of Bank,<sup>7</sup> Elias de Aynesworth, Gilbert de Barton, John Gerard of Ince,<sup>8</sup> William de Westeby,<sup>9</sup> Thomas de Syngleton of Broughton, Adam de Clayton, John de Dokesbury,<sup>10</sup> John de Brokholes of Heaton,<sup>11</sup> Thomas Berburne,<sup>12</sup> Thomas Travers, William Oxclif, John Travers, Thomas Laurence,<sup>13</sup> Matthew de Croft,<sup>14</sup> Thomas de Bolron, William Ambrose,<sup>15</sup> Robert de Brokholes,<sup>16</sup> John de Claghton junior. Manucaptors: Thomas Potour (?), Gilbert de Claghton.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Father of one knight of the shire and overlord of the other.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1433; held the manor of Great Harwood; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1433; M.P. in 1445; had succeeded his father in November 1431.

<sup>4</sup> December 1431 juror of assessment of land and rental tax in Leylandshire.

<sup>5</sup> 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>6</sup> Of Great Lever; died 1447.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1437; May 1416 collector of a fifteenth; of Bank, Bretherton, in Croston parish.

<sup>8</sup> Held the manor of Ince in Wigan parish; died 1434.

<sup>9</sup> Held the manor of Mowbreck in Kirkham parish and lands in Lancaster and Uriswick.

<sup>10</sup> Had an estate in Duxbury, Standish.

<sup>11</sup> Attested the indenture of 1437; April 1418 commissioner of array for Amounderness; 1419 collector of a tenth and fifteenth; December 1431 juror of assessment for Lonsdale hundred; 1434 sworn to the peace; held the manor of Heaton-in-Lonsdale, was joint lord of the manor of Claghton, and had an estate in Brockholes near Garstang; died 1437.

<sup>12</sup> Attested the indentures of 1433, 1435, 1459; held part of the manor of Poulton, Lancaster.

<sup>13</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, 1447, February 1449, 1455, 1459 (?); 2nd son of the sheriff; M.P. in 1435 (q.v.).

<sup>14</sup> Attested the indenture of 1435; probably of the Dalton family of Croft.

<sup>15</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, 1447, February and November 1449, 1459; justice of the peace 1413, 1418, 1440, 1446; 1409 to 1437 clerk of the Common Pleas at Lancaster; August 1437 commissioner of oyer and terminer in the county palatine; August 1440 joint commissioner to make an extent of



the county palatine; by 1449 deputy-forester of Bowland; resident at Woodplumpton; held messuages in Goosnargh, Garstang and Lancaster.

<sup>16</sup> Attested the indentures of 1435 and 1437; probably son of John Brockholes of Heaton-in-Lonsdale.

<sup>17</sup> Manucaptor in 1433, 1435, 1442, and 1447.

C 219.14.4.

Parliament of 8 July 1433. Knights elected: Thomas de Stanley, Thomas de Radclif, kts. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 24 June. Attestors of the indenture: William de Haryngton kt., John de Stanley kt.,<sup>1</sup> John de Bolde kt.,<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey le Massy kt., Richard Molyneux kt.,<sup>3</sup> Peter Gerard, Hamond le Massy, Henry de Kyghley,<sup>4</sup> Henry Blundell,<sup>5</sup> William Treland, John de Holcroft, William Orell, William del Breche, William de Ireland, Ranulph de Rixton,<sup>6</sup> Roger de Aghton,<sup>7</sup> William Skilicorne, Henry de Scarisbrec, James de Bradshagh, Robert de Radclif of Osbaldestone, Adam de Clayton, Roger Nowell,<sup>8</sup> Thomas de Hesketh, Henry de Worseley, Roger de Rissseton,<sup>9</sup> John de Morley, Robert Laurence of Laton, Thomas de Berburne, Alexander de Radclif,<sup>10</sup> William de Oxcliff. Manucaptors: Edmund Caudrey,<sup>11</sup> Gilbert de Claghton.

<sup>1</sup> Father of Sir Thomas Stanley.

<sup>2</sup> Constable of Conway castle; cousin of Sir Richard Molyneux, his fellow-sutor.

<sup>3</sup> Held the manor of Sefton; master forester of the West Derby hundred, steward of the hundreds of West Derby and Salford, constable of Liverpool Castle; before 1432 his eldest son Richard was married to Elizabeth, d. of Sir Thomas Stanley; 1434 sworn to the peace.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1450 and 1455; M.P. 1439 and 1445 (q.v.).

<sup>5</sup> Eldest son of Nicholas Blundell M.P., whom he succeeded in the manor of Little Crosby in Sefton parish in 1421; 1423 in receipt of a £10 annuity charged on the county issues; January 1431 juror in tax assessment in West Derby hundred; 1434 sworn to the peace; died 1456.

<sup>6</sup> Juror at inquest post mortem on John Botiller and his wife Isabel, of Bewsey, Warrington, taken in 1441.

<sup>7</sup> Of Aughton in West Derby hundred.

