POLITICS, GOVERNANCE, AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES:

THE POLITICAL ELITES OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND 1450–1500

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ABSTRACT

This study of south-west England during the later fifteenth century explores the feasibility of a regional approach, by examining the politics, government, and elites of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset. Chapter 1 begins by discussing historians' views of Edward IV's regional policy, and extrapolates its implications for issues of governance and methodology. Chapter 2 looks at the concept of regions and their definition, and examines how a south-west region might be defined geographically, economically, culturally, and politically – identifying the importance of meso-scale regions. Chapter 3 discusses political structures – those methods for exerting royal authority – in general, and with specific reference to the region, in particular, the estates, regalities, and administration of the duchy of Cornwall; this chapter also discusses the principles of patron-client relationships, and the evidence that can be used to reconstruct lordship and affinities. Chapter 4 defines the region's political elites and investigates whether their land-holding, office-holding, and marriage alliances were regional, and the degree to which their associations were regional is examined by means of three family case-studies: the Hungerfords, the Arundells, and the Edgcumbes (in which the clientelist principles outlined in Chapter 3 are demonstrated). The ensuing chapters evaluate the politics and government of the counties and region as a whole on a chronological basis. The influence of the Beauforts, the impact of Bonville-Courtenay rivalry, and the regional ascendancy of James, Earl of Wiltshire during the last years of Henry VI's reign (1450–61) are considered in Chapter 5. There is a particular emphasis on the ascendancy of Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick, and his role in Edward IV's system of government (1461–9) in Chapter 6. The roles of George, Duke of Clarence, William, Lord Hastings, John, Lord Dinham, and Thomas, Marquess of Dorset (1471–83) are examined in Chapter 7; followed by the region's contribution to the October Rebellion and Richard III's policy of 'northern plantations' in Chapter 8. The influences of Giles, Lord Daubeney in Somerset and Dorset, and Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke in Cornwall and Devon, under Henry VII (1485–1500) are the focus of Chapter 9. Throughout these chapters, local political alignments and the use and abuse of the royal household in the localities – increasingly *the* vital institution for exerting royal influence – are highlighted, as well as the regional significance of the duchy of Cornwall. Because of the inherently unstable nature of regional hegemonies, the regional trend in governance that is discernible during the period may have been a significant factor in the continuance of the Wars of the Roses. In conclusion (Chapter 10), the related themes of 'regional governance' and 'household governance' are evaluated within a wider historical perspective, and the broader relevance of the south-western elites and identities are discussed in relation to the study of meso- and macro-scale regions.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS viii

ABBREVIATIONS ix

1. INTRODUCTION 1

INTENTIONAL OR UNINTENTIONAL IMPLICATIONS 5

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL IMPLICATIONS 8

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS 13

THE REGIONAL APPROACH: SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND 16

2. REGIONS AND IDENTITIES IN SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND 29

GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS 33

ECONOMIC REGIONS 36

CULTURAL REGIONS 43

3. POLITICAL STRUCTURES 64

FORMAL POINTS OF CONTACT: COUNCIL, COURT, AND COUNTY 66

INFORMAL POINTS OF CONTACT: LORDSHIP AND CLIENTELISM 73

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF LORDSHIP 84

THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL: ESTATES, REGALITIES, AND ADMINISTRATION 89

POLITICAL REGIONS: INSTITUTIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL 98

4. POLITICAL ELITES 103

STUDY OF POLITICAL ELITES 104

DEFINITION OF POLITICAL ELITES 108

REGIONAL IDENTITY AND THE POLITICAL ELITES OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND 113
THREE CASE STUDIES: THE HUNGERFORDS, ARUNDELLS, AND EDGCUMBES 122
CONCLUSIONS 150

5. PATRONS, CLIENTS, AND POLITICS: 1450–61 152
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET 155
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET 165
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON 170
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL 179
OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF SOMERSET, BONVILLE, AND WILTSHIRE 189

6. REGIONAL GOVERNANCE AND READEPTION: 1461–71 197
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET 198
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET 207
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON 213
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL 221
OVERVIEW: THE REGIONAL ROLE OF HUMPHREY, LORD STAFFORD 228

7. REGIONAL GOVERNANCE AND RESTRUCTURING: 1471–83 234
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET 235
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET 246
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON 253
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL 261
OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF CLARENCE, HASTINGS, DINHAM, AND DORSET 269

8. USURPATION AND UPHEAVAL: 1483–5 276
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET 277
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET 291
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON 295

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL 301

OVERVIEW: REGIONAL ROLES AND NORTHERNISATION 310

9. CENTRALISATION AND SETTLEMENT: 1485–1500 315

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET 317

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET 330

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON 334

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL 343

OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF DAUBENEY AND WILLOUGHBY 354

10. CONCLUSION 361

ELITES AND IDENTITIES 361

REGIONAL AND HOUSEHOLD GOVERNANCE 364

REGIONAL STUDIES 380

APPENDIX I: LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING 1450–1500 388

TABLE I. THE LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING OF THE SOUTH-WEST PEERAGE 388

TABLE II. THE LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING OF THE SOUTH-WEST GENTRY 390

APPENDIX II: DIRECTORY OF POLITICAL ELITES 1450–1500 398

TABLE I. DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH-WEST PEERAGE 398

TABLE II. DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH-WEST GENTRY 402

APPENDIX III: HUNGERFORD, ARUNDELL, AND EDGCUMBE ASSOCIATES 426

TABLE I. HUNGERFORD ASSOCIATES 1441–80 426

TABLE II. ARUNDELL ASSOCIATES 1450–1500 431

TABLE III. EDGCUMBE ASSOCIATES 1487–1500 434

APPENDIX IV: COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1450–1500 **435**

TABLE I. CORNWALL COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1445–1502 435

TABLE II. DEVON COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1448–1501 437

TABLE III. DORSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1447–1500 439

TABLE IV. SOMERSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1449–1500 441

DIAGRAM I. CORNWALL COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1445–98 444

DIAGRAM II. DEVON COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1448–96 444

DIAGRAM III. DORSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1447–1500 445

DIAGRAM IV. SOMERSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1449–1500 445

BIBLIOGRAPHY **446**

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

1. EDWARD IV'S REGIONAL POLICY AND THE COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1471–83 4

TABLES

1. HUNGERFORD ASSOCIATES 1441–80 131
2. HUNGERFORD ASSOCIATES' SPATIAL OCCURRENCE 1441–80 136
3. ARUNDELL ASSOCIATES 1450–1500 142
4. EDGCUMBE ASSOCIATES 1487–1500 149
5. MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AS SHERIFFS 1450–1500 369
6. MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AS ESCHEATORS 1450–1500 371
7. MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AS JPS 1450–1500 372

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The late Professor A.G. Dickens seems to have summed up my present thoughts perfectly when he stated 'where it can be shown that I have ignored or misconceived some of the evidence – and this must all too often have occurred – I

trust I shall readily retract and if possible make amends'.[1] So, I should like to apologise for any remaining weaknesses or errors which are, of course, completely my own responsibility, and also for the fact that my work is not more extensively researched, and more eloquently articulated.

Because of the prosopographical nature of my research, naturally, I feel strongly inclined to provide a comprehensive list of friends, associates, and relatives who have been immeasurably encouraging; but I shall refrain from such an undesirable exercise, apart from mentioning the most important: I would like to dedicate this research to my parents.

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[1] Dickens (1989), 12.

ABBREVIATIONS

In order to reduce the length of my footnotes, secondary source citations are (with departmental approval) given in Harvard style

All dates use 1 January as the beginning of the year

Spelling in Middle English quotations has been retained, save for the replacement of the thorn with the modern 'th'

Sheriffs' details are taken from *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, ed. A. Hughes, List and Index Society, ix (1898; repr. 1963)

Escheators' details are taken from *List of Escheators for England and Wales*, ed. A.C. Wood, List and Index Society, lxxii (1971)

JPs' details are taken from the published *Calendars of the Patent Rolls*

Anglica Historia	[Vergil, P.], *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil A.D. 1485–1537*, ed. D. Hay, Camden Society, 4th Ser., lxxiv (1950)
Arrivall	*Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recouerye of his Kingdoms from Henry VI A.D. MCCCLXXI*, ed. J. Bruce, Camden Society, i (1838)
Cal.Inq.P.M.	*Calendarium Inquisitorium Post Mortem Sive Escaetarum*, ed. J. Bayley and J. Cayley (Record Commission, 1808–28)
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, i–iii (London, 1898, 1915, 1955)
CP	*The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom*, ed. G.E. Cockayne (rev. V. Gibbs, *et al.*, London, 1910–59)
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls*
CChR	*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*

CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*
Cor.	Cornwall
Cornish Lands of the Arundells	*The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. H.S.A. Fox and O.J. Padel, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Ser., xli (2000)
Coronation Documents	*The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents*, ed. P.W. Hammond and A.F. Sutton (Gloucester, 1983)
CRO	Cornwall County Record Office, Truro (NRA)
Crowland	*The Crowland Chronicle: Continuations 1459–86*, ed. J. Cox and N. Pronay (Gloucester, 1986)
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers Venetian* (London, 1864)
DCAD	*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office* (London, 1890–1915)
DCO	Duchy of Cornwall Office, Westminster
Dev.	Devon
Dor.	Dorset
English Chronicle	*An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, ed. J.S. Davis, Camden Society, lxiv (1855)
GC	*The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938)
Grants, etc., from the Crown	*Grants, etc., from the Crown during the Reign of Edward V*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1st Ser., lx (1854)
HC	*The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Earl of Radnor's Cartulary of the Hungerford Family*, ed. J.L. Kirby, Wiltshire Record Society, xlix (1994)
HM	*British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, ed. P.W. Hammond and R.E. Horrox (Gloucester, 1979–80)
HR	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on Hastings Manuscripts*, i (London, 1928)

Household of Edward IV	*The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, ed. A.R. Myers (Manchester, 1959)
HPB	J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439–1509* (London, 1936)
HPR	J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of Both Houses 1439–1509* (London, 1938)
Mancini	D. Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, ed. C.A.J. Armstrong (Gloucester, 1989)
More	[More, T.,] *The Complete Works of St Thomas More II: The History of King Richard III*, ed. J. Sylvester (London, 1963)
Norden	J. Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728; repr. Newcastle, 1966)
NRA	National Register of Archives, Public Record Office
ODNB	*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew (Oxford, 2004)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1989)
PR	*The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275–1504*, ed. C.J. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2005)
PRO	National Archives, Public Record Office, Kew
SRO	Somerset County Record Office, Taunton (NRA)
Som.	Somerset
Somerset Wills 1383–1500	*Somerset Medieval Wills 1383–1500*, ed. F.W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society, xvi (1901); repr. in 1 vol. (Gloucester, 1983)
Somerset Wills 1501–30	*Somerset Medieval Wills 1501–30*, ed. F.W. Weaver, Somerset Record Society, xix (1903); repr. in 1 vol. (Gloucester, 1983)

Trevelyan Papers	*The Trevelyan Papers*, ed. W.C. and C.E. Trevelyan, Camden Society, 1st Ser., cv (1872)
Trevelyan Papers Prior to 1558	*The Trevelyan Papers Prior to 1558*, ed. J. Payne Collier, Camden Society, 1st Ser., lxvii (1857)
VCH	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England*
Warkworth	J. Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. J.O. Halliwell, Camden Society, 1st Ser., x (1839)
WRO	Wiltshire County Record Office, Trowbridge (NRA)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore whether a regional approach to late medieval English politics and governance, with specific reference to south-west England during the later fifteenth century, is feasible. The relative importance of regions, in comparison to counties, will be explored by examination of the elites, politics, and government of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset from 1450 to 1500. But this raises the fundamental question of whether a regional approach to the study of the south-western counties (or indeed *any* grouping of neighbouring counties anywhere in England) is valid – was there anything more to a 'south-west region' than simply a set of separate shires? That has made it necessary to study the south-west in a longer and broader context, in political terms, across the whole of the later fifteenth century.

The stimulus for this investigation was D.A.L. Morgan's analysis of Edward IV's second reign; in his view,

> The politics of the 1470s were the politics of land, and 1473–74 saw the shaping of a land policy which combined family endowment with a tidy-minded regionalism.[1]

Morgan proceeded to explain that this 'territorial re-ordering' was designed to cure disorder and lawlessness in the localities. Thus, Morgan suggested, Edward intended 'the creation of an apanage' for his second son, Richard, Duke of York, and that 'by 1475 the plan was to endow him with a collection of lands in the East Midlands'. Also, the king 'bent his efforts to making his elder son's household at Ludlow the governing power in Wales and the West Midlands ... and similarly to establishing his brother [Richard, Duke of] Gloucester as heir to the Neville lands and ruler of the North'. Furthermore '1474 saw the scheme pushed forward ... and the beginning of an

[1] Morgan (1973), 18–19.

apanage endowment for the king's stepson Thomas Grey [Marquess of Dorset] in the South-West'. Moreover, Edward's 'two leading household men were fitted in as the heads of further regional blocs': his steward, Thomas, Lord Stanley, was 'made undoubted ruler of Lancashire', while 'in Cheshire and north-east Wales also Stanley power was extended' through Stanley's brother, William; and the king's chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings, 'similarly emerged in 1474 as ruler of the North Midlands from Rockingham to the Peak'.[2]

Clearly, Morgan believed that it is possible to discern a regional dimension to Edward IV's governance with which he tidily delegated responsibility for particular regions to his family members and trusted agents. Subsequent historians appear, generally, to have implicitly accepted the validity of this view by reiterating Morgan's outline of the regional hegemonies. For a start, in his biography of Edward IV, C.D. Ross stated that Edward undertook a territorial re-ordering aimed at 'the endowment of the royal family, including the queen's kinsmen', so that

> between 1471 and 1475 Clarence and Gloucester were allowed to divide the Warwick inheritance between them, but for Gloucester this was only the beginning of a steady build-up of power in the North ... [and] ... in Wales and the Marches, Edward built up the nominal authority of his heir Edward ... [I]n form this new government might be conciliar, but politically it gave a large regional authority to a group of Woodvilles and their associates.[3]

Similarly, M.A. Hicks remarked that 'Edward IV allowed regional rule to be exercised by his favourites ... from the mid-1470s, Gloucester in the North, the Stanleys in the North West, Hastings in the North Midlands and the queen's family in Wales'.[4] And this apparent regional policy occurs in other accounts by, for instance, R.E. Horrox,[5] S.J. Gunn,[6] M.C. Carpenter,[7] A.J. Pollard,[8] and most recently Philip Edwards.[9] Some

[2] Morgan (1973), 18–19; also Morgan (1987), 63–7.

[3] Ross (1974), 334–7.

[4] Hicks (2002), 162; also Hicks (1991b), 209–28; Hicks (2003), 262–4.

[5] Gloucester was 'a crucial element in the framework of royal authority as Edward IV developed it in his second reign': Horrox (1986a), 1.

[6] Edward 'set up half-a-dozen regional hegemonies for his relatives – including his Woodville relations by marriage – and for his closest intimates': Gunn (1995), 25.

[7] The 'northern "super-power" of Richard of Gloucester ... a similar regional command was created in Wales' under the prince's council; 'the king's control of the Midlands' was extended by the marriage of

historians, indeed, have spoken of Edward using 'regional trouble-shooters' or *gauleiters*.[10] Historians therefore seem, largely, to have agreed with Morgan's view that there was a clear regional facet to Edward's governance. These regions of influence can also be generally illustrated by geographically plotting the counties in which these regional magnates were appointed to the commissions of the peace (Figure 1, p. 4). While this gives only a very limited and general outline of the regional lordships, nevertheless the peace commissions (and also the subsidy commissions of 1483) demonstrate the overall regional nature of Edward IV's governance.[11] Historians have also tacitly admitted the validity of Morgan's model by studying and recounting the influence of particular magnates in certain regions during the period.[12] The only remaining region of the realm without a regional magnate was the south-east and Home Counties, but even here it has been suggested that the heads of the leading county gentry families were directly recruited to the royal household during Edward's reign.[13]

Where the south-west region fits into Edward's regional scheme, however, is not entirely clear. It is omitted from some historians' summaries of Edward's regions (for example, by Ross and Hicks). However, Hicks has elsewhere followed Morgan in

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the Mowbray heiress to Richard, Duke of York, and that 'the East and North Midlands were eventually put under Hastings' command': Carpenter (1997), 183–6.

[8] Edward rule was 'founded on regional hegemonies under his most trusted kinsmen and associates': Pollard (2000), 311–15.

[9] Edwards (2001), 56.

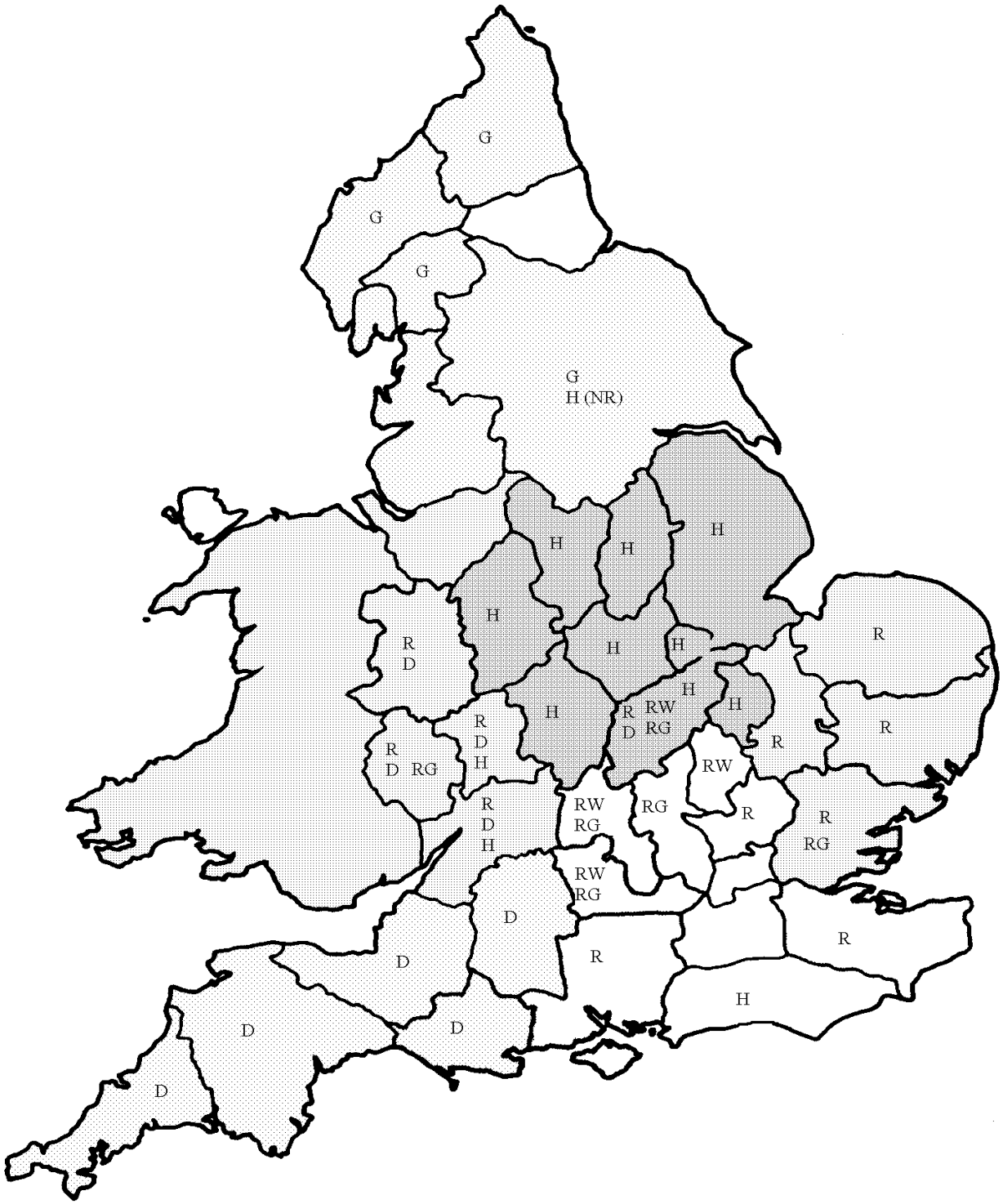
[10] 'Regional trouble-shooters': Grant (1985), 25–6; and 'regional Gauleiters': Starkey (1981), 270.

[11] *CPR 1467–77*, 607–38; *CPR 1476–85*, 553–80. This map is based on the peace commissions, but one showing the 1483 subsidy commissions would, largely, show the same results.

[12] For Wales and the Marches (Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire) under the Prince of Wales's council: Griffiths (1972), 145–72; Lowe (1977), 278−97; Lowe (1980–2), 545−73; Hicks (2005), 91–121. For the North (Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and much of Yorkshire and Lancashire) under Richard, Duke of Gloucester: Hicks (1991a), 116–28; Pollard (1990), 322–41; Pollard (2001d), 65–75; Storey (1972), 129−44; Horrox (1989), 27−88; articles in Horrox (1986); Hicks (1991d), 247–80; Weiss (1976), 501−9; also Hicks (1978), 78−107; Coward (1983); Cunningham (1991); Jones (1986), 27–50. For the north Midlands under William, Lord Hastings: Carpenter (1986), 23−48; Carpenter (1992), 518–47; Acheson (1992), 104−5; Hicks (1991m), 229−46; Rowney (1984a), 35−45; Rowney (1984b), 139–55; Westervelt (2001a); Westervelt (2001b), 96–106. For East Anglia and the east Midlands under Richard, Duke of York's council: Hicks (1991b), 224–5; Lowe (1980–2), 565−7.

[13] Starkey (1981), 270; for a study of Kent: Mercer (1995).

FIGURE 1:
EDWARD IV'S REGIONAL POLICY AND THE COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1471–83



The shading outlines the general regions of Edward's policy, as proposed by Morgan, and, by taking account of certain appointments to the commissions of the peace, also shows those counties in which Edward's courtiers were intended to be influential.

Key:
D: Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset
G: Richard, Duke of Gloucester
H: William, Lord Hastings
R: Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers
RG: Richard Grey
RW: Richard Woodville

identifying the West Country as an Edwardian region, intended as an apanage for the marquess of Dorset.[14] Similarly, M.C. Carpenter has acknowledged that 'the *real power* in the south-west in the second reign was Edward's stepson, Thomas Grey Lord of Groby', whose position 'was recognised formally in 1475 when he was made marquess of Dorset'.[15] And for A.J. Pollard, 'after 1478, the south-west was entrusted to [the marquess] on the basis of the wardship of the young earl of Warwick and a string of his stewardships';[16] although Pollard suggests the marquess's regional influence may have been only a short-term measure prior to Warwick's majority, nevertheless, he acknowledges that, during the later 1470s, the south-west was the marquess's region. Clearly, therefore, the position of the marquess of Dorset and the place of south-west England in Edward IV's regional policy warrants investigation.

However, the concept of Edward IV's regional policy raises much broader questions. In the context of the historiography of the reign, there are questions concerning whether this regional policy was planned or unintentional, and also as to whether its consequences were constructive or destructive. Furthermore, Edward's regional scheme also suggests the wider importance of issues concerning the concept of regions, with potential implications for our study of politics and government in the localities, as well as questions regarding royal authority, governance, and the constitution, in general, in the later fifteenth century. Only after discussion of these issues will it be possible to focus on the question of whether Morgan's model of Edward's regional governance is valid; and also how the theory might be tested by studying one such 'gubernatorial region' – over a longer time-scale than just Edward's reign – in order to consider the scheme's broader context (as will be seen).

INTENTIONAL OR UNINTENTIONAL IMPLICATIONS

In general, the endowment of regional magnates with particular lands and offices

[14] Hicks (2003), 262.

[15] Carpenter (1997), 183–4 (my italics).

[16] Pollard (2000), 311.

indicates the areas in which Edward intended them to be prominent. C.D. Ross argued that 'innovations like the Council in Wales and the Marches were essentially *ad hoc* developments', and that 'only to a limited degree did it ever become institutionalised'; he also averred that 'the idea of a regional authority did not spring from any carefully-conceived plan, but was a piece of improvisation typical of Edward's rather opportunist methods of government'.[17] Glanmor Williams agreed that Edward IV 'could not be said to have had a preconceived and carefully worked out plan' since he merely 'improvised and extended new arrangements'.[18] But on the other hand, R.A. Griffiths proposed that the Council of Wales was far from an *ad hoc* development; instead, it was an 'instrument in an act of governmental devolution'.[19] This may have some truth – although, as Morgan has explained with regard to Wales and the other regions, 'the scheme of government ... did not amount to a policy of simple devolution: each local bloc was linked to the court and did not form a totally self-contained grouping, although some had a more localist character than others'.[20]

Although the Council of Wales was a rather different case from the other English regional hegemonies (because of its institutional nature), this debate as to whether Edward's regional policy was deliberate or accidental is also reflected in other research. D.E. Lowe accredited Anthony, Earl Rivers, rather than Edward IV, with the creation of the Council of Wales.[21] Similarly, M.A. Hicks recognised Richard, Duke of Gloucester as responsible for his own establishment in the North.[22] On Edward's 'regional policy', Hicks has argued that Edward had no desire 'to revive the Welsh and northern lieutenancies of the previous decade [the 1460s]. But once the Wydevilles and Gloucester had re-established them, Edward concurred and gradually conceded other estates and powers'.[23] However, even if this argument is accepted,

[17] Ross (1974), 196, 301.
[18] Williams (1987b), 209−10.
[19] Griffiths (1972), 159–61; Lowe (1980–2), 563–4.
[20] Morgan (1987), 64–6.
[21] Lowe (1980–2), 545–73.
[22] Hicks (1991d), 247–80.
[23] Hicks (1991b), 209–28; (quotation: 228).

surely actually allowing magnates to pursue such regional lordships constitutes conscious royal policy? Whilst acknowledging Edward's regional policy, Hicks also adds the cautionary note that 'we must be careful however not to attribute too self-conscious or permanent intentions to plans based on personal relationships and too easily upset by mortality'.[24] Although Hicks is justified in pointing out the potentially transient nature of these regional configurations, it is difficult to see how Edward's regional policy would have changed for the rest of his lifetime, except by further consolidation of existing power-blocs – since all Edward's regional magnates were members of the royal family. It was likely that the king's young sons and stepson would be involved in their apanages for decades to come, as would Gloucester. As Morgan stressed, it was 'in this territorial strait-jacket that politics were made to "sit still and be quiet" until the king's death'.[25]

The repercussions of Edward IV's regional hegemonies are also the subject of some dispute. On one hand, M.C. Carpenter described as 'misconceived' the view that Edward relied too much on his family – or over-endowed them – stating that those who suggest that are 'looking for causes for Richard of Gloucester's usurpation'; instead, she argues that it was 'normal for kings with large families to use them'.[26] However, it was not normal practice for kings to delineate their relatives' regions of influence with such geographical precision or to award them such extensive areas. Indeed, there does not seem to have been any policy that is comparable to that of Edward IV since the reign of Stephen.[27]

In addition, most historians have acknowledged that Edward's regional policy gave Richard of Gloucester the means to challenge for the throne, and have concluded that it was not a development that was beneficial for the stability of the realm.[28] However, this question is also entwined within broader debates on the influence of the

[24] Hicks (2003), 260–70; (quotation: 262).
[25] Morgan (1973), 19.
[26] Carpenter (1997), 187.
[27] Stringer (1993).
[28] For example, Starkey (1981), 270.

Woodvilles and the efficacy of Edward's kingship. The consequences of Edward's governance can be minimised in order to rehabilitate the reputation of the queen's family and demonstrate the effectiveness of Edward's rule; or can be maximised to represent Edward's reign as partisan and malignly influenced.[29] These aspects of Edward's rule and the role of the queen's family are obviously important issues, but, given the scale and extent of Edward's regional policy, Morgan's model also has some important implications concerning the nature of polity-locality relations and our understanding of counties and regions.

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

Historians have expanded on how Edward 'redistributed land and offices in the royal gift to reinforce the power of these magnates' and have described the duties that regional magnates were expected to perform. As S.J. Gunn explained, 'Gloucester, Hastings, and Prince Edward's councillors in Wales and the Marches, like the Stanleys in the North West, were all active in arbitrating disputes, overseeing appointments to local office and securing good order'.[30] However, noticeably, the duke of York and his council in East Anglia, and Thomas, Marquess of Dorset in the south-west, are both excluded from this list, as there is no evidence of their involvement in arbitrations. This topic is inseparable from the wider consideration of justice, and law and order, and these aspects could be the subject of substantial research in themselves; hence the remit of this study is specifically limited to questions of politics and governance.[31] Arbitration of disputes may indicate a magnate's influence and local standing, but this is, of course, not the only way in which to ascertain a magnate's power in the localities: consideration of his lands, offices, and clientele reveals the extent to which his lordship pervaded local society.

At first glance, the responsibilities of overseeing local appointments and

[29] The most recent survey of the historiography is Hicks (2004).

[30] Gunn (1995), 25.

[31] Powell (1983), 49−67; Powell (1984), 21−43; Hicks (1991a), 56−71.

securing good order do not seem very different from those expected of any magnate within his area of influence (although a regional magnate's area may have been rather more fluid and subject to fluctuation than that of a lesser noble). Any magnate was expected to uphold justice and preserve the stability of local society. To his clients, a magnate offered access to royal patronage (at least to some extent), opportunities for profitable service, assistance, and support. A noble's sphere of lordship was endorsed, expanded, and constrained by the bestowal of royal patronage, and this was a key aspect of the monarch's relationship with local communities. The king's responsibilities included supporting the authority of his chosen magnates and ensuring that localities were not unsettled by disorder. Traditionally, a monarch might allow a magnate's sphere of influence to become broader than a county or more, and examples of such regional spheres of influence are echoed in earlier and later periods. The ealdormanries of the Anglo-Saxon period later proved to have a regional nature (below, pp. 57–8); under Edward the Confessor, Harold Godwinson as earl of Wessex was a regional figure, and William I and Stephen also endowed their favourites with some regional influence; and while there seem to be no examples between the reigns of Stephen and Edward IV, later, under Cromwell the rule of his major-generals had regional resonances.[32]

While the phenomenon of peers endowed with regional influence was not a novel development, Edward's scheme was not simply the small-scale enlargement of magnate's local influences. His regional policy appears to have entailed the creation of a tier of regional magnates at an intermediate level between centre and locality – on a large scale – which might be regarded as significantly different from usual methods of governance. The regional magnate's greater role as an intermediary between crown and locality potentially offered even further opportunities for clients than the benefaction of ordinary nobles; therefore, the intensity of such potential patronage meant that a regional magnate would have greater authority and influence within local

[32] Stringer (1993); Durston (1998), 18–37; Durston (2000), 247–67; Durston (2001).

society and local government.

Edward IV's regional magnates might be compared to the regional governors of late-medieval France. The French king expected his governors 'to represent our person in all the affairs of the said province' and to 'do all that you recognise as necessary for the good of our service and the security, peace and tranquillity of the subjects of the said province'.[33] So, as in France, English regional magnates would be 'visibly the king's men'.[34] As a result of his connection with the royal court, a regional governor became a broker of royal patronage, meaning that he would influence the distribution of awards in the royal gift affecting his province. The regional governor would therefore be a crucial mediator between locality and polity.[35]

As a result of his twin roles as patron and broker, a figure such as one of Edward IV's regional 'governors' would be able to maintain great influence over his province's elites and accumulate large numbers of personal clients.[36] Connected with local peers and gentry and at the peak of a regional political structure, the governor would be the figure to whom the region looked for direction and leadership. It has been pointed out that Edward IV's regional magnates 'commanded followings comparable to the king's own', and he 'banked upon the allegiance of his own baronial clients and through them upon the fidelity of their retainers'.[37] The governor acted as a conduit for royal patronage and therefore (on the sovereign's behalf) determined, augmented, and constrained the influences of magnates within his region. In short, within his province, the regional governor was expected to undertake many of the roles and responsibilities of the monarch himself.

Such an arrangement whereby regional governors, in effect, assumed regional kingship would have profound implications with regard to core-periphery relations, as well as for politics and the constitution. The king, as the core, radiated authority

[33] Harding (1978), 14; Kettering (1986).
[34] Gunn (1995), 25.
[35] Harding (1978), 15–16, 31–2.
[36] Harding (1978), 15–16.
[37] Starkey (1981), 270; Dunham (1955), 46.

throughout the realm, but with regional governors' assumption of quasi-regal authority the implication would be that each province became what could be called a subsidiary core. The establishment of such 'sub-cores' of royal authority would bring the king's presence more strongly into the localities and might mean that disorder could be more effectively remedied, but, as a result of their large-scale awards of estates, offices, and stewardships and their role as sub-cores, regional magnates were placed in an immensely powerful position. It has been argued that since Edward IV had 'given great, largely autonomous, local authority to a very small number of nobles' they were 'potentially over-mighty'.[38] With enormous resources at their disposal and the capability of arraying forces either in defence or destruction of royal authority, the monarch would become dependent on the local influence, good will, and cooperation of his governors, thereby diminishing the crown's authority.

If the local influence of one of Edward's regional governors like George, Duke of Clarence proved partisan, disruptive, or unacceptable, the king might prove unwilling to intervene since that would undermine his magnate's local authority. Accordingly, there would be no superior authority that could mediate to restore order – there was 'no capacity to constrain, countermand or impugn the governor's will', so there could be no redress of grievances within a governor's province.[39] This situation might provoke tensions within local society by encouraging sedition and unrest, and also by associating royal authority with partiality thereby eroding royal authority. Furthermore, like a regional magnate, a monarch had to ensure that his governance was not too partisan, and that he did not favour particular servants more than others, but the nature of regional governance dictated that the monarch had to favour his governors above other magnates – this compromised the monarch's ability to remain impartial and undermined royal authority.[40]

[38] Grant (1985), 25–6. Delegation of responsibility to a single figure risked the establishment of a 'petty kingdom': Carpenter (1992), 560.

[39] Harding (1978), 14.

[40] Carpenter (1992), 358−9, 393, 560, 628–9; Watts (1996), 27–31, 63−7, 74–80; Castor (2000), 17–18, 45–9, 311.

It was also expected that those individuals involved in county and regional politics would be native to their respective shire or region – it was a fundamental precept of political culture. If the monarch attempted to insert non-native figures into county government or regional structures this might arouse antipathy. 'Foreigners' to a county or region would not be welcome, and this is no better observed than in Richard III's 'northern plantations' in the southern counties in the wake of the October Rebellion of 1483. As A.J. Pollard has shown, Richard's disregard for the accepted tenets of political action confirmed in many minds that his rule was illegitimate, as such behaviour was deemed characteristic of tyranny.[41] This inherent requirement for magnates (and therefore regional magnates) to be natives of their regions constrained the king's choice of governors – since he would be limited to considering only those with sufficient standing from within a given region.

On the other hand, a monarch could appoint a royal family member as a regional governor. In such circumstances, the king's actions with regard to intervening in that region's affairs might be even more constrained than ordinarily (with regard to undermining the governor's authority), but a royal relative as governor would represent crown authority most effectively. The king – as a national figure – could therefore divide his kingdom into apanages for his kin who would then rule regions as monarchical representatives. Edward IV's regional scheme involved his brother, sons, and stepson and all were intended to provide impartial lordship on his behalf. However, in order to ensure the effectiveness of their lordship, the king had to endow his relatives with local lands and offices, thereby making them to some extent localised and regional figures. This might have further implications if royal family members became viewed as partisan as a result of such regional command.

Edward IV's regional governors might be regarded as a significant development with a number of implications concerning polity–locality relations and royal authority, and therefore also of some potential importance with regard to politics

[41] Foreshadowing later work on political culture: Pollard (2001a), 15–32.

and governance. The constitution, as the framework within which politicians perceive their interests and plan their behaviour, is the product of both structures and individuals. Hence individuals are both constrained and permitted to act within these structures and by their actions reflect and recreate the structures. The creation of regional political structures and their relationship with the centre is a pertinent subject, relating to recent research on the principles, ideas, and issues of governance, political culture, and politics in the fifteenth century.[42] In addition to the revival of interest in governmental history there has been a recent emphasis on a new British history aiming at moving away from an Anglo-centric view by examining the interaction between component countries of the British Isles. Irrespective of debates concerning the necessity or validity of the approach, within this 'Britannicism' there is less emphasis on the centre and more stress on the peripheries thus also on England's regional differences – her ancient liberties and regions.[43]

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Edward IV's preference for regions implies a rejection of shires as one of the main links between centre and locality, or at least the subjugation of the shire to the overlordship of a regional figure. Just as this has implications concerning principles of governance, it also has repercussions for our study of the localities. The major tool by which the localities have been studied has been the county unit, and Edward's preference for regional, rather than shire, structures calls into question the efficacy of undertaking county studies. Antiquarians have utilised the county as a unit of genealogical and topographical analysis for centuries.[44] However, the use of the shire study as a unit of historical analysis – the figurative toe-testing the localities'

[42] Powell (1989); Powell (1994), 1–16; Carpenter (1992), 1–13; Carpenter (1995b), 175–206; Watts (1996), 13–80; Hicks (2002).

[43] For example, Pocock (1975), 601–28; Grant and Stringer (1995), 3–11; Pocock (1995), 292–302; Ellis (1986); Bradshaw and Morill (1996); Ellis and Barber (1995); and more generally, Burgess (1999); Bradshaw and Roberts (1998).

[44] For surveys of south-western antiquarian studies: Walker (1994), 85–90; Youings (1994), 115–24; Bettey (1994), 125–31; Dunning (1994), 348–54; Brayshay (1996).

temperature – did not become popular until the late-twentieth century. The 'county school' started with historians of the seventeenth century – particularly the work of A.M. Everitt.[45] The number of shire studies proliferated, and this analytical framework for local studies was transmitted to the sixteenth century and the medieval period.[46]

Allied to this trend, there was the development of prosopographical analysis, as advocated especially by K.B. McFarlane.[47] McFarlane believed that the reality of medieval English political society would be discovered by concentrating on patronage connections and service. He recognised that governance depended on its reception in the localities, and acknowledged that the nobility and 'bastard feudalism' were factors that strengthened local government rather than undermined it.[48] He concluded that one major requirement was the reconstruction of the workings of patronage and service and the investigation of the role of the gentry and peerage in local politics both collectively and individually.[49] McFarlane's call for prosopographical research was answered by a stream of fifteenth-century studies which sought to recreate patterns of landholding and interaction between families in order to examine the nature of politics in the localities and evaluate the authority of central government. The counties were used as analytical units not only because of their relatively small and manageable size, but because they were the contemporary units of local administration – meaning that government records were arranged by county. Numerous county studies covering all or parts of the fifteenth century have been carried out; the majority, however, have looked at Midland counties, such as Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire.[50]

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[45] For example, Everitt (1966); Morill (1974); Hughes (1987).

[46] For instance, MacCulloch (1986); Saul (1981); Coss (1991); for fifteenth-century county studies, above, n. 50.

[47] *ODNB*: 'McFarlane, Kenneth Bruce'. He was inspired by L.B. Namier's work on patronage networks during George III's reign: *ODNB*: 'Namier, Sir Lewis Bernstein'; Namier (1929).

[48] McFarlane (1973a), 49. Cf. Fortescue (1885), 15–16.

[49] McFarlane (1981a), 18–21; McFarlane (1973b), 142–76; McFarlane (1973c), 296–7; McFarlane (1981b), 23–43; McFarlane (1973a), 113–4, 119–21.

[50] Wright (1983); Payling (1991); Acheson (1992); Carpenter (1992).

County studies have since been the subject of sustained criticism. The prosopographical approach itself has been seen as creating history that is mechanical and fragmentary, encouraging the perception that self-interest was the principal motive for political action. This apparently blinkered concentration on such extreme individualism has been blamed as the inhibitor of historical generalisations, of further investigation into political ideas and beliefs, and of our understanding of the function and operation of political structures.[51] The popularity of county studies has led to a plethora of methodologies and approaches, which has had a negative impact on our understanding of the period in that many are seemingly incompatible – each concentrating on different aspects of local government and society. For instance, Eric Acheson and S.M. Wright concentrated almost exclusively on the gentry, whereas S.J. Payling, M.C. Carpenter, and A.J. Pollard took a much wider approach in their studies of 'political', 'landed', and 'lay' societies, respectively. Further criticism has also singled out those county studies that have encompassed only the county's elite – the peerage and a small circle of gentry families who often dominated county administration (below, pp. 104–8).[52] Some historians have consciously, or unconsciously, imposed their perception of an 'ideal' onto their research of a particular county society. This idealism may have led some to neglect to acknowledge some of the fundamental limitations of the approach, for instance by excluding the study of any individuals and interactions not entirely rooted within the county.[53] Hence the entire idea of, and use of, the term 'community' has since been attacked.[54]

All these criticisms – combined with the porosity of county boundaries and frequency of extra-county interactions – has led some to question the usefulness of the county as an analytical unit.[55] Wright's Derbyshire study revealed networks of 'small

[51] Richmond (1983), 57; Powell (1989). 4–6; Carpenter (1995b), 192.

[52] Carpenter (1994a), 345.

[53] Wright (1983), 4. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire had a joint shrievalty and escheatry, but Wright only examined Derbyshire.

[54] Stacey (1969), 134–45; Horrox (1992), 394–5; Carpenter (1994a), 340–1.

[55] Virgoe (1990), 3; Gross (1998), 2; Carpenter (1994a), 345–6, 348.

interlinking groups of gentry', which led her to conclude that there was 'no coherent county social group or community'.[56] Similarly, N.A. Saul suggested that the idea of a 'county community' could be discarded in favour of the notion of a 'county of communities'.[57] This is also substantiated by Pollard's study of the Richmondshire gentry in the North Riding of Yorkshire during the fifteenth century, which shows that it was held together by a combination of strong horizontal bonds of family and locality, and vertical bonds of lordship.[58] Thus, some historians' disillusionment with the county has led to consideration of alternative analytical units. Indeed, there are several gradations of region, ranging from nation, province, and county, to the *pays* (an area more localised than the county and principally defined by geography and local economy), and the parish (at which level the study of 'societal groups' of families might be undertaken).[59] And in that case, one of the most significant alternatives to the county unit is that of the macro-scale region – as suggested by Edward IV's regional policy.

THE REGIONAL APPROACH: SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

The limitations of county studies, combined with Edward IV's apparent rejection of shires and use of regions, raises questions about how the period should be studied. Edward's regional policy suggests that macro-scale regions were of prime importance in late medieval governance, and that they should be studied in preference to counties. But were regions of more significance than counties with respect to English government in the later fifteenth century?

In his draft opening speech for a Parliament of June 1483, the Lord Chancellor, John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote that 'the polityk rule of every region wele ordeigned stondith in the nobles'. In this context, Russell may have used

[56] Wright (1983), 4, 58–9.

[57] Saul (1986), 60.

[58] Pollard (2001c), 51–64.

[59] For societal groups: Phythian-Adams (1987), 27–42; for *pays*: Everitt (1985a), 20; Everitt (1985b), 42.

'region' to mean an area of rule encompassing the kingdom as a whole; and he further propounded that it was the 'lordes and nobille men … in whoos sure and concord demenynge restithe the wele of alle the commen'.[60] In addition to this reference to the kingdom as a region, the bishop's phrases might be interpreted as equating 'region' with locality – stressing that every defined locality depended for its welfare on its principal nobility, and that the nobles were ultimately responsible for the commonweal of their region, as defined by the limits of their lordship. Evidently, definition of regions in terms of kings' and magnates' districts of influence and rule has important implications for this study of Edward IV's gubernatorial regions.

Counties were institutionalised (therefore formally acknowledged), and as potential sub-divisions – or basic building-blocks – of regions are of particular relevance; whereas governmental or political regions were potentially transient (being based on *only* magnates' personal powers, and subject to fluctuations). However, private landed power – as the basis of a magnate's personal lordship – was central to ensuring the effective operation of public administrative authority. Therefore, power-blocs' transient nature does not necessarily mean that such regions should not be studied, but raises the question of how such regions should be defined?

The topics of regions and *pays*, regionality, and regional interaction in the politics and government of the early-modern period have been subject to considerable attention.[61] The regional approach has already been touched on by some historians of late-medieval England – notably by Pollard in his study of north-eastern England.[62] In his book on Cheshire and south Lancashire, M.J. Bennett suggested that the county was the chief arena for social interactions among the gentry, but did find that some relationships transcended county boundaries and included families in a wider 'regional' society.[63] Similarly, H.R. Castor undertook regional studies of East Anglia

[60] *Grants, etc., from the Crown*, xlii, xliii.

[61] Starting, for example, with Elliott (1963).

[62] Pollard (1990), 1–6; also Fleming, Gross, and Lander (1998). For a regional study of the far North-west: Marsh (2001).

[63] Bennett (1983), 5–20, 236ff.; Bennett (1973), 24–40; Gross (1998), 2; Virgoe (1990), 3.

and the north Midlands.[64] A regional approach would offer a broader perspective of polity-locality interactions and facilitate the drawing of comparisons and contrasts within the region.[65]

All these implications of Edward IV's regional hegemonies concerning principles of governance and the efficacy of local studies are valid only if Morgan's model itself is valid. Can this theory be proved or disproved? The best answer is to study one 'regional hegemony' in order to test the model. One region that has not been extensively studied, as a *political* region, is the south-west, which, during Edward IV's second reign, was delineated as the apanage of his stepson, Thomas, Marquess of Dorset.

The adolescent Thomas Grey had gained duchy of Exeter lands in the south-western counties through his marriage to the heiress, Anne Holland. Following her death in 1474, his next marriage was to the Bonville heiress, bringing him extensive properties in the south-west.[66] The twenty-year-old Grey was created marquess of Dorset in 1475, and was also awarded local offices: he was appointed steward of the duchy of Cornwall estates in Cornwall from April 1477.[67] In February 1478, Dorset was granted several master foresterships in Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall. The marquess was also created steward of all honours, castles, and lordships formerly belonging to the duke of Clarence in the south-western counties.[68] In 1480, Dorset also bought the custody of manors in Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire during the earl of Warwick's minority.[69]

The marquess's pattern of landholding and office-holding suggests a broadly-drawn region of influence encompassing not only the four most western counties but also Gloucestershire and Wiltshire as well as Hampshire. However, Gloucestershire,

[64] Castor (2000).
[65] Gross (1998), 2; Marshall (1992), 11, 16.
[66] *PR*, xiv, 220–3, 447–53; *CPR 1467−77*, 449, 456, 514.
[67] DCO210, m. 8.
[68] *CPR 1476−85*, 139, 263.
[69] *CPR 1476−85*, 212, 260, 262–3, 283−4.

as a Welsh border county, largely came under the jurisdiction of the prince's council, so it is uncertain to what extent the marquess would be an important figure in Gloucestershire affairs in his own right (as opposed to through his council involvement). Furthermore, although endowed with some lands in Hampshire, the marquess's lack of further involvement in local administration hints that he was not intended to be prominent. It is evident from Dorset's land- and office-holding interests that his core region was focused in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. The marquess held some estates in Wiltshire and was appointed as JP but was not given many local offices in that shire. Wiltshire seems to be on the margins of his intended hegemony, and it is unclear whether or not the county was intended to form part of the marquess's 'gubernatorial region'. From 1481, the marquess's uncle, Lionel Woodville, was bishop of Salisbury, perhaps indicating further connection between the shire and the south-west; however, equally, Wiltshire may have been tied with Hampshire, since the marquess's other uncle, Anthony, Earl Rivers, was constable of Carisbrooke Castle and the Isle of Wight. Hence, because of these uncertainties, this study focuses primarily on those shires that appear to have formed the core of the marquess's region: the four western counties.

The general assumption is that the 'regional governor' would be at the apex of a regional system of patronage-brokerage networks. So, was the marquess of Dorset connected with the region's elites? It is not, however, simply a question of presenting a list of his clients and citing their geographical spread as evidence of the percolation of his power. That is only half the answer: the other half requires the examination of the contexts of magnates' influence in the localities – discovering the political patterns of each of the region's constituent counties in order to evaluate the extent to which the magnate was the sole focus of local networks and was able to influence local government (since the dynamics of politics can be understood only within the context of a community as a whole).

Often, inheritance of estates meant that a peer inherited at least some of his predecessor's clients. Was the marquess of Dorset able to inherit Bonville and duchy

of Exeter networks, as a consequence of his successive marriages, within his region? But this question also means that it is necessary to consider the context of Dorset's regional hegemony – what existed before and afterwards? Only then can it also be possible to assess how innovative Edward's model of governance was. It has been recently asserted that during the 1470s Lord Hastings's indentures aimed to reconnect his leadership with old political structures in the localities 'which had atrophied with the neglect and unrest of the previous decades'.[70] The inference, therefore, is that Edward's regional system was both successful and innovative; but was this the case?

Are there traces of regional policies in earlier or later decades? C.D. Ross proposed that Edward IV had, during his first reign, created and delineated 'areas of territorial influence' for 'his chosen great men ... the Nevilles in the North, Herbert in Wales and the Marches, Hastings in the Midlands, and Humphrey Stafford in the south-west'.[71] This was echoed by Hicks who stated that 'Edward IV allowed regional rule to be exercised by his favourites: during the 1460s, the Nevilles in the North and West Midlands, Herbert in Wales and Stafford of Southwick in the West Country'.[72] This suggests that Edward's regional governance was not the product of his second reign, but had been pursued during his first reign, and might even have originated earlier – during Henry VI's reign.

Accordingly, in order to consider the wider context of Dorset's regional hegemony further, and to assess whether Ross's assertion concerning the 1460s is accurate, it is necessary to study before and after Edward's reign. Only then might the nature of the regional hegemonies during the 1460s be ascertained. Can the origins of this scheme be traced in Henry VI's reign, and what were its legacy and consequences? Did Edward's 'gubernatorial system' induce tensions within the political community, and were these manifested in the factional politics of his reign, leading to his deposition in 1469/70 and to that of his son? Might it be possible to

[70] Westervelt (2001b), 101−2.

[71] Ross (1974), 334.

[72] Hicks (2002), 162; also Edwards (2001), 56.

regard the trend towards regional governance in the mid-fifteenth century as a factor which, rather than solving civil war, served to perpetuate conflict?

The south-west's reputation for high levels of Lancastrian loyalism, local feuding, and lawlessness (such as the Bonville–Courtenay conflict of the 1440s and 1450s) also makes it suitable for examining transitions in government during the Wars of the Roses. One further reason for studying the south-west concerns some of the gaps in our knowledge of the region's politics and governance. Firstly, therefore, it is necessary to summarise the research that has already been undertaken on the region, and to illustrate some of the lacunae that have emerged. Following that, it is important to explain how this study will be structured, elaborate on the focus of each chapter, and also elucidate some of the methodological problems encountered.

* * *

Certain aspects of the political history of south-west England have received attention from historians, mostly in the form of family or county studies. Some leading local peers and noble families have been the focus of study, such as George, Duke of Clarence, the Courtenay earls of Devon, the Holland dukes of Exeter, the Dinhams, and the Beauforts.[73] Although some of these studies span the fifteenth century, they account for only a small number of the many south-western families and, because each focuses on one magnate or family, they do not examine the nature of county society.

There have been a number of single county studies of the south-western shires – Mary Coate's 1927 study of seventeenth-century Cornwall pre-dates A.L. Rowse's 1941 study of *Tudor Cornwall* from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries; since then, Anne Duffin has examined Cornish politics and religion in the early seventeenth century.[74] Devon has been the subject of two seventeenth-century surveys by E.A. Andriette and S.K. Roberts, and Exeter has been the focus for M.J.D.

[73] Hicks (1992); Cherry (1981a); Cherry (1979); Stansfield (1987); Kleineke (1998); Harriss (1988); Mercer (1997); Jones and Underwood (1992).

[74] Coate (1963); Rowse (1941); Duffin (1996).

Stoyle.[75] As for studies of the later Middle Ages, Devon and Cornwall political societies have both been examined from 1377 to 1422 by C.J. Tyldesley, and from 1509 to 1549 by H.M. Speight.[76] J.P.D. Cooper's study of 'propaganda and the Tudor state' considers Devon and Cornwall from 1497 onwards.[77] In addition, there are Martin Cherry's studies of Devon and the Courtenays from 1377 to 1461, and John Chynoweth's work on the Cornish gentry from 1485.[78] However, despite these valuable surveys, there is clearly little coverage of, for example, Devon local government and politics between 1461 and 1509, and Cornish political society from 1422 to 1485. Moreover, although D.A.S. Luckett's survey of the royal patronage and administration of Somerset and Dorset was part of a broader study comprising Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire, understandably (given its scope) it was limited to Henry VII's reign.[79] Evidently, there seemed to be a further gap in our knowledge of Somerset and Dorset government and politics prior to 1485, and some recent studies have attempted to remedy this deficiency.[80]

Even though J.A. Hatcher's important examination of the duchy of Cornwall surveyed the period from 1300 to 1500, his primary focus was on the economy and society.[81] Further work by S.M. Campbell and Maryanne Kowaleski has expanded our knowledge of the administration of the havenry.[82] On duchy administration, Graham Haslam's unpublished study covers the period from 1500 to 1650, but does not deal with the fifteenth century.[83] Similarly, in his work on Devon and Cornwall, J.P.D. Cooper has touched on duchy governance but, as mentioned, his study begins in 1497. So, again, there seems to be a gap in our knowledge of the duchy's administration, patronage, and governance before 1497.

[75] Andriette (1971); Roberts (1985); Stoyle (1996).
[76] Tyldesley (1978); Speight (1991).
[77] Cooper (2003).
[78] Cherry (1981a); Cherry (1979); Cherry (1981b); Chynoweth (1994).
[79] Luckett (1992).
[80] Mercer (1997); Stansfield (2002).
[81] Hatcher (1970).
[82] Campbell (1962); *Haveners' Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall 1287–1346*.
[83] Haslam (1980a); Haslam (1980b); Haslam (1992a); Haslam (1992b); Coate (1927).

Despite these admirable and informative studies, therefore, there are still significant lacunae in our understanding of particular aspects of the region's governance during the later fifteenth century. Consequently, a regional survey of the south-west political elites spanning the later fifteenth century might draw on earlier research and offer a broader perspective of polity–locality relations.[84] A regional perspective of the interaction of local and national government would make possible a greater evaluation of the duchy of Cornwall and the Wars of the Roses in the region.

* * *

Since this regional survey spans four counties, it is, clearly, impossible to provide the detail and depth expected of a single county study – to undertake a four-county study in the same depth and detail as a single county study would presumably take four times as long to complete. Instead, this study intends to give an overview of county societies thereby examining how 'regional' was the political society of the south-west; but an overview does not imply superficiality. I consider this study to be an original contribution to fifteenth-century studies not only because it investigates Edward IV's regional policy (which, as mentioned, I believe requires further research at a regional level), but because a regional approach has not previously been attempted for south-west England during the late Middle Ages, and also because the duchy of Cornwall's place in contemporaneous regional politics has never been thoroughly examined before. Moreover, this study also allows an analysis of the involvement of royal household retainers in local government, which was an increasingly notable factor, and has not been the subject of extensive research.

As I am sure can be readily appreciated, because of the scope and span of this work, consultation of primary manuscript records has not been possible on the scale that might be expected of a single-county study; so, sources have been selectively chosen from records of particularly important local families, and the duchy of Cornwall archives. While the family papers of the Arundells and Hungerfords (but not

[84] Fleming, Gross and Lander (1998); Horrox (2001).

those of the Edgcumbes) have been the subject of some prior research, none of these family papers have previously been analysed specifically for the purpose of reconstructing affinities. Furthermore, my study also makes salient use of the hitherto untapped prime resources of the duchy of Cornwall archives in order to reconstruct – for the first time – the patterns of patronage and office-holding of this institution during the later fifteenth century. So, though in some ways this analysis of south-west politics can only be tentative in its assumptions and conclusions, further research might be expected to confirm and substantiate political alignments and trends outlined in the ensuing chapters.

Instead of using extensive primary manuscript sources, it has been necessary to focus on the available printed primary sources: although, this was no mean task, given the scale of published material. Also, in view of the fact that, irrespective of how much it might be attempted, it is almost impossible to consult every work, there has also been a need to be selective in the choice of secondary literature. However, having acknowledged this point, I would claim that this study brings together – for the first time – some of the significant research on aspects of the region that largely remains unpublished, namely a number of research theses concerning certain south-west counties and families. While there are obviously some limitations to a study with such a regional breadth, I do not believe that these restrictions inhibit the worth or originality of this work as a whole – this thesis does not claim to provide definitive answers, but offers a different way of looking at some of the existing material.

The concepts of regions and identities, are examined in Chapter 2, first by looking at the defining of regions in general, and then more specifically by exploring those geographical, economic, cultural, and political regions that comprised and included the south-western shires. Was Edward IV's scheme a regionalisation of governance or governance based on existing expressions of regional identities? Were these regions long-established or new? Only after such detailed discussion will it be possible to discern how the south-western counties did or did not form a region.

It is impossible to study the localities without reference to the king and his

government, therefore, what were the points of contact between them? Chapter 3 outlines the structures of governance: in terms of council and parliament, royal household and affinity, and county administration. Peopling each of these structures were local landowners (peerage and gentry), which means that the nature of landed society must be considered. Socio-political networks will be explained in terms of clientelism, and will also entail discussion of the methodology concerning the reconstruction of affinities and the sources that can be used. While certain aspects relate to the nation as a whole, it will be important to examine the example of the south-west. As a significant landed estate and one point of contact between crown and locality, the duchy of Cornwall – its patronage and governance – will be considered at length, along with the question of how it may have been a prominent influence on regional politics.

The fourth chapter is concerned with defining the region's elites: arguing that those who identified with the shires by their active involvement in county administration constituted the region's political elites. A small circle of inter-connected gentry families dominated county society; but is it possible to speak of 'county' elites? To what extent were political elites' interactions and interests 'regional' in nature? An analysis of marriage patterns is a starting point for seeking a sense of identity among county and urban elites – examining the marriages that they contracted investigates the notion that localism entailed endogamy. This implicit conservatism carried with it implications for elites maintaining a parochial outlook. The patterns of landholding and office-holding within the region further illuminate the relationship between elites and their region. The examples of three eminent families – the Hungerfords, Arundells and Edgcumbes – are used to illustrate how far such families' networks of association were also regional in nature, and demonstrate the methodology used to reconstruct clienteles.

After these chapters, the following ones are chronological in approach to the era from 1450 to 1500. The period begins with the aftermath of Cade's Rebellion of 1450; although the rising did not draw participants from the south-west, its result

dramatically affected national politics and heralded changes in government, so 1450 may be interpreted as an important turning point in Henry VI's reign.[85] The period ends with the Western Rebellions of 1497 and the death of Prince Arthur in 1502; these events had more immediate relevance for the south-west, since the revolts involved south-west gentry, and the prince's death heralded a difference in duchy administration after 1502.

It has been pointed out that thematic analysis of county society – with separate chapters on royal household retainers and local administrators – makes the outline of local politics difficult to follow.[86] In order to avoid this problem, a chronological approach to analysis was thought preferable to comprehend fully local and regional political alignments. During the period, the monarchs' reigns provide a means of dividing up such an analysis manageably and, naturally, a change of regime often involved an alteration in local politics: consequently, division of the epoch by reign also permits some, albeit limited, consideration of kingship. In addition, one historian has pointed out that:

> the widespread emphasis on private interest as the defining feature of politics, and the fact that some local studies have treated county societies as discrete political units in isolation from wider regional or national structures, have meant that the nature and functions of royal authority have been only marginal elements in the account of political society constructed by much of this research.[87]

Clearly, there is also a requirement to attempt to integrate local, regional, and national perspectives in order to present a more accurate picture of the reality of political society. But how might that be achieved? In order to relate local and regional politics to national affairs as much as possible, it has seemed appropriate for each chapter to incorporate a regional evaluation summarising the major developments, and hence enabling broader national conclusions to be drawn.

Chapter 5 focuses on Henry VI's reign from 1450 until his deposition in

[85] For Cade's Revolt: Harvey (1991).

[86] Carpenter (1994a), 363.

[87] Castor (2000), 7 (quotation); Horrox (1992), 394; Carpenter (1994a).

1461 – charting the fortunes of the Beaufort dukes of Somerset in Somerset and Dorset, of Lord Bonville further west, and later those of the earl of Wiltshire across the region. Chapter 6 examines Edward IV's first reign and Henry VI's Readeption – studying the regional hegemony of Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick, and the destruction of this scheme in the 1469 uprisings. Chapter 7 looks at Edward IV's second reign and the complex restructuring of local politics that was undertaken, which indicates a movement from the prominence of the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, to that of the king's stepson, Thomas, Marquess of Dorset. Chapter 8 focuses on Richard III's reign: the upheavals following the October Rebellion which acutely affected the region, and how the ensuing uneasy settlement and his employment of 'northern plantations' proved to stir further problems for his kingship. Chapter 9 examines the first fifteen years of Henry VII's reign – charting the prominence of Giles, Lord Daubeney in Somerset and Dorset, and Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke in Devon and Cornwall, and the 1497 Revolts. Each chapter examines the politics and structures of governance of each county, evaluating the extent to which the political elites' interactions and interests were 'regional' in nature. The final chapter attempts to discuss questions posed by this study, and evaluate those major themes which are too significant to be omitted yet too unwieldy to be handled amid the course of the preceding chapters.

Despite this neat categorisation of the period by monarchical reign, the problem of studying four counties presented difficulties over the arrangement of these analyses. Would an account of the south-western region as a whole give equal weighting to each constituent county? Can local affairs in Cornwall be adequately analysed and explained alongside those of Dorset? The answers seemed to be that, within each chapter, each county should be given equality of analysis. However, this also posed problems – if two inter-linked counties were included in one account, would there be an inference that they are to be interpreted as an entity, and would this affect our conclusions? How far are counties inter-linked? Do Devon and Cornwall, with their joint escheatry, form a distinct entity, comparable to Somerset and Dorset

with their joint shrievalty and joint escheatry? If Somerset and Dorset are to be regarded as one unit of analysis, why not Devon and Cornwall? In order to settle these problems, the most appropriate arrangement seemed to be one which gave, as far as possible, each county an analysis on an equal basis. Consequently, in each chronological chapter, accounts of local governance and politics are structured on a county-by-county model. Although this arrangement of the discussion might have the effect of undermining the sense of region to some extent, at a practical level this approach has proved to be the most manageable way of organising material, and also the best way for understanding each county societies' context.

The consequence of this equality of approach to the counties, and of the requirement to draw regional and national evaluations, is a certain amount of repetition – because of the recurrence of important figures, alignments, and themes between each of the counties and each of the chapters (although this is avoided as much as possible). Yet, it is only by recognising the frequency with which particular individuals, connections, and structures reappear – across counties, and throughout the period – that it is possible to summarise the extent to which there was a 'regional' element to the south-western political elites. Indeed, there is the question of the extent to which Edward IV's management of his south-western hegemony helped to forge the shires into a specific region. Of course, this is related to the issue of whether Edward IV's south-west region was a new creation or was based on a pre-existing region – which is the focus of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER TWO

REGIONS AND IDENTITIES IN SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

Did the western counties form a coherent (or at least reasonably related) whole that was recognisable as a 'south-west' region? If not, to which other region(s) might the south-west counties have belonged? Firstly it is necessary to determine how it is possible to define regions. In the fifteenth-century, the Latin noun *region* or *regionis* meant locality, boundary, or district and the term denoted a 'district of rule'. The word could describe a range of districts, from small to large scales: from the rule or government of a kingdom, to a tract of land or 'country'. At the broadest level, 'country' meant the land of a nation, but at a local level it embodied 'the landscape spread out before one' – an expanse of undefined extent, or a district with distinct characteristics such as the 'fen country'; in addition, it could also be an area with defined limits in relation to human occupation.[1] The definition of regions is especially difficult, given the variety of interpretations of the term; but, simultaneously, it is this ambiguity that explains, in part, its popularity. Internally, regions are expected to be relatively homogeneous and externally separated from other regions by visible differences.[2] However the extent to which any region is homogeneous is debatable, since no region can be completely self-contained and is subject to external influences. As (re-)constructions of regions, no study can offer a complete portrait of a region, and regions can vary in scale and size: from micro-, and meso-scale, to macro-scale.[3]

On one hand, regions may be comprehended as districts sharing distinct characteristics (such as topographic, economic, social, or cultural) and, on the other hand, as territories delimited by human activities in relation to centres of activity (in

[1] *OED*, xiii, 510–11; iii, 1041.
[2] Newton (2006), 4; Scott (2000), 155.
[3] Marshall (1992), 18; Allen (1998), 1–2.

terms of 'central place' theory, for instance). Regions might also be defined firstly in terms of such distinct essential characteristics, and secondly in terms of such functions as centres of activity. An 'essential' region is pre-existing and natural in origin: when the space itself determines the region by its geography and topography. Landscape profoundly influences social, economic, and cultural interactions, but it does not always constrain such relations; this therefore questions whether it should be physical environment or societal structures that form the basis of a region.[4] A 'functional' region is one defined by its subject – serving a purpose imposed on it by man. Studies of functionally-determined regions are preoccupied by their own focus: the aim, subject, and method are of more consequence than the territory. Given that regions are flexible enough to be defined by subject and space, there are limitless possibilities for contexts and focuses of study.[5]

While there is a dichotomy between regions determined in terms of essence and function, there is a further dichotomy between real and imagined communities and identities. Regions 'reflect the accumulated wealth of history and tradition' so 'may be seen as the product of both reality (or nature) and of imagination (or human agency)'; hence they 'are as much the product of imagination, of lived traditions and cultural formations, as they are of any "material" reality'.[6] Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' – that a nation exists when a significant number of people 'consider' or 'imagine themselves' to form one – seems applicable to any community. As an imagined community, a region should have limited (if porous) boundaries; and its inhabitants ought to have a sense of solidarity.[7] Perhaps a collective identity is most effectively developed around the focus of an institution – kingdoms and counties have institutionalised identities, but regions do not. For the majority of the time, a conscious sense of distinctiveness can be covert; as only

[4] Marshall (1985), 19–20; Marshall (1986), 1–2.

[5] Marshall (1985), 16, 21, 23; Ainsworth and Scott (2000), 18–19. Regions might be regarded as 'zones of human activity': Royle (1998a), 2.

[6] Ainsworth and Scott (2000), 7, 19.

[7] Anderson (1983), 15.

activated by encounters with others, external influences can therefore serve to further hone and highlight identities;[8] but the definition of identities in relation to others can be more difficult for regions than it is for kingdoms and counties. In addition, the importance of external influences in forming identities perhaps challenges the general argument that communities cannot exist without some intrinsic coherence.

Mirroring the defining of regions based on a shared subject or inherent distinctiveness, there is the question of whether identities are defined by similarities or differences. But senses of similarity and distinctiveness alter and adjust according to different conditions and vary over time. Moreover, people adopt different identities at different times, for different purposes. The changing cultural, political, and administrative landscape provides a multitude of focal points for identification, so that – at different levels – series of regional entities can be discerned.[9] Yet, while many regional foci might be only transient, others may be of some longevity; some may be of limited extent, whereas others may be of broad expanse. It has been argued that 'physical features might define a potential region and help shape human activity, but ultimately it is what human beings make of the environment which shapes the nature of the region';[10] hence it is inadequate simply to define regions from geography alone. So, how should the question of south-west England be approached with regard to whether it formed a region?

* * *

South-West England is often equated with the indefinite terms 'Wessex' or the 'West Country'. The novels of Thomas Hardy reintroduced the region of 'Wessex' into the popular imagination and, although the novelist himself was vague in his use of the word, he primarily used it to refer to Somerset and Dorset. Whilst the mytho-poetic 'Wessex' may have connotations of reliability and stability, the realities of the historical Wessex were rather different.[11] Although the Anglo-Saxon kingdom

[8] Newton (2006), 7–8; Royle (1998a), 10; Colley (1992), 309–27.

[9] Newton (2006), 8, 9, 11, 13; Pollard (1994), 13–28.

[10] Quoted in Royle (1998a), 4.

[11] Cunliffe (1993), 1; Cunliffe (2006); Kain (2006).

corresponded approximately with Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, through conquest, Wessex's borders extended westwards to Land's End, and indeed eastwards and northwards almost to encapsulate the entirety of modern England by the eleventh century (though the region then became the Anglo-Saxon earldom of Wessex). So, 'Wessex' and 'West Country' can be misleading terms to some extent, because of their indeterminate and varying nature.

Fifteenth-century chroniclers alluded to the 'west countrie', meaning the south-western parts of the kingdom extending from Land's End to perhaps Bristol; so the 'west' formed a recognisable if indistinctly demarcated 'country' in fifteenth-century England. However, as A.M. Everitt has pointed out, our current regional terms are relatively recent creations: they have 'no very lengthy lineage';[12] this contrasts with the English shire system which is more ancient in origin than are the duchies of France (so commonly cited in comparison). Clearly, it is hazardous to assume that modern regional configurations can be found in past societies: 'it is not simply that the generalisations they give rise to are often likely to prove spurious, but they usually impose the wrong kind of regional pattern upon the landscape of history'.[13] Indeed, as A.J. Pollard pointed out:

> Regions in the past were less homogeneous and clearly defined than we might today expect. All regions were highly localized and fragmented, containing many overlapping 'countries' and extending beyond county borders.[14]

Therefore it is necessary to abandon current preconceptions concerning regions and their definitions.

Even so, might south-west England be defined as a region, and was regional governance based on a pre-existing region? Although the south-west seems to be easily definable (being surrounded by sea on three sides), the question of defining its eastern extent is problematic. In order to discover the nature of the south-west as a region, perhaps the question that should be addressed is how regions can be defined,

[12] Everitt (1985a), 11.

[13] Everitt (1985a), 12.