<sup>8</sup> Attested the indentures of 1447, January 1449, 1450; held the manor of Read near Whalley; died 1486.

<sup>9</sup> 1429 succeeded to the manor of Church held as of the duchy of Lancaster; 1438 appointed a collector of a tenth and fifteenth; 1447 outlawed.

<sup>10</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437 and 1442; M.P. 1455.

<sup>11</sup> Manucaptor in 1437.

C 219.14.5.

Parliament of 10 October 1435. Knights elected: Henry Halsall, Thomas Laurence. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 19 September. Attestors of the election: Nicholas de Croft, Richard Botiller, Laurence de Standissh, Henry de Chernok, Thomas Travers, Richard de Caterall, Thomas de Rigmayden, Nicholas de Rigmayden,<sup>1</sup> Henry de Croft,<sup>2</sup> John Benyfaunt,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Botiller,<sup>4</sup> Roger de Bredkirk,<sup>5</sup> George de Carleton,<sup>6</sup> John Travers, Richard de Kellet,<sup>7</sup> John de Moresby, Ralph de Hodeleston, William de Wraton,<sup>8</sup> Thomas del Grene,<sup>9</sup>

William de Oxclif, Thomas de Neuton,<sup>10</sup> John del Mire,<sup>11</sup> John de Sotheworth, Oliver de Sotheworth,<sup>12</sup> John de Berwyk, Nicholas Botiller, Thomas Berburne, Matthew de Croft, William de Redmane,<sup>13</sup> John Frere,<sup>14</sup> James de Croft,<sup>15</sup> Robert de Syngleton,<sup>16</sup> William de Elston, Hugh Chaffer,<sup>17</sup> Thomas de Bolton, William de Bolron,<sup>18</sup> Robert de Brokholes, Robert de Wasshyngton,<sup>19</sup> William de Berwyk.<sup>20</sup> Manucaptors: Gilbert de Claghton, William de Burton.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1450 and 1455; succeeded to a moiety of Wyresdale and an eighth part of the manor of Garstang in 1445; resided at Wedacre; died 1478.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, 1455, 1459; 1423 succeeded to the manor of Claghton; died 1480.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indenture of 1437; of Lancaster; September 1431 went bail with Hugh Chaffer for a Kirkby-in-Kendal yeoman before the justices at Lancaster.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1447 and 1450; probably of Kirkland.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indenture of 1447; of Bradkirk in Kirkham parish; died 1479.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1447; probably of Carleton near Poulton-le-Fylde.

<sup>7</sup> Of Cartmell.

<sup>8</sup> Probably of Wraton in Lonsdale, just north of Hornby.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, 1447, 1459; of Gressingham.

<sup>10</sup> Probably of Whittington in Lonsdale.

<sup>11</sup> Attested the indenture of 1437; 1445 received a grant of Kitlow in Storrs (Melling), immediately north-west of Hornby.

<sup>12</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437 and 1442; November 1431 juror in tax assessment in Lonsdale wapentake; 1439 rented the manor of Torrisholme (Lancaster); had an estate in Oxcliffe and an interest in Highfield (Lancaster).

<sup>13</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437 and 1455; in 1436 the feoffees of John Redmayne granted the manor of Little Urswick (Furness) to William Redmayne and Cecily his wife, a daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland.

<sup>14</sup> Probably of Lancaster; attested the indentures of 1437 and 1447.

<sup>15</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, January 1449; s. and h. of Nicholas Croft of Dalton; 1432 escheator in the county palatine; 1434 sworn to the peace; c. 1437 leased a lead mine in Bowland, John de Berwyk and Robert Laurence of Laton going surety.

<sup>16</sup> Of Broughton; held a moiety of the manor of Whittingham as of the duchy of Lancaster.

<sup>17</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, 1447, November 1449, 1459; September 1431 described as "of Skerton" went bail for a yeoman of Kirkby-in-Kendal before the justices at Lancaster; in 1432 holding messuages and lands in Staynall (Stalmine).

<sup>18</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, November 1449; of Bolron, Lancaster.

<sup>19</sup> Attested the indentures of 1437, 1442, January and November 1449, 1459; possibly son of John Washington of Thorisholme; at his death in 1483 held lands in Middleton (Lonsdale), as of the duchy of Lancaster, in Gressingham, Tatham, Horton, Over Kellet, Dalton, in Heysham held as of the lords of Hornby, messuages in Hoghton (Lonsdale), and burgages in Preston; brother-in-law of Sir Robert Laurence.

<sup>20</sup> Attested the indenture of 1442; of Borwick.

C 219.15.1.

Parliament of 21 January 1437. Knights elected: Thomas de Haryngton, Henry de Halsall. Sheriff: Robert Laurence kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 24 December 1436. Attestors of the indenture:



William de Haryngton of Hornby kt., Nicholas Botiller esq., Thomas de Urswyk esq., Robert Laurence esq., John de Broghton esq.,<sup>1</sup> John de Berwyk esq., John de Morley esq., Alexander de Radclif esq., James de Pikeryng esq., Thomas Laurence esq., William Redmayn esq., Richard de Caterall, John de Brokholes, Nicholas de Croft, Robert de Bolron,<sup>2</sup> Robert de Cauncefeld,<sup>3</sup> William de Hudleston,<sup>4</sup> John de Cauncefeld,<sup>5</sup> Nicholas de Rigmaiden, William de Oxclif, Milo de Rull (?), John Bonyfaunt, John de Bradley,<sup>6</sup> Robert de Wasshyngton, William de Eswyk, John de Claghton junior, Edmund de Redmayn,<sup>7</sup> Richard de Hoghton, John de Claghton senior, Laurence del Knoll,<sup>8</sup> Edmund de Horneby,<sup>9</sup> Henry de Croft, William de Sciraton,<sup>10</sup> Hugh Chaffere, Thomas de Bolton, John de Kellet, Thomas de Curwen, John de Sotheworth, Robert de Brokholes, William Ambrose, John de Oxclif,<sup>11</sup> Giles Ffrere,<sup>12</sup> John Ffrere, Oliver de Sotheworth, William de Hesam,<sup>13</sup> John de Stodagh,<sup>14</sup> John Lambart,<sup>15</sup> Richard de Clapham, Richard Banastre, Christopher de Berdesay,<sup>16</sup> John de Curwen,<sup>17</sup> Laurence Huchunson, John del Myre, John Trantre, William de Bolron, Thomas del Burgh of Bolton, Thomas del Grene of Gressingham, Alan de Syngleton,<sup>18</sup> Edmund de Kendale.<sup>19</sup> Manucaptors: William de Claghton, Edmund Caudray.

<sup>1</sup> Of Broughton in Furness. His son and successor, Sir Thomas, was a staunch Yorkist. In November 1431 John B. was a juror of assessment of land and rental tax for Lonsdale hundred; sworn to the peace in 1434.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1442; of Bolron, Lancaster; 1423 was enjoying an annuity of £10 which he had held at the receipt of the county since 1413. May 1436 appointed a collector of a tenth and fifteenth; March 1444 an annuity of £20 from the duchy was henceforth to be divided between himself and Henry Garstang, a clerk of the palatine Chancery.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, November 1449; the Cantsfeld family held lands in Tatham, Cantsfeld and Oxcliffe.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; of Whittington; in 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 10 marks at the hands of the receiver for the county palatine.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, 1447, 1455, 1459.

<sup>6</sup> Of Chipping; February 1438, collector of a tenth and fifteenth.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indentures of January and November 1449; held the manor of Ireby (Lonsdale); in 1445 acquitted of the charge of mortally wounding Richard Tunstall.

<sup>8</sup> Of Chipping.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; probably of Claughton (Lonsdale).

<sup>10</sup> Probably of Skerton.

<sup>11</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, 1447, 1455, 1459 (?); probably of Oxcliffe, Lancaster.

<sup>12</sup> Probably of Lancaster.

<sup>13</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, 1455, 1459; when serving as juror at the inquest post mortem on William Bolron in 1460 described as "of Lancaster, yeoman."

<sup>14</sup> Attested the indenture of 1442; 1436 appointed clerk of recognisances of debt at Lancaster (authority first granted in 1432); died in or before 1445.

<sup>15</sup> Father-in-law of John Stodagh; of Lancaster.

<sup>16</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; November 1431 a juror of assessment of land and rental tax in Lonsdale hundred; May 1436 and March 1442 a collector of a tenth and fifteenth; of Bardsea, Urswick, in Furness.

<sup>17</sup> Of Caton.

<sup>18</sup> Attested the indenture of January 1449; December 1431 juror of tax

assessment in hundred of Amounderness; of Middleton near Whittingham; 1447 claimed messuages and lands in Goosnargh.

<sup>19</sup> Attested the indentures of 1442, 1459; possibly of Ribbleton, Preston; or Chatburn, near Clitheroe.

C 219.15.2.

Parliament of 25 January 1442. Knights elected: Thomas de Stanlegh kt., Thomas Haryngton. Sheriff: John Byron kt. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 15 January. Attestors of the election: Thomas Ursswyk,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Laurence, Robert Laurans, Nicholas Croft, Robert Kansefeld, James Croft, Alexander Radcliff, Robert Wasshinton, James Bradshagh, John Berwyke, William Berwike, Henry Croft, James Oxcliff,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Grene, Edmund Laurence,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Travise, Roger Brokholes,<sup>4</sup> William Brokholes,<sup>5</sup> Thomas Blakeburne,<sup>6</sup> William Bolron, Robert Bolron, Robert Rigmaiden,<sup>7</sup> Richard Caterall, Roger Caterall, John Banes,<sup>8</sup> William Medilton,<sup>9</sup> John Claghton, John Kelet,<sup>10</sup> John Stoday, Henry Assheton,<sup>11</sup> Oliver Sotheworth, John Sotheworth, John Urswyk,<sup>12</sup> John Sande,<sup>13</sup> Edmund Kendale, William Walton, William Heghan, William Ambrose, Robert Suten, John Gardenere,<sup>14</sup> John Oxcliff, Roger Gardenere, Thomas Mare, Thomas Curwayn, John Caynesfeld, Richard Gerbrum, Robert Stell, Edmund Kerkeby, Elan Clare, Thomas Grene, Richard Hoghton, Hugh Chaffare, William Hesham. Manucaptors: Gilbert Claghton, Nicholas Lunt, John Tunstall,<sup>15</sup> William Rotne (?).