[14] Pollard (1990), 13.

essentially in terms of geography, and functionally in terms of economy and culture. The ensuing exploratory discussion will investigate how the south-west did, or did not, form a region geographically, economically, and culturally. The issue of micro-, meso-, and macro-regions within and inclusive of the south-west is also addressed; it is particularly important to examine various kinds of regions in relation to these four counties in order to gain a greater overall understanding of the nature of south-western society.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS

Regions may be defined by geography, and the criteria of definition include geology, and topography. Concerning Cornwall, A.L. Rowse asserted that

> we must allow for the very remoteness of the country in accentuating its unity and homogeneity: a peninsula shut in on the east by the deep valley of the Tamar, with its ridge of hills and bleak moorlands on either side, on all the remaining sides, to north and south and west, the sea. This remoteness, this sense of separation, has been an abiding factor all through Cornish history.[15]

Geographical obstacles posed by rivers and uplands undoubtedly impinged on the region's accessibility; it has been calculated that, during the Middle Ages, it would take four days journey to reach Somerset and Dorset from Westminster (similar to that for most Midland counties): five days taken to reach Devon is comparable to travelling to the west or north Midlands (such as Shropshire and Staffordshire). The six days taken to reach Cornwall compares to a journey to Yorkshire; only Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Durham and Northumberland would have taken seven and eight days' journey.[16] Defined in relation to distance from the capital, it seems that the south-west is less isolated than the north-west or north-east, although all three regions were relatively remote from central government, constituting peripheral areas (the region's marginality is revisited below, pp. 61–2).

Geography, the foundation on which human structures were built, is of

[15] Rowse (1941), 21.

[16] Armstrong (1948), 429–54; Ormrod (2000), 75–98; Hindle (1976), 207–21.

considerable importance in shaping human societies over the *longue durée*. Geology determines landscape and influences agricultural practices and settlement patterns, which affects social, economic, and political interactions.[17] Cornwall and Devon's geology is distinct from the counties further east, in form and age; hence various works discuss the shires as a region.[18] The geologies and landscapes of north-eastern Cornwall are similar to those of southern Devon, and Devon also is dominated by its granite uplands of Dartmoor and Exmoor.[19] The land between the Tamar and Exmoor in northern Devon has soils that are wet and acidic but not unproductive. It is only in eastern Devon that there is a change in geology, where the River Exe divides western Devon's distinctive red soils from the Dorset lowlands' mixed soils.[20] Cornwall and Devon's relative geological unity was emphasised by Sir Cyril Fox in *The Personality of Britain* when he divided Britain into 'highland' and 'lowland' zones, categorising Cornwall/Devon as part of Britain's highland zone (along with Wales and the Marches, the Pennines, and Scotland).[21]

While the soils of Somerset and Dorset are geologically distinguished from those further west, there is little to separate them from counties further east. Fox recognised that Somerset and Dorset belonged to the lowland zone of south and Midland England. Across southern England, the underlying chalk gives unity to topography, farming, and settlement patterns from the Salisbury Plain to the Kentish Weald. The chalk of Salisbury Plain extends through Dorset to the sea at Weymouth, and a limestone ridge begins in the Cotswolds, and ends at Bridport and Lyme Bay. The heavy clays of the Somerset levels also extend to the Marshwood and Blackmore vales.[22] Clearly, the south-western counties do not form a coherent geological entity, rather Cornwall and Devon form one distinct region, whilst Somerset and Dorset form

[17] As emphasised by Everitt (1985b), 41–59; Everitt (1985a), 11–40; also Braudel (1988).

[18] *VCH Cornwall*, i, 1–46; Caseldine (2000), 25–34; for instance, Todd (1987); Kain (2006); Kain and Ravenhill (2000).

[19] Todd (1987), 3–6.

[20] *VCH Devon*, i, 1–48; Todd (1987), 1; Kain (2006).

[21] Fox (1947), 28–50.

[22] Cunliffe (1993), 2, 3; Bettey (1986), 3; Bettey (2000), 27–49; Cunliffe (2006).

another (with the latter shires more allied with their eastern, rather than their western, neighbours).

Geology determines topography, and both influence agricultural and settlement patterns. Land relief and river systems are of particular pertinence, since areas of higher ground can make lowlands difficult to access, and rivers offer additional obstructions. Cornwall, 'a county of hills and moors', is dominated by Bodmin Moor in the east, and further moorlands in the west, offering substantial obstacles to internal communications.[23] Another hindrance is the River Tamar, providing the county's boundary. Part of Devon's centre is dominated by Dartmoor, which, although passable, is easier circumnavigated; and Exmoor and the Blackdown Hills mark Devon's eastern frontier, with the River Exe providing a divide in geology and landscape. In addition, Somerset and Dorset were less topographically obstructed, however, Somerset is bordered in the east by Salisbury Plain (perhaps inhibiting some Wiltshire interactions), and between the Mendips, in the north-east, and the Blackdowns, in the south-west, lay the Somerset levels.[24]

It has been argued by C.V. Phythian-Adams that river drainage systems 'represent identifiable lines of punctuation in the landscape'.[25] He has further suggested that different patterns of drainage have often provided the 'most influential matrices for the creation of human territories': hence the territories of native British tribal groupings and the outline of the later shire system can be seen to have relied on physical settings.[26] The coincidence between major rivers' watersheds and county boundaries seems too close for the former not to have influenced the latter. While Phythian-Adams's cultural provinces take watersheds into account, they can often encompass a number of drainage systems. His cultural provinces have 'unifying characteristics that contribute to a broad commonality of culture'; but that does not imply homogeneity, and such provinces were only 'generally focused arenas of

[23] Rowse (1941), 31.

[24] Cunliffe (1993), 2, 3; Bettey (1986), 3.

[25] Phythian-Adams (1993a), 11.

[26] Phythian-Adams (1993a), 12.

influence and regional interaction', subject to subdivisions, and each with a border that was merely a 'broad transitional zone'.[27]

Phythian-Adams identified, in the south-west, a 'South British Sea' province, comprising Cornwall and Devon. Somerset forms part of the 'Severn Estuary' province allied with South Wales and the Marches and focused on the River Severn and the Bristol Channel. Dorset's border with Devon is also one of overlapping watersheds, but most of Dorset is included within the watershed of the Hampshire basin, and is part of the 'French Channel' province (comprising Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex). In addition, Phythian-Adams has also recently stressed the significance of 'frontier valleys', forming a divide between two cultural provinces – 'major punctuation marks on the political and cultural map'.[28] Indeed, given that the land west of the Exe is held as dissimilar from the rest of England in 'geology, landscape, climate, and tenor of life', perhaps the Vale of the Exe can be identified as a frontier valley – dividing the 'far west' from the 'near west' of Somerset and Dorset.[29] Perhaps to a lesser extent the River Tamar could also be regarded as a frontier valley in its role as a border between Cornwall and Devon. Evidently, topographically, the south-west did not form a coherent entity, but, as with its geology, was divided into a far-west Cornwall-Devon province, with Somerset forming a distinct province looking towards the Severn, and Dorset facing the Hampshire basin.

ECONOMIC REGIONS

Geology and landscape obviously influence agriculture – a prime economic activity. Our second way of defining a region is by function, and one means of defining an economic region is by the extent and nature of differing farm economies. Landscape and agriculture inform settlement patterns which determine the details of such economies in relation to settlements; and it is also possible to define economic regions

[27] Phythian-Adams (1993a), 13–14.

[28] Phythian-Adams (2000), 242.

[29] Todd (1987), 1; the Exe's importance as a boundary is emphasised in Kleineke (2003), 75–94.

based on urban centres (below, pp. 40–3). In addition to the cultural nature of his provinces, Phythian-Adams also suggested that such areas operated 'in a very real degree as regional economic systems'. Further to the constraints that river valleys could impose, each of his provinces included a major urban centre which might serve as the focus for that region (though, sometimes, merging with those of their immediate neighbours).[30] In order to answer whether the south-western 'cultural provinces' were reflected in regional economies, it is necessary to outline the south-west's agricultural *pays* and other commercial activities.

In the south-west, it is possible to discern small agricultural regions or *pays*, composed of areas of similar farm economies, cultures of work, and cultural landscapes: such as wold, downland, wood pasture, and moorland; and these might vary in size.[31] On a larger scale it is possible to draw the outlines of broader agrarian regions with similar farming specialities. It has been argued that Devon and Cornwall formed a distinct agricultural province because of the similarities between their farming practices – being largely pastoral in character, including parts of Somerset.[32] In 1602, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, Richard Carew recorded that

> the middle part of the shire lieth waste and open, sheweth a blackish colour, beareth heath and spiry grass, and serveth in a manner only to summer cattle. That which bordereth upon either side of the sea…carrieth a better hue and more profitable quality. Meadow ground it affordeth little, pasture for cattle and sheep, store enough, corn ground plenty.[33]

In the fifteenth century, Cornish agriculture was divided into three areas: firstly, the western moorlands in the far west; secondly, an outer ring constituting what has been called the Cornish coastlands; and thirdly, an inner area – the island-like moors of Bodmin and Blackmoor. During the later Middle Ages, as a consequence of demographic crisis, the Cornish moorlands moved from being partly cultivated to becoming largely waste and pasture lands; in contrast, the north and south Cornish

[30] Phythian-Adams (1993a), 17.

[31] Bettey (2000); Fox (2000); Dyer (2000); Hey (2000); Everitt (1985b), 41–59.

[32] Thirsk (1967a), 1–112, esp. 4, 71–80; Thirsk (1987), 13–17, 24, 28, 37–55.

[33] Rowse (1941), 31.

coastlands maintained their status as good grainlands (especially for wheat, corn, barley, and oats). The local stannaries and ports provided ready markets for such produce, and those areas also became prime regions for dairying.

Similarly to Cornwall, with its predominantly pastoral focus, Devon was divided into agricultural *pays*: the south Devon coastlands bordered by Dartmoor; north and mid-Devon edged by Exmoor in the far north-east; and east Devon. During the late medieval period, in south Devon, as in the Cornish coastlands, the modest decline in the proportion of arable land was matched by the development of a prime dairying region; Dartmoor became largely pasture. In north and mid-Devon, cultivatable clay soils produced low yields which, combined with the lack of markets, meant that the main focus became pasture and cattle-rearing. In east Devon, nearby urban markets for dairy and meat aided the development of a well-rounded pastoral farm economy.[34]

Parts of Somerset might also be included within this far western agricultural region because of certain areas' inclination to pastoral farming, but there were also wood-pasture *pays* in the eastern and southern parts of that county. Conversely, Dorset, because of its downlands, formed part of an agricultural province also including Wiltshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire.[35] However, Somerset and Dorset mostly combined both livestock husbandry and arable cultivation, with main crops such as wheat, barley, and oats. Salisbury Plain, extending through Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire, being chalkland, was dominated by corn cultivation of corn and sheep pasture. The sandy heathlands of south-east Dorset were fit for cattle, and the coastal pastures of north Somerset and the drained wetlands stretching inland to Glastonbury were the preserve of cattle-farming. Animal husbandry did not predominate entirely, with the Vale of Taunton as the granary of the west. Areas of forest or woodland pasture were more focussed in eastern Somerset and Dorset than further west, and such areas were usually dominated by mixed farming and dairying.

[34] Fox (1991a); Fox (1991b); Fox (2000a); Fox (1989a); Kowaleski (1995), 10–17.

[35] Thirsk (1967a), 66–71; Thirsk (1987), 13–17, 39.

Certainly, it appears that Cornwall and Devon (with parts of Somerset) formed one farming region, particularly focused on pastoral agriculture; while the remainder of Somerset, and Dorset, formed another, looking towards Wiltshire and other downland shires.[36]

The late-medieval south-western economy was not entirely agrarian. Just as economic regions can be defined in terms of agricultural *pays*, so they might also be defined on the basis of other activities: such as shipping, fishing, or tin-mining. It can be persuasively argued that the most powerful influence on the south-western peninsula was the sea, and particularly so the further west – which is no more fully expressed in the region's involvement in maritime activities.[37] Situated along the major shipping routes of the English and Bristol channels, the region profited from the trade of passing vessels; in particular, Cornishmen profited from their smuggling, piracy, and wrecking activities along the county's coastline.[38] The rich sea fisheries meant that fish was Cornwall's largest export, and was important along both coastlines to Bristol and Southampton, just as commercial shipping was.[39] Cornwall's economy was relatively diversified by being based on tin-mining, fishing, quarrying, shipping and shipbuilding, and also (to some extent) textile manufacture;[40] hence A.L. Rowse's description of the Cornish population as largely consisting of 'peasants, tinners, fishermen and sea-faring folk' seems essentially valid for the period in question.[41]

Whilst Cornwall's economy was diverse, those of Devon and the other counties were equally so. Like Cornwall, Devon could boast tin-mining as a major industry as well as lead and silver mines and limestone quarries. Moreover, in Devon,

[36] Miller (1991a); Miller (1991b). For forests: Neilson (1940–50), 460; Grant (1991), 221–9.

[37] *VCH Cornwall*, i, 475–512; *VCH Dorset*, ii, 175–228; *VCH Somerset*, ii, 245–66.

[38] For a maritime perspective: Richmond (1998–9), 1–19.

[39] Hatcher (1969), 212; Fox (2001); Kowaleski (2000a), 23–8, 243–5; Kowaleski (2000b), 429–54; Childs (1997); *Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings Relating to West Country Shipping*.

[40] Hatcher (1969), 208–27, 675–85.

[41] Rowse (1941), 31.

fishing and commercial shipping were also major activities.[42] One major industry that underwent a rapid growth in the region in the late Middle Ages was textile manufacture. Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire emerged as England's primary textile-producing region. The thriving cloth-working centres in east Somerset included Bath, Wells, Bruton, Frome, and Shepton Mallett, where undyed broadcloths would be produced and exported through local ports.[43] Although a great amount of cloth-making was centred in east Devon and Somerset, western Devon and the Cornish borders were also important areas of production, with Tavistock, Plympton, and Totnes as major centres.[44]

Though not involved in textile manufacture to the same extent, Dorset could boast an augmenting rope-making industry at Bridport. The flourishing textile industry, combined with the boom in Cornwall's and Devon's tin-mining, provided a substantial and expanding market for agricultural produce, stimulating arable and pastoral husbandry and readjustments in farming practices and land tenure, across the region during the late Middle Ages.[45] Above these sub-regional details of diversity, there were certain economic activities common to all south-western counties, such as shipping, fishing, mining (to a certain extent), and also textile production; but, were there any other economic aspects that held the south-west together?

* * *

While regions can be delineated at micro- or macro-scale in terms of an area's shared agricultural or commercial activities, an economic region might be defined by the interaction of urban centres with their hinterlands.[46] Markets multiplied in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and this was particularly pronounced in the south-west, which had the largest number of boroughs in the realm (Devon had 71

[42] Kowaleski (1995), 17–19, 46, 224–32, 307–24.

[43] Miller (1991a), 146.

[44] Kowaleski (1995), 19, 23, 26.

[45] Hatcher (1969), 225; Fox (1989a), 48; Bettey (1986), 107–8.

[46] See Scott (2000); Stabel (2000); and Lesger (2000); also Russell (1972).

alone).[47] As foci of local exchange and for surrounding countryside and agricultural regions, boroughs provided a ready market for agricultural produce and other commodities.

Settlement patterns are of some relevance here, and a brief sketch of south-western settlement patterns would be beneficial. Their terrain determined Devon and Cornwall as lands of scattered homesteads and hamlets, and distinctive settlement patterns produced by metalliferous mining. These shires were thinly populated, with several tracts being virtually unoccupied, but because estuaries were such frequent features, coastal settlements were common (such as Dartmouth and Totnes on the River Dart, and Exmouth and Topsham on the Exe).[48] This pattern of sparse settlement applied, to some extent, to highland parts of western Somerset and Exmoor, with the Tone and Parrett forming a natural boundary between highland and lowland Somerset, but central and eastern Somerset exhibiting more populous settlements.[49] Certain parts of Devon were more densely settled (especially South Hams and the valleys of the Exe, Otter, Taw, and Torridge). Somerset's and Dorset's lowlands also had capacity for larger settlements, which were spread along valleys and coasts, such as Poole, Weymouth, and Lyme Regis (Dor.), and Minehead (Som.). Therefore, nucleated settlements were more concentrated in eastern Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, rather than further west, and this had some impact on local markets and the regional economy. Inland trade was of growing importance as a result of the growth of markets and fairs, such as those at Woodbury Hill near Bere Regis (Dor.), Whitedown, and Priddy (Som.).[50] Whilst small ports of Somerset and Dorset were central to woollen cloth exports and Bridgwater flourished through the export of cloth and hides, the large number of settlements in Somerset and Dorset may have encouraged the rise of the regional centre, Bristol.

Bristol grew rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a port and

[47] Britnell (1981); Farmer (1991), 324–430; Kowaleski (1995), 41–77, 353–70.
[48] Fox (2007).
[49] Costen (1992), 1–2; Aston (1989); Fox (1989b).
[50] Bettey (1986), 119–20.

manufacturing and market centre, fostering trading links with south Wales, Ireland, Spain, Gascony, Brittany, Iceland, and Genoa. Bristol exported a wide range of goods, ranging from cloth, hides, corn, to lead from the Mendips and Wales, tin from Devon and Cornwall, and iron and timber from the Forest of Dean, but its principal renown was as a centre of the woollen cloth trade, exporting wool from the Cotswolds, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Wales, and cloth from Coventry and Ludlow. The proximity of the port facilitated the ready export of cloth produced in the surrounding districts. Imports and local manufactures found their way to the Midlands and Marches; thus Bristol was a focal point for a string of ports extending to Chester, Milford Haven, London, and Plymouth, and also served as a regional focus for Somerset, Gloucestershire, part of Wiltshire, as well as the rest of the peninsula, and the Marches (Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire) and South Wales.[51]

Was there another regional capital, located in the far west? Exeter had become the administrative, ecclesiastical, and economic centre for the further west by the eleventh century. With its port of Exmouth, Exeter participated in overseas and inland trade, but because of its good overland communications its real focus was on trade with its hinterland. Exeter's commercial region was smaller than that of Bristol or Southampton, but still encompassed most of Devon, extending west into Cornwall and east into Somerset and Dorset.[52] Exeter traders attended Somerset fairs, and Somerset traders visited those at Bampton and Exeter, while Tavistock and Plymouth fairs drew visitors from Launceston and Morval (Cor.).[53] Exeter attracted migrants mostly from within a twenty-mile radius of the city, and one-tenth of migrants were from Somerset and Dorset. Also, traders from across Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Bristol were all active at Exeter.[54] Most of Exeter's shipping was coastal trade, which sustained Exeter's growth during the decline in trade with the continent during the Hundred

[51] Bettey (1986), 53, 64–75, 115; Walker (1972); Sacks (1991); Sherborne (1965); Carus-Wilson (1963).

[52] Kowaleski (1995), 27–8, 30–1, 260–78; Kowaleski (1984); *Local Customs Accounts of Exeter 1266–1321*; Barlow (1969).

[53] Kowaleski (1995), 56, 60–8.

[54] Kowaleski (1995), 84–8, 274–6, 279–324, 281–3.

Years' War. The next important market after Exeter was Barnstaple, on the north Devon coast, with its trade based around the Bristol Channel, Wales, and Ireland. Although Exeter was a major cloth exporter, much of that business was diverted to Devon's next most significant ports, Plymouth and Dartmouth, which were more concerned with Gascon and Iberian trade (because Dartmoor inhibited their domestic hinterlands).[55]

Agricultural regions, like geology and topography, seem to separate Cornwall and Devon from Somerset and Dorset. Commercial activities such as fishing and shipping were region-wide, but textile manufacture was specific to Devon and Somerset (and to a lesser extent Cornwall and Dorset), and tin-mining was exclusive to the far-western shires. Evidently, Cornwall and Devon looked to Exeter as their regional capital (as did some parts of Somerset and Dorset). Whilst Dorset may have looked to Exeter, Southampton, and partly to Bristol, it was certainly Bristol that was the regional capital for Somerset and the nearby areas around the Bristol Channel.

CULTURAL REGIONS

If landscape influences settlements and agriculture, it must also influence economic activities – as Phythian-Adams pointed out with respect to his cultural provinces. Naturally, environment also influences societies and cultures.[56] Regions, based on centres of shared human activity, may be regarded as cultural regions, of which many might be discerned, and perhaps a pertinent question is whether the south-west or its component societies had distinct identities. Certain criteria have been generally accepted as central to the defining of identities: differentiation by ethnicity, name, collective memory, common sentiment, and common political structures.[57] But these criteria may also be applied to any community at any level. Hence, they can be followed to determine whether the south-west had a regional identity, and an

[55] Kowaleski (1995), 68–77, 222–32.

[56] See, for instance, Harvey (2003).

[57] See Davies (1994); Davies (1995); Davies (1996); Davies (1997). History and race are discussed in Samuel (1989).

exploratory evaluation of how the region conforms or fails to match these criteria will prove illuminating by showing the existence of other regions within and encompassing the south-west.

* * *

The first feature by which a community might be defined is by ethnicity, in that it forms a distinct people, but even the notion of a 'people may be 'utterly elusive'.[58] By the late Iron Age, England was divided into British or Celtic tribal kingdoms, later forming the basis of Roman *civitates*. Although it is difficult to define these entities' borders, core tribal areas can be recognised as based around their political and administrative centres. Devon and Cornwall (with the western part of Somerset) comprised the territory of the Dumnonii, with the Roman legionary fortress of Exeter later becoming the *civitas* capital for Devon. In Cornwall, there may have been minor Roman forts at Truro, Lostwithiel, and Launceston. Centuries later, it was at Launceston that assizes and quarter sessions met, and also where the county gaol was located (though county elections took place at the duchy centre, Lostwithiel). The central and northern part of Somerset probably formed the territory of the Dobunni (also extending into Gloucestershire) and, from the third century, their *civitas* capital may have been Ilchester (with Somerton later becoming an Anglo-Saxon administrative centre). Dorset and southern Somerset formed the territory of the Durotriges, with their eastern limit as Wiltshire's Avon, and their *civitas* capital at Dorchester (later becoming Dorset's administrative centre).[59] Central and southern Hampshire was the territory of the Belgae, whose capital was Winchester, and northern Hampshire and southern Berkshire were the land of the Attrebates. These tribal groupings covered such large tracts of country that they may have also embraced a number of smaller population sub-groups.[60]

After Roman administration ended in the early fifth century, tribal groupings

[58] Davies (1994), 3.

[59] Todd (1987), 189–205.

[60] Todd (1987), 205–35; Cunliffe (1993), 200–12.

survived, and by the mid-sixth century Dumnonia and the other tribes had become consolidated into kingdoms. The Saxon 'expansion of Wessex' was only sporadically achieved over three centuries. After 600, the Saxons expanded their rule, and the Dumnonii were pushed further west to beyond the River Tamar (later becoming called Cornovii). Though successive Anglo-Saxon kings attacked Dumnonia, a Cornish king continued to rule as a dependant of the kings of Wessex. By 918, Wessex had come to encompass all Mercia, including Cheshire; and the last act in the Saxon conquest was Athelstan's campaign in 936, which annexed lands west of the Tamar.[61]

Although the Anglo-Saxons conquered the south-western peninsula, they could not hope to displace its native peoples so there must have been some continuity of ancient ethnic groupings and administrative structures – particularly in the far west.[62] Such continuity is illustrated by place-names in the western counties: while Devon's place-names are largely Old English in origin, those of Cornwall are mostly of Cornish (Brythonic) derivation.[63] Despite the two counties' general similarities there were also certain characteristic differences between them. The general sense of difference in Cornwall is also indicated in the fact that during later centuries, the non-English peoples of the British Isles were viewed as barbarous and uncivilised.[64] The Cornish (like the Welsh, Irish and Scots) were 'treated with lofty derision by their English neighbours, who mocked them as uncivilised peasants'.[65] After the Western Rebellion of 1497, it was reported that Henry VII had not gained 'a worthy victory, having been against such a base crew as those Cornish men'.[66] But this disdain was also reciprocal, with many Cornish nursing grievances against the conquering English: in the 1580s, John Norden reported that the Cornish

> retayne a kinde of conceyled envye agaynste the Englishe, whom they yet affecte with a desire of revenge for their fathers sakes, by whome their fathers

[61] Todd (1987), 236–74; Cunliffe (1993), 266–333.
[62] Instey (2005), 15–31.
[63] Padel (2000), 88–94.
[64] Davies (1995), 12–13.
[65] Stoyle (2000), 1121.
[66] *CSPV 1202–1509*, no. 760; also 864, 869.

received the repulse.[67]

These 'simmering ethnic tensions' are argued to have fuelled the rebellions of 1497 and 1549, and later, the seventeenth-century Civil War in the far west has been judged to have taken on the aspect of an 'ethnic conflict'.[68]

Ethnically, the south-west seems to have been divided between the Celtic groups of the Dumnonii of Devon and Cornwall, the Dobunni of Somerset, and the Durotriges of Dorset. The ancient tribal focuses were their capitals, which continued as political, diocesan, and administrative centres throughout the early and later Middle Ages (these and diocesan centres are discussed later) – thus the shires had their county towns as long-standing foci. The permanence of administration at these centres confirms the notion of continuity from tribal groupings to later shires, consequently, because of that longevity, there would be a long-founded sense of county identities.

* * *

Identification is a two-way process: there is imposition and acceptance. Part of defining difference is to label distinctiveness, leading to the imposition and acceptance of names and boundaries. Beneath the label of a single name, a people can believe themselves to be a community. The notion of a homeland – whether ideal or reality – requires territorial definition, and defining of such borders may also identify membership of the people.[69] As seen, none of the boundaries of the Roman *civitates*, based on tribes, coincided exactly with the shire boundaries that emerged in the ninth century, apart from the border between the Durotriges and the Belgae along the Somerset/Dorset border with Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. This border represented the extent of the kingdom of Wessex in the fifth and sixth centuries. The Tamar has long been regarded as Cornwall's border, arising from the boundary formed by the Dumnonii (Cornovii) as they were forced westward. Clearly, later shires would have been based, to a great extent, on earlier sub-kingdoms and boundaries of earlier units. The western shires' names themselves suggest continuity

[67] Norden, 28.

[68] Stoyle (1996), 299–323; Stoyle (2000), 1123. Stoyle (2002a); Stoyle (2002b).

[69] Davies (1995), 3, 10.

between tribal territories and Saxon shires. Cornwall originates from the tribal name Cornovii meaning 'horn-' or 'promontory-dwellers' and the Old English *wealas* meaning 'foreigners' (from which also derived 'Wales' or 'Welsh'). Devon derives from Dumnonia, and the *Defena* ('men of Devon'); the *saete* ('settlers') later came to mean 'people of the shire', hence *Dornsaete*, stemming from the Romano-British name of its administrative centre, Dorchester, and *Somersaete* derived from its administrative centre of Somerton.[70]

* * *

The third criterion of identity is differentiation by common memory: the extent of collective remembrance in the form of lineages, mythologies, histories, poetry, and literature.[71] As the form in which shared mythologies were transmitted, language could also perpetuate collective self-belief and identity. Rowse's romantic view of Cornwall was of a

> homogeneous society of its own, defined by language and having a common history underneath, like Brittany or Wales or Ireland, reaching back beyond Normans and Saxons, beyond even Rome in these islands, to an antiquity of which its people were dimly conscious.[72]

The Cornish had myths and memories that celebrated their ancient past, such as the legends of *Mark* and *Tristan and Iseult*. There were also local myths surrounding the Celtic warrior Arthur, defending his homeland against the invading English. Arthur was supposedly born at Tintagel; but Arthurian myths also extended across the west, Cadbury Castle (Som.) was reputed to be the legendary Camelot, there were also connections with Dunster (Som.), and Glastonbury was reputed to be Arthur's resting-place.[73] The unravelling of complex layers of evolving Arthurian mythology has concerned many historians, archaeologists, literary and other experts, and it is significant that Sir Thomas Malory (*c.*1410–71), author of the major exposition of

[70] Yorke (1995), 84–5, 87–90; Thomas (1973), 5–21.

[71] For 'national fictions': Samuel (1989); for saints: *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints*.

[72] Rowse (1941), 20.

[73] Berresford Ellis (1974), 21, 23–5. For example: Jenner (1927), 190–200; Radford (1942), 25–41; Radford and Swanton (1975), 16–57; Ashe (1968).

these legends, *Morte d'Arthur*, represented Wareham (Dor.) in the parliament of 1450–1, even though his landholding was confined to Warwickshire and other Midland shires.[74]

Malory's work was, of course, written in English, the predominant tongue of the south-western counties except for Cornwall, which had its own language. As a Brythonic language, Cornish was related to both Welsh and Breton but more particularly to the latter.[75] Rowse suggested

> how much stronger then was that sense of separateness, a very real sense of isolation, when reinforced by difference of language and the geographical condition of the Middle Ages.[76]

However, the extent to which Cornish was spoken throughout Cornwall is the subject of some debate. In 1329, John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327–69), writing to Rome, stated that 'the language known in the extremities of Cornwall is still not English but British'.[77] Others have suggested that Cornish was spoken on a wider basis than in just the 'extremities', and a recent synthesis suggests that by 1500 the language had retreated to the western two-thirds of the county; but this may be a premature finding. Generally, the Cornish language was in decline from at least the twelfth century, finally expiring in the far west of the county in the late-eighteenth century – only to be resurrected (somewhat artificially) a century later.[78] Nevertheless, in 1506, a Venetian wrote home from Falmouth 'in the midst of a most barbarous race, so different in language and customs from the Londoners and the rest of England that they are as unintelligible to these last as the Venetians [are]'.[79] If Rowse's suggestion that Cornwall can be defined by its language is followed, then since Cornish may have been spoken in only the western two-thirds of the county by 1500, 'true' Cornwall could be said to exist only beyond Truro and the Lizard in what was,

[74] *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*; Field (1993); Carpenter (1980), 31–43; *HPB*, 567–8.
[75] Todd (1987), 239–41; Berresford Ellis (1974), 31.
[76] Rowse (1941), 21.
[77] Berresford Ellis (1974), 33; George (1986), 67–70.
[78] Spriggs (2003), 228–69; Cooper (2003), 8–9, 52–8.
[79] *CSPV 1202–1519*, 314.

effectively, an ever-decreasing Cornish-speaking region.

Celtic influences, like Arthurian legends, were not felt only in Cornwall. The incidence of river names of 'Brythonic' or British/Celtic origin has been shown to be directly comparable to a map charting the Anglo-Saxon conquest. The first area stretching from the Yorkshire wolds to Salisbury Plain contained few Celtic names; while in a second area, further west from the Scottish borders to Hampshire, such names were more common. The third area, consisting of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, the Welsh Marches, and Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, was where Brittonic rivers names were especially recurrent. That Somerset, Dorset, and Devon rivers have a high proportion of Celtic names correlates with the fact that it was not until after 600 that the region faced Anglo-Saxon conquest. The final area, comprising Wales and Cornwall, was overwhelmingly Celtic, and formed the final areas to be conquered.[80] Although river names would be conservative in nature, linguistically Cornwall seems to have formed a distinct region from the other western counties; but Devon, Somerset, and Dorset also formed another region, dissimilar from the other counties further east. Such differences are also observable in later place-names, and because of the importance of location in the formation of identities, arguably such locational distinctiveness cannot be dismissed as either ancient or irrelevant to the region in the Middle Ages.

* * *

In addition to its common histories, a community's language might also be enshrined in its legislation, shared laws and customs. One custom that was practised was partible inheritance, which was predominant in Cornwall until the early Middle Ages. Some landholding differences did continue: on many Cornish estates and on some in Devon, large numbers of occupiers were *conventionarii*, holding land under a system of regularly re-negotiated leases whereby, septennially, all tenants simultaneously surrendered their holdings.[81] The Cornish also preserved, to some extent, the Celtic

[80] Jackson (1953), 208–9, 219–61.

[81] Fox (1989a), 45; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, ci–cxx.

practice of patronymics (as did the Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic Scots), although a cursory glance at Cornish pedigrees reveals that few gentry families continued this practice during the later Middle Ages, and most had adopted toponymic surnames.[82]

Law was a crucial bond with the people, and the law of a people was issued by its leader.[83] The south-west counties were subject to the same common law as the rest of England, but there were also some differences within the region (which may have had some impact upon the development of identities). In Cornwall and Devon, over several centuries, jurisdictions developed around the main areas where tin was mined and smelted, and these were overseen by the institutions of the 'stannaries' which also bestowed privileges on tin-miners (the term *stannary* encapsulates both customs and institutions). Within these districts operated an ancient, complex, and customary law, forming an 'effectively autonomous fiscal, legislative and legal jurisdiction'.[84] Elements of stannary law pre-dated the tenth-century subjugation of the Cornish kingdom, whilst other parts were of Anglo-Saxon and Norman origin, tin-miners benefited from the accumulation of certain rights and privileges designed for their good governance, and for the encouragement of their industry. In 1198, miners' juries were summoned to enunciate the existing laws and practices relating to tin-mining, and ordained administrative arrangements for the stannaries; and, in 1201, miners were made subject to the jurisdiction of the lord warden of the stannaries.[85]

In light of the perils and adversities that tin-miners faced on a daily basis, it seems understandable that there would develop among them a sense of insularity and common identity. However, as mentioned, the stannaries were not restricted to Cornwall alone, but also included parts of Devon. The Cornish and Devonian division between stannaries was extant by 1198, with each having its own seal, convocation ('great court' or 'parliament'), and legislature. Charters of 1305 defined eight

[82] For example: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, cxxv–cxxvii; *Visitations of Cornwall*. Hence the familiar rhyme: 'by Tre-, Pol-, and Pen-, you shall know the Cornish men'.

[83] Davies (1996), 8.

[84] Salzman (1940–50); *CPR 1494–1509*, 578–9; Pennington (1973), 7–10, 20; Thornton (2000b), 3.

[85] Pennington (1973), 9, 14–16, 35–43; Stoyle (2000), 1121–2; Cooper (2003), 191–2.

geographical divisions of the stannaries, four in each county.[86] The boundaries between the Devon towns overlapped at Dartmoor's Crockern Tor, which was where the Devon stannaries' convocation met.[87]

In 1305, Edward I confirmed privileges granted by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, and granted tinners immunity from royal and manorial courts, subjecting them only to the jurisdiction of the lord warden 'for all pleas and suits arising within the said stannaries except pleas of land, life and limb'. Tinners could sue and be sued in stannary courts, and were exempt from certain royal and local taxes, such as feudal aids. Miners in Devon were, in 1327, exempted from all taxes but this did not extend to Cornish miners.[88] Tin taxes, imposed by the earls of Cornwall in the later thirteenth century, continued after 1337, and collection of coinage duty took place at Michaelmas and Easter in both counties' stannary towns.[89]

While it might be tempting to equate Cornish laws and customs with stannary laws and customs, the two were different. Though the stannaries constituted an enduring tin-mining region, stannary law applied in only certain areas of Cornwall and Devon and there were subtle distinctions between the two counties' laws in terms of privileges and each had its own convocation. The duchy's jurisdiction within the county and its regalian rights require further consideration (below, pp. 89–102).

* * *

The final criterion for defining a community is differentiation by political structure. As mentioned, common laws sanctioned both authority and a people's corporate individuality, so regnal solidarity – whereby a community endorses and is shaped by a powerful and well-articulated authority – can be important in defining identities. Since territorial borders were often porous and indistinct, communities would be defined by centres – hence the significance of a regnal focus. The most enduring community

[86] Salzman (1940–50), 101; Pennington (1973), 16; Hatcher (1969), 226; Cooper (2003), 188–207.

[87] Booker (1971), 100–39; Pennington (1973), 19–20, 22.

[88] *VCH Cornwall*, i, 522–63; Pennington (1973), 16, 19; Cooper (2003), 192; Salzman (1940–50), 67–104, esp. 88ff.