<sup>1</sup> Receiver for the county palatine under the duchy of Lancaster.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indentures of 1447, January 1449; of Oxcliffe, Lancaster.

<sup>3</sup> Attested the indentures of 1450, 1455, 1459; held a moiety of the manor of Ribbleton, Preston.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indenture of January 1449; died holding lands and messuages in Garstang as of the duchy of Lancaster and in Byrewath, also in Tatham, Claughton, Bilsborrow, and Caterall; resident at the manor of Heaton, near Lancaster.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of November 1449, 1459; of Claughton, Garstang.

<sup>6</sup> Probably of Capernwray, Bolton-le-Sands, just north of Lancaster.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455; probably of Wedacre, Garstang.

<sup>8</sup> Probably of Kellet in Whittington parish, Lonsdale.

<sup>9</sup> Probably of Middleton, across the Lune estuary from Lancaster.

<sup>10</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; of Cartmell.

<sup>11</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455.

<sup>12</sup> Attested the election of January 1449; either of Kellet immediately north of Lancaster, or of Little Urswick in Furness; in 1423 in receipt of an annuity of 5 marks from the issues of the county palatine.

<sup>13</sup> Obscure but possibly of Lindeth in the parish of Warton (Lonsdale).

<sup>14</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; probably the same who was clerk of the peace for the county palatine in July 1439 (Lancs. Official List) and who was a benefactor of Lancaster Grammar School.

<sup>15</sup> Manucaptor in 1447, January 1449, 1450; attested the indenture of 1447 as well as standing as mainpennor; of Thurland, Tunstall in Lonsdale.

C 219.15.4.

Parliament of 10 February 1447. Knights elected: Thomas Stanley kt., Thomas Haryngton esq. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 6 February. Attestors of the indenture: Henry



Halsall,<sup>1</sup> John Talbot senior,<sup>2</sup> John Pudsay,<sup>3</sup> John Banastre, Richard Longtre,<sup>4</sup> Thomas Laurens, John Dynley,<sup>4</sup> William Haryngton,<sup>5</sup> John Kirkby,<sup>6</sup> Hugh Adlyngton, Thomas Halsall,<sup>7</sup> Thomas Botiller, Henry Fletewode,<sup>8</sup> Gilbert Haydok, Thomas Athirton,<sup>9</sup> John Oxclif, Nicholas Worthynton,<sup>10</sup> Hugh Chafare, Henry Owyteacre,<sup>11</sup> Roger Nowell, John Clideraw,<sup>12</sup> Richard Walton, Roger Bredkirk, George Carleton, John Skylicorne,<sup>13</sup> John Owiteacre,<sup>11</sup> John Brokholes,<sup>14</sup> Henry Travers,<sup>15</sup> William Grenoll,<sup>16</sup> Richard Kilcheth,<sup>17</sup> James Oxclif, George Hilton, Ralph Holcrof, William Ambros, Thomas Aghton,<sup>18</sup> Richard Dukdale,<sup>19</sup> William Holcar,<sup>20</sup> Thomas Frere,<sup>21</sup> John Frere, Richard Berbrune,<sup>22</sup> Richard Halghton, William Riley,<sup>23</sup> John Cawncefeld, Thomas Werbirton, John Tunstall,<sup>24</sup> Nicholas Croke, Christopher Raynforth,<sup>25</sup> Thomas Grene, John Symondstone,<sup>26</sup> William Cherneley,<sup>27</sup> Richard Knoll,<sup>28</sup> William Gosnare,<sup>29</sup> Henry Bretherton.<sup>30</sup> Manucaptors: John Tunstall, Christopher Raynford, Henry Lache, Gilbert Claghton.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; knight of the shire in 1435, 1437, 1459; first cousin-in-law to both the knights of the shire.

<sup>2</sup> Held the manor of Salesbury, messuages and lands in Clayton (Ribchester), Dutton, Dinkeley, Wilpshire, Ribchester, and Oswaldtwistle, burgages in Preston and lands in Clitheroe, altogether worth £45 per annum; 1434 sworn to the peace; following an adverse award of 1425 maintained a feud with Richard Hoghton esquire over the manors of Salesbury and Clayton; died April 1449.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly of Bolton in the forest of Bowland.