[89] Pennington (1973), 137–46.

would be one in which people and polity were closely matched; for instance, to be English was to have sworn allegiance to the English king.[90]

If it is possible to define a region in relation to a centre, so there might be a variety of political regions, ranging from hundreds and counties, to an individual magnate's sphere of influence, and even the realm itself – any unit with a 'political centre' might be a political region. But what were the political structures of the south-west? Were these of some longevity, and did they provide a macro-level regional focus? The region's political structures can be divided into formal (or public) and informal (or private) structures; the former consisted of hundreds, county administrations, and dioceses, while the latter included lordship. At the micro-level, hundreds, as the shire's main subdivision, with their focus being the courts and constables, could have formed political administrative regions. Hundreds probably evolved from earlier administrative units, but even though they varied in size and extent from area to area, hundreds were common to all the south-western counties.[91]

The principal unit of royal administration was the county, but historians have questioned whether the shires are an adequate basis for defining identities. One historian of seventeenth century England asserted that

> there was no such thing as a single county community, but a compound of sectional interests, sometimes complementary and sometimes conflicting, which coalesced in certain ways around certain issues.[92]

Taken in the sense that a county is a collection of communities, many would agree; but, this is not an adequate argument with which to demolish the integrated study of the counties. Some historians have emphasised that counties were artificial administrative creations bearing little relation to underlying geography, let alone the interactions of their inhabitants: which might be true of many Midland shires but is less accurate regarding the South, especially where preceding political entities persisted. Furthermore, some have also denied county capitals their role because they

[90] Davies (1995), 9–10, 12–13, 25–6.

[91] Todd (1987), 274; Cunliffe (1993), 310; Yorke (1995), 124–5.

[92] Braddick (1994), 16, quoted in Newton (2006), 9.

cannot be seen as the central foci of county society. Undoubtedly, in certain cases county towns may not have been a sufficiently successful focus for county solidarity, as demonstrated in the case of Warwickshire;[93] but that should not mean that county capitals are completely disregarded as shire centres.

In some parts of the realm (such as the south-west) counties and their boundaries were often of considerable antiquity. The focus for each of the Dumnonii, Dobunni, and Durotriges populations would have been their leaders. Even after retreat to Cornwall, the Dumnonii (Cornovii) retained their monarchs as dependents of the kings of Wessex. Continuity between British tribal territories and later Saxon shires will have entailed the transfer of regnal solidarity from tribal leaders to Saxon shire administrations, thereby shires preserved this primary focus of self-identification. In addition, the county capitals, as administrative centres, can also be traced in the post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. As the meeting places of shire courts, quarter sessions, local elections, and also bases for county offices for such a long time, arguably county capitals cannot but have been central foci for local solidarity based on the shire – the county was 'the most relevant named entity above the level of township to which the individual felt some real sense of belonging'.[94] Such endurance of peoples and polities, and such continuities of boundaries and administrative centres, must have engendered some sense of county identity. Local elites identified with their shire governments – hence they sought election or appointment to county offices. While the continuity of shire boundaries and county capitals might be observed, was there continuity of administrative arrangements?

The shrievalty originated in the Anglo-Saxon 'shire reeve', and the office had evolved to become the principal county post by the early Middle Ages (below, pp. 71–2). Shrievalties had often been awarded as hereditary offices to magnates, so that they often related to magnates' landed estates; consequently, there might be some

[93] For example, Carpenter (1992), 10, 18–34.

[94] Phythian-Adams (1993a), 18–19; Maddicott (1978), 27–43; Bennett (1973), 24–44; Bennett (1983), ch. 2.

fluctuations in the arrangement of county administrations. Cornwall and Devon each had a different sheriff at the time of Domesday. Cornwall was later governed, until 1106, practically as a palatinate by the Counts of Mortain, who were extensive landowners throughout the region. By 1123, Richard FitzBaldwin was the hereditary sheriff of Devon, and this may have also included Cornwall. Cornwall was again subject to government akin to a palatinate by Reginald, Earl of Cornwall (d.1175) from 1141, and the earl became sheriff of both Cornwall and Devon in 1173–4. However, after 1174, Cornwall was once again granted its own sheriff and administration, distinct from that of Devon. In 1189, Richard I's brother John was endowed with seven counties to be held as palatinates comprising Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and the four south-western shires. So, in effect, all the western counties were placed under one sheriff – or ruler – Prince John, until his forfeiture in 1193. This regional arrangement was also echoed under John's rule when he appointed the major west-country landowner William Brewer as sheriff of Cornwall and Devon from 1200 to 1204, then solely sheriff of Devon from 1204 to 1207, and sheriff of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset from 1207 to 1209. These brief instances seem to have been aberrations, and afterwards the three south-western shrievalties continued separately. Indeed, John's second son, Richard, Earl of Cornwall (1209–72), held the Cornish shrievalty from 1225 until 1256, and the Devon shrievalty in 1270–1; his son, Edmund (*c*.1250–1300), was sheriff of Cornwall from 1288. Following the creation of the duchy of Cornwall in 1337, if there were a duke, then he was *ex officio* sheriff. The shrievalty of Devon, however, was not as entwined with the earldom of Devon as one might expect, and none of the Redvers earls of Devon appear to have been awarded the shrievalty during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[95]

Separate shrievalties for Somerset and Dorset were also in existence at the time of Domesday, but some time afterwards the counties formed a joint shrievalty.

[95] Morris (1927), 80, 84, 137, 165, 181; *List of Sheriffs*, 21–2, 34–5. For earls of Cornwall and Devon: *CP*, iii, 427–9; iv, 311–23.

The first definite joint-sheriff was Warin who served from 1123, and was also sheriff of Wiltshire in 1128–9 (although it is not clear whether he was still sheriff of Somerset by then). Briefly in 1154–5, and again in 1223–6, separate sheriffs for Somerset and Dorset were appointed, but except for these short instances, the two counties retained their joint shrievalty until the 1560s.[96]

Another important county office was that of the escheatry (below, p. 72), and the history of this office also illustrates continuities and fluctuations of county administration in the south-west. By the end of Henry II's reign, escheats from several counties were recorded together, and in 1232, an escheator for England was appointed, then replaced by an escheator for south of the Trent (from 1234) and one for north of the Trent (from 1236). At the same time, 34 escheatries were instituted for particular regions. The two general escheatries continued until 1331 (south) and 1340 (north), despite various reorganisations of county escheatries, such as in 1275 when the responsibility for counties' escheatries were delivered to the respective sheriffs. At that time, for instance, duties of Cornwall's escheatry were delivered to the sheriff of Devon. In the south-west, all four counties were subject to one escheator from 1323 until 1327, when these duties were subsumed into the south of the Trent escheatry until 1332, after which a single escheator for Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall was once again appointed. This arrangement lasted until 1341 when all escheatries were regrouped to correspond with the shrievalties. After 1341, Somerset and Dorset had a joint escheatry, with the only aberrations being in 1400–1 and 1403–5 when Henry IV appointed one escheator for each county – something that it seems he did for many joint escheatries at that time, but proved only short-lived. Further west, Devon and Cornwall each had individual escheators after 1342, and it was only after 1371 that one joint escheatry was created, which survived until the 1640s.[97]

Evidently, despite some adjustments and alterations, the general outline of county administrations evolved over a number of centuries. Despite fluctuations and

[96] *VCH Dorset*, ii, 123–74; *VCH Somerset*, ii, 173–244; Morris (1927), 81; *List of Sheriffs*, 39, 122–3.
[97] Stevenson (1940–50), 113–16; *List of Escheators*, 30–1, 134–5.

aberrations, the shrievalties remained engaged with their respective counties, therefore providing a focus for shire identities. Somerset's and Dorset's joint shrievalty and escheatry define it as a coupled unit. And despite their separate shrievalties, the joint escheatry clearly connects Cornwall and Devon, albeit to a lesser extent. Again, as seen concerning geography, economy, and certain cultural aspects, there was a distinction between the two far-west counties, and the two near-west shires.

In addition to the counties, another formal administrative structure was that of the dioceses. The ecclesiastical organisation of the south-western region had altered several times since the country's conversion to Christianity. The see of Winchester was created in *c*.660–3 and was responsible for ministering to Hampshire, Surrey, and the rest of south-west England. In 705, the diocese was divided, with the creation of the see of Sherborne responsible for Dorset. These two dioceses split again in 909, with the creation of the dioceses of Ramsbury for Wiltshire and Berkshire, Wells for Somerset, and Crediton for Devon and Cornwall. The first Cornish bishop was Conan in *c*.930, but it was not until 994 that a separate Cornish see was created at St Germans, which was subsequently dissolved in 1040, and jurisdiction again combined with the bishopric of Crediton. This episcopal seat was later moved to Exeter. In 1058, the Wiltshire see of Ramsbury was reunited with the Dorset diocese of Sherborne, and in 1075 the seat was moved to Old Sarum. The Somerset see had been based at Wells since 909 but was moved to Bath in the period between 1088 and 1122. During the early thirteenth century the rivalry and confusion generated by having two diocesan centres was settled in a joint title and two cathedral chapters at Bath and Wells.[98] By the fifteenth century, Cornwall and Devon were ministered by the see of Exeter, Somerset by the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and Dorset by Salisbury. Yet again, therefore, Cornwall and Devon were collectively administered, and Somerset and Dorset divided between different dioceses. Other ecclesiastical institutions in the region were the various monastic houses, which were particularly plentiful in

[98] Todd (1987), 287, 289, 300; Cunliffe (1993), 313; Bettey (1986), 59.

Somerset and Dorset, a great abbey, such as Glastonbury or Tavistock, through its estates, may have recruited entrants from across the south-west, therefore providing a regional focus.[99]

In terms of formal south-western political structures, there seems to have been no overall regional focal point for the region's inhabitants (excepting the possibility of popular religious houses); instead, the emphasis was on individual or coupled counties. Hundreds, dioceses, and counties are regular divisions across England, so there seems nothing distinctive about the south-west. However, informal political structures – such as a magnate's sphere of influence based upon his landed estates, wealth, status, and socio-political networks – were liable to have a more regional extent that was unrestricted by county boundaries. Lordship, as an organisation of local power based around reverence for the lord, meant that a lord's 'country' or region was the area within which his lordship was recognised.[100] The lordship of a particular magnate could become regional, and such political regions could also often be transient in nature, lasting for only a lifetime, or of some longevity, lasting until a family's extinction.

Informal political regions based upon a magnate's lordship were by no means extraordinary: under the Anglo-Saxons, after 871, a system of ealdormanries developed – royal officials responsible for leading the shire's forces in war and controlling shire business. Ealdormanries had originally been based on the counties, but gradually represented more than one county; by 924 the numbers had been reduced to two: one for East Wessex (comprising Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire), and one for west Wessex (consisting of Somerset and Dorset, Devon, and also Cornwall).[101] Ealdormanries, as units of authority, continued in the form of earldoms and, by 1020, Cnut is credited with roughly dividing the realm into four earldoms: East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex. Cnut initially reserved

[99] For example, Finsberg (1969).

[100] Watts (1996), 65, 69–70, 73.

[101] Yorke (1995), 99–100; Campbell (1995), 31–47.

Wessex (England south of the Thames) for himself, but subsequently made created his chief supporter, Godwin, the earl of Wessex, and after Godwin's death in 1053 his son Harold was earl until 1066.[102]

Following the Norman Conquest, previously consolidated landholding and lordship became increasingly fragmented: lordship was no longer based on land but on clients in a steady shift from land lordship to personal lordship. Of course, this development did not relegate the phenomena of regional magnates to oblivion – such nobles still existed, but instead of wielding power on the basis of their ownership of the locality they would have to cultivate clients. Under William I, Borhtric was a magnate who owned estates stretching from Gloucestershire westward through all south-western counties.[103] The Redvers earls of Devon were the principal family in Devon from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth centuries, and also had interests in Dorset and Hampshire. The Redvers estates passed to the Courtenays who were finally created earls of Devon from 1335. In addition, the various earls of Cornwall who were created after 1066 were also substantial figures in the region as a result of their extensive landholding (as summarised in chapter 3). Similarly, William Brewer was also a leading south-western magnate during Richard I's reign (above, p. 54).

Although lordship became more focussed on clienteles rather than landholding, notable exceptions to this were liberties and honours which, as subject to singular administrative arrangements, were defined in terms of their location. Honours in Cornwall included those of Trematon and Launceston, which were attached to the earldoms (and later the duchy) of Cornwall, just like the Honour of Bradninch (Dev.). Elsewhere in Devon, the Honour of Plympton belonged to the Redvers earls of Devon and then to the Courtenays, who also later held the Honour of Okehampton. In Somerset, the Honour of Odcombe was held by the duchy of Cornwall; while the Honour of Christchurch, on the Dorset-Hampshire border, included scattered estates throughout Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire, and

[102] Lawson (1993), 184–8; Yorke (1995), 146.
[103] Williams (1997), 41–68.

was granted to the Redvers earls of Devon in 1100. There were some other honours in these counties, but, by the fifteenth century, either they were not in the possession of magnates, were in crown hands, or found themselves divided between claimants.[104] Therefore, clearly, during the Middle Ages, the earls of Devon and Cornwall were of prime importance in local affairs in the western counties. On a large scale, in terms of lordship derived from land and exhibiting a distinctive administrative structure, the duchy of Cornwall itself was a notable focus from 1337 (below, pp. 89–102).

The counties, with their administrative centres, may have embodied a residual regnal focus traced back to earlier tribal groups. Such enduring foci may have been of more consequence in some counties than in others, and in Cornwall, regnal solidarity may have been of more importance than in the other south-west counties. Since the Dumnonii (Cornovii) retained their monarchs until the tenth century, this longevity of a Cornish regnal focus may have transferred to successive earls of Cornwall. Moreover, periods of almost palatinate government at various times may have also acted as a focus for the people of the shire, which was continued by the institution of the duchy of Cornwall in 1337. So, some sense, the Cornish had their own distinct political structure in the form of the duchy; as a figure to which the Cornish community looked for direction, the duke and his administration provided a focal point for the county. In the same way as a regional magnate might provide a political centre, perhaps the duchy also provided such a centre – with the extent of its south-western estates and influence being the scope of its political region (below, pp. 98–102).

In summary, while hundreds, counties, and dioceses provided the most basic forms of political regions, other regions may be found in the form of particular magnates' districts of rule. Obviously, political regions based on nobles' influence would vary enormously in extent, so one magnate's region might even encompass all the south-west. The regnal focus provided by a political centre, whether in the form of

[104] *Charters of the Redvers Family*, 12; *VCH Devon*, 551–69.

the shrievalty or of a magnate or institution, was thus a noteworthy aspect in the definition of political regions.

* * *

In conclusion, Edward's south-western regional hegemony does not appear to have been based on any pre-existing region. From this exploration of various regions within, and inclusive of, the western counties two major arenas of interaction appear to have emerged: the couplings of Cornwall and Devon, and of Somerset and Dorset. Despite the varied *pays* within the counties themselves, it is possible to discern differences between the two broader agricultural regions within the south-western peninsula. In general, echoing geology and topography, Devon and Cornwall (with their moorlands) seem to contrast with Somerset and Dorset (having a more diverse pattern of marshlands, downlands, and woodlands) – with the 'frontier valley' of the Exe forming the division between the two provinces. Furthermore, there also seems to be a tendency for Somerset to look towards the Severn estuary and Wiltshire, and for Dorset to become incorporated within the Hampshire basin. Economically, in terms of maritime and industrial activities, the south-west again seems to be divisible between the two provinces, with the regional capitals of Exeter and Bristol providing two overlapping regions.

Culturally, the south-west seems not to have formed a coherent region. In terms of ethnicity, tracing of the ancient tribal groupings reveals the distinct Cornwall and Devon-based Dumnonii, Somerset-centred Dobunni, and Dorset-focused Durotriges tribes. In terms of common legends, only the Arthurian tales offer a region-wide shared mythology, with Cornwall being further distinguished with its Cornish legends. Language further separates Cornwall from the remainder of the peninsula (although Celtic river-names show that Devon, Somerset, and Dorset formed a semi-Celtic area distinct from counties further east). In terms of shared customs, Cornish patronymics (to some extent), place-names, and conventionary landholding further mark out Cornwall (and, to some degree, Devon) as distinctive. In terms of stannary law, the tin-mining region formed an area that traversed the Cornish-Devonian border,

but did not entirely coincide with county units. Thus, overwhelmingly, these formations indicate that the real regions of the south-west were two meso-scale coupled-county entities: Cornwall and Devon, echoing Phythian-Adams's 'cultural province'; and Somerset and Dorset (and also Wiltshire), forming another province.

Finally, with respect to political structure, there seems to have been no configuration that encompassed all four counties at a macro-scale. The hundreds were small-scale, and the counties, at the most, might have a joint shrievalty like Somerset and Dorset, or a joint-escheatry like Cornwall and Devon. The dioceses also exemplify a clear division between the twin sets of dual-shire entities. Political regions as districts of lordship of magnates and institutions, such as the duchy of Cornwall, could vary in extent and over time, and may have even expanded to include all the south-western shires, in certain instances (above, pp. 98–102). Ealdormanries developed from shire-based into regional-scale structures, and it is interesting to note that all four western counties were grouped together as the ealdormanry of west Wessex. The ancient kingdoms or earldoms such as Wessex disappeared after the Norman conquest – perhaps if they had continued then it might be possible to divide England into regions based on former kingdoms or principalities – as can be done for European nations such as France, Germany, or Italy. Even so, English regions are not directly comparable to French regions, since they were not sub-nations, and England – unlike France – was not formed by a fusion of regions. Consequently, the primary English administrative unit was the shire (perhaps akin to France's departements), and the counties' longevity means that the concept of the region – interposed as an intermediary between local and national levels at a meso- or macro-scale – seems problematic.

So, did anything bind the entire south-west region together? While there seem not have been many factors that were region-wide in extent, it might be argued that, nevertheless, the region was unified in certain respects. The region's marginality was its prime characteristic; therefore, the words of Rowse concerning Cornwall 'the remoteness, the sense of separation' (cited above, p. 33) might not be just used to

describe Cornwall alone, but the rest of the south-west region. The 'west' was politically marginal in terms of being distant geographically from the seat of power; and it appears to have been, to some extent, culturally marginal in looking partly towards its Celtic, rather than to its English, heritage. There are, of course, grades of marginality – more intensive towards the west, lessening towards the east – which might make Somerset and Dorset into a hazy frontier, 'a zone of merging and mixing' between England and the distinctive far 'West' which was more remote and perhaps more lawless.[105] Contemporaries remarked on the 'west countrie': in terms of landscape and people, and there were some regional differences from the rest of England.

Given that the coupling of the counties into two provinces (or meso-scale regions) seems such a strong feature of the geology, topography, economy, and culture, it might therefore be a feature that was reflected in south-western political interactions. It may have influenced landholding, office-holding, and marriage patterns, and also had some bearing on magnates' local regions of influence and their affinities (Chapter 4). Although none of the regions uncovered here can be entirely equated with Edward's four-county region (if that was effective in practice) then his south-west regional hegemony would itself have constituted an informal political region.

As a result of the development of personal, rather than land-based, lordship, it would be more difficult for Edward IV to divide up the realm into regional units than it had been for Cnut. If Edward could not recreate the regional Anglo-Saxon earldoms of the eleventh century by granting an overwhelming predominance of landholding within one or more counties to one of his favourites, how might he best achieve a similar result? Edward could create regional lordships only by endowing his 'governor' with a selection of local estates and royal offices, thereby enabling him to become the most influential magnate within his region – meaning that each of

[105] See Winchester (2006), 11–16; also Cunliffe (2006), 11–12 (quotation); Kain (2006), 11–14; Stocker (2006), 9–18; Williamson (2006), 11–30; Short (2006), 11–22.

Edward's regional governors became a 'political centre', with the extent of his influence as his region.

Clearly, an important part of this investigation is to discover whether the four western counties were subject to a shared political centre during the period. Did Edward's regional magnates constitute a political centre? In order to discover if this were the case, it is necessary to examine the regional magnates' local landed interests, office-holding, and affinities in order to determine the extent to which they were a focus for the whole region. Moreover, did the duchy of Cornwall, with its landholdings spread across all four counties, also constitute a political centre? This question is addressed in the second half of Chapter 3; the first half briefly surveys those important political structures that related locality and region to the polity.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL STRUCTURES

If, as shown, it is impossible to study the localities without reference to monarchy and government, what were the principal points of contact between polity and locality? What were the main structures and methods by which the monarch governed the realm in general and therefore south-west England? These questions are the subject of this chapter, and while this may, in part, reiterate the current consensus on the subject of governance, it is necessary in order to provide a foundation upon which analyses of south-western politics and government, in the later chronological chapters, may be built. The personal nature of governance during the period inevitably meant that the *communitas regni* ('community of the realm') was profoundly influenced by personalities: individual kings' policies were crucial to the creation and preservation of a good relationship between centre and locality. Hence it is important briefly to outline the nature of royal authority, and of public and private political structures – the interaction of which, with their mutually reinforcing natures, meant that central and local government formed a single complex structure.[1]

There were certain expectations of good kingship, such as the just distribution of patronage. Political harmony was achieved by the king taking counsel from his magnates: therefore, it is necessary to consider the formal structures used for this, such as the king's council and parliament. As a result of the king's centrality to the polity, the servants of his household were also integral to governance. In addition, royal authority in the localities was expressed through formal county administration, and this also warrants attention. Peopling these formal structures were local landowners: peerage and gentry; hence there is also a need to discuss the nature of

[1] McFarlane (1973a), 120; McFarlane (1973c), 296; Storey (1966), 27; Horrox (1992), 394, 402; Horrox (1995), 12–13.

landed society and how lordship and private clientelist (patron-client) ties supplemented formal political structures. Following discussion of clientelism, it is necessary to examine methodologies concerning the reconstruction of affinities and the sources that might be used to do so.

Other points of contact between centre and locality were crown estates, such as the duchy of Cornwall. To what extent was the duchy (as an institutionalised landed estate) influential in regional politics? In order to assess this, it is necessary to examine the duchy's origins, estates, privileges, and administration; this also enables consideration of whether its influence extended throughout all south-western counties, constituting a 'regional' political centre. Finally, the issue of core-periphery relations requires discussion as well as the question of how the duchy may have become a subsidiary focus of royal authority.

* * *

The crown's authority symbolised the unity of lords, commons, and clergy. If the king governed properly, his subjects governed themselves through him; but, a king who ruled entirely in his own interests, disregarded proper processes, and sought personal profit from his position instead of the good of the community, was held to be a tyrant.[2] The sovereign, as the fount of justice, was responsible for the administration of the law and the operation of the legal system. The king, as ultimate guarantor of public and private means of redress, was also the head of an unofficial hierarchy of landed power that made the public system function (below, pp. 73–82).[3] The monarch was responsible for distributing patronage – a key instrument of political management. Ideally, allocation of royal favours needed to be restrained and skilfully balanced, so that no faction felt excluded. In order to govern all, the king had to remain impartial – maintaining an equilibrium between different elements of his realm, otherwise his

[2] Harriss (1985a), 10; Harriss (2005), 3–13; Watts (1995a), 121, 127; Watts (1996), 9, 19, 22, 27–31, 74–80; Castor (2000), 3–18; Carpenter (1997), 28; Hicks (2002), 38, 46.

[3] Fortescue (1885), 127; Powell (1989), 6–7; Watts (1996), 21, 56–7; Carpenter (1997), 27, 35–6, 61; Hicks (2002), 38; Harriss (1985a), 11–12.

credibility would be significantly compromised.[4] Patronage was also the principal means by which the monarch influenced local politics: a magnate might be endowed with royal favour because of his local influence, while simultaneously his power would grow precisely as a result of royal support. Royal favour conferred status, authority, and approval on its recipients, therefore constituting real political power.[5] Hence, endowment with local or regional crown office would give a magnate command of royal tenants in the king's name, and would enhance his status.

FORMAL POINTS OF CONTACT: COUNCIL, COURT, AND COUNTY

Political harmony was also achieved by the sovereign's consideration of his subjects' interests through counsel. The first points of contact between crown and localities are the mechanisms for taking counsel: the royal council and parliament. With its origins in the Norman *Curia Regis*, and increasingly institutionalised after 1400, the king's council comprised those chief advisers selected from the peerage and lords spiritual. Rather than offering advice or drafting documents, because of Henry VI's inadequacy, the council became more involved in the business of governance. This greater role continued under the Yorkists, and king and council were increasingly burdened with the minutiae of administration; but Henry VII remedied this situation by delegating specific responsibilities to a series of *ad hoc* bodies (such as the Council Learned in the Law). The peerage had an important role as counsellors: able to inform the king of local problems and issues, they brought the shires' responses to the king. Council membership demonstrated the king's confidence in an individual and, as a result, councillors would enjoy greatly enhanced local, regional, and national stature (for example, the south-western landowners John, Lord Dinham and Giles, Lord Daubeney were both councillors). In addition to his council, it was preferable for a king to secure the political community's support for his policies through wider consultation

[4] Watts (1996), 16–17, 22–5, 28, 40–1, 45, 80, 90; Castor (2000), 18; Carpenter (1997), 28; Harriss (1985a), 18.

[5] Harriss (1985a), 18; Horrox (1992), 391–403; Horrox (1989), 27; Carpenter (1994a), 358; Hicks (2002), 101–2, 104.

represented in great councils and parliaments.

Great Councils, as reinforced council sessions, usually comprised lords spiritual and temporal in parliament, and, while they could advise, Great Councils could not enact legislation.[6] As special full meetings of the council, Parliaments (comprising the lords spiritual and temporal, knights, and burgesses) were summoned to act in an advisory capacity: considering important matters of policy, ratifying the king's actions, enacting statutes, and agreeing to taxation. Except for the county palatines of Chester, Lancaster, and Durham, each county elected two knights of the shire (usually from the ranks of the greater gentry), and each borough designated two burgesses to represent their interests in the House of Commons. During the period from the Parliament of 1449 to that of 1504, the Commons comprised 298 MPs.[7]

Knights of the shire were a significant link between centre and localities: carrying petitions formulated in the county court to parliament and binding the locality into providing taxes that had been granted. As local men elected by their fellow landowners, knights of the shire were indicators of political feeling within each county.[8] They were not involved in local government by virtue of their position, but those figures likely to be elected would probably be involved in local administration in other (perhaps multiple) capacities as a JP, sheriff, escheator, or other commissioner.

If a monarch or noble wanted to ensure that his views were represented in parliament, he might arrange for his household retainers or compliant servants to be elected as members of the Commons; of course, this was predicated on the possibility of the magnate or monarch influencing county or borough electors. This illustrates

[6] Harriss (1985a), 13–14; Harriss (2005), 74–81; Brown (1989), 30–43, 132–4; Baldwin (1913), 133, 354–6, 466–7, 489–91; Virgoe (1970), 134–60; Brown (1969), 95–118; Lander (1976c), 171–90; Lander (1976d), 191–219.

[7] Harriss (2005), 66–73; Brown (1989), 156–76, 176–206, 207–37; Butt (1989); Powell and Wallis (1968). One drawback to studying MPs during this period is the piecemeal survival of election returns – few returns survive for the south-west after 1478. J.C. Wedgwood suggested likely candidates, so, given historians' general acceptance of his conclusions and lacking a revised *History of Parliament*, Wedgwood's suggestions have been accepted as realistic possibilities: *HPB*; also *Return of Every Member of the Lower House 1213–1874*.

[8] Maddicott (1978), 29.

how patronage closely relates to politics and influence. If it was revealed to county or borough electors which of the parliamentary candidates were the king's chosen man then there was a possibility that he might have been elected – out of deference to the crown. This might not be the case in relation to a magnate hoping to win the election of his servant, but might have been with regard to borough elections. Often, a magnate (or monarch) would have the right to appoint a borough's chief officer, or might persuade existing burgesses to co-opt the magnate's favoured candidates as burgesses. Thus might begin a self-perpetuating cycle of power, with compliant burgesses electing a magnate's preferred MP and mayor, who might favour the magnate's choice of burgesses.

In south-west England during the second half of the fifteenth century, each county elected two knights, and Cornwall had six boroughs, Devon had seven, Dorset eight, and Somerset had four; so Cornwall returned fourteen MPs, Devon sixteen, Dorset eighteen, and Somerset ten, totalling 58 MPs in each parliament during the period from 1450 to 1500. This is no small number and comprised almost one-fifth of all parliamentary seats during the later fifteenth century. It is interesting to note each of the south-west boroughs' influences: five of six Cornish boroughs were influenced by the duchy of Cornwall;[9] two of seven Devon boroughs were influenced by the crown, and one by the Church;[10] three of eight Dorset boroughs were influenced by the crown, and another was divided between the crown and the Church;[11] and three of

[9] Between 1449 and 1504, Bodmin borough was held by the Priory of Bodmin, but the Duchy of Cornwall exerted more influence (governed by one mayor and 36 burgesses); the Duchy boroughs were Helston (with a crown-appointed bailiff), Launceston (the mayor was chosen by 8 aldermen and 12 burgesses), Liskeard, and Lostwithiel; Truro borough was divided between the Arundells, Coleshills, Prideaux, and Bodrugans, but was granted to Clarence, and then to Richard Edgcumbe in 1488: *HPR*, 622–5. For further details and general trends concerning south-western parliamentary elections: Kleineke (2004), 121–35.

[10] The crown boroughs were Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness (mayor elected by the burgesses) and Plymouth (mayor elected by burgesses); Tavistock borough belonged to its Abbey; Totnes borough was held by the Zouches until 1485, then by Richard Edgcumbe; Barnstaple borough belonged to the Duchy of Exeter, then passed to Margaret Beaufort; Plympton borough was held by the Courtenays until 1461, then by Lord Stafford, then by Lord Dinham from 1469, John Neville, Marquess Montagu from 1470, Clarence from 1471, and was returned to the Courtenays in 1485: *HPR*, 630–4.

[11] After 1449, the crown boroughs were Bridport (governed by 2 bailiffs and 12 jurors), Dorchester (crown-appointed 2 bailiffs, a coroner, 2 constables and steward of the court chosen by 24 burgesses), and Lyme Regis (mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses); Shaftesbury was divided between the crown and the

four Somerset boroughs were influenced by ecclesiastics.[12] If the crown ensured election of its compliant servants in those boroughs in which it was particularly influential then, at the most, the king might have twenty (ten Cornish, four Devon, six Dorset) burgesses out of 58 south-west MPs (34 per cent) as his loyal men – a small proportion of the total, illustrating that the crown could not hope to control parliamentary affairs (if so desired) based on south-west MPs alone.

* * *

As a result of the king's centrality to the polity, his household – its officers and members – was another chief point of contact between court and country since it was both the king's house and a meeting place for the realm's leading men. The *domus magnificencie* (headed by the lord chamberlain) had a major part to play in politics and government; while, the *domus providencie* (supervised by the lord steward), as the menial housekeeping level, largely did not. Both the chamberlain (responsible for the king's apartments) and steward (responsible for conduct and discipline) were attendant on the king and privy to national business and, consequently, were a prime channel for bringing matters to the king's attention. Two further divisions defined the *domus magnificencie*: the Hall (or Great Chamber) and the Chamber (or Presence Chamber), with the latter staffed by the knights and esquires of the body. Henry VII created a further division (perhaps institutionalising an evolutionary development of previous reigns) by creating the Privy Chamber, principally staffed by the groom of the stool and grooms of the chamber. The circle of men closest to the monarch included great officers of state, royal councillors, and magnates; outside this circle was the remainder of the (full-time) household, lesser officials in the departments of state and servants such as serjeants-at-arms; the outermost circle of the king's affinity

Abbey; Wareham (mayor and 12 burgesses) and Weymouth were granted to Cecily, Duchess of York in 1461, and to the queen in 1492; Poole borough belonged to the Beauforts until 1461, when it passed to Clarence, then to the crown, and then to Margaret Beaufort: *HPR*, 635–41

[12] During the second half of the fifteenth century, the boroughs of Bath (mayor, 2 aldermen, and 2 proctors) and Wells (mayor and burgesses) belonged to the Bishop of Bath and Wells; while Taunton belonged to the Bishop of Winchester (governed by the bishop's bailiff or steward); Bridgwater (incorporated with a mayor, 2 bailiffs and burgesses in 1468) was granted to Richard, Duke of York, then passed to his widow, Cecily, and then passed to the queen in 1495: *HPR*, 675–7.

included those not employed full-time, other knights and esquires, and yeomen of the crown.[13]

Alongside the peerage, the king needed a more controllable body of loyal agents who could be entrusted to deal with important local matters; their authority derived from their relationship with the king and functioned in pursuance of the king's interests: the knights and esquires of the household. Mostly from gentry families, such household retainers' enjoyment of the king's confidence 'translated' (in the language of politics) into influence as local 'brokers' of patronage. Many household men (both peers and gentry) wielded significant authority as a result of their place in the king's service. Monarchs were aware of the influence that household appointment awarded, exploiting it by giving royally-retained knights and esquires key county roles (as JPs, sheriffs, and MPs). Their main responsibility was as a line of communication between crown and locality 'by whom it may be known the disposition of the countries'.[14] From Richard II's reign onwards, the king's involvement in local affairs intensified with increasing use of household retainers. Accordingly, by 1500, royal household membership progressively personified a direct connection between county and king.[15] The employment of royal household servants in county government is a pertinent subject, but it is one that has been under-studied, so, this study's analyses of local politics and government will also look at crown servants as shire officers.

Another point of contact between centre and periphery were the royal estates. The crown possessed lands throughout the realm – its tenants and officials thereby formed a royal affinity. Royal landowning expanded in the late-medieval period, meaning that the king, through private landed estates, exercised local authority himself in certain areas. The duchy of Lancaster (the sovereign's private landed estate after Henry IV's usurpation) was the core of the royal estates, and its affinity was a

[13] Loades (1986), 38–72; Starkey (1981), 225–90; Starkey (1987a), 71–118; Given-Wilson (1986), 203–57; Morgan (1973), 1–25; Morgan (1987), 25–70; Harriss (2005), 14–40.

[14] *Household of Edward IV*, 127; Starkey (1981), 263–4; Horrox (1995), 3–4.

[15] Given-Wilson (1986), 212–26; for Henry VI's reign: Jeffs (1960); Morgan (1973), 9–11, 18–21, 24; Starkey (1981), 268–71, 273–4; Horrox (1989), 14–17.

reservoir of loyalty to the king, as master of the duchy lands. The duchy's estates were spread throughout England but were mostly concentrated in the Midlands and the North, with the only south-western manors being Kingston Lacy, Blandford, and Shapwick (Dor.) and the Honour of Torington and Chaworth (Dev.).[16]

As the landed estate of the monarch's eldest son, the duchy of Cornwall was in the crown's direct possession in the absence of such an heir. In the later fifteenth century, because of the minorities of all the dukes, it was principally the crown that was in charge of duchy affairs. The dukes were Edward (Henry VI's son) from 1453 to 1461; Edward (Edward IV's son) from 1471 to 1483; Edward (Richard III's son) from 1483 until his death in 1484; and Arthur (Henry VII's son) from 1486 until his death in 1502. Accordingly, there were three periods when the duchy reverted to the crown: 1422–53, 1461–71, and 1484–6, although, in reality, the crown was in control throughout the period. Like the duchy of Lancaster, the duchy's attendant affinity was a cache of fidelity on which the king could depend (below, pp. 89–102).