<sup>4</sup> Held the manor of Downham (near Clitheroe) as of the duchy of Lancaster.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indentures of 1450, 1459; very probably the son of Sir Richard Haryngton who was knight of the shire in 1450, 1453, 1459, and cousin to both the knights elected on this occasion.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of January 1449; of Upper Rawcliffe where he had a mill.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; probably of Parr and Prescott.

<sup>8</sup> Attested the indentures of January 1449, 1450; obscure; in 1445 Henry Fletewode accused Richard and John Clifton esquires of waylaying with intent to kill him at Kirkham.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455; coroner in the county palatine at least between the dates 1441 and 1451; 1443-46 several charges preferred against him, and Thomas Athirton junior, for debt, waylaying, and defaults; August 1448 as coroner received a pardon; of Halsnead (Prescot parish).

<sup>10</sup> Of Crawshaw in Standish parish.

<sup>11</sup> Probably of Padiham.

<sup>12</sup> 1444 John, son and heir of John Clitheroe, released to Roger Nowell all his right in lands in Little Mearley, Clitheroe, and Worston.

<sup>13</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; held the manor of Preese (Kirkham) and lands in Newton, Warton, Preston and Lancaster; died 1478.

<sup>14</sup> Of Heaton-in-Lonsdale.

<sup>15</sup> Probably of Windle in Prescot.

<sup>16</sup> 1442 re-enfeoffed of lands in Greenhalgh, Esprick, Cornol, Wesham, Whiteacre and the Holmes (Kirkham).

<sup>17</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; in 1449 made a settlement of 4 messuages, 90 acres of moss, etc., in Newton, near Manchester, and Poulton and Wolstan near Warrington.

<sup>18</sup> Held lands in Adlington in Standish parish.

<sup>19</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455; possibly of Whittingham (in Amounderness).

<sup>20</sup> Held a fifth part of the manor of Read in thegnage.

<sup>21</sup> Of Lancaster.

<sup>22</sup> Held a third of the manor of Poulton, Lancaster.

<sup>23</sup> Possibly of Accrington.

<sup>24</sup> Of Thurland, Tunstall.

<sup>25</sup> Probably of Rainford, Prescot; manucaptor, most likely for Sir Thomas Stanley, in 1455 as was probably the case at this election.

<sup>26</sup> Of Huntroyde, Simonstone.

<sup>27</sup> Had an estate in Barton (Preston).

<sup>28</sup> Of Chipping.

<sup>29</sup> Probably of Stalmine.

<sup>30</sup> Either of Hey, Newton-in-Makerfield, or of Bretherton, Croston.

C 219.15.6.

Parliament of 12 February 1449. Knights elected: Thomas Stanley kt., Thomas Haryngton. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 20 January. Attestors of the indenture: Nicholas Botiller, Robert Laurence, Nicholas Croft, William Balderston,<sup>1</sup> Henry Hoghton,<sup>2</sup> James Lawrence,<sup>3</sup> Richard Clifton,<sup>4</sup> William Massy,<sup>5</sup> John Haryngton,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Laurence, John Rigmayden,<sup>7</sup> Gilbert Haydok, James Croft, John Holcroft, Robert Wasshyngton, Alan Syngleton, Richard Caterall, Ughtred Dokesbury, Henry Fletewode, Roger Brokholes, Richard Worseley,<sup>8</sup> Roger Nowell, John Kirkeby, John Urswyk, William Ambrose, John Claghton, James Oxcliff, John Botiller,<sup>9</sup> Edmund Redmane, Nicholas Syngleton. Manucaptors: Roger Oldom,<sup>10</sup> Thomas Helme, John Tunstall, Thurstan Amounderness.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; son of Richard Balderston who died December 1456 holding a moiety of the manor of Bretherton (Croston); the manor of Balderston (Blackburn), the manor of Little Singleton by "servicium inveniendi ballivos de Amounderness et Blakeburn-shire" (given to his son Richard), a moiety of the manor of Thorneton and Le Holmes, the manors of Halghton (near Goosnargh), Claughton in Amounderness, Bilsborough, Thorp near Bretherton, and certain lands in Croston and Farrington held of lord Ferrers, Thomas Haryngton, and Robert Shirburne, aged twenty-nine years in 1457. Sir Richard in 1468, 1470 and 1475 obtained papal indulgences; died 1479; forty years old in 1468.

<sup>2</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; gt.gdson. of Sir Richard Hoghton M.P. 1402; succeeded his father Sir Richard in 1468 when forty years old; died 1479.

<sup>3</sup> Twenty-two years old in 1450 when he succeeded his father Robert; died 1490 seised of the manors of Ashton, Carnforth, Bolton, Heysham, Overton, Middleton, Skerton, Scotforth, Stodagh, Ellall, Forton, Warton-in-Lonsdale, Carlton, and Sowerby in Amounderness.

<sup>4</sup> Attested the indentures of 1450 and 1459; 1444 obtained licence for his oratories at Clifton and Westby; 1445 along with John Clifton accused of waylaying Henry Fletewode at Kirkham with intent to kill him; 1445-46 was holding Westby, Fieldplumpton, Salwick, and Clifton; died 1479-82.

<sup>5</sup> Attested the indenture of November 1449; held the manors of Rixton and Glazebrook of the Botillers of Warrington; in 1444 was one of the Botiller trustees, co-feoffee with Thomas Haryngton; was a manucaptor in 1449.

<sup>6</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; eldest son of Thomas Haryngton; December 1460 killed at Wakefield fighting on the Yorkist side.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1455; son of Nicholas Rigmaiden who held Wed-acre until his death in 1478 and attested the indentures of 1435, 1437, 1450 and 1455.

<sup>8</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; held a moiety of the manor of Twistleton of Dyneley of Downham, a third of the manor of Great Mearley of the king as



Earl of Lincoln, which he granted by charter of 1453 to Thomas Haryngton kt., Richard Balderston esq., and John Elleswick parson of Ribchester; died 1463.

<sup>9</sup> Attested the indenture of 1450; c. 1452 succeeded his father Nicholas in the manor of Out Rawcliffe.

<sup>10</sup> Of Ancoats, Manchester.

<sup>11</sup> Manucaptor in 1450; John de Amounderness *valettus* was in receipt of an annuity of £3 os. 8d. in 1423 from the county issues.

C 219.15.7.

Parliament of 6 November 1449. Knights elected: Thomas Stanley, John Botiller. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 10 November. Attestors of the indenture: Thomas de Haryngton kt.,<sup>1</sup> Henry Halsall esq.,<sup>2</sup> William Mascy,<sup>3</sup> John Morley, John Holcroft, Thomas Osmaunderlawe, Edmund Redmayn, Christopher Berdesay, Robert de Caunsfeld, John de Claghton, William de Bolron, Robert Wasshyngton, William Ambros, Nicholas Syngleton, Richard Culchith, Elias Hill,<sup>4</sup> William Holand, Edmund Hornby, Alexander Boterworth,<sup>5</sup> John . . . aran, James Antley,<sup>6</sup> Robert Boterworth,<sup>5</sup> William Brocholes, Oliver Wolstanholme,<sup>7</sup> Hugh Chaffare, Roger Mamcestre.<sup>8</sup> Manucaptors: William Massey, John Holcroft.

<sup>1</sup> Attested the indentures of 1450 and 1455; M.P. in 1432, 1437, 1442, 1447, 1449, 1455 (Yorks.); cousin to Stanley and uncle to Botiller.

<sup>2</sup> Cousin to Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Thomas Haryngton.

<sup>3</sup> Had been a co-fooffee of the Botiller estates in 1444 and held his lands of John Botiller.

<sup>4</sup> Of Hollinworth; December 1431 juror of tax assessment in Salford hundred.

<sup>5</sup> Of Belfield in the Salford hundred.

<sup>6</sup> Probably of Antley, Accrington.

<sup>7</sup> Probably of Wolstanholme, near Rochdale.

<sup>8</sup> Probably of Manchester.

C 219.16.1.

Parliament of 6 November 1450. Knights elected: Thomas Stanley kt., Richard Haryngton kt. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 23 November. Attestors of the indenture: Nicholas Botiller, Richard Clifton, Henry Kighley, Thomas Haryngton, William Balderston,<sup>1</sup> William Haryngton, John Touneley,<sup>2</sup> John Botiller senior, John Botiller junior,<sup>3</sup> Richard Caterall, William Coppull, Nicholas Rigmaiden, Robert Chernok,<sup>4</sup> John Skillicorne, John Westeby, John Elleston,<sup>5</sup> Hugh Adlyngton, Thomas Balderston, Nicholas Syngleton of Brokholes, Thomas Halsall, Laurence Aynesworth,<sup>6</sup> William Syngleton, Henry Banastre,<sup>7</sup> Richard Preston, James Prestcote.<sup>8</sup> Henry Fletwode, Robert Laurens, Edmund Laurens, Nicholas Botiller junior,<sup>9</sup> Laurence Travers,<sup>10</sup> Robert Preston, William Plesyngton,<sup>11</sup> Henry Hoghton, Henry Rissheton,<sup>12</sup> John Syngleton,<sup>13</sup> Richard Worsley, Ughtred Dokesbury, Roger Nowell, James Walton,<sup>14</sup> Richard Atherton,<sup>15</sup> Thomas Caterall, James Sale,<sup>16</sup> Oliver Cotom,<sup>17</sup> John Werbilton, Thomas Brokholes,<sup>18</sup> Thomas Knoll,<sup>19</sup> Thomas Botiller. Manucaptors: John Tunstall, Thurstan Amounderness, William Thorneton.

<sup>1</sup> Nephew of Sir Richard Haryngton.

<sup>2</sup> 1454 succeeded his father Richard Townley in the manor of Townley;

married to Elizabeth d. of Richard Shirburne; as well as Townley held the manors of Hapton, Worston, Hodersall, Ribchester, Dutton, Clayton, and Cliviger.