* * *

Royal authority and the crown's local interests were, of course, represented in county administration – another contact point between polity and locality. The formal public structure of county government may be divided into permanent local officials (sheriff, escheator, coroner, and commissioners of the peace), and transient national ones (knights of the shire, and commissioners of array, of oyer and terminer, assize, gaol delivery, and of miscellaneous enquiries). But the division between the two categories is indistinct since the management of county government was in the hands of local landowners.[17]

Of the permanent local officials, the annually elected sheriff was the most important, since his duties included law enforcement, arrest and imprisonment of offenders, execution and return of writs, issuing of proclamations, election of coroners and MPs, and empanelling of juries for escheators' inquests and commissions, as well

[16] Somerville (1953); Castor (2000); for the Duchy's minimal influence in Devon: Castlehow (1948–9).
[17] Pugh (1957), 5; Harriss (1993), 33–4; Harriss (2005), 187–208; Carpenter (1992), 281–91, 347–60.

as the holding of the county court, and the regular semi-annual tourn. As it became gradually superseded by the JPs and by special *ad hoc* commissions, the shrievalty decreased in importance to some extent, but not entirely, since sheriffs were still in a position to influence the composition of juries and local elections, hence they were often recruited to royal or noble retinues.[18] The annually elected escheator safeguarded the king's feudal interests and revenues (regarding forfeitures, escheats, wardships, reliefs, and partition of inheritances) and conducted local enquiries.[19] The four coroners (for each county) were elected in the county court and held office for life; their duties included inquiring into sudden deaths, maintaining inquest records, and attending the county court and sheriff's tourn to take and record appeals.[20]

The justice of the peace was an officer whose commission was reissued so regularly as to make him a practically permanent official. JPs gradually assumed the legal and peace-keeping duties of the sheriff, consequently, becoming increasingly important during the later fifteenth century. The JPs were a mixture of 'the most sufficient knights, esquires and gentlemen of the law', knights of the shire, professional judges, spiritual lords, and lay magnates. Hence, commissions are the most significant indicators of local reaction to national events.[21]

The transient national officials included MPs, as mentioned, and also those appointed to various commissions, although their nature as 'national' officials is indistinct since commissioners were recruited from the local gentry. The most flexible way that the king could control local government was by issuing commissions of array, of oyer and terminer, assize, and a variety of miscellaneous enquiries. Commissions of array or muster were largely issued only in time of crisis and

[18] Morris (1940–50), 53–7, 63–4, 65, 67–73, 100–2; Pugh (1957), 20; Jewell (1972), 182–99; Cam (1940–50), 171–3. For retainers as county officers: Jalland (1972), 485–7.

[19] Stevenson (1940–50), 109, 113, 120–1, 139; Pugh (1957), 30–1; Jewell (1972), 99–101.

[20] Cam (1940–50), 143, 149, 154–6, 159–61; Pugh (1957), 14, 26, 29; Jewell (1972), 153–7; Morris (1940–50), 49–50; Hunnisett (1961), esp. 190–9.

[21] Pugh (1957), 32, 41; Jewell (1972), 145–7; Putnam (1940–50), 185–217; Lander (1998), 24; Carpenter (1994a), 359. In order to gain a balanced assessment of the peace commissions and its composition it is essential to give equal weight to all commissioners, by evaluating JPs on the basis of the number of terms served.

therefore can be good indicators of whom the monarch trusted locally: commissioners were men of some substance and frequently comprised local magnates and royal household men.[22]

Commissions of oyer and terminer, directed to enquire into disturbers of the peace, declined in importance as the commissions of the peace gained powers to determine indictments; consequently, oyer and terminer commissions only came to be used in the event of large-scale public disorder or to determine treasons, often with jurisdiction over a number of counties (such as the south-western counties, along with Wiltshire, and Hampshire) comprising important peers and at least one justice of either common pleas or king's bench.[23] Justices of assize, in some respects, could supersede JPs – general commissions commanded two or three central court justices or professional lawyers to take assizes in specified counties; whereas special commissions appointed two or three justices to take only a single assize in a group of neighbouring counties (such as the western counties, Wiltshire and Hampshire). During the later fifteenth century, increasing co-operation and sharing of personnel between commissioners of assize, gaol delivery, peace, and oyer and terminer may have meant less duplication of responsibilities therefore making law-keeping more effective.[24]

INFORMAL POINTS OF CONTACT: LORDSHIP AND CLIENTELISM

Lordship was the primary aspect of governance, as averred by R.R. Davies, and the jurisdiction of royal lordship encompassed the realm with its methods of direct formal royal government;[25] but royal lordship was also indirectly and informally represented through the nobility. The peerage and gentry were royal intermediaries both formally (because of their involvement in government) and informally (because of their exercise of local lordship). The peerage and gentry peopled all the points of contact:

[22] Prince (1940–50), 356–8; Jewell (1972), 174–8.

[23] Bellamy (1965), 147–8; Pugh (1957), 41, 42–3; Avrutick (1967); Jewell (1972), 17–8, 139–42.

[24] Taylor (1940–50), 220, 225–6, 237; Pugh (1957), 39–40; Jewell (1972), 142–5; Maddern (1992).

[25] Davies (2002), 71–4.

council, parliament, royal household, county administration, and even crown estates as office-holders, hence they warrant consideration.

The heterogeneous nature of the gentry means that their identification involves the danger of becoming mired in the marshes of definition. Methodologies that apply perceptions, legal requirements, or wealth are all complex and inexact, and there is also the difficulty of discerning gradations of gentry. The definitions, landholdings, estate management, households, lineages, and social mobility of the gentry are topics that have generated substantial studies in themselves, and need not be considered here.[26] Without plunging into contention, it might be said that those landowners with sufficient resources and status to be regarded as gentlemen by their local communities formed the gentry, so, by its very nature, the gentry was itself an elite of landed society.

Though most gentry had infinite potential in terms of social mobility, in essence, there were two types: the lesser and the greater. The 'lesser' (parish or hundred) gentry had only limited landed or financial wealth and therefore constrained connections and horizons in that they might be involved in affairs within their local parish or hundred, but would rarely be eligible for county administrative posts above that of JP. The 'greater' (county) gentry, with broader and more extensive landed interests within and beyond the county, would be involved in affairs at a county level, perhaps also in other counties' affairs. These categories are greatly simplified and merely form shades along a spectrum from the least to the greatest of gentry families. Naturally, the dividing line between lesser and greater gentry was not a stark one, so along the boundary there were, what have been called, 'middling' gentry.[27]

The pool of potential county office-holders was largely supplied by upper-middling and greater gentry since they were most able to engage with local affairs at a county level – this gentry elite would also be able to identify with extra-county or

[26] Carpenter (1992), 35–95, 96–152; Payling (1991), 19–62; Coss (1995), 155–78; Heal and Holmes (1994).

[27] Stone and Stone (1984), 6.

regional identities (discussed in chapter 4). So far, greater gentry have been referred to (meaning those figures possessing the greatest wealth in terms of income and landed assets, therefore of greatest status) but whether they were involved in county administrative activities is another matter. As ‘greater gentry’ is a term denoting financial status and social standing, perhaps the term ‘leading gentry’ would be preferable to refer to those who were the most important and influential gentry in general (irrespective of wealth or status). This distinction is of particular importance given that the most influential gentry – the ‘leading gentry’ – might not necessarily be either greater gentry or county officers (although it was most likely that they would be members of both these categories). By examining county officers, a study might not concentrate exclusively on ‘leading gentry’ but on office-holders from a cross-section of lesser, middling, and greater gentry who have, as it were, practically selected themselves for analysis by their active participation in county administration (below, pp. 108–13).

Superior in status to all the gentry was the peerage. The relationship between the king and the peerage was crucial to the functioning of the governmental system. The royal household could not be deployed in the localities on an extensive scale, so peers (as the greatest landowners) were the king’s key subordinates in the informal process of ruling; the crown’s local influence depended on the peerage and on local administrations dominated by gentry (in the service of either peerage or crown). Peers had essential interests that had to be protected: lands and spheres of influence. The landed wealth and personal abilities of a member of the greater gentry or peerage provided a focus for local society thus becoming a structural link between centre and locality. Therefore the natural gentry and noble leaders in local societies were recognised and utilised by monarchs, allowing them a degree of freedom in their exercise of leadership in order to effect good government. But if the king rewarded supporters too much he could be accused of favouritism – too little and he would risk losing their support.

Every monarch had to rely on the peerage and gentry for his power, but how

much delegation was acceptable and how much was undesirable? Instability in a locality could be caused by either excessive consolidation of power or extreme fragmentation; it was a balance between these extremes that was required in a monarch's distribution of patronage. It was the monarch's duty to help establish lords' local rule by adjudicating between them; hence royal intervention was ever necessary, as a response to the demands of the commonweal.[28]

* * *

The crown's authority in the localities depended on the probity, responsibility, and political morality of landed society. Local landowners lent their standing to royal office – facilitating the implementation of royal commands and ensuring respect for the king's instructions and for their own administration and judicial actions. However, local government could, on occasion, be subjected to partiality, and be used to settle scores and exact revenge. Obviously, these public officials were generally insufficient to ensure impartial local administration; furthermore, besides personnel, there was little to connect central to local government. The inevitable result of these factors was that the crown could not rely wholly on shire administration, but had to find other means of strengthening its authority.[29] One effective means of circumventing these weaknesses was for the crown to cultivate informal intra- and extra-institutional patron-client ties.

Since landowning came to be redistributed following the Norman Conquest, magnates often came to hold lands dispersed between many shires, this situation was also compounded by the effects of marriage – creating the 'snowball' effect whereby more and more land became concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer landowners.[30] But there was no need for a landowner to be politically active everywhere in order to maintain his lands – his political influence would be focussed in particular localities. Furthermore, another consequence of the redistribution of

[28] Harriss (1995), 2–10; Harriss (1993), 55; Carpenter (1992), 1–13, 275–7, 442–50; Carpenter (1994a), 359–60, 363; Carpenter (1997), 62.

[29] Harriss (1993), 28–30, 32–3; Hicks (2002), 112.

[30] McFarlane (1973a), 41–60, 61–82.

landholding was that it was impossible for a major peer to be granted an entire county as a landed estate; therefore he could not automatically number the county's leading families amongst his retinue. Instead, a magnate's estates might become concentrated in a number of adjacent counties; therefore, the only way for a magnate to dominate a locality was by cultivating a clientele, through whom influence could be extended over a greater area than that of his own landed interests. Thus the clientelist (patron-client) system was of central importance to the exertion of political influence.[31] The patron-client relationship may be defined as

> a special case of dyadic (two person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socio-economic status (patron) uses his own influences and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron.[32]

All landowners in late-medieval England were driven by aspirations of advancement and protection. Patrons offered their clients access to royal patronage, opportunities for profitable service, assistance in courts and offices, support in disputes, and perhaps annual fees, or land; while, in return, clients provided respect, service, and support (politically and militarily). From the central government's perspective, the patron's principal resource was his control of his clients whereby local societies became linked with the centre.[33] At the heart of this relationship are the key elements of inequality, exchange, and competition.

Inequality is a feature of clientelism in that two individuals with different amounts of power, wealth, and status, interact but with one having superiority over the other. Patron-client ties are reciprocal in that both individuals benefit from the other's assistance; therefore, a successful exchange, satisfactory to patron and client, is likely to be repeated and solidified into a continuing model of behaviour. Such persistence means that exchanges from either party can be made at different times, thereby developing a pattern of credit and expectation; and persistent clients are likely to be

[31] For discussion of feudalism and clientelism: Taylor (1977); and Bloch (1977).

[32] Scott (1977), 123–46.

[33] Clapham (1982a), 3; Kettering (1986), 3–11, 12–39.

included within social networks, further reinforcing this relationship. Such persistent ties can often be maintained for generations or can lapse owing to changes in circumstances.

The clientelist system is also intrinsically competitive: clients attach themselves to patrons in order to gain advantage over others of the same status. Other would-be clients are likely to react by attaching themselves to the same patron or to another. Naturally, patrons value their clients' services, but they would also recruit them as a means of strengthening their position against rival patrons. Thus competition threatens the stability and reliability of patron-client bonds and divisions between competing clientelist networks could lead to factionalism. As a result of these factors, the dynamic which creates clientelist relationships can be fully understood only within the wider context of society as a whole.[34] Competition need not necessarily degenerate into violence: the peerage had a vested interest in maintaining peace, order, and justice since they potentially had the most to lose from disorder, and it was local landowners' cooperation that allowed government to function.[35] Local leadership was a balance between cooperation and competition. Peers might form 'axial' alliances with other peers in order to exert further influence.[36] It would be advantageous for lesser peers to latch onto existing structures – other magnates – to further advance their position, and bolster the authority of the greater magnates; consequently, overlapping between noble clienteles strongly indicates association between peers.[37]

A coherent or self-contained system of patron-client relationships was characterised by a set of expectations of both parties and allowed accountability of patrons to clients; however, if this system ceased to be self-contained, then patrons transformed into intermediaries (or brokers). While a patron was a source of

[34] Clapham (1982a), 4–7, 11–12; Landé (1977), xiii–xxxvii, esp. xxxxii. For factionalism: Nicholas (1977); Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984), 43–268.

[35] Watts (1996), 31–2, 33–4, 66–7; Carpenter (1997), 54.

[36] Lesger (2000), 223–5.

[37] Carpenter (1997), 62.

patronage, a broker purveyed patronage originating elsewhere; whereas the patron was accountable and represented local interests, the broker had to alter his stance as required by central government. Consequently, the broker is dependent on a national centre (and its political oscillations) which he might be unable to influence. The broker, unlike a patron, had a diminished level of accountability to his clients though the patronage that he derived from the centre might enable him to profit from his role. Such brokers may be equated with royal household members and the peerage – but more particularly with regional magnates.[38]

It was essential that those involved in county government reflected the local balance of power – the infiltration of crown offices by the peerage's gentry clients was fundamental to the operation of royal justice in theory and in practice.[39] It was the intention of every magnate to expand his clientele to include the most influential figures of the locality, ensuring that his lordship percolated into wider society. However, that said, in order to influence a county, a lord did not need to attempt complete domination of its offices or recruit to his service every gentleman of the shire: it was 'the quality rather than the quantity of his retainers that was important'.[40] A small number of leading gentry dominated the rest, and it was the support of this elite that the peerage had to win. But how might a magnate's lordship percolate into wider society through connections with only a small number of leading gentry?

Just as geographers perceive an urban settlement as a 'central place' (in accordance with Christaller's theory) so a patron might be perceived as a 'centre' of patronage and power. Patron-client links, as inherently dyadic, lend themselves to the formation of chains of dyads in which the same individual (broker) is simultaneously a client in relation to those above in the hierarchy and a patron in relation to those below – thus linking layers of clienteles. From this a hierarchical pyramid of dyadic alliances might emerge, with a primary patron at the apex of the structure, and with

[38] Clapham (1982a), 9–10; Kettering (1986), 40–67; Powell (1994), 6, 11–2.
[39] Watts (1996), 75, 96–7.
[40] Harriss (2005), 93–135, 136–86; 196 (quotation).

tertiary patrons forming the lowest strata (mirroring Christaller's hierarchy of settlements).[41]

A primary patron was the highest level in the hierarchical pyramid, and such patrons would be few in number. The patron's range of influence (comprising the maximum distance that a client would be willing to travel for face-to-face contact) would be broad in extent, consequently, there might be little homogeneity within his clientele, it would be unlikely for its members to be acquainted with one another – their only connection might be their dyadic relationship with their patron. A primary patron's client would be a secondary patron, who would cultivate his own clients, tertiary patrons; and the secondary patron's range of influence would be less than that of his own patron, but wider than that of his clients so some homogeneity amongst his clients would be likely. A tertiary patron, a client of a secondary patron, might be completely unconnected with his primary patron. Society would be densely populated by tertiary patrons with a great number of clients but only a small range of influence from which to recruit them, consequently, there was a greater likelihood of homogeneity within his clientele.

This pyramid of patron-client links might be grossly simplified by assuming that a primary patron is a peer, the secondary patron is a member of the greater gentry, and the tertiary patron is a member of the lesser gentry (although this might not always have been the case). Through this hierarchical structure of patrons, political influence would percolate vertically from each patron to each client, and also laterally amongst clienteles. So, if the important local greater gentry were connected with the dominant lord, political influence would be diffused laterally to their family, friends, and neighbours amongst the greater gentry; while political influence would also percolate vertically through these greater gentry to the lesser gentry, 'many of whom would have no direct connection with any magnate', and thus one of these clients might know his own patron, but not necessarily his patron's patron.[42] An example of a

[41] Lesger (2000), 210; Clapham (1986a), 6; Landé (1977), xxi.

[42] Carpenter (1994b), 5, 8–10; Walker (1990), 146–8, 209–34, 235–61.

primary patron might be Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset in Somerset and Dorset during Henry VI's reign. The Beauforts seem to have been associated with only a small number of important gentry families and peers: one of the Beauforts' most important allies was Sir John Stourton. Stourton – as a secondary patron – was, in turn, connected to further local gentry families, such as the Hodies, Newburghs, and Caraunts, who were tertiary patrons. Although the Caraunts and Newburghs were associated with their patron's patron, Beaufort, the Hodies seem not to have been (below, pp. 155–7).

Patron-client ties vary in intensity, reciprocity, and reliability, and also in dependence: a client's resources determined his dependence – the fewer his resources then the more dependent he would be upon his patron.[43] Because the primary patron's clients would be men of substantial resources they would be less dependent on his patronage, therefore potentially less loyal. Likewise, secondary and tertiary patrons' clients, as men of fewer resources, might be more dependent on their patron's favour, and more likely to be persistently loyal.

Such hierarchical structures of dyadic relationships were never static but continually altered by the dynamics of change: demography, alterations in the number of patrons, in the centrality of existing patrons, or by the emergence of new patrons. As with monarchs, the influence and status of the gentry and peerage depended on personal qualities: accidents of heredity, personality, and socio-economic change guaranteed that local rule rarely went unchallenged. A lord's 'country' changed constantly with generations and transmission of estates – minorities and elderly frailties could herald a decline in a family's fortunes (for instance, the long and ruinous minority of Thomas, Earl of Devon during the 1420s and 1430s). The outstanding efforts of one generation might be squandered by the next (as instances of when a father's national prominence contrasts with a son's minor role, the Lords Hungerford (Walter and his son, Robert), and the Lords Stourton (John and his son,

[43] Kettering (1986), 25.

William) spring to mind). Family extinction and new members of the household or councillors in the locality would alter the balance of power.

All variations and constant fluctuations meant shifts in political alignments because each tier of clients was obliged both to seek the benefaction of a patron, and to provide good lordship to his own supporters. At all levels, inadequate lordship resulted in a diminution of stature for an individual, as his retainers would be forced to seek alternative patronage as a result of pressure from their own affinities. On the demise of a magnate's long-lived leadership, there was the possibility that a group of clients could remain bonded together and transfer their allegiance, either wholly or singly, to another patron.[44]

* * *

The clienteles of the leading magnates are of particular importance in the analysis of politics and government since a patron would normally ensure that his retainers were appointed to key local offices, but, equally, recruit those leading local figures most likely to be appointed to office. However, not all clientelist relationships were of equal importance: there were different types of dyadic relationship (such as family, friends, and neighbours), and different gradations of importance within these categories. It was within and around his sphere of influence that a patron would garner support, so ties of locality and proximity often influenced magnates' associations. In addition to his neighbours, the lord's affinity would also include family members, tenants, and friends; thus an affinity was a mixture of loyal household servants, relatives, friends, neighbours, and acquaintances, forming an extension to his own family.

A lord's *familia* (his aggregate dependents) has been likened to a series of concentric circles, with the lord at the centre, and inner, middle, and outer circles. The inner circle comprised members of the lord's household, councillors, and senior estate officials (receivers, stewards, and feodaries): these figures might be retained by contract, but would frequently appear in legal records in association with their lord.

[44] Watts (1996), 65–7, 69–70, 73; also Pollard (2001c), 51–64.

The middle circle included annuitants, most likely to be lawyers retained for their legal expertise, and also minor estate officials such as receivers and bailiffs. The outer circle comprised well-willers and others whose connection can be inferred from association in legal documents. This description of concentric circles is merely illustrative since members of an affinity often overlapped between these categories, and the rings in themselves obviously lacked clear boundaries which makes the definitive assigning of individuals to such categories difficult.[45] Three case studies of affinities – the Hungerfords, the Arundells, and the Edgcumbes – are detailed in Chapter 4.

A lord's clientele might also be equated with a spectrum of loyalty. Those in the innermost circle would be closest to the patron on a personal level; therefore its members would be his most loyal clients. Moving outwards from this central zone, there would be a gradual shading into those in the peripheral circle who would be less loyal in devotion to their patron. Like a religious congregation, there would be an inner circle of zealous dévots attending regularly, but also an outer circle of worshippers attending only occasionally. So, is the size of a 'congregation' to be judged only on numbers in the inner circle? And did infrequent attendance by outer-circle members make them any less members of the overall assembly? In the event of a magnate's loss of local power, it would be members of his outer circle that would first seek alternative patrons; so, should such individuals be excluded from consideration as network members? Surely not; since it can be argued that such peripheral clients are actually of importance as climatic indicators of local politics – their allegiances show fluctuations in political alignments, illustrating the rising and fading of particular patrons.[46]

[45] Carpenter (1980a), 515–18; Hicks (1995), 43–68; Hicks (1991e), 1–40; Harriss (2005), 195–7; also Simpson (1985), 102–29.

[46] Landé (1977), xix; Granovetter (1973); Weimann (1982).

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF LORDSHIP

Unfortunately, there are no conveniently assembled series of documents that might be used for the study of lordship: it can only be approached obliquely and eclectically through scattered family papers and records, and be reconstructed only from what might be assumed from evidences of association. A patron's functions and operations were not delineated by laws (which could then be consulted), and their authority depended on their private wealth, status, connections, and ambitions – all aspects that are not easily quantifiable in the late medieval period. The relationship between society and politics was indistinct and the two aspects are practically inseparable; the socio-political nature of clientelist relationships means that it is necessary to evaluate social connections in order to achieve a political perspective. So, what sources can be used to uncover evidence of clientelist relationships?

The reconstruction of affinities and clienteles is fraught with difficulties and uncertainties. It has been said that 'identification of family and relatives is the starting point of all prosopography' and, as mentioned, persistent bonds might become enshrined in marital alliances between clients' and patrons' families; marriage would therefore often be used as a tool by which to consolidate existing political allegiances, to forge new ones, or to settle conflicts.[47] However, while familial affiliations may be included within the scope of a magnate's affinity and are of some importance, they are also limited in their value for a number of reasons. Firstly, because not every client could wed one of his patron's relatives; secondly, because of local societies' interrelated nature often meaning that families were closely connected, thereby posing difficulties for the assessment of the relative significance of relationships at particular times.[48] Thirdly, familial connections are limited in value for assessing the extent of a magnate's affinity because of the uncertain nature of family relationships: while it seems appropriate that only immediate family (parents, siblings, in-laws, children, parents' siblings, and to a lesser extent first cousins) should be the focus of attention,

[47] Beech (1992), 199.

[48] Holt (1984), 1–25.

even these close family members might not be on amicable terms in every case.[49]

Evidently, while familial association is a significant element of any search for clientelist relationships it does not, in itself, paint a complete portrait of a clientele. Indentures of retainer are the most desirable records since they are often dated and can specify rewards and conditions of service. However, even these hallowed documents have their constraints and limitations. Firstly, while indentures of retainer may have once been widespread, formal contracts had become rare by the later Middle Ages as service became more informal and flexible – perhaps as a result of Richard II's legislation prohibiting gentry from retaining, and the Statute of Livery of 1468 forbidding peers from retaining.[50] Hence the survival of indentures is rare; therefore, it is questionable how complete a picture they alone can present. Secondly, an indenture may have soon become obsolete because of changes in local political circumstances, so, despite their formal appearance, they should perhaps be understood to be of only a potentially short-term application. Even indentures are not a definitive guide to magnate affinities in isolation but, along with familial connections, add further to a clientele's reconstruction.

Indentures, like marriages, could be infrequent occurrences and of a potentially limited usefulness because they remained static in a climate of constant fluctuation, and the estate records and papers of many fifteenth-century peerage and gentry families have often not survived. What records might be used to reconstruct patron-client relationships in late medieval south-west England? Perhaps this question may be connected with a further one: what frequent activity would landowners have undertaken that required the involvement of friends, family, neighbours, patrons, or clients? Property transactions of various sorts would have been undertaken on a relatively frequent basis, and, because of the importance of land, the individual's

[49] Peerage and gentry genealogies may be obtained from *CP*; *HPB*; for more recent biographies: *ODNB*. Counties' heralds' visitations are informative: *Visitations of Cornwall*; *Visitations of Devon*; *Visitations of Dorset*; *Visitations of Somerset*.

[50] As illustrated in declining numbers of indentures from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War 1278–1476'. For legislation: *PR*, xiii, 384–6; Hicks (1991n), 15–28.

confidence in those involved is implied; after all, it would be unlikely for bitter rivals to associate voluntarily with one another by witnessing each others' transactions. The different types of land transactions ranged from enfeoffments to use and last wills and testaments, to grants of land, rentals, and deeds.

Enfeoffments to use (granting of often substantial estates in trust to feoffees) were arguably one of the most important land transactions an individual could undertake. Because of the gravity of the business, it may be argued that feoffees are a reasonably clear indication of an individual's most trusted affiliates. Last wills and testaments are similarly important because of the seriousness of their nature, so executors, supervisors (of the will), beneficiaries, and witnesses are of particular relevance as they would be likely to be the person's most valued friends, family, and acquaintances.[51]

Grants of lands, leases, rentals, and deeds, are of some significance in reconstructing clienteles, since they concerned an individual's lands and other possessions, so the involvement of witnesses (and recipients) are an accurate guide to an individual's loyal associates, ranging from relatives to tenants and acquaintances. During the early Middle Ages, the public nuncupative bestowal of a gift in the presence of witnesses constituted the legal act – only later would this transaction be formally documented. The resultant charter would be a written record of an anterior disposition; but, by the late medieval period, it had become increasingly desirable for transactions to be formally recorded. Although they often neither signed nor sealed documents in which they were named, witnesses were important because they gave added corroboration to transactions. Citation as a witness did not necessarily mean that the witness in question observed the exchange, but it would have been pointless to have a witness who was ignorant of the transaction.[52] Even if it were the case that a witness allowed himself (and witnesses were mostly, male) to be named in a

[51] McFarlane (1973a), 69–70.

[52] Bailey (1961); Barrow (1995); Stringer (1985a); Biggs (2004); Pollock and Maitland (1898), ii, 83–4, 93; *Oxford Companion to Law*, 92, 1304.

transaction of which he was unaware, his citation means that he must have been well-known to at least one of the parties involved. Similarly, it might have been the case that witnesses were simply people who happened to be in attendance at the time of any particular event that required recording, though, their presence self-evidently indicates that they were known to the parties involved (therefore suggesting that their presence was arranged in advance). It is possible that witnesses were named by both parties in agreement with each other (therefore known to at least one or both of them); but, unfortunately, it is impossible to discern which witness was allied with the donor or which with the donee.

These issues are some of the uncertainties concerning using land transactions as indications of clientelist relationships; but, while there is obviously a margin of error, there is also a margin of accuracy.[53] Similarly, bonds (and mainprizes) – binding an individual to a course of action, such as payment of a debt – can also be of some importance, since witnesses or mainpernors must have been known to the individual if he was prepared to stand surety for their repayment or good behaviour.

All these transactions, along with their participants, vary in importance and in chronological 'life-span'. Transactions, ranging from marriages and indentures of retainer, to enfeoffments to use, wills, and land transactions, are limited in the chronological period that they represent – any of these transactions made in one year may have been rendered obsolete in the next as a result of changes in local politics. Hence dating of all transactions is of prime importance in assessing their relevance and potential duration. Accordingly, in recognition of this problem, it has been attempted – whenever possible – to date all associations therefore limiting their consideration beyond those time-spans (including perhaps a couple of years either side, if appropriate); although, in some cases – in periods of little change in local circumstances – it might be reasonable to assume the persistence of prior connections.

Frequency of occurrence as witnesses in land transactions might appear to

[53] Alcock (1986); MacFarlane (1983).

show the relative importance of clients. Although a greater frequency might seem to indicate a stronger attachment to a patron than that of a client who was involved only on one occasion, this might not necessarily be the case; such a single-transaction client might be revealed in estate papers to have been a household servant but documentary losses might deny us such corroborative data. Thus archival loss, and survival (by potentially giving prominence to one group more than another) can disfigure an image of an affinity.[54] In addition, as Alexander Grant has pointed out concerning the earl of Douglas's retinue, 'it is striking how many of the occasional witnesses were the earl's kin, or officers', further demonstrating that frequency of occurrence is not an infallible guide – but, nevertheless, is no less of a valid approach despite its limitations.[55] Therefore, though it seems a reasonable assumption to base strength of attachment on frequency of involvement, it is impossible to tell whether one client was less strongly attached than another; thus, irrespective of frequency, all clients require consideration. Peripheral clients are not necessarily lesser members of a patron's clientele, but might be of prime importance in revealing the dynamics of local politics (above, p. 83); accordingly, such clients should not be ignored, even though they cannot reasonably be counted as connected to the patron.

As a result of these uncertainties and limitations, the reconstruction of affinities is something of an imprecise art. Connection construction is not a simple task; the difficulties, and awareness of the subtleties, mean that there are few, if any, certainties regarding clients, so it is necessary to speak of only possibilities, probabilities, and likelihoods. In addition, any image of a clientele can only ever be a partial picture, since a patron may have had further clients that do not appear in transactions.[56] In chapter 4, the case studies of the Hungerford, Arundell, and Edgcumbe families are detailed as specific examples in the reconstruction of clienteles.

[54] Simpson (1985), 107, 121; Bates (1997), 89–90.

[55] Grant (2000), 235–74; 251 (quotation).

[56] Grant (2000), 251; also Richmond (1983), 58.

This methodology for the reconstruction of clienteles is, of course, applicable to all patrons and clients, irrespective of their wealth and status, from the poorest peer to the greatest regional 'governor'. The reconstruction of a peer's landed interests, office-holding, and clientele, facilitates an evaluation of his political influence within local society and, in the case of a regional governor, this simply involves a broader scale in order to determine to what extent he was a focus for the western counties. Whatever his status, if a peer hoped to manage his 'country' or region effectively, he needed to uphold justice, and maintain the stability of local society; if he did not rule impartially, then tension and instability could dominate.[57] As outlined in Chapter 1, recipients of royal offices exercised sovereign authority and that was what guaranteed them respect – they were the public face of the monarchy; their conduct was identified with their master, so any malpractice on their part potentially detracted from, and damaged, the crown's authority.[58]

THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL: ESTATES, REGALITIES, AND ADMINISTRATION

The crown estates were an important point of contact between centre and locality. Royal lands were subject to the king's direct lordship, hence the duchy of Cornwall – a significant institution and political force in the south-western shires – deserves detailed consideration. On 17 March 1337, Edward III brought into being the duchy of Cornwall for the maintenance of his seven-year-old eldest son, Edward (the 'Black Prince' of later renown). According to the charter of creation, the duchy's estates were never to be dismembered or alienated from the possession of the duke of Cornwall. The duchy was always to be held by the reigning monarch's eldest son and, in the absence of such a recipient, was to remain in the crown's possession until such time as a duke was born.[59] Edward thereby created an undisputable and almost unchangeable institution to provide heirs to the throne with an income in perpetuity; and, in the

[57] Horrox (1989), 3ff; Carpenter (1992), 1–13, 560; Harriss (1993), 55–6; Castor (2000), 17–18, 45–7, 311.

[58] Castor (2000), 17–18, 45–7, 311; Carpenter (1997), 35; Hicks (2002), 92–5, 182.

[59] Hatcher (1970), 3, 6.

absence of a Prince of Wales, the duchy reverted to form part of the crown estates (albeit with a separate administration).

In the form of the duchy, did Cornwall have a political structure that was distinct from the other western counties? To what extent was there continuity between the earldoms and the later duchy? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to examine, briefly, the earlier earldoms and the later duchy's landed estates. This discussion also illuminates the importance of the duchy to Cornwall, answering the question of whether its influence was felt in only Cornwall or across all south-western shires. In addition to its landholding, the duchy was influential as a result of certain regalities that had been awarded to it at various times. What were these privileges, and were they limited to Cornwall only? With its separate administration, the duchy has also been called a 'miniature government', but is this an adequate description?[60] Hence its structures of governance also require examination in order to understand further its importance in Cornwall and other western counties. Finally, after consideration of the duchy's estates, regalities, and administration, it will be possible to consider whether its overall influence was regional in nature.

* * *

The duchy's estates during the later fifteenth century were largely focussed in Devon and Cornwall, but was this peculiar to the establishment of the institution in 1337, was it the result of later evolution, or can it be traced earlier? The first post-Conquest earl was Robert of Mortain (*c.*1031–90), half-brother of William I, who was awarded lands including nearly all of the county of Cornwall. However, while Mortain held lands in over twenty counties, in the four counties of Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, he held 623 manors (with 81 in Devon alone).[61] After his death, his son, William (*c.*1084–1140), rebelled against Henry I's rule (in 1106) and was attainted – his lands reverting to the crown.[62] The earldom was revived when Henry I's illegitimate son,

[60] Cornwall (1977), 42.
[61] *VCH Devon*, i, 551–72.
[62] *CP*, iii, 427–9.

Reynold de Dunstanville (d.1175), was created earl of Cornwall in 1141.[63] Reynold's daughter, Hawise or Denise, married Richard de Redvers, second Earl of Devon (d.1162) so the earldoms of Cornwall and Devon became connected.

The Redvers earls of Devon were the leading family in that county throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and their estates extended from Cornwall and Devon to Dorset and Hampshire, and elsewhere. However, the childless deaths of their sons, Baldwin, third Earl of Devon (d.1188) and Richard, fourth Earl (d.*c*.1191), meant that the earldom of Devon passed to the first earl's son, and the earldom of Cornwall reverted to the crown; but this is unclear since some earldom of Cornwall lands in Devon found their way into the possession of the Redvers earls. After the Redvers' extinction in 1262, their kinsman, Hugh Courtenay, was acknowledged as earl of Devon in 1334/5, and later earls regarded themselves as the true leaders of south-western society.[64]

In 1189, Richard I created his brother, John, as earl of Cornwall, with lands throughout the south-west as well as the shrievalty of all four western counties. However, his title and estates merged with the crown when John acceded to the throne in 1199.[65] John's second son, Richard (1209–72), was created earl of Cornwall by his nephew Henry III during the 1220s, and was granted most of those lands that had constituted the Mortain's estates. While the extent of the earl's estates are largely uncertain, it appears that most lands were in Cornwall, with several Devon manors and Dartmoor, and others in Somerset and Dorset and Mere (Wilts.); in addition, there were Thames valley estates (in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Middlesex) including the Honours of Wallingford and Berkhamsted; moreover, further estates were in East Anglia, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. However, after the heirless death of the earl's son, Edmund (*c*.1250–1300), these estates reverted to the crown.[66]

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[63] *CP*, iii, 429.

[64] *CP*, iv, 311–23; *Charters of the Redvers Family*, 1–52; also Green (1997), 153.

[65] *CP*, iii, 429.

[66] *CP*, iii, 430–3; *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Devon*, vii–xxxvii, esp. xviii–xxiv.

During the fourteenth century, the earldom was briefly bestowed on Edward II's favourite, Piers Gaveston (1307–12), and on Edward III's brother, John (1316–36), following whose death it reverted to the crown.[67] Several generations of royal princes had been awarded the earldom of Cornwall, and were endowed with similar (if not the same) estates in south-west England. So it was by no means extraordinary when Edward III awarded his eldest son with the old earldom of Cornwall and other 'foreign' manors held by the thirteenth-century earls. Throughout the successive creations of the earldom, the bulk of the estates had been focussed in Cornwall and Devon, with other interests further east, so the earldom had been a potent political force throughout most of the south-west.

The founding 'Great Charter' of 1337 (and subsequent ones) endowed the duchy with seventeen 'accessionable' manors and a number of other boroughs and towns in Cornwall. The most important of these Cornish lands were the Honours of Trematon, Cardinan and Botardel, Mineli and Lantian, and Launceston (the latter including the Isles of Scilly). Further to these manors, the duchy was also granted properties in Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, Middlesex, and Surrey (again including the Honours of Wallingford and Berkhamsted). However, the greatest concentration of lands was in the south-west, particularly in Cornwall, and Devon – including the Honour of Bradninch (alias Berry Pomeroy and Braneys) – given by Henry III to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and incorporated into the duchy on its foundation. In addition, duchy lands also included the manor of Fordington (Dor.) and, further east, the important property of Mere (Wilts.).[68]

During his reign, and in the absence of a duke of Cornwall, Richard II lavishly bestowed duchy estates upon members of his own family and loyal servants – keeping possession of only the duchy castles and deer parks; in effect reducing the duchy to a merely nominal existence. As Prince of Wales, and later as king, Henry V

[67] *CP*, iii, 433–4.

[68] *VCH Devon*, i, 551–72; Hatcher (1970), 5–6; Haslam (1980a), 97–101, 105–23; Haslam (1987), 24–6.

endeavoured to recover all those alienated lands. In 1421, he endowed Sion Abbey in Middlesex with the duchy manor of Isleworth (Middlesex), and, in compensation, granted the duchy ten Somerset manors and lands, plus others in Dorset, Berkshire, Kent, and Wales: this endowment had the effect of significantly increasing the duchy's influence in south-west England.[69] Apart from a short period, when these Somerset and Dorset lands were granted to William, Earl of Huntingdon in 1481 and regained in 1494, thereafter the duchy's estates, bestowed on Arthur, Prince of Wales in 1499, remained unchanged until the Reformation.[70]

Clearly, the duchy of Cornwall's estates were primarily concentrated in the south-west, as with the earlier earldoms, so to equate the duchy with only the county of Cornwall on the basis of its landholding would be inaccurate. However, the great concentration of duchy estates in the county does encourage confusion of the two entities, and this is also made more complex by consideration of the duchy's privileges.

* * *

While it was significant, too much is often made of the duchy's centrality to Cornwall. Indeed, A.L. Rowse pronounced that 'the duchy was a little government of its own'; Julian Cornwall depicted it as a 'miniature government' with an 'illusion of autonomy'; and Philip Payton has also asserted how an 'aura of semi-independence' surrounding the duchy contributed to Cornwall's persistently Celtic culture.[71] As a singular landed estate, despite being a private source of income, the duchy was (and still is) the subject of national scrutiny and requires parliamentary legislation for significant alteration, and J.P.D. Cooper has rightly emphasised that it was 'more an aristocratic estate than a "miniature government" '.[72] However, conversely, to over emphasise the duchy's role as a source of income and not a type of devolved government can also be misleading; after all, liberties were often responsible for their

[69] Haslam (1987), 29; Haslam (1980a), 99–101, 123–7.
[70] Haslam (1987), 29–31.
[71] Rowse (1941), 82; Cornwall (1977), 42; Payton (1992), 48.
[72] Cooper (2003), 173.

own administration, separate from central government. Therefore a pertinent question seems to be whether the duchy formed a micro-level government? What were the nature of its privileges, and how was it governed?

The duchy did not derive its income and influence only from its landed estates, but from other regalities and privileges derived from tradition or royal concessions. Just as with many other landed estates, one of the duchy's rights was responsibility for the advowsons of all churches and monastic houses connected with its lands. More importantly, the duke possessed the right to nominate the sheriff of Cornwall, which gave the duchy effective control of county government. Usually the duke himself would be *ex officio* sheriff – appointing an under-sheriff to perform his duties. If there were a duke, all writs issued by the under-sheriff would be in his name, just as in the case of the Bishop of Durham within his county palatine.

Furthermore, the duke could appoint his own escheator or feodary because the duchy was able to claim all wardships and escheats pertaining to its lands. The duchy also possessed rights of presage and custom of wine, woollens, and leather, and the profits of the ports and havens in all Cornwall (particularly Fowey) and at Plymouth and Dartmouth, as well as the prerogative rights of wreck, royal fish, and treasure-trove (as also in Durham). The duchy was entitled to the profits of the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon. The duke received mineral dues when the tin was mined and also enjoyed annual revenues from the assaying (or coinage) of the tin (when it was weighed, duchy duty (40*s*. per thousand-weight) was paid, and it was stamped (or 'coined') with the duke's emblem).[73]

During the thirteenth century, a system of stannary courts developed whereby each stannary district's court was responsible for administrating laws promulgated by the Cornish or Devonian convocations. Following the duchy's institution in 1337, the lord warden of the stannaries was thereafter a senior duchy officer, and it was under his direction that the apparatus of the stannary courts functioned, with a steward or

[73] Rowse (1941), 79–80; Hatcher (1970), 5–6; Haslam (1980), xii–xiv, 19–20; Haslam (1987), 27–8. For Durham's regalities: Lomas (1992), 77–80.

bailiff representing him presiding over each court.[74] In addition, the duchy was also entitled to the profits of the county courts and almost all the hundred courts including fines and licences imposed and the goods of felons and fugitives, again similar to some rights enjoyed by the bishops of Durham.

Durham enjoyed some further royal prerogative rights over those of the duchy, such as the ability to mint coins, and seize lands forfeited for rebellion and treason; so, while there are clear similarities between the two liberties, Cornwall was not a palatinate, and Durham exercised greater privileges. Of course, neither of the liberties had the right to make or alter laws, and both were subject to the common laws of England. Unlike the palatinate of Durham which was not represented in parliament until 1673, Cornwall and its boroughs were more fully represented than some other counties (above, p. 68). Most of the duchy's privileges pertained to its own estates, or to within Cornwall, such as the shrievalty, escheats, and courts. However, duchy privileges also extended into Devon with jurisdiction over Cornish and some Devon ports, and over the stannaries of both counties, further emphasising the duchy's influence outside Cornwall itself. Naturally, the duchy's possession of such regalities meant that there was a need for an administration supervising and exercising these rights and privileges, but did it form a 'miniature government'?

The duchy was governed by a number of officers responsible for various aspects of administration. There was a steward of duchy lands in Cornwall and a steward of estates in Devon, and later there was also a lord (or chief) steward responsible for all duchy estates. There was a degree of overlap between these posts (sometimes leading to confusion); it seems that if there were no Devon steward, his duties may have been subsumed within the stewardship of Cornwall; if there were no lord steward then the steward of Cornwall seems to have been the senior ranking officer. The stewards were particularly influential in county affairs since their office enabled them to control the manorial courts. The receiver-general was responsible for

[74] Pennington (1973), 15–16, 29–33.

financial business, and there were also local receivers employed collecting and retaining money until it was needed by the household cofferers or treasurer. The auditors annually determined the accounts of rents and incidents owed by tenants. The feodary (or escheator) administered forfeited or escheated lands accruing to the duchy. The havener dealt with shipping and petty customs in the ports of Cornwall and Devon, and his deputy – the comptroller of the havenry – kept the counter-roll or duplicate accounts. The lords warden of the stannaries administered the stannary districts (a role usually undertaken by the respective stewards of Devon and Cornwall), and his deputy – the comptroller of the coinage – kept the duplicate accounts. If a lord warden were not appointed then it seems likely that his duties were subsumed within the stewardship of Cornwall. During the later fifteenth century, the duchy employed a bailiff-itinerant to supervise the stewards of the stannary courts. In order to preserve its legal rights, the duchy also maintained an attorney-general, but his jurisdiction was expected to include Wales and Cheshire, so although paid from duchy revenues, this post was attached to the prince's household rather than to the duchy.[75]

These major officers (lord steward, other stewards, receiver-general, auditors, feodary, havener, lords warden, and perhaps others), in total, seem likely to have formed a supreme policy-making body: the duke's council. In the absence of any records of such a body, this is pure conjecture; but does seem most probable given that even under sovereign direction, duchy affairs remained separate from crown estate administration. The Black Prince instituted a council to administer his affairs in 1346 and, although this functioned only during his absence from the realm, it seems likely that this would have continued in operation; a council was certainly in existence during the 1490s. Throughout the medieval period there was provision made for the keeping of the prince's council chamber at Westminster (though this was where the duchy's records were kept).[76] In addition to these senior offices, there were others,

[75] Haslam (1980a), 3–42.

[76] Haslam (1980a), xv.

including constables of duchy castles, stewards of duchy manors, and rangers and parkers of duchy parks. These offices provided the monarch or duke with valuable patronage with which to reward servants for their service. There are some difficulties in reconstructing duchy office-holding since appointments, especially of lesser officers, are often unrecorded in patent or close rolls – meaning that there is a reliance on extant receivers' or ministers' accounts, but their intermittent survival, combined with occasional subsuming of offices within others, makes possible only an incomplete summary of officers based on probabilities.[77]

Julian Cornwall has argued that the duchy had an adverse political impact by inhibiting the emergence of an influential local gentry: he suggests that the concentration of duchy power at Lostwithiel encouraged men of ambition to move away from Cornwall. In fact, as J.P.D. Cooper has argued, the opposite was the case in that duchy patronage provided a considerable pool of offices with which loyal and local gentry could be rewarded.[78] Indeed, patronage offered by the duchy was likely to be a particularly important reason for strong attachment to the crown in Cornwall, exemplified during the Wars of the Roses and in later Royalist support during the 'Great Rebellion'.

The duchy's singular position connected to the Princes of Wales is of prime importance in explaining its distinctive nature. Echoing Julian Cornwall's view, M.J.D. Stoyle has described the duchy of the early modern period as having 'special marks of royal favour and at least an illusion of residual autonomy'.[79] But, rather than the duchy being only an illusion, Tim Thornton has convincingly argued that in Cornwall, as in Wales and Cheshire, local identity 'operated within and was supported by an "institutional corset" provided by the prince's government'; moreover, the relationship between the princes and their provinces was reciprocal: the princes could

[77] For lists of lords warden and deputy wardens: Pennington (1973), 223–5, 225–6; for (sometimes differing from Pennington's) lists of the lords warden, receivers-general, auditors, attorneys-general, haveners, feodaries, and 'assay masters and controllers of the coinage': Haslam (1980a), 303–5.

[78] Cornwall (1977), 42–3; Cooper (2003), 179.

[79] Stoyle (2000), 1121–2.

draw on the power of their connections with Wales, Cheshire, and Cornwall whose provincial autonomy was, in turn, dependent on the special position of the princes for its justification and continuation.[80] This may have been the case; as outlined (above, p. 59), the ancient Dumnonii (Cornovii) tribal grouping retained their monarchs until the tenth century and some residual regnal focus may have attached to the earldom of Cornwall which, combined with periods of almost palatinate-like government, may have acted as a focus for the people of the shire. The duchy's collection of landed estates originated in the earlier earldoms, therefore this continuity may have encouraged the perception of the duchy as a particular focus for Cornish identity; the duchy's value as a focal point would be further guaranteed by the power wielded in the county, and the patronage distributed to local families.

The duchy's ancient rights – mostly concerned with royal privileges in Cornwall, and others such as the administration of stannaries and ports in Cornwall and Devon – lend weight to the idea of the duchy's forming a 'miniature government', which seems partly accurate. The duchy's organisation, lands, and rights focussed in Cornwall categorise the county as different from the other western counties: leading to the conclusion that Cornwall did have its own distinct political structure. However, duchy and county were not indivisible: the duchy was not the supreme authority in all matters in Cornwall. Despite some emphasis on prerogative rights in the county, the duchy's administration extended into Devon regarding ports and stannaries. The duchy's estates were not exclusively confined to Cornwall but extended throughout the south-west and throughout the country; thus, the duchy cannot be classed as a purely Cornish political structure; but, then, can it be seen as a 'regional' structure?

POLITICAL REGIONS: INSTITUTIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL

Liberties have often been viewed as decentralised institutions that diminished the authority of central government, since there could only ever be one centre of supreme

[80] Thornton (2000b), 2, 24.

lordship; however, increasingly they are becoming understood as singular institutions that, through their devolved powers, supplemented royal power in the localities.[81] Therefore, the duchy of Cornwall's possession of certain royal prerogative rights and exercise of authority in Cornwall and Devon and the other western counties can be viewed as a significant arsenal of crown authority in the region. A royal palace was not merely a physical setting for a court but also a key institutional component of it as a focus for identity: a palace (within its own region) was a persistent reminder of the king's authority, an enduring political memory. Royal buildings were always magnificently constructed and even if royalty rarely visited, a royal presence might continue to be felt. Hence a city's symbiotic relationship with its hinterland is comparable to that of a royal centre or palace with its political hinterland or sphere of influence. In such properties' evocation of the royal court, the crown's authority could be maintained in the locality.[82]

The duchy's estates and castles may be argued to have been important places as royal centres: its buildings (the palaces, coinage halls, and castles) may have intrinsically implied royal authority. The ancient castles of Launceston, Trematon, Restormel, and Tintagel, the Palace of Lostwithiel, and the fortified residence at Liskeard all emphasised duchy influence.[83] The duchy castles were in a state of decay by the time of John Leland's tours of Cornwall in the 1520s and 1540s; but, while Tintagel, Trematon, and Exeter had been neglected, those castles at Launceston and Restormel were consistently maintained.[84] The primary centre of duchy administration was Lostwithiel, where a number of important thirteenth-century buildings (the shire hall – where the county court met, the duchy exchequer, the coinage hall of the stannaries, and the stannary gaol) were located. Similarly, Lydford Castle, which

[81] The topic of liberties and their regalities, in terms of comparing the Duchy of Cornwall with other liberties, would be a fruitful exercise but, unfortunately, cannot be attempted within the scope of this study.

[82] Airlie (2000), 9–10, 14.

[83] Cooper (2003), 12–51; see Brown, Colvin and Taylor (1963), i, 239, 470–3; ii, 577–82, 647–9, 693–4, 733–4, 804–6, 845–6, 846–7, 980, 982–3.

[84] *John Leland's Itinerary*, 59–90.

functioned as the stannary prison, would have been a focus of duchy influence in Devon. These duchy centres, and most of its landed estates, were concentrated in eastern Cornwall – near to the Devon border – meaning that the political hinterlands of these centres overlapped one another, and overlapped the county boundary, including both Cornwall and Devon within the sphere of duchy power. Furthermore, other lands in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire seem likely to have extended the duchy's region of influence eastwards across south-west England.

Moving outwards from the seat of power to the periphery, attachment to the centre becomes attenuated; but 'those who are closely and positively connected with authority' are believed 'to possess a vital relationship to the center [*sic*]'.[85] Therefore a 'royal centre' with its hinterland might be viewed as a subsidiary of the core: it is not the core – the king's court – but it is still a symbol of royal power and authority and continues to be important. So, a series of royal estates spread across several counties (each with hinterlands overlapping or aligning) could prove a powerful force in local affairs. With royal estates, such as the duchy of Cornwall, as a sub-core, it seems difficult to maintain that Cornwall would be politically peripheral. The duchy, through its direct relationship with the crown, radiated royal authority throughout the south-west. This 'regional' political structure, evidently pre-existed Edward IV's regional policy; was Edward reflecting the duchy's political region in his gubernatorial system?

The fact that duchy estates in south-western England extended to Wiltshire, just as Edward IV's regional hegemony comprised the counties from Cornwall to Wiltshire, seems too much of a coincidence to have been accidental (above, chapter 1). It would have made practical political sense for Edward to harness duchy power to supplement the local power of his chosen regional magnate, since overlap of the political regions of the duchy and of the provincial magnate would represent royal power more effectively at a local level and reassert royal authority. If the duchy with

[85] Shils (1975a), 3–16.

its political region is viewed as a sub-core of sovereign power then, equally, the regional 'governors' of Edward IV's reign might also be viewed as sub-cores of royal authority. Therefore, an important question for the later chronological chapters is whether the south-west regional governors were included in duchy administration?

In addition to those points of contact between polity and locality detailed above (the council, the court, county government, and clientelism), the duchy of Cornwall seems to have been a major political centre in the south-west; but, in addition, Edward IV's regional scheme introduced another significant point of contact in the form of the regional magnate. To examine regional hegemonies in the south-west, it is necessary to discover whether the governor provided a political centre to the region; therefore, it is necessary to study the governor's landed interests, office-holding, and affinity in order to evaluate the extent to which these aspects were 'regional' in nature.

In addition, there are further requirements for study. As explained, the regional governor possessed a quasi-regal role – representing royal authority and embodying the region's identity. So as to prevent the creation of a 'kingdom within a kingdom', it was imperative for the monarch that his regional governor was strongly attached to central government – that the periphery would be connected to the core. It was possible to do this by emphasising the regional magnate's ties with the sovereign: by endowing the governor with office in the royal household (or perhaps the duchy of Cornwall), and by 'enmeshing prominent members of his retinue in a network of royal governance and control'.[86] In order to reveal the regional magnate's relationship with the royal court, it is necessary to ascertain whether the governor's clients were also royal clients – whether there was enmeshing between royal and regional affinities? Hence, it is necessary to survey political societies – define elites, reconstruct affinities, and examine patterns of patronage in the localities. Consideration of those royal household men who were employed in local government is one aspect addressed in

[86] Stringer (1993), 82–113.

the chronological chapters but more fully highlighted in Chapter 10. While the duchy of Cornwall and the regional governors may have provided ‘political centres’ or sub-cores for south-west England was this potentially ‘regional’ focus also reflected in the landowning, office-holding, and interactions of the peerage and gentry of the four south-western counties? Indeed, how might the political elites of the region be defined?

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL ELITES

The second chapter looked at the different regions of south-west England, ranging from geographical and economic to cultural and political. The third chapter outlined political structures and two types of political region: the duchy of Cornwall (forming a political centre with its hinterland), and the regional 'governor' – both of which might have served as unifying elements across all south-western counties during the later fifteenth century. However, did members of the shires' political elites identify with this region? Why should elites be studied, and how might they be defined? These questions are the subject of the first half of this chapter, beginning with the criticisms and justifications for the study of political elites; after this, in the second half, it is possible to consider how to define elites with reference to landed and administrative societies.

Following this discussion, it will be important to apply theory to reality: by defining the political elites of south-west England thereby selecting appropriate individuals for prosopographical research. A small circle of inter-connected gentry families dominated county society; but is it possible to speak of 'county' elites, and to what extent were elites' interactions or interests 'regional' in nature? It will be possible to examine whether the south-west elites identified with their region by analysing their estates, offices, marriages, and associations. Patterns of landowning and office-holding illuminate the relationship between the elites and the region, while analysis of marriage patterns tests the supposition that strong localism meant regional endogamous tendencies. Finally, in the second half of the chapter, in order to examine the regional nature of the elites' associations, three case studies have been drawn from the region's families: the Hungerfords, Arundells, and Edgcumbes. By examining their archives, these examples illustrate processes and problems concerning the

reconstruction of affinities (discussed above, pp. 84–9).

STUDY OF POLITICAL ELITES

The prosopographical study of the 'county community' has been subject to much criticism, and (above, pp. 15–16) the term 'community' itself has been exposed as a rather misleading and misunderstood term in the historiography of the late middle ages because of its connotations.[1] However, perhaps the term *communitas comitatus* ('community of the county'), simply meaning 'all those resident in the shire below the level of the parliamentary peerage and above the level of serf' is comparable to the phrase *communitas regni* ('community of the realm'), meaning the whole body of the nation.[2] As seen, further criticism of the county study has been targeted at historians' concentration on county elites; but historians have defined different elites: what is meant by the term 'county elite'? Is it the landed elite, the greater gentry, or the administrative elite? It has been shown, in almost all English medieval county studies, that 'a relatively small, if expanding, section of county society dominated all the rest' – local government was the preserve of a number of inter-related families.[3]

An 'elite' has been defined as 'an exclusive body to which admission is desirable'.[4] In general, historians have equated the 'county elite' with the 'local officers' or the 'leading gentry of the county'.[5] But, in turn, what is meant by 'leading gentry'? As explained (above, pp. 74–5), the term refers to those who were, on the whole, the most important greater gentry (not necessarily county officers). In criticism of the study of elites, M.C. Carpenter suggested that it is not possible to study only county officers since leading gentry in the fifteenth century 'did not yet expect to be

[1] Horrox (1992), 394–5; Carpenter (1994a), 340–1.

[2] Cam (1944a), 236, 246–7; Carpenter (1994a), 375–7; Horrox (1992), 394–5; Maddicott (1978), 27–43.

[3] Lapsley (1932), 177–93, 545–67; Carpenter (1976), 51–3; Acheson (1992), 36, 132–3; Wright (1983), 5, 94; Payling (1991), 110–12, 216–18; Condon (1979), 124–5.

[4] Condon (1979), 110; Harriss (1995), 2–3, 5; Carpenter (1992), 138–44, 273.

[5] Wright (1983), 5–6, 57, 144; Payling (1991), 18, 111–12; Acheson (1992), 36, 132–4; Carpenter (1994a), 344–5.

officers and the major local offices were not yet confined exclusively to the leading families'; yet, at the same time, one must primarily concentrate research on the local elite since 'they were the most likely to hold county office'.[6] Clearly, the county's officers (or 'administrative society') might not be synonymous with the leading gentry, but the majority of the latter would be involved in county government, and surely it is unnecessary to discard the study of elites simply because a minority of leading gentry for whatever reason (and the blind Suffolk gentleman John Hopton serves as a good example) did not involve themselves in county affairs.[7] In a study of political society, the gentry, as one component of that society, cannot be the sole subject of study without reference to the other component: the peerage – the study of both is central to the study of political elites.

Why should only the elite be studied? Location is of great importance in defining identities, as it is tied up with a sense of belonging to a physical space; thus, those with broader horizons embraced a broader identity than those with a more parochial outlook: the 'parish' gentry (above, pp. 74–5) might not necessarily identify with their own county, since their horizons typically extended only as far as their locality. In order to gauge county or regional identity, it is vital to study gentry of sufficient status to have identified with the county. Clearly, it is the greater gentry that had the resources required to be involved in county affairs, and identify with the county and wider region. A society's elite develops a sense of identity from its encounters with others from diverse counties and regions; so, perhaps the best test of whether identities exist is to examine how the elite identify themselves. One problem is that often those figures that had horizons wide enough to encompass the county would also be those likely to have horizons wider than the county as a unit (below, pp. 121–2).

It may also be argued that it is unnecessary to study the whole of landed society because of the nature of medieval society. A magnate (such as Edmund

[6] Carpenter (1994a), 345.

[7] Richmond (1981); Richmond (1987), 103–6.

Beaufort, Duke of Somerset) needed to win the support of the most influential greater gentry – the leading gentry – since it was through these figures that he would influence the rest of local society (such as Sir John Stourton). If a noble recruited the most influential gentry to his affinity then political influence would percolate laterally and vertically through a hierarchical pyramid of clientelist relationships – through several patron–client layers (above, pp. 79–81). While lesser gentry might not be directly associated with the magnate, they would be connected with important gentry that were.[8] Therefore, in order to influence a county, it was 'the quality rather than the quantity' of a lord's retainers that was vital.[9] So, in order to study county politics, those gentry who were the most influential in terms of office-holding – not defined by landed estates alone (below, pp. 108–13) – should be the focus, since it was these figures that were central to exerting local political influence. For instance, William Caraunt (*c.*1395–1476) of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.) held only two manors in Somerset and one in Dorset, but was prominent in these counties as a result of his office-holding, having been sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1450–1, knight of the shire for Somerset in the same year, and a Dorset JP from 1430 until 1478.[10]

Some county studies have claimed to illustrate an independent gentry community;[11] but they may have reached this conclusion largely because of their omission of the peerage from consideration. Equally, those studies that have emphasised the overbearing power of the peerage may have under-estimated other local influences. Rather than a county society's being *either* ruled by a magnate *or* dominated by the gentry – surely the typical county was a balance of both influences? In terms of local-national political relationships it was the interaction of all components of political society: county government, the peerage, and royal household that made governance both possible and effective. There would be variations from county to county so one of these elements may have exerted a stronger influence than

[8] Carpenter (1994b), 9.

[9] Harriss (2005), 93–135, 136–86; 196 (quotation).

[10] *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 376; *HPB*, 155.

[11] For instance, Acheson (1992); Payling (1991).

one or all of the others: for instance, the duchy of Cornwall in Cornwall, or Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1439) in Warwickshire during the early fifteenth century.[12]

County boundaries defined the formal structures of shire government, whereas informal ties of service and patronage between peerage, gentry, and royal household retainers were not restricted by such boundaries. The existence of these 'extra-societal' structures did not negate the use of the county as an administrative unit at the time, nor do they contradict its use as an analytical tool for historians. Moreover, as shown (pp. 44–7, 52–6), the long history of the counties and the continuities of administrative centres made the counties England's primary local units and, consequently, the most appropriate units of study. Even the most clearly defined society will have had extra-societal connections and interactions; and these do not negate its existence. Where an individual was simultaneously a member of the political elites of multiple counties (such as John Willoughby and Walter Moyle in the western counties or Edmund Carew in Devon, Dorset and Somerset), he cannot be ignored.[13] Hence, S.M. Wright's study of Derbyshire gentry has been criticised for excluding from consideration 'all those whose main area of interest, in terms of land or activity, lay outside Derbyshire'.[14] The more substantial the gentry family, the wider its intra- and extra-county connections would be: individuals' and families' social, familial, and political interactions were largely determined by local geography therefore did not end at county boundaries. Families might hold lands in other counties (such as the Fulfords of Fulford (Dev.) who possessed estates in Devon, Somerset and Cornwall) and could also hold office in more than one county (the Fulfords held offices in all four western counties); however, where a family owned numerous manors in a region there may be difficulties in determining its main sphere of influence. This suggests that there may have been regional as well as county

[12] Cam (1944a), 246–7; Carpenter (1992), 1–13, 275–7, 442–50; Carpenter (1994a), 359–60, 363.
[13] Below, Appendix I, for other examples.
[14] Wright (1983), 4.

political elites.[15] It seems clear that elites should be studied; but how might they be defined?

DEFINITION OF POLITICAL ELITES

The popularity of county studies, as mentioned, has done much to enlighten our knowledge of the late medieval period, but has also led to a plethora of methodologies and approaches to the study of local societies (above, p. 15). Ultimately, such diversity has had a negative impact on our understanding, in that many of these county studies are incompatible with one another – each study has had dissimilar analytical criteria, and a different focus. In order to identify the greater gentry, studies of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire utilised the 1436 income tax returns, and 1451 subsidy records.[16] However, incomplete survival of these returns, their limited time-span, and the fact that they could indicate only wealth – not landholding or office-holding – means that such records can be limited in their usefulness.[17] The Nottinghamshire study also made use of knighthood as a means of defining the gentry; however, this too may be unreliable because of the decline in willingness to be knighted in the later fifteenth century.[18] In addition, definitions based on heraldry are also problematic since the College of Arms was established only in 1484, and heraldic visitations began only in the later sixteenth century (not all gentry families might have survived until the late sixteenth century, and not all might been armigerous – least of all newcomers).[19] Another drawback is that these approaches to defining members of county society were concerned with the study of the greater gentry or gentry as a whole, and not with the entirety of the political elite.

It is reasonable to suggest that 'the whole of political society' should be

[15] Carpenter (1994a), 350, 362; Carpenter (1992), 25–7, 345.
[16] Wright (1983), 3–6; Payling (1991), 1–3; Acheson (1992), 36–43.
[17] Gray (1934), 607–39.
[18] Payling (1991), 17, 75–7; Carpenter (1994a), 351.
[19] Newton (2006), 22–3.

studied; but what are the boundaries of inclusion to such a society?[20] G.L. Harriss has proposed that it should include (in addition to landed society) local legal and administrative bureaucrats, church officials, clergy, and urban merchants and citizens.[21] Of course, members of urban oligarchies were often involved in county government (serving as sheriffs, MPs, and JPs) so would be included in any survey of county office-holding (such as John Attwyll (*c*.1440–1500) of Exeter who was the city's bailiff in 1472–3, senior bailiff in 1474–5, mayor in 1476–7, 1479–80, 1483–4, 1493–4, and 1496–7, and the city's burgess in parliament in 1478 perhaps also in 1489–90, 1491–2, 1495, and 1497).[22] Ecclesiastics could play an important role in politics at both local and national levels, so such figures should be included because they were often substantial landowners *ex officio* and could, on occasion, be added to the county bench (although appointment would largely be honorific, nevertheless it demonstrates their perceived local significance). Lawyers, including judges of the central courts, and local gentry acting as attorneys should also be studied because they were often gentlemen in their own right. However, lawyers should be excluded from calculations of continuity based on peace commissions since – by their nature as impartial servants of the state – they retained their positions on circuits and on the bench, whoever was monarch so might impose an artificial impression of local government continuity; furthermore, their often regional circuits and jurisdictions might impose a more regional element to interactions and office-holding than there was in reality.[23]

One major distinction to be drawn is the difference between a county's 'political society' and its 'political elite'. A county's political society comprised all those members of the county's landed society and county administration, as well as significant others such as lawyers, ecclesiastics, clergy, and merchants (as Harriss proposed). However, what are the remaining analytical criteria for the study of a

[20] Horrox (1992), 394.

[21] Harriss (1993), 33–4; Harriss (1995), 2.

[22] *HPB*, 27–8.

[23] For calculations of JP continuity (excluding lawyers), below, Appendix IV.

county elite? Perhaps the essential element in the definition of whom to include within a shire elite is a matter of allowing the individuals to select themselves for analysis through their frequent involvement in local political structures.[24] In order to clarify further, it is necessary briefly to consider 'landed society' and 'administrative society', and their respective elites.

Local status was defined through landholding, and admission to local society depended on landownership, so there seems little problem about accepting that any individual who possessed one manor or more was a member of 'landed society'.[25] In general, during the fifteenth century, it has been calculated that a quarter of families became extinct every quarter-century; but the corollary of that is that three-quarters of families survived for more than twenty-five years.[26] However, the landscape of landholding was not static – it was frequently altered by marriage, inheritance, or royal patronage. With land sales being rare, often the only way to gain further estates was through marriage, and this would regenerate county society by infusing at least some new blood. Family extinction might introduce newcomers and enable more fortunate families to increase their overall status, wealth, and estates (for example, the extinction of the Staffords of Southwick (Wilts.) in 1469 enabled the Willoughbys of Broke (Wilts.) to gain significant estates in Somerset, Dorset and elsewhere). Since they were at the mercy of such familial circumstances as marriage and the production of heirs, the fortunes of peerage and gentry families fluctuated, and this feature of landed society was a constant – providing both continuity and change.

In owning only one manor in one county, did an individual have much real influence in local politics and governance? It seems unlikely; so this questions whether it is necessary to study the entirety of landed society (especially if the principal subject were only county politics). Not all members of a locality's landed society could be actively involved in formal political structures; so the greater the

[24] Carpenter (1994a), 345–6, 348–9; Carpenter (1992), 37.

[25] Carpenter (1992), 35–6.

[26] McFarlane (1973b), 172–6; Payling (1991), 63–7; Payling (1992).

scale of an individual's landholding, the greater his status and influence. Therefore, landowners with the greatest estates formed the landed elite, and it would be members of this elite who would seek appointment to shire offices.

County government has been detailed in Chapter 3 (above, pp. 71–3), and 'administrative society' comprised those fulfilling the shire offices or roles (such as sheriff, escheator, coroner, MP, and justice of array, oyer and terminer, assize, gaol delivery, and of the peace). However, as mentioned, not all these offices were of equal status and importance, so is it necessary to study all these officers? The minor shire offices were the coronership and commissions of oyer and terminer, assize, and gaol delivery. The office of coroner was not of particular importance, therefore did not attract greater gentry. Commissions of gaol delivery were of little importance for our purposes; while commissions of oyer and terminer were summoned only occasionally like those of assize, were often granted jurisdiction over several counties simultaneously (hence they should be excluded since inclusion might impose a false sense of regional coherence). The major county offices were those of sheriff, escheator, MP, and commissioners of the peace, and array. These positions attracted men from the ranks of the upper and middling gentry and although the escheatry may have attracted some lesser gentry the office's importance during Henry VII's reign has been demonstrated.[27] Commissions of array were issued irregularly, so may be used merely as indications of the political situation at specific times; also, in some cases, array commissions were issued on a regional basis, therefore perhaps adversely affecting conclusions. Evidently, the most appropriate local government positions to study seem to be the shrievalty, escheatry, parliamentary representatives, and county justices of the peace (and, to a lesser extent, commissioners of muster).

These county offices have been widely regarded as *the* offices by which to investigate shire politics and government: the major study of Warwickshire examined these officers;[28] a study of Leicestershire concentrated on sheriffs, MPs, and JPs, and

[27] Wright (1983), 5; Luckett (1995b), 54–64; cf. Carpenter (1992), 265.

[28] Carpenter (1992), 263–77; cf. Carpenter (1976), 38–9.

although it excluded the office of escheator, Acheson recognised its importance.[29] However, if an individual held one of these major county offices only once (for instance, John Kenne (fl.1483), escheator from May to November 1483), was he as significant as another who had held a number of offices on a number of occasions (such as John Cheyne (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Dev.) and Pynne (Dor.), sheriff of Devon in 1443–4, 1453–4, 1461–3, and 1472–3, sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1454–5, a Somerset JP from 1461 until 1474, and a commissioners of array)? The greater the lands an individual possessed, the greater his status and influence in landed society; so, the more offices and capacities in which an individual served, the greater his status and importance in administrative society. Hence, individuals active in only one capacity in one county (irrespective of frequency, or duration of service) would not be particularly important in local society (such as John Kenne).[30] As explained, county offices were not all dominated by the greater gentry but by a cross-section of lesser, middling, and greater gentry, which formed county 'administrative society'. The greater the number of offices an individual held, the greater his importance, therefore those with the greatest careers formed an 'administrative elite'; for example, Sir Richard Nanfan (*c*.1445–1507) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.) and Trethewell (Cor.) was under-sheriff of Cornwall in 1479–80, sheriff in 1488–9, was a Cornish JP from 1485 until 1504, and may have been knight of the shire for Cornwall in 1491–2, 1495, 1497, and 1504.

In summary, the greatest gentry landowners comprised the elite of landed society – the pool from which participants in administrative society were recruited. Those who held the most county offices were the most important and influential – comprising the elite of administrative society. Although there will have been exceptions, in general, the greatest gentry landowners also held the most county

[29] Acheson (1992), 112.