<sup>3</sup> M.P. in last parliament with Stanley.

<sup>4</sup> 1446-47 stood surety for Sir Thomas Stanley in lease of the turbary in Toxteth park.

<sup>5</sup> Of Ribbleton, Preston.

<sup>6</sup> Succeeded his father Ellis in the manor of Pleasington about 1460.

<sup>7</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; of Bank, Bretherton (Croston).

<sup>8</sup> Probably of Cophull, Standish.

<sup>9</sup> Probably of Rawcliffe and a son of Nicholas Botiller, the first to attest.

<sup>10</sup> Held the manor of Nateby, Garstang.

<sup>11</sup> Of Dimples, Garstang.

<sup>12</sup> Held the manor of Caterall; died c. 1490.

<sup>13</sup> Of Thorneley with Wheatley.

<sup>14</sup> Of Little Walton, Walton-le-Dale.

<sup>15</sup> Probably of Leigh.

<sup>16</sup> Of Bedford Hall near Leigh, "gentleman."

<sup>17</sup> Of Bilsborough, Garstang.

<sup>18</sup> Attested the indenture of 1459; held lands in Claughton, Caterall, Garstang, Tatham.

<sup>19</sup> Probably of Chipping.

C 219.16.3.

Parliament of 9 July 1455. Knights elected: Thomas Stanley, Alexander Radcliff. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 30 June. Attestors of the indenture: Henry Kighley, Thomas Haryngton,<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Rigmaiden, William Redmayne, John Rigmayden, Edward Radcliff, Robert Bessy (?), Laurence . . . , Henry Croft, John Caunsfeld, John . . . , Thomas . . . , Thomas Laurence, Edmund Laurence, Robert Laurence, Thomas Atherton, John Birkehed, John . . . , Robert Banastre, Robert Rigmayden, John Westfeld,<sup>2</sup> William Hesame, John Oxcliff, Henry Assheton, Richard Dugdale. Manucaptors: Christopher Raynford, John Burton.

<sup>1</sup> Cousin of Stanley and brother-in-law of Radcliff.

<sup>2</sup> 1444 greave of Overton.

C 219.16.5.

Parliament of 20 November 1459. Knights elected: Richard Haryngton kt., Henry Halsall. Sheriff: Nicholas Byron. Place of election: Lancaster. Date: 12 November. Attestors of the indenture: John Haryngton,<sup>1</sup> William Haryngton,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Laurence, Hugh Adlyngton, Gilbert Curwen,<sup>3</sup> Henry Croft senior, Henry Croft junior,<sup>4</sup> William . . . , William Hudleston, Edmund Laurence, Robert Wasshyngton, Peter Croft,<sup>5</sup> Hugh Chaffare, Thomas Chaffare,<sup>6</sup> John Claghton, William Ambros, John Gardiner, Edmund Rigmayden,<sup>7</sup> William Brokholes, Thomas . . . , John Sothworth, Matthew Sotheweth,<sup>8</sup> John . . . , John Oxcliff, Robert Le,<sup>9</sup> John Kellet, William Hesam, Thomas Brokholes, John Hosgill, Robert Layburne,<sup>10</sup> William Berdsay,<sup>11</sup> William Frere,<sup>12</sup> John Pirsevil,<sup>13</sup> John Perker, John Willet of Cartmel, Christopher Broghton, John Caunsfeld, Thomas Berburne, Edmund . . . , John Calvert,<sup>14</sup> Thomas Grene, William



Grene,<sup>15</sup> Richard Casall, John Redmayne,<sup>16</sup> Richard North,<sup>17</sup> William Caston,<sup>18</sup> Edmund Gernet,<sup>19</sup> . . . Cadby, Nicholas Gardiner,<sup>20</sup> John Doy-nell (?), William Laurence,<sup>21</sup> John Dales, Richard Raifrayman (?), John Willet of Cartmel junior, Thomas Willet,<sup>22</sup> John Beresi (?), William Ander-ton,<sup>23</sup> . . . Nelson,<sup>24</sup> . . . Kirkby, Edmund Kendall, John Cutlere, . . . Clifton, William Skillicorne, William Bredkirk,<sup>25</sup> Laurence Graves, Edward Withum, John Aghton,<sup>26</sup> Robert Gelibrand,<sup>27</sup> John . . . , John Gaunstell, Nicholas Bekersteth,<sup>28</sup> Robert Accres, Richard Halsall,<sup>29</sup> Nicholas Halgh-ton,<sup>30</sup> Edward Croston,<sup>31</sup> Richard Shanton, Henry Alty (?), Edward Margh-land,<sup>32</sup> Hugh Scut,<sup>33</sup> James Coppull,<sup>34</sup> John Blithe,<sup>35</sup> Richard Ballard,<sup>36</sup> John . . . , John Parlewn, William Denton,<sup>37</sup> William Miggeaff,<sup>38</sup> Henry Banastre, John Whetyngton,<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Hudleston,<sup>40</sup> Manucaptors : Edmund Hunt,<sup>41</sup> Ralph Glover.