[30] As a safeguard against excluding individuals serving in only one capacity in one county, array commissions should be used as a further qualification. If an individual served in only one office in one county but served as a commissioner of array, he has been included–this was necessary since some figures (such as Richard III's northerners) would have been excluded.

offices, so landed and administrative elites were almost synonymous. The political elite would therefore be virtually the same as the shire's administrative elite. The study of a county's 'political elite', then, should be primarily concerned with these individuals' professional, social, familial, and political interactions, landholding, and office-holding, as well as local peers (who by their status were of great import).

REGIONAL IDENTITY AND THE POLITICAL ELITES OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

By using this methodology it has been possible to discern those individuals comprising the south-western counties' political elites. The tables in Appendix I illustrate the basis of the landed and administrative societies of south-western England. With regard to office-holding, the tables' data is exact; but with respect to landholding, it is incomplete (where possible, inquisitions post mortem and grants of estates were used, but these do not always provide a complete and accurate picture; yet, while conclusions taken from them may not be absolutely precise, trends should be illustrative of the general image).[31]

South-West 'administrative society' (as the total of the four counties) numbered 807 individuals (76 peers; 731 gentry); while the 'political elite' was in total 347 individuals (82 peers; 265 gentry).[32] There were a number of individuals who served in all the region's counties therefore comprising what could be termed a 'regional elite': these totalled 35 individuals (14 peers; 21 gentry).[33] The peers who

[31] My survey of landholding, summarised in Appendix I, is based on the inquisitions post mortem (*Cal.Inq. P.M.*; *CIPM*); and grants of lands during the period (*CPR*).

[32] Figures from my survey of south-west office-holders (sheriffs, escheators, MPs, JPs, and commissioners of array), summarised in Appendix II. To be more specific: Cornwall's political elite numbered 154 (32 peers; 120 gentry); Devon's political elite 176 (45 peers; 131 gentry); Dorset's political elite 159 (40 peers; 119 gentry); Somerset's political elite 174 (57 peers; 117 gentry).

[33] Peers: Jasper, Duke of Bedford; Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Duke of Buckingham; John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; George, Duke of Clarence; Giles, Lord Daubeney; Thomas, Earl of Devon; Thomas, Marquess of Dorset; Richard, Duke of Gloucester; John, Duke of Norfolk; Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick; Richard, Earl of Warwick; Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke; and Richard, Duke of York. Gentry: John Austell; John Biconyll; Thomas Bridges; William Collow; Walter Courtenay; William Enderby; Thomas Fulford; Thomas Gill II; Richard Newton; Hugh Oldham; John Thornbury; Richard Trevelyan; and John Willoughby. The professional lawyers: Nicholas Ashton; John Catesby; Richard Choke; John Mordaunt; Walter Moyle; Robert Reed; Thomas Wood; and Thomas Young: below, Appendix II.

made up this regional elite included royal family members (such as Richard, Duke of York (*c*.1411–60),[34] and George, Duke of Clarence (*c*.1449–78)),[35] and others appointed to the shires' peace commissions throughout the country (such as Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham (*c*.1402–60),[36] Richard, Earl of Warwick (*c*.1428–71),[37] and John Morton (d.1500), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1486).[38] Beyond this list of great courtiers lie the regional figures of the later medieval south-west – Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick (*c*.1439–69);[39] Thomas, Marquess of Dorset (*c*.1455–1501);[40] and Henry VII's courtiers, Giles, Lord Daubeney (*c*.1451–1508),[41] and Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke (*c*.1452–1502)[42]– who are the subjects of the ensuing chronological chapters. The gentry members of the 'regional elite' included lawyers, such as John Biconyll (*c*.1425–1501) of South Perrott (Dor.), Thomas Bridges (*c*.1426–93) of Cubberley (Glos.) and Fownhope (Heref.), and William Collow (fl.1483–8); of the rest, none were gentry of particular renown, with Sir Thomas Fulford (d.1490) of Fulford (Dev.) being the only royal household retainer. Some of these gentry, because of their extensive landholding and office-holding, might be termed 'proto-peers': gentry on the verge of ennoblement (such as Sir John Willoughby (*c*.1421–77) of Broke (Wilts.), whose son, Robert, was created Lord Willoughby de Broke in 1492). So, in reality, 'regional' figures common to all counties were few in number, and were mostly peers.

Did only peers identify with a south-western region? With what did the gentry families of the south-west identify? Was it the region as a whole, or were their

[34] *CP*, xii(2), 905–9; *ODNB*: 'Richard of York, third Duke of York'.

[35] *CP*, iii, 260; *ODNB*: 'George, Duke of Clarence'.

[36] *CP*, ii, 388–9; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham'.

[37] *CP*, xii(2), 385–93; *ODNB*: 'Neville, Richard, Earl of Warwick'.

[38] *ODNB*: 'Morton, John'.

[39] *CP*, iv, 327–8; *HPB*, 793–4; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey, Earl of Devon'.

[40] *CP*, iv, 418–19; *ODNB*: 'Grey, Thomas, Marquess of Dorset'.

[41] *CP*, iv, 102–5; *HPB*, 259–60; *ODNB*: 'Daubeney Family'; 'Daubeney, Giles, Baron Daubeney'; Luckett (1995a), 578–95.

[42] *CP*, xii(2), 683–6; *ODNB*: 'Willoughby, Robert, Baron Willoughby de Broke'; Luckett (1996), 254–65.

horizons restricted to individual counties or parochial localities? They may have identified with all three, but which was the most influential? In the absence of personal or family papers (along the lines of the correspondence of the Pastons, Stonors, Plumptons, or Armburghs) the paucity of evidence means that conclusions concerning an individual landowner's identity can be inferred only from his interests and interactions. The four ways in which it is possible to examine the question of identity are, firstly, in terms of landholding; secondly, in terms of office-holding; thirdly in terms of marriage partner(s); and fourthly, in terms of associates. While the first three aspects can be introduced here on a region-wide basis, the final factor is considered by means of three case studies.

* * *

Identity, as mentioned, is partly based on a sense of locational belonging. The geographical location of landowners' estates was important in influencing individuals' sense of identity. Patterns of landholding thus further illuminate the relationship between the landowners and the land. A succinct analysis of south-western landed society reveals that approximately one-third of south-west peers held at least one manor in all four counties; less than a third did so in three shires; a quarter held estates in two counties; and around ten per cent held lands in only one. An example of a peer with estates in each western shire was William, Lord Botreaux (*c*.1389–1462), whilst Robert, Lord Willoughby had lands in only two counties (Somerset and Cornwall). In contrast, the results for the gentry are in inverse proportion – the vast majority of gentry held at least one manor in only one county, with a fifth holding lands in two; even fewer had estates in three shires, and those with properties in four numbered around one per cent.[43] For instance, the Courtenays of Powderham (Dev.) held properties throughout the region, whereas the Henstons of Wonwell-in-Kingston held

[43] Figures from my survey of landholding, summarised in Appendix I. Figures are calculated by family; of 41 peerage families (with 6 (15%) excluded because of uncertainty regarding landed estates), 11 (27%) held lands in four counties; 10 (24%) in three; 8 (20%) in two; and 6 (15%) in one. Of 237 gentry (with 79 (33%) were excluded because of uncertainty concerning lands), 2 (1%) held lands in all four counties; 14 (6%) in three; 31 (13%) in two; and 111 (47%) in one.

lands in only Devon. This confirms what has been generally accepted and understood to be the case – the peerage had broader landed interests than the gentry who were mostly confined to one county.

Analysis of the landholding overlap between south-western counties also yields interesting results. Around two-thirds of those peers who possessed Somerset estates also held Dorset properties; over half of peers with Somerset lands also held some in Devon. But only two-fifths of peers who held Dorset estates had Devon properties; and just less than half those with Devon lands had Cornish property. For example, the Tiptoft earls of Worcester possessed estates in Somerset and Dorset only. Much the same conclusions apply to gentry who had land in more than one county, though slightly fewer Devon gentry had estates in Cornwall.[44] These results are, perhaps, what might be expected – a high level of overlap in landholding between Somerset and Dorset, perhaps encouraged by the lack of geographical obstructions between the two counties, as explained, meaning that transactions and associations were unhindered. Lack of natural obstacles may also be the case between Somerset and Devon, sharing a long county boundary. The low level of overlap between Cornwall and Devon may have been caused by a number of factors: foremost, is the fact that Cornwall and Devon are separated by the Tamar, and also areas of moorland may have hampered transactions and associations to some extent.

* * *

In their capacities as JPs, MPs, and as other county officers, gentry and urban oligarchs constituted the south-western elites; by their service, these men demonstrated the degree to which they identified with their locality. Establishing those who were the most diligent officers might be a more reliable indicator of individuals' willingness to serve their town or county, but this cannot be achieved because of the

[44] Figures are calculated by family, and therefore total 34 peerage families; landholding overlap between Somerset–Dorset: 22 (65%); Somerset–Devon: 19 (56%); Dorset–Devon: 14 (41%); Devon–Cornwall: 16 (47%). The gentry families totalled 158; landholding overlap between Somerset–Dorset: 20 (13%); Somerset–Devon: 23 (15%); Dorset–Devon: 17 (11%); Devon–Cornwall: 13 (8%): below, Appendix I.

scarcity of evidence.

My analysis of the south-western political elites follows the same format as that for landed society. Approximately less than one-fifth of peers held government offices in all the western counties; with just over one tenth as office-holders in three counties; almost one-third held offices in two shires; and one-quarter held positions in only one. For example, one peer who held office in three shires was William, Lord Bonville (*c*.1393–1461), JP in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; whereas the earls of Arundel were JPs, in only Somerset and Dorset. As might be expected, the gentry's results are an inversion of this – the majority held offices in only one or two counties, with six per cent holding positions in three, and eight per cent in four. For instance, the Trevelyans of Nettlecombe (Som.) held numerous offices throughout the western shires; whereas the Champneys of Frome Salwood (Som.) attained only the office of Somerset JP during the period.[45]

An analysis of the overlap of peerage and gentry office-holders between the counties generally reflected the findings of the landed society analysis – almost two-fifths of peers who held Somerset offices also held Dorset positions; 37 per cent of those who were Somerset office-holders were Devon officers; almost one-quarter of peers held Dorset and Devon positions; and just over one-quarter held Devon and Cornwall offices. For instance, John Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire was a JP in Devon and Cornwall; whereas the Lords Zouche were JPs in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon. For the gentry, over one-quarter of those who held Somerset positions were also Dorset office-holders; only small numbers of Somerset gentry held Devon offices (13 per cent); and similarly for those from Dorset holding Devon positions (14 per cent). Again, over one-quarter of those who held Devon offices also did in Cornwall. For example, the Champernouns of Ennyswork (Cor.) were JPs in Devon and Cornwall;

[45] My survey of south-west office-holders is summarised in Appendix II, and abbreviated in Appendix I. Figures are calculated by individual therefore the peerage totals 82; 13 (16%) held offices in four counties; 9 (11%) in three; 32 (39%) in two; and 24 (29%) in one. The gentry totals 265; 20 (8%) held offices in four counties; 17 (6%) in three; 104 (39%) in two; and 124 (47%) in only one.

whereas the FitzJames' of Redlynch (Som.) were only Somerset JPs.[46] Evidently there was overlap between the south-western shires' landed and political societies, but while this seems to have been pronounced between Somerset and Dorset (perhaps influenced by the joint shrievalty and escheatry), the other counties seem to be more distinctly separate societies; consequently, on the whole, there were not many office-holders common to all western shires.

* * *

Regarding Tudor Cornwall, A.L. Rowse quoted Richard Carew's statement that 'all Cornishmen are cousins' – he continued to explain that 'they intermarried frequently with the gentry of Devon but very much less so, one has the impression, farther afield'. He argued that the consequence of this was 'a thickly coagulated west-country cousinage, which knit together the gentry of Devon and Cornwall'.[47] Did the phenomenon of a coagulated cousinage extend to Somerset and Dorset too? According to Rowse, Cornwall was a 'small backward-looking society', epitomising the mythically isolated community;[48] but is this an accurate portrayal? Geographical remoteness is assumed to create highly cohesive societies – strong localism is assumed to mean endogamous tendencies – with implications for elites which might maintain a distinctly parochial outlook. An analysis of marriage patterns is an important criterion for seeking a sense of identity among county elites, since it investigates the notion that strong localism meant endogamy.

Dynastic matters were of particular importance to elites, since the choice of a suitable spouse was often crucial to the survival of the family lineage, the transmission of wealth and property, and the furthering of social and political alliances. The nuptiality of the political elite may give some indication of the 'regional' extent of the south-western political elites. As a result of the peerage's extensive landholding it can

[46] Figures are calculated by individual and the peers total 82; office-holding overlap between Somerset–Dorset: 32 (39%); Somerset–Devon: 30 (37%); Dorset–Devon: 19 (23%); Devon–Cornwall: 23 (28%). The gentry total 265; office-holding overlap between Somerset-Dorset: 80 (30%); Somerset–Devon: 35 (13%); Dorset–Devon: 37 (14%); Devon–Cornwall: 68 (26%): below, Appendix I.

[47] Rowse (1941), 85.

[48] Rowse (1941), 9.

be difficult to ascertain many peers' principal residences, making adequate analysis of their intra- or extra-county marriages problematic; however, the south-western gentry's marital alliances reveal some significant trends. In total, over three-quarters of the south-western gentry married within the region: those who formed connubial alliances outside the south-west included Wiltshire (6 marriages), Gloucestershire (3), Kent (3), Hampshire (2), Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Worcestershire, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire, representing a broad geographical spread.[49]

Of all the elites, Somerset and Dorset gentry were more likely to seek marriage alliances in counties outside the south-west – however, two-thirds of Somerset gentry married within the county (for instance, William Hody (*c*.1434–1524) of Gothelney married Eleanor, daughter of Baldwin Malet of Corypool); over a tenth married into Devon families (such as James Luttrell (*c*.1427–61) of Dunster who wed Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, Devon); and less than a tenth wed Dorset wives (for example, John FitzJames (d.1476) of Redlynch (Som.) married Alice, sister of John Newburgh (*c*.1405–84) of East Lulworth, Dorset). In contrast, almost half of Dorset gentry married Somerset families (such as John Newburgh who wed Alice, daughter of William Caraunt of Toomer-in-Henstridge, Somerset); almost a third married within Dorset; and almost a quarter wed Devon spouses (for instance, William Wadham (*c*.1456–1522) of Catherston and Wootton FitzPaine wed Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen Till of Tillhouse, Devon).[50] The large number of Somerset-Dorset marriages again indicates significant overlap between the two societies. Further west, Devon gentry (like Somerset gentry) predominantly married within the county (almost two-thirds), such as Thomas Fulford (d.1490) of Fulford who married Philippa,

[49] This is my own survey of south-western gentry marriage alliances, compiled from biographical sources: *ODNB*; *HPB*; *CP*; *Visitations of Cornwall*; *Visitations of Devon*; *Visitations of Dorset*; *Visitations of Somerset*.

[50] Of 103 south-west gentry marriages, 81 (79%) were within the south-west; those gentry with more than one residence have been counted in both counties. Of 21 Somerset gentry marriages, overlap between Somerset–Somerset: 14 (67%); Somerset–Dorset: 2 (9%); Somerset–Devon: 3 (14%); Somerset–Cornwall: 2 (9%). Of 13 Dorset gentry marriages, overlap between Dorset–Somerset: 6 (46%); Dorset–Dorset: 4 (31%); Dorset–Devon: 3 (23%); Dorset–Cornwall: none.

daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham; and almost a quarter married into Cornish families. Similarly, in Cornwall, two-thirds wed within the county (for instance, Thomas St Aubyn (d.1512) of Clowance who married Maud, daughter of John Trenowith of Fentengollan); and almost a quarter married into Devon families (such as Sir Thomas Arundell (*c.*1452–85) of Lanherne who wed Katherine, daughter of Sir John Dinham of Hartland, Devon).[51]

These figures indicate high levels of endogamy within the south-western elites, but also show a good number of marriages between the elites of Cornwall and Devon, and of Somerset and Dorset (reflecting the conclusions of Chapter 2 regarding the existence of two coupled-county or meso-scale regions). However, although Rowse emphasised how Cornwall-Devon inter-marriage created a coagulated cousinage, the figures seem to indicate that the counties' inter-marriage was no greater than that between Devon and Somerset, or Somerset and Dorset; so Rowse's comment might be applied to all south-western counties.

H.M. Speight, in her study of sixteenth-century Devon, calculated that 80 per cent of Devon gentlemen married within Cornwall and Devon; and 91 per cent of Cornish gentry married within the two counties;[52] while, another analysis of gentry marriages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrated that the western counties were no more parochial than any other county in the country.[53] However, many calculations of marriages are not comparable – simple county-based figures can disguise geographical range, and differences within the gentry themselves (with lesser gentry limited to their immediate vicinity, and greater gentry seeking alliances on a wider scale) can render figures meaningless. Although comprising a cross-section of gentry, my analysis of the south-west elites' marriages is not a comprehensive study of all 'gentry' alliances – the elite included a significant proportion of greater

[51] Of 29 Devon gentry marriages, overlap between Devon–Somerset: 2 (7%); Devon–Dorset: 3 (10%); Devon–Devon: 18 (62%); Devon–Cornwall: 6 (21%). Of 18 Cornwall gentry marriages, overlap between Cornwall–Somerset: 1 (6%); Cornwall–Dorset: 1 (6%); Cornwall–Devon: 4 (22%); Cornwall–Cornwall: 12 (67%).

[52] Speight (1991), 29; cited in Cooper (2003), 253.

[53] Heal and Holmes (1994), 60–3.

gentry – thus, whilst representative of greater-gentry marrriages, my figures might emphasise local societies' exogamous nature.

In choice of connubial partner, perhaps the gentry's over-riding concern was an advantageous match, regardless of parochial or territorial factors (perhaps explaining the geographical spread of some marriages); though, simultaneously, gentry might naturally prefer local marital matches in order to consolidate existing landed interests in the vicinity. It appears that the largest proportion of gentry married within their shires of residence; those who did not seem to have been most likely to marry within the region. So, while there seems to be a significant 'regional' aspect to marriages, the county element appears to have been the stronger of the two, and extra-county marriages seem to reinforce the impression of largely Somerset/Dorset, and Devon/Cornwall spheres of interaction.

* * *

The only 'regional' figures in the western counties were peers and greater gentry, and they were few in number, as seen. While overlap between individual counties in terms of landholding and office-holding suggests the presence of extra-county or regional elites, the regional elite itself included few figures who were entirely 'regional' because the greater gentry and peerage were most likely to hold properties in other counties and not just in the south-west. So, while it is necessary to examine the political elite because they had horizons broad enough to be aware of extra-county factors, at the same time, their extensive landed interests throughout the country render them difficult to analyse because of the variety and strength of their extra-county (and even country-wide) interests. This high level of geographical mobility combined with constant fluctuations caused by various demographic factors (such as extinction of old or appearance of new families) makes exploration of local and regional identities amongst political elites problematic, and this has also been acknowledged as a constraint in other studies.[54]

[54] Croenen (2000), 148–9, 151.

Despite the strength of county attachment indicated in land- and office-holding, there was also a significant extra-county dimension to local interactions. The fact that three-quarters of south-west gentry contracted marriages within the region suggests that, at a social and familial level, there was at least some 'regional' element, perhaps affecting broader local and regional political interactions. Rather than the four-county region, analyses of landholding, office-holding, and marital alliances have all been strongly related to the two coupled-county configurations of Cornwall/Devon and Somerset/Dorset – perhaps these units constitute our extra-county (meso-level) regions, as suggested by geographical and economic concerns (above, pp. 33–43).

THREE CASE STUDIES: THE HUNGERFORDS, ARUNDELLS, AND EDGCUMBES

Therefore, half of this chapter has defined the south-western political elites and examined identities in terms of whether their estates, offices, and marital alliances were regional in nature. Now, the second half will deal with the question of whether their associates were also regional. Were families' affiliations confined within shire boundaries or did they extend across the south-west? How did the gentry relate to their patrons – did clients transcend county boundaries when engaged on business with their patron?

These questions will be answered by means of three detailed case studies: those of the Lords Hungerford, and the gentry families, Arundell of Lanherne (Cor.), and Edgcumbe of Cotehele (Cor.). These families have been identified in my research for a number of reasons – firstly, because successive heads of these families were frequently involved in county government and were important figures in their respective counties; and secondly, because of the well-preserved nature of their archives. The Hungerford family will be familiar to fifteenth-century historians as a result of Lord Moleyns's ransom in 1453, and the family's subsequent financial problems. They have been chosen in part because the family's transactions are well-documented, and also because they have been – to some extent – the subject of previous research (although, this has concentrated mostly on the family's finances and

piety, and not specifically on their associations).[55] The Arundell and Edgcumbe families both originated in Cornwall, these family collections are extensive, and neither has previously been researched during the period in question with regard to their clienteles. The political aspects of these families' histories (and their various administrative careers) are addressed in the ensuing chronological chapters – the focus here is on the families' accumulation of estates, their marriages, and their associations.

* * *

Sir Walter Hungerford (*c.*1378–1449) of Farleigh and Wellow (Som.) and Heytesbury (Wilts.) was the son of Sir Thomas Hungerford (d.1397) with Joan (d.1412), daughter of Sir Edmund Hussey of Holbrook (Som.). This marriage brought the Hungerfords estates which added to those they already held in Somerset and Wiltshire. Sir Walter's own marriage to Katherine Peverell (a relative of the Courtenay earls of Devon) accumulated further lands for the family in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. Further sensible marriage settlements were arranged for his children and grandchildren – bringing him substantial revenues – and he also purchased at least forty manors, mostly in Wiltshire and Somerset. Sir Walter served as one of the king's councillors during Henry VI's minority, and was raised to the peerage in 1426. Lord Hungerford's second marriage, to Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Berkeley of Beverstone (Glos.), widow of John, Earl of Arundel (*c.*1385–1421), more than doubled his landed income by adding more estates in Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Hampshire; so, by 1448, his income totalled over £1800 per annum.[56]

Walter's son, Robert, Lord Hungerford (*c.*1400–59), married Margaret (d.1478), daughter of William, Lord Botreaux (*c.*1389–1462). The Botreaux estates were centred primarily in Cornwall and Somerset, with some lands in Devon and Hampshire, and minor interests in Dorset and Wiltshire.[57] Robert had his mother's

[55] McFarlane (1981), ch. 8–9; Hicks (1991g), 185–8; for the Hungerfords' piety: Hicks (1991h); Hicks (1991j); Hicks (1991k).

[56] *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 238, 266–7; *CP*, vi, 613–16; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Walter, first Baron Hungerford'; below, ch. 5.

[57] *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 318; *CP*, ii, 242; Rawcliffe (1988), 161–75.

Peverell inheritance settled on him in 1443, but could not inherit much of his father's estate until after his stepmother's death in 1455. Moreover, his father-in-law's longevity meant that he never enjoyed much of his wife's inheritance either.[58]

Robert's eldest son, Robert II (*c*.1423–64), married Eleanor (*c*.1428–76), heiress of Sir William Moleyns (d.1428) of Stoke Poges (Bucks.), who held extensive estates in Wiltshire, Somerset, some in Cornwall and Devon, with others in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Warwickshire.[59] Eventually it was expected that Robert II would inherit all the Hungerford, Botreaux, and Moleyns estates in southern England (worth at least £2000 p.a.), which would have made him one of the principal magnates in southern England. In acknowledgement of the family's existing (and potential) influence, Robert II was summoned to parliament from January 1445 as Lord Moleyns *suo jure*. However, while on campaign in France in 1453, he was captured and held for ransom. Lord Moleyns was released in 1459, and on his return to England, he became involved in politics, and was attainted as a Lancastrian in 1461.[60]

Robert II's son, Thomas (*c*.1439–69), married Anne Percy (d.1522), daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland in 1460. Thomas inherited some properties from his uncle, Sir Arnold Hungerford, in 1461, and co-operated in the efforts of his grandmother, Margaret, Lady Botreaux and Hungerford, to pay off debts and safeguard estates. However, their efforts were only partially successful, and the family's problems were compounded by Thomas's arrest, trial, and execution for treason in 1469. Thus Thomas's daughter, Mary (*c*.1469–1530), became the sole heiress of the Hungerford, Botreaux, and Moleyns inheritances. However, her succession to these estates could not be realised because of her father's and grandfather's attainders, and also because of the residual landholdings of the surviving dowagers – her great-grandmother held the Botreaux inheritance until her death in 1478, her grandmother held the Moleyns inheritance until her death in 1476, and some

[58] *CP*, vi, 617–18; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert, second Baron Hungerford'.

[59] *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 328–9.

[60] *CP*, vi, 618–21; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert, Baron Hungerford and Moleyns'; Hicks (1991g), 185–208.

Hungerford lands were also held by her mother. In 1480, Mary married Edward (*c*.1466–1506), son of William, Lord Hastings. After Henry VII's accession, the attainders of Robert II and Thomas Hungerford were reversed, thereby allowing Mary (and Edward, Lord Hastings) finally to claim the Hungerford estates.[61] The Hungerfords clearly accumulated estates throughout the south-west (and the rest of the country) from their own enterprises and beneficial marital alliances; but was the geographical spread of estates reflected in the Hungerfords' own connections with members of local elites?

The Hungerfords' charters and deeds have been preserved in the family papers of the Lords Hastings (as descendants of Mary Hungerford), and some from this collection were published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.[62] The second source for Hungerford transactions are the published Calendars of Close Rolls (it is unclear, but it appears that transactions were recorded here because of Margaret, Lady Hungerford's petitions to regain estates lost because of the attainder against her son, Robert II, during the 1460s). The third source is the Hungerford Cartulary, preserved in the earl of Radnor's archives. The fourth source for Hungerford transactions are those manuscripts held in Wiltshire Record Office, calendared by the National Register of Archives.[63]

It is possible to uncover the Hungerford family's gentry and peerage associates by examination of those who were involved in the Hungerfords' enfeoffments to use, in charters, and in other capacities (such as attorney), or who were related to the family. Regarding charters, it is necessary not only to examine the witnesses, but also to look at the recipients of gifts granted by the family since such actions might be of some pertinence in establishing who the family's associates were. Similarly, those

[61] *CP*, vi, 613–16; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert, Baron Hungerford and Moleyns'; *CPR 1476–85*, 101, 129, 233; Hicks (1991f), 177, 180–1.

[62] *HR*, i.

[63] There is some duplication – certain documents recorded in *HR* are reprinted in *HC* (no. 669, 672–4, 685, 787, 719, 731); certain of the close roll entries are reprinted in *HC* (no. 666, 667, 929, 930, 931); whilst some Wilshire Record Office manuscripts (calendared by the NRA) are in the close roll: WRO490/1482 (*CCR 1461–8*, 271); WRO490/1463, 1464 (*CPR 1467–77*, 311); WRO490/1484 (*CCR 1454–61*, 439). So, references to *HR* and *CCR* will be preferred.

individuals giving gifts to the family might also have been connected – in a number of cases, clients made grants to their patrons (such as Gregory Westby of Wiltshire) – hence my criteria includes all who were witnesses, recipients, or grantors occurring in the family's land transactions. Enfeoffments to use involved the granting of certain estates to feoffees on condition that they observe the specific instructions of the grantor concerning when, and to whom, the estates would be granted; naturally, a grantor might specify for his feoffees to endow his heir or to re-endow himself. By looking at not just the witnesses of charters, but, in general, at the significant occurrences of those associated with the Hungerfords, a general image of their clientele might emerge. Such reconstruction, as outlined (above, pp. 84–9), is an inexact exercise, with many uncertainties, and the assigning of clients to patrons is, to an extent, based only on likelihoods and possibilities.

The complex nature of the reconstruction of affinities can be illustrated by drawing examples from Hungerford transactions. These extracts illustrate how it is possible to reconstruct a table of likely associates, but also indicate some of the inherent reservations.

(1) [26 November 1466]: Grant by Margaret Lady Hungerford and Botreaux widow, to Martin Hopkyn, of that whole tenement of hers called 'Trenuddrys' [Cornwall] with the appurtenances, he paying 12*s*. yearly and doing suit at her court there twice a year. Witnesses: John Arundell knight, John Coleshill knight, William Trewynnard, William Rosmodrys.[64]

Estates in Cornwall came to the Hungerfords as a result of the Botreaux marriage alliance. Even though they were indelibly linked beforehand, Botreaux and Hungerford estates and clienteles did not merge until after Lord Botreaux's death in 1462, so some likely Botreaux associates prior to this date have not been included in my survey.[65] In this extract, Hopkyn, as a tenant, was a Hungerford client, but this was the only transaction in which he occurred. The witnesses were known either to both

[64] *HR*, i, 258.

[65] Botreaux clients may have included: Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley (Glos.), John Bluet, Henry Champneys, John Champneys, Richard Choke (also a Hungerford associate), Roger Kemys, Sir John Lisle, Sir John Seymour, and Sir Thomas Seymour, named in land transactions of 1458 and 1460: *CCR 1454–61*, 339–40; *CCR 1461–68*, 145, 146; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 742.

the grantor and recipient or to only one of them. Amongst the witnesses there are some variations in frequency of occurrence in charters: Arundell (appears a total of five times in Hungerford charters), Coleshill (occurs 3 times), whilst Trewynnard and Rosmodres were both involved in only this transaction. Arundell and Coleshill were more frequently connected to the Hungerfords, but the fact that Trewynnard and Rosmodres are cited as witnesses alongside them might suggest the possibility that Trewynnard and Rosmodres were further associated with the family. It is interesting to note that all the parties involved in this charter were resident Cornish gentry, and the regional nature of clienteles is examined below, pp. 134–7).

(2) [16 October 1460]: Grant of the manors [of Cadbury, Clapton (in Mapperton), Holton, and Hatherleigh (in Holton), Somerset] by John Lord Stourton, Sir Edmund Hungerford knight, Andrew Huls, clerk, Arnold Hungerford, Richard Chokke, Thomas Estyngton, clerk, John Pyers, clerk, Thomas Tropenell, John Mervyn and John Touke, feoffees of Robert Lord Hungerford deceased, to Robert Lord Hungerford and de Molyns, Richard Ulfeton, clerk, and John Wynge, to hold for the life of the said Lord Hungerford and de Molyns, with remainder to his son Thomas and Anne, his wife, in tail, with remainder in default to the right heirs of the said Lord Hungerford and de Molyns. With appointment of Gregory Westby, John Tutworth, William Lekford and John Forster their attorneys for delivering seisin.[66]

This is the second half of a Hungerford enfeoffment, with feoffees granting properties to Robert I's specified recipient, his son, Robert II. Even though the charter is concerned with Somerset lands, where residences are known, there appears to have been a mixture of Somerset and Wiltshire figures involved. Stourton was a landowner in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire, while Choke was a Somerset gentleman, and both Mervyn and Westby were Wiltshire landowners. All Robert I's feoffees, were clearly of some importance, and have impressive credentials concerning their attachment to the Hungerford affinity. John Mervyn was a Hungerford feoffee on seventeen occasions, being involved in 27 land transactions, an executor and a beneficiary of Robert I's will, and responsible for arranging the foundation, in 1472, of a Hungerford chantry dedicated to the memory of deceased family members; Tropenell was an

[66] *HR*, i, 253–4.

agent, an executor of one of the Hungerford's wills, a beneficiary of Robert I's will, as well as a feoffee nine-times, and occurring in a further eleven Hungerford land transactions; Touke occurs in eight charters and nine enfeoffments; Lord Stourton and Andrew Hulse both appear in two charters and one enfeoffment each; and the relatives, Sir Edmund Hungerford occurs in three charters and three enfeoffments, and Arnold Hungerford was named twice as a feoffee. Given the strength of these parties' connections, perhaps similar credentials might be expected of the four attorneys: the first, Gregory Westby, occurs in 23 charters, 11 enfeoffments and was twice named as an attorney, however, of the other attorneys, Tutworth and Forster appear in only two transactions, and Lekford occurs in only this charter.

(3) [25 November 1466]: Charter of Thomas Hungerford, knight, son of Robert, late Lord Hungerford and Moleyns, granting with warranty to Henry Courtenay, esquire, Roger Tocottys and John Wyllughby, knights, Maurice Berkeley of Bearstone, John Cheyny of Paulton, John Sydenham senior, and Thomas Troppenell, esquires, the rent of £30 from the manor of Kilmersdon [Somerset] which his grandmother owes ... and the reversion of the manor immediately after her death in order that they may fulfil his will.[67]

The implication of this charter is that Courtenay, etc., may have been feoffees of Thomas's will, receiving a rent, and eventually due to receive the reversion of the property, but these points cannot be confirmed since his will has not survived (the fact that Thomas was later attainted and executed for treason nine years before the death of his grandmother further clouds issues regarding this transaction). The feoffees are a mixture regarding their residences, and also regarding the strength of their ties to the Hungerfords. Firstly, Tocotes, Willoughby, and Cheyne were all Wiltshire gentlemen, whereas Sydenham was a Somerset landowner, and Berkeley was of Gloucestershire. Secondly, Tocotes was the feoffee most closely associated with the family (occurring in 18 charters and four enfeoffments), Sydenham appears in 11 charters and was named as a feoffee four times, Willoughby occurs in eight charters and four enfeoffments, and Tropenell is mentioned in the previous extract as a loyal client; whereas Berkeley occurs in one charter and two enfeoffments, Courtenay in three

[67] *HC*, no. 923.

charters, and Cheyne in only this transaction. The strength of attachment of so many of the other parties in this document lends support to the idea that despite Cheyne's low frequency of occurrence, he may have been more involved in Hungerford affairs than can be ascertained from charter evidence.

(4) [31 March 1460]: Robert Hungerford [knight Lord Hungerford and Molyns, son and heir of Robert Hungerford knight Lord Hungerford] to Dame Margaret Hungerford his mother, widow, late the wife of Robert his father, her heirs and assigns. Charter with warranty of all his lands, woods, rents, reversions and services in Fountell Gyfford, Stoppe, Bishops Fontell, Tysbury, Farnehull in Fontell, Overteffant, Dynton and Berford St Martin co Wiltesir, and all his lands etc. in Bishops Knoyl called Colmans' which descended to him by inheritance after his father's death. Witnesses: Walter Barowe, John Mounpesson, Thomas Tropenell, John Mervyn, Robert Osbern, esquires.[68]

As a gift from Robert II to his mother – a matter of family concern – it might be presumed that those witnesses cited were particularly intimate with the family: in the case of Walter Borough (who was a feoffee on seven occasions, and occurs in charters a total of twelve times) this assumption seems highly likely; similarly, John Monpesson was seven-times named as a feoffee and occurs in thirteen land transactions; Thomas Tropenell has been mentioned earlier (extract 2), as has John Mervyn; Robert Osborne's Hungerford association rests on his occurrence in two charters, appearance in another as an attorney, and in his citation as a beneficiary of Robert I's will in 1459. Given the other men's convincing credentials as Hungerford clients, it might be reasonable to suggest that Osborne, witnessing the charter alongside them, might also be a possible Hungerford associate. Perhaps others too, witnessing a charter alongside long-standing staunch Hungerford clients might also be likely to have been associated with the Hungerfords more than is indicated in the charters alone.

More generally, those individuals who appear to have been associated with the Hungerfords are listed in Table 1 (below, pp. 131–2). The table is assembled from the consulted records: highlighting those members of the south-west political elites and

[68] *CCR 1454–61*, 441.

are subject to study in later chapters. Of a total of 185 Hungerford associates, only a small proportion, 39 (one-fifth) were members of the south-western political elites, and these would have been the Hungerfords' most important and influential affiliates. Having already defined our members of the south-west political elites, this study can be concerned only with those Hungerford clients who were members of the south-western political elites – the most influential of the Hungerford's clients because of their local government careers. The involvement of these associates in county government, and therefore the Hungerfords' political influence through their affinity, is the subject of the ensuing chapters.

The table lists potential associates in order of significance in the affinity, beginning with the family, then moving to those who were closely involved in family business – occurring most frequently in charters and enfeoffments – through to those involved in only one single transaction who may be regarded as only possible associates: categorisation into an 'inner circle' and an 'outer circle' of the affinity has also been attempted (with the threshold of the inner circle held as three significant occurrences or more).[69] This compilation of Hungerford associates is not comprehensive, but there is no reason to believe that those records consulted do not constitute a representative sample of transactions. Multiple family associations, such as the Sydenhams of Brympton Devery (Som.) and the Chokes of Long Ashton and Stanton Drew (Som.), have been counted as single entries. It seems that almost all those gentry who have been identifiable have been from south-western counties; a number of clients' residences remain unidentified and some, if not a majority, may have been lesser gentry from Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire – perhaps mostly from Wiltshire, where the Hungerfords were substantial landowners.

By arranging these associates on the basis of the frequency of significant

[69] This categorisation and methodology follows the approach of numerous historians of medieval Scotland (above, pp. 82–9). While this method of analysis has become accepted amongst Scottish medievalists, I am unaware of this approach being utilised by historians of fifteenth-century England.

Table 1: Hungerford Associates 1441–80

Abbreviations: Ch.= Charter; Fe.= Feoffee; Oth.= Other; br= brother; b-in-l= brother-in-law, stepf.= stepfather; El=Eleanor; My= Mary; M= Margaret; RI= Robert I; Exec.= Executor; Ov.= Overseer of will; Att.= Attorney. **Bold** denotes members of south-west political elites. *Italics* denote residents of the south-west counties. For references regarding this table see Appendix III.

Name	*Residence*	*Connection*			
		Ch.	*Fe.*	*Kin*	*Oth.*
A. 'INNER CIRCLE': FAMILY					
Hungerford, Sir Edmund	***Down Ampney (Glos.)***	***3***	***3***	***RI's br.***	
Burgh, Sir Thomas	Linc.	3		M's stepf.	
Botreaux, Lord, William		***1***	***2***	***RI's f-in-l***	
Hungerford, Thomas		*1*	*1*	*RII's s.*	
Hungerford, Arnold			2	RII's s.	
Courtenay, Sir Philip	***Powderham (Dev.)***	***1***		***W's s-in-l***	
Hastings, Lord, William		**1**		**My's f-in-l**	
Hungerford, Edward		1		Kin	Exec. M
Hungerford, Leonard		1		Kin	
Rodney, Sir Walter	***Rodney Stoke (Som.)***		***1***	***RI's b-in-l***	
Manningham, Oliver		1		Husb. El.	
Hungerford, Walter		1		Kin	
B. POSSIBLE 'INNER CIRCLE'					
Mervyn, John	Wilt.	27	17		Exec. RI
Westby, Gregory	Wilt.	23	11		Att (2)
Cheyne, John	***Pinhoe (Dev.); Pynne (Dor.)***	***19***	***4***		
Tocotes, Sir Roger	Wilt.	18	4		
Tropenell, Thomas		11	9		Ag.Exec.
Monpesson, John	Wilt.	13	7		
Borough, Walter	Wilt.	12	7		
Clevedon, John		12	6		
Touke, John		8	9		
Sydenham, John I ***Sydenham, John II***	***Brimpton Devery (Som.)***	***11***	***4***		
Newburgh, John	***East Lulworth (Dor.)***	***8***	***5***		
Willoughby, Sir John	***Broke (Wilt.)***	***8***	***4***		
Beynton, Sir John	Wilt.	5	7		
Long, Henry		6	4		
Peers, John		3	6		Exec. RI
Walter, John		5	3		
Choke, Richard ***Choke, John*** ***Choke, William***	***Long Ashton; Stanton Drew (Som.)***	***4***	***2***		
Sayer, Thomas		3	3		
Fortescue, Sir John	***Modbury; Holbeton (Dev.)***	***2***	***4***		***Ov. RI***
Estyngton, Thomas			5		
Preston, Stephen	***Catherton; Silton (Dor.)***	***5***			
Arundell, Sir John	***Lanherne (Cor.)***	***5***			
Montague, William		4			
Staveley, William			4		
Paulet, Sir William	***Hinton St George (Dor.)***	***4***			
Seymour, Sir Thomas		***3***			
Coleshill, Sir John	***Tremethart; Binhammy (Cor.)***	***3***			
Lygh, Robert		3			
Bonville, John	*Dev.*	*3*			

Table 1: Hungerford Associates 1441–80 (cont.)					
Name	*Residence*	*Connection*			
		Ch.	*Fe.*	*Kin*	*Oth.*
Courtenay, Henry		*3*			
Staveley, Walter		3			
Hulse, Andrew		2	1		
Young, Thomas	***Easton (Som.); Shirehampton (Glos.)***	***1***	***2***		
Berkeley, Sir Maurice	Glos.	1	2		
Milbourne, Simon		1	2		
Rede, George		1	2		
C. POSSIBLE 'OUTER CIRCLE'					
Champneys, Thomas	***Frome Salwood (Som.)***	***2***			
Cornburgh, Avery	***Bere Ferrers (Dev.); Dovers (Ess.)***	***2***			
Courtenay, Sir Hugh	***Haccombe; Boconnoc (Dev.)***	***2***			
Stowell, Robert	***Cothelstone (Som.)***	***2***			
Huggins, John	***Whitstaunton (Som.)***	***2***			
Courtenay, Sir Philip	***Kingston, Molland (Dev.)***	***2***			
Tregarthyn, Thomas I	***Tregarthyn (Cor.)***	***2***			
Tremayle, Thomas	***Cannington (Som.)***		***2***		
Also 33 others named twice.					
Stourton, Sir Reginald	***West Bower (Som.)***	***1***			
Bere, Thomas	***Lankynhorne; Bodmin (Cor.)***	***1***			
Copplestone, Philip	***Colbrook (Dev.)***	***1***			
Hull, Henry	***Exeter (Dev.); Ashill (Som.)***	***1***			
Hymerford, John	***East Coker (Som.)***	***1***			
Middleton, George		***1***			
Wadham, William	***Catherston; Wootton FitzPaine (Dor.)***	***1***			
Worsley, Christopher	***Shute (Dev.)***	***1***			
Twynho, William I	***Keyford-by-Frome (Som.)***	***1***			
Glyn, John	***Morval (Cor.)***	***1***			
Martyn, William	***Athelhampton (Dor.)***				***Att.***
Also over 47 others named once					
D. PEERS					
Stourton, Lord, John ***Stourton, Lord, William***		***3***	***1***		
Beaumont, Viscount, John			4		Ov. RI
Pembroke, Earl of, Jasper			**1**		
Stafford, Lord, Humphrey		***1***			
De La Warre, Lord, Richard			1		
Clergy: *Richard Beauchamp, Bp Salisbury; George Neville, Bp Exeter, Abp York;* Gilbert Kymber, Dn Salisbury; John Carpenter, Bp Worcester; Thomas Rotherham, Bp Lincoln; Robert Stillington, Bp Bath & Wells; John Chedworth, Bp Lincoln					

occurrence in charters, it is possible to perceive those individuals who might be more closely attached to the Hungerfords than others. The inner circle comprised 48 individuals (not including the peers, Stourton and Beaumont). It was only natural for family members to be prominent in an affinity: Sir Walter Rodney (*c*.1410–67) and Sir Philip Courtenay (*c*.1404–63) had both married daughters of Walter, Lord

Hungerford, and were therefore closely allied. However, Rodney and Courtenay occur in only one charter each; so frequency of involvement in land transactions cannot, alone, be regarded as a definitive approach in determining which clients were more staunchly-allied than others but, rather, needs to be employed alongside other methods.

Feoffees were, of course, of great importance to landowners, so those feoffees detailed in the table might be regarded as particularly strongly attached to the Hungerfords (hence the distinct category). Hungerford associates included the lawyers Sir Richard Choke, Thomas Tremayle, and Thomas Young, and also the Midland lawyer Thomas Keble, and the distinguished chief justice Sir John Fortescue. As a Devon landowner and such a powerful figure in the Lancastrian regime, the Hungerfords' likely connection with Fortescue seems more likely to have been a result of the judge's local and national standing rather than because of any prior association. However, lawyers were often connected with many major magnates at the same time, for instance, in addition to his Hungerford associations, Thomas Young was also linked with Richard, Duke of York as the duke's seneschal of Easton in Gordano in 1447, and his attorney in Ireland from 1449 until 1460;[70] furthermore, Young may have later been associated with George, Duke of Clarence.[71] So, despite the frequency of these lawyers' involvement with the Hungerfords, their strong association with the family was not assured. Does this make them lesser associates? It was often acceptable for clients to be linked with more than one patron, and especially so for lawyers who would be called upon to dispense legal advice.

Peripheral clients (involved in only one transaction) cannot be regarded as definite associates; however, simultaneously, they cannot be ignored. After all, some peripheral clients may have been more important than this selection of records suggests. For instance, Sir Reginald Stourton (involved in only one transaction) was the brother of the Hungerford associate John, Lord Stourton; so Reginald may have

[70] *HPB*, 981–2; Johnson (1988), 241.

[71] Land transaction 1470: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 624.

been more connected to the Hungerfords than appears to be the case from the charters alone. Similarly, Humphrey, Lord Stafford's single transaction consigns him to be judged to have been a peripheral associate, but Stafford's relationship to Stourton (as his maternal aunt's husband) also suggests a closer link. In short, it is often impossible to know either way whether one client was more closely connected than another; so, in the later chapters, such individuals' associations are mentioned where appropriate, therefore any conclusions that are drawn may be only tentative.

The Hungerfords' associations range in chronological span from the 1450s to the 1500s since, as mentioned, the family was involved in local politics and government during that period. Of those with a known residence (36), thirteen were of Somerset, nine of Devon, seven of Dorset, five were of Cornwall, four of Wiltshire, and two of Gloucestershire: clearly, the Hungerfords' clientele included men from across the south-west, as well as Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.[72] As a peerage family, with extensive lands throughout these shires, this geographical spread is only to be expected.

Did the Hungerfords' clients transcend county borders when associating with their patron? It might be expected that a patron's most loyal affiliates would accompany him wherever he went, so an important question seems to be where the family's transactions were made? By surveying the records to discover the frequency with which members of the Hungerfords' inner circle occur in charters made in each of the south-west shires, a picture might emerge of the extent to which the Hungerfords' clients' activities were regional in nature – whether the same parties occur in land transactions in several counties or are limited to appearing in only one county, their shire of residence.

However, there are certain problems with this methodology in that locations might be missing from, or illegible, in some documents. Indeed, the editors of the Hastings Report and the Hungerford Cartulary did not include references to locations

[72] Residences of the gentry have been taken from biographical sources used to compile the survey of south-west gentry, summarised in Appendix II.

where Hungerford charters were drawn up. However, a similar survey might substitute place of transaction for the location of the estates with which a charter was concerned – preserving the purpose of the survey, and giving at least a rough indication of the activities of Hungerford associates on a regional scale.

There are also other constraints to this approach, though – a number of transactions might be repeated on the same day, at one location meaning that, irrespective of the lands specified in the series of different charters, the parties might be the same individuals assembled at that time. In addition, there is the possibility that many charter witnesses may have been local gentry figures who were present simply to represent the locality in which the transaction was being made. In addition, if a charter dealt with numerous scattered landholdings, then it might have been difficult to assemble parties from all those counties at one location, consequently, conclusions drawn from documents where this might have been the case would obviously distort the results. Moreover, in terms of enfeoffments, it is unclear whether feoffees needed to be present when they were named in a document, which means that enfeoffments may be of less use in such a survey. Despite these drawbacks, however, a survey of the inner circle of Hungerford affiliates recording which parties were involved in charters concerning particular shires is summarised in Table 2 (below, pp. 136–7).

It appears that Hungerford clients were involved in transactions concerning Cornwall (18 per cent), Devon (9 per cent); Dorset (2 per cent), Somerset (25 per cent), and Wiltshire (46 per cent), and with only a few in Berkshire and Hampshire. The large number of Wiltshire transactions is related to the fact that although the family was an important south-western landowner, its *caput honoris*, Farleigh Hungerford, was located in Wiltshire. Those most senior members of the inner circle who were more likely to be present in general were also likely to be present wherever the lands in the transaction were situated; so, as frequency of significant occurrence declines in the table, so does the likelihood of being cited in charters in more than one county.

Table 2: Hungerford Associates' Spatial Occurrence 1441–80							
Name	*Residence*	*Cor.*	*Dev.*	*Dor.*	*Som.*	*Wilt.*	*Other*
A. 'INNER CIRCLE': FAMILY							
Hungerford, Sir Edmund	***Glos.***			1	3	5	Berks (1)
Burgh, Sir Thomas	Linc.				3		
Botreaux, Lord, William					1	3	
Hungerford, Thomas		1		1	2	3	
Hungerford, Arnold				1	2		
Courtenay, Sir Philip	***Dev.***					1	Hants (1)
Hastings, Lord, William							
Hungerford, Edward					1		
Hungerford, Leonard							
Rodney, Sir Walter	***Som.***						
Manningham, Oliver						2	
Hungerford, Walter		1			2		
B. POSSIBLE 'INNER CIRCLE'							
Mervyn, John	Wilt.	8	8	1	11	24	Berks (11)
Westby, Gregory	Wilt.	6	7		9	17	Berks (1)
Cheyne, John	***Dev./Dor.***	6	5		7	6	
Tocotes, Sir Roger	Wilt.	6	3		6	9	
Tropenell, Thomas		7	1		5	11	Berks (1)
Monpesson, John	Wilt.	6	1		3	14	Berks (1)
Borough, Walter	Wilt.	5			3	15	Berks (1)
Clevedon, John		5	2		2	8	Berks (1)
Touke, John		6	1		3	11	Berks (11)
Sydenham, John I ***Sydenham, John II***	***Som.***	3	1		4	5	Hants (1)
Newburgh, John	***Dor.***	5			1	5	
Willoughby, Sir John	***Wilt.***	5			2	6	
Beynton, Sir John	Wilt.		1	1	1	13	Hants (1)
Long, Henry		5	1		2	5	
Peers, John			4		5	6	Berks (1)
Walter, John		5				4	
Choke, Richard ***Choke, John*** ***Choke, William***	***Som.***		1	1	5	1	
Sayer, Thomas			1		2	1	
Fortescue, Sir John	***Dev.***		1		1	6	Hants (1)
Estyngton, Thomas			1		3	6	Berks (1)
Preston, Stephen	***Dor.***				4		
Arundell, Sir John	***Cor.***	3					
Montague, William					2		
Staveley, William		2				2	
Paulet, Sir William	***Dor.***		2		3	1	
Seymour, Sir Thomas			1		3		
Coleshill, Sir John	***Cor.***	3					
Lygh, Robert					1	1	
Bonville, John	*Dev.*				2		
Courtenay, Henry					2		
Staveley, Walter		3				2	
Hulse, Andrew					2	4	Berks (1)

Table 2: Hungerford Associates' Spatial Occurrence 1441–80 (cont.)							
Name	*Residence*	*Cor.*	*Dev.*	*Dor.*	*Som.*	*Wilt.*	*Other*
Young, Thomas	***Som./Glos.***				1	4	Berks (1)
Berkeley, Sir Maurice	Glos.				1	1	
Milbourne, Simon					1	6	Berks (1)
Rede, George						2	

This survey of clients' spatial involvement in charters gives only a rough indication of the Hungerford clientele's activities but, nevertheless, reveals a striking pattern – the innermost members of the affinity formed a trans-county circle; many of the same figures were involved in the Hungerfords' charters whether the lands concerned were in Cornwall, Somerset, or Wiltshire. Charters made concerning Somerset lands did not only involve Hungerford clients of that shire, but might include Hungerford clients in general, from several counties (as illustrated in extract 3). The Hungerfords did not call upon different clients in each county to participate in a charter, but called upon members of their affinity as a whole. Evidently, then, the Hungerfords' clientele was not constrained by shire boundaries, and their clients' activities encompassed all south-west counties (although to a lesser extent Dorset); so, it might be argued that the Hungerford affinity provided, to some extent, a trans-county and trans-regional focus for the south-western gentry.

* * *

The Arundell family of Lanherne (Cor.) are the subject of my second case study: this family prospered during the fourteenth century as a result of several lucrative marriages. The family managed to establish several cadet branches, such as the Arundells of Trerice (Cor.) who were eventually ennobled in 1664; further family saplings had been established when Sir John Arundell (*c*.1366–1435) endowed his younger son, Sir Thomas (d.1445), with property including Tolverne (Cor.); and another son, Sir Renfrew Arundell (*c*.1400–42), was established at Tremodret (Cor.). However, it is the senior, and more important, line of Lanherne that is the focus of this study. The 'great' Arundells were so called because of their pre-eminence in Cornish affairs – derived from their status as landowners, officeholders, and county

administrators. This Arundell ascendancy lasted until their Catholicism became a hindrance in the late sixteenth century, and the family were finally raised to the peerage as Lords Arundell of Wardour (Wilts.) in 1605.[73]

John Arundell (*c*.1421–73), son of John (*c*.1392–1423), and grandson of Sir John (*c*.1366–1435), was married firstly to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Morley (*c*.1393–1435). John's second marriage to Katherine Chideock (d.1479), daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Chideock (d.1447) of Chideock (Som.), and widow of William Stafford (*c*.1407–50) of Stinsford (Dor.) and Southwick (Wilts.), brought him extensive lands in Somerset and Dorset.[74] Their son, Thomas (*c*.1452–85), married Katherine, sister of John, Lord Dinham (*c*.1433–1501), and this alliance was later to secure further estates for the family on Dinham's death without a legitimate male heir.[75] Thomas's son, John Arundell (*c*.1474–1545), was a minor until the mid-1490s, and married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. In short, by the early sixteenth century, the Arundells were effectively noble in all but name – they possessed extensive estates and were inter-married with peerage families, and John Arundell refused a barony in 1525. Plainly, the Arundells were prominent landowners in Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, and gained valuable assets through their advantageous marriages.

The Arundell archives, held at Cornwall County Record Office, have been comprehensively calendared by the National Register of Archives. These records preserve evidence of those associated with the family through charters as witnesses, grantors, and recipients, as feoffees, as parties in bonds, and marriage agreements; other sources also reveal the beneficiaries and executors of family wills. In addition, manorial extents and rentals, allow a glimpse, at a certain instance, of the family's tenants and landholdings, and three such surveys survive for the Arundells during the

[73] Thomas Arundell of Tolverne: *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 216. Renfrew Arundell of Tremodret: *HPB*, 20. For the Arundells' peerages: *CP*, i, 261–3 (Trerice), 263–8 (Lanherne and Wardour).

[74] *ODNB*: 'Arundell family'; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, ix–xii, xiii–xxxvii; also Stamp (1971), 350–6; and for the family in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Alexander (1938), 111–18, 154–63.

[75] *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7; *CIPM*, i, no. 30, 181, 182; *ODNB*: 'Arundell family'.

later fifteenth century – manorial extents of 1451–64 and 1499, and a rental of 1480.[76] However, extents can be limited in their value since they were only accurate for their year of creation. Most of the Arundells' tenants were of lesser status, although there were some exceptions (such as Lord Botreaux); so, rather than compile a voluminous list of tenants (mostly of lesser gentry status and therefore not members of the political elites), extents have been used selectively to corroborate the associations of those individuals occurring in the family's land transactions.

(1) [5 December 1465]: Henry Bodrugan, esquire, Walter Butsyde, and James Boneython, made a gift to Sir John Arundell of all messuages in Seynt Goran and Cruckonner [Cornwall], which Bodrugan and others lately held by the gift of Arundell; for Arundell and his heirs to hold forever. With a warranty by Bodrugan, Butsyde, and Boneython, to Arundell against the Prior of Bodmin, and his successors. The witnesses are Oliver Wise, Thomas Tregarthyn, Robert Wolvedon, Thomas Limbury, and Robert Udy, clerk.[77]

Bodrugan and the other grantors had previously received the gift of these lands from Arundell, suggesting that this document may have been the second part of an enfeoffment. Bodrugan, Butsyde, and Boneython might therefore be believed to be particularly valued associates of John Arundell; this seems to be confirmed in the case of Bodrugan, who was Arundell's cousin. Amongst the witnesses, there are some variations in the frequency of occurrence in the Arundell charters: Wise and Wolvedon appear in just one charter each, Tregarthyn occurs in 3 charters, Udy appears in 10, and Limbury occurs in 23. Obviously, the strength of Limbury's and Udy's association with the family means that they were highly likely to have been Arundell clients. Even though Wise, Wolvedon and Tregarthyn appear in fewer charters, since they were involved alongside others who were close Arundell affiliates, then they may have been connected with the family to a greater degree than their frequencies of occurrence imply.

(2) [23 September 1480]: Thomas Arundell, esquire for the king's body, to Thomas Tremayle, Nicholas Janyn, John Iwyn, and John Tregarthyn, a lease of

[76] *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, xxxvii–xlii, 12–63 (Extent of 1451–64 – mostly 1459–60); xlii–xliv, cxli–cxlvii, 64–100 (1480 Rental); xliv–xlv, 101–42 (1499 Extent); North (1991); North (1993).

[77] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/270.

> all of the close in Tremleyth called 'Le Parke Enys', etc. [Cornwall] The witnesses were Thomas Limbury, Richard Tomyowe, and William Trewhila.[78]

The recipients of this lease were Arundell tenants, and John Tregarthyn may have been a relative of Thomas Tregarthyn in extract 2. The witness Thomas Limbury also appeared in the last example, Tomyowe was involved with the Arundells as a feoffee (on one occasion) and occurs in other charters (10 times); Trewhila was only involved in four transactions, but his presence alongside other strongly-attached Arundell associates suggests the possibility of his association. Of the parties in this charter, where their residences are known, all were residents of Cornwall.

(3) [20 January 1477]: Katherine, lately the wife of Sir John Arundell, to John Carminow, esquire, Thomas Limbury, William Menwynneck, Thomas Tregarthyn Snr, and Richard Tomyowe, of a moiety of the manors of Fyfete Nevyle, Burcomb, and Melbury Osmound [Dorset], granted by Katherine to Carminow, etc., by a charter dated 12 January 1477. Appointment by Carminow, etc., of Thomas Whytsen as an attorney to receive seisin from Katherine.[79]

The presence of the Arundell affiliates Limbury, Tomyowe, and Tregarthyn suggests that Carminow and Menwynneck may have been Arundell associates, which appears to be confirmed by the fact that both occur in other Arundell charters four times each. This extract is one of the few Arundell charters that concerns lands elsewhere other than Cornwall, in this case, in Dorset, but the parties involved in it are all, nevertheless, Cornish in origin. In these extracts, those strongly-attached to the Arundell family (such as Bodrugan, Limbury, or Tomyowe) are involved in different roles, as grantors, recipients, or witnesses in different charters. Clearly, it seems that none of the parties involved in any charters can be ignored since they may well have been important family associates; although this approach means that there is, inevitably, some margin of error, at least a listing of likely associates might be compiled.

Overall, those Arundell associates who were members of south-west political elites can be ascertained by using the definition of political elites established earlier

[78] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/184.

[79] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR20/28.

(above, pp. 108–13). Focussing just on those, of a total of 154 Arundell associates, only 46 (29 per cent) were members of the region's elites, therefore comprising the Arundells' most important clients; the remaining associates appear to have been largely lesser Cornish gentry. Those individuals who were Arundell associates are shown in Table 3 (below, pp. 142–3) and, just as in Table 1, associates are ranked in frequency of significant occurrence.

It is possible to divide associates into inner and outer circles (using the same criteria as for the Hungerford affinity) – the Arundell affinity's inner circle comprised 38 individuals (just over a quarter of the total). Again, as with the Hungerfords, the Arundells' feoffees and family connections form the core of the clientele. The family appear to have been associated with five lawyers – John Biconyll, William Hody, William Huddlesfield, John Mordaunt, and Thomas Tremayle. But, as mentioned, lawyers could often serve many masters (John Biconyll may have been associated with James, Earl of Wiltshire during the later 1450s, Humphrey, Lord Stafford in 1463, Giles Daubeney in 1475, John, Lord Cobham in 1479, Lord Dinham in 1489–90, and with Thomas Butler during the 1480s and 1490s.[80] It is interesting to note that although Richard Penpons was the Arundells' household steward, he was involved in only twelve land transactions; accordingly, based only on frequency of involvement, Thomas Limbury (occurring in 23 charters) seems the more important of the two, which was not the case given Penpons's senior role – again illustrating some of the inescapable limitations to this methodology.

The Arundells' most high profile associate seems to have been Robert, Lord Willoughby, who was the principal magnate in Devon and Cornwall during Henry VII's reign (below, chapter 9). As a result of his status, Willoughby would have been

[80] Wiltshire land transaction 1457: *CCR 1454–61*, 213; prayers for Wiltshire's soul in Biconyll's will 1500: *Somerset Wills 1501–30*, 6–9; Stafford executor 1463: *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 196–201; *HPB*, 74–5; Daubeney feoffee and land transaction 1475: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1385; *CPR 1467–77*, 533; Daubeney as Biconyll's feoffee 1500: *Somerset Wills 1501–30*, 6–9; Cobham feoffee: *CCR 1476–85*, no. 748; Dinham pension: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881; Ormonde feoffee and land transactions 1481–96: *DCAD*, ii, C2550; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 403, 948.

Table 3: Arundell Associates 1450–1500

Abbreviations: Ch.= Charter; Fe.= Feoffee; Oth.= Other; b-in-l= brother-in-law; co.= cousin; dist. co.= distant cousin; T= Thomas; J=John; others: Exec.= Executor; Ten.= tenant; Ann.= Annuity; Att.= Attorney; Stew.= Steward. **Bold** denotes members of south-west political elites. *Italics* denote residents of the south-west counties. For references regarding this table see Appendix III.

Name	*Residence*	*Connection*			
		Ch.	*Fe.*	*Kin*	*Oth.*
A. 'INNER CIRCLE': FAMILY					
Bodrugan, Henry	***Bodrigan (Cor.)***	***3***	***1***	***Co.***	***Ten.***
Dinham, Charles	***Nutwell (Dev.)***		***1***	***T's b-in-l***	***Exec.***
Dinham, Roger			***1***	***T's b-in-l***	
Arundell, John	*Trerice (Cor.)*	*1*		*Dist. co.*	
Arundell, John	*Tolverne (Cor.)*	*1*		*Dist. co.*	
Courtenay, Walter	***Exeter (Dev.)***	***1***		***J's s-in-l***	
Tyrell, Sir James	**Gipping (Suff.)**			**J's s-in-l**	
Marny, Lord, Henry				**J's s-in-l**	
Capel, Sir William				**J's s-in-l**	
Copplestone, Ralph	*Colbrook (Dev.)*			*J's s-in-l*	
Strangways, William				**J's s-in-l**	
Arundell, Sir Renfrew ***Arundell, Edmund***	***Tremodret (Cor.)***			***Co.***	***Ten.***
B. POSSIBLE 'INNER CIRCLE'					
Limbury, Thomas	***Launceston (Cor.)***	***23***			
Penpons, Richard	***Treswithian (Cor.)***	***12***			***Stew.***
Carminow, Nicholas	*Cor.*	*11*			
Tomyow, Richard	*Cor.*	*10*	*1*		
Udy, Robert, clerk		10			
Tregarthyn, Thomas I *Tregarthyn, Thomas II*	***Tregarthyn (Cor.)***	***6***	***2***		***Ann. Ten.***
Ruthfos, Thomas	*Cor.*	*7*			
Mitchell, John Jr		6			Att. (1)
Sage, Thomas	***Grampound (Cor.)***	***6***			
Coleshill, Sir John	***Tremethart, Binhammy (Cor.)***	***5***			
Reynold, Richard		5			
Roche, Nicholas		5			
Reskymmer, Ralph		***4***			***Ten.***
Trenowith, John	***Fentengollan; Bodmin (Cor.)***	***4***			***Ten.***
Menwyneck, William	***Menwyneck (Cor.)***	***4***			
Carminow, John	***Carminow (Cor.)***	***4***			
Tressawell, John	*Cor.*	*4*			
Trewila, William	*Cor.*	*4*			
Biconyll, John	***South Perrott (Dor.)***	***1***	***2***		***Ann.*** ***Exec.***
Beville, Peter		***3***			***Ten.***
Calmady, Stephen		3			Att. (1)
Bere, Thomas	***Lankynhorne (Cor.)***	***3***			
Courtenay, Sir Hugh	***Haccombe; Boconnoc (Dev.)***	***3***			
Kendale, Richard		3			
Byan, Robert		3			
Beville, John		3			
Cudbert, Robert		3			
C. POSSIBLE 'OUTER CIRCLE'					
Kellygrew, Thomas	***Arwenack (Cor.)***	***2***			***Ten.***

Table 3: Arundell Associates 1450–1500 (cont.)					
Name	*Residence*	*Connection*			
		Ch.	*Fe.*	*Kin*	*Oth.*
Treffry, Sir John	***Fowey (Cor.)***	***2***			***Ten.***
Bodulgate, Thomas	***Trencreek (Cor.)***	***2***			
Frampton, William	***Moreton (Dev.)***	***2***			
St Aubyn, Thomas	***Clowance (Cor.)***	***2***			
Also 13 others named twice					
Huggins, John	***Whitstaunton (Som.)***		***1***		
Sapcotes, Sir John	***Bampton (Dev.)***		***1***		
Hody, William	***Gothelney (Som.)***		***1***		***Ann.***
Huddlesfield, William	***Dittisham; Shillingford (Dev.)***		***1***		***Ann.***
Edgcumbe, Sir Piers	***Cotehele; Mount Edgcumbe (Cor.)***	***1***			***Ten.***
Vivian, Richard	***Trevidren (Cor.)***				***Ten.***
Whalesburgh, Thomas	***Whalesburgh (Cor.)***				***Ten.***
Wydeslade, Richard					***Ten.***
Trevelyan, John	***Nettlecombe (Som.)***				***Ten.***
Treffry, Thomas	***Fowey (Cor.)***				***Ten.***
Carnesew, William	***Bokelly (Cor.)***				***Ten.***
Sydenham, John I	***Brimpton Devery (Som.)***	***1***			***Bond (1)***
Porter, John	***Som.***	***1***			***Bond (1)***
Browning, William	***Melbury Sampford (Dor.)***	***1***			***Bond (1)***
Hull, Sir Edward	***Enmore (Som.)***	***1***			
Bere, William	***Pengelly (Cor.)***	***1***			
Grey, Robert	***Dor.***	***1***			
Hymerford, John	***East Coker (Som.)***	***1***			
Tremayle, Thomas	***Cannington (Som.)***	***1***			
Glyn, John	***Morval (Cor.)***	***1***			
Grenville, Sir Thomas	***Kirkhampton; Stowe (Cor.)***	***1***			
Mordaunt, John	**Turvey (Beds.)**	**1**			
Also more than 75 others named once:					
D. PEERS					
Hungerford, Lords		***5***			
Willoughby, Lord, Robert			***1***		
Suffolk, Duchess of, Alice		1			
Botreaux, Lord, William					*Ten.*
Hastings, Lord, Edward					Ten.
Dorset, Marquess of, Thomas Grey				***J's f-in-l***	*Ten.*
Oxford, Earl of, John de Vere					Ten.
Clergy: John Stafford, Abp Canterbury					

a 'primary patron' (above, pp. 79–81), and as such would have had associations with a number of gentry in Devon and Cornwall – the Arundells might be regarded as one such gentry family and John Arundell would therefore constitute a 'secondary patron', with his affiliates becoming 'tertiary patrons'.

The Arundells were involved in Cornish affairs throughout the fifty-year span

of this study, and their connections clearly reflect this. Of those with a known residence (50), 32 were of Cornwall, seven of Devon, seven of Somerset, and two were of Dorset. Sir James Tyrell, originally from Gipping (Suff.), might seem an extraordinary connection, but he was married to John Arundell's daughter, Anne, and, consequently, held some Cornish manors. Invariably, almost all the Arundell charters concerned Cornish estates and, in those charters concerning properties in other shires – as shown in the second extract – the figures who were mentioned were Cornish gentry and the family's closest clients, with only a few figures from further afield. Given that the Arundells were a 'great' gentry family, with lands in all western counties, it is expected that they should have had associations with families from throughout the region – but, nevertheless, with their clear basis being in Cornwall.

* * *

The Edgcumbe family of Cotehele (Cor.) were not as influential as the Arundells, and did not possess such extensive landed estates. The Edgcumbes' landholding was primarily focussed in Cornwall and Devon, and the family did not achieve real prominence until Henry VII's reign, and although an Edgcumbe was a member of every parliament from 1446–7 to 1859–61, the family were not raised to the peerage, as Lords Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe, until 1742.[81] Sir Richard Edgcumbe (*c*.1443–89) was the son of Piers Edgcumbe with Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Holland. As a determined Lancastrian, in 1471, his lands had been forfeited, but he was later pardoned, and restored to the bench during the 1470s. Sir Richard's Lancastrian loyalism was rewarded by Henry VII with endowments of lands and offices, and he was particularly involved with duchy of Cornwall administration. Sir Richard married Jane, daughter of Thomas Tremayne (d.1482) of Collacombe Barton (Dev.), which alliance added further to his landed estates. Their son, Sir Piers Edgcumbe (*c*.1477–1539), even before his majority, followed in his father's footsteps as a loyal supporter of Henry VII's regime, and as a result was rewarded with diverse

[81] *CP*, ix, 315–19.

duchy of Cornwall offices. Sir Piers inherited the family seat (Cotehele), also Totnes Castle, and the manors of Totnes, Bodrigan, Tregrehan, and Tremodret (Cor.), plus further lands in Huish, Loddiswell, and North Molton (Dev.). Sir Piers married Jane, daughter of James Derneford, and it was through this alliance that he was able to expand his landed estates, gaining the manors of Rame (Cor.) and West Stonehouse (Dev.).[82] The Edgcumbes' landed interests – gained by beneficial marriage-matches – were principally found in Devon and Cornwall, but was this pattern also mirrored in their associations?

The Edgcumbe archives, held at Cornwall Record Office – like the Arundell papers – have been calendared by the National Register of Archives. By examining these records it is possible to reconstruct the affinity. Although eight documents is only a small sample of transactions it seems reasonable to accept that these comprise a representative sample.

(1) [4 December 1487]: John Inclesden and William Spereman granted their manor of Mutton [unknown] to Sir Richard Edgcumbe and Roger Holland. The appointed attorneys were Thomas Cornish and Robert Kensey; and the witnesses were Robert Willoughby