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of Sir Thomas Haryngton, then in ward with his other son James in Chester castle after the Yorkist rout at Ludlow; killed at Wakefield fighting on the Yorkist side in 1460.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sir Richard Haryngton and nephew of Halsall.

<sup>3</sup> Held a moiety of the manor of Caton in Lonsdale as of the duchy of Lan-caster; died November 1483.

<sup>4</sup> Held lands and tenements in Claughton in Lonsdale; died February 1480.

<sup>5</sup> Probably of Dalton.

<sup>6</sup> Of Bolton-le-Sands.

<sup>7</sup> Probably of Heaton with Oxcliffe.

<sup>8</sup> Of Lancaster.

<sup>9</sup> Of Lancaster.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly of Dalton-in-Furness.

<sup>11</sup> Of Bardsea, Urswick, in Furness.

<sup>12</sup> Probably of Lancaster.

<sup>13</sup> Of Royton.

<sup>14</sup> Of Cockerham.

<sup>15</sup> Of Gressingham, near Hornby.

<sup>16</sup> Of Little Urswick.

<sup>17</sup> Possibly of Whittington, Lonsdale.

<sup>18</sup> Or Casson; of Holker, Cartmel.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly of Halton, two miles up Lune from Lancaster.

<sup>21</sup> Probably of Ashton, Lancaster.

<sup>20</sup> Probably of Lancaster.

<sup>22</sup> Probably of Cartmel like the other Willets.

<sup>23</sup> Of Worden, Leyland.

<sup>24</sup> Probably of Eccleston, Leyland.

<sup>25</sup> Of Greenhalgh, Kirkham.

<sup>26</sup> Of Aughton in West Derbyshire.

<sup>27</sup> Possibly of Ramsgreave, Blackburn.

<sup>28</sup> Of Aughton.

<sup>29</sup> Of Halsall; a younger son of Robert Halsall and brother of Henry Halsall.

<sup>30</sup> Of Eckersley, Leigh.

<sup>31</sup> Held lands in Bickerstaff and Rainford.

<sup>32</sup> Probably of Marland, Rochdale.

<sup>33</sup> Or Scott; possibly of Wigan.

<sup>34</sup> Of Coppull, Standish.

<sup>35</sup> Of Blythe, Ormskirk.

<sup>36</sup> Free tenant of Ince, Sefton.

<sup>37</sup> Probably of Denton, Prescott.

<sup>38</sup> Or Miggehalgh; of Goosnargh.

<sup>39</sup> Probably of Warton, Lonsdale.

<sup>40</sup> Probably of Whittington, Lonsdale.

<sup>41</sup> Of Manchester; 1460 made a feoffment of all his burgages, lands, etc. in Lancashire.

## APPENDIX C

STATISTICS OF THOSE WHO APOSED THEIR SEALS TO THE INDENTURES  
ATTESTING ELECTIONS OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE IN THE COUNTY  
PALATINE OF LANCASTER, 1411-59

Parliament Date of Session.	Number of those who Aposed their Seals to the Indenture.	Number of Knights.	Number of those who had Sealed Indentures of Last Election.	Number of those who had not Previously Sealed an Indenture of Election.
1411 . . . . .	12	3	—	—
1413 . . . . .	36	18	2	—
1414, Nov. . . . .	35	16	—	—
1416 . . . . .	7	—	—	—
1419 . . . . .	19	3	—	10
1420 . . . . .	13	—	5	7
1421, May . . . . .	12	1	4	6
1421, Dec. . . . .	18	2	1	9
1422 . . . . .	12	1	2	5
1423 . . . . .	13	—	1	5
1425 . . . . .	25	3	5	9
1426 . . . . .	8	—	—	2
1427 . . . . .	43	4	4	16
1429 . . . . .	18	2	5	2
1431 . . . . .	12	—	4	7
1432 . . . . .	36	5	1	15
1433 . . . . .	30	5	3	10
1435 . . . . .	39	—	2	22
1437 . . . . .	59	1	16	25
1442 . . . . .	53	—	19	22
1446 . . . . .	53	—	7	32
1449, Jan. . . . .	30	—	4	7
1449, Nov. . . . .	26	1	7	9
1450 . . . . .	47	—	2	25
1455 . . . . .	25	—	5	4
1459 . . . . .	91	—	4	59



APPENDIX D  
RE-ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT OF KNIGHTS OF SHIRE FOR COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

Period.	Number of Parliaments.	Number of Parliaments of which Returns Known.	Number of Persons Returned.	Number of Novices.	Number of Persons returned a Given Number of Times.							Re-election to Consecutive Parliaments	
					1	2	3	4	5	6	9	11	of One of Members.
1377-1397	24	24	19	14	7	6	4	1	—	1	—	9	1
1399-1417	18	12	15	11	8	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
1419-1431	11	11	16	13	10	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1432-1459	15	14	11	9	6	1	2	—	1	—	1	5	3

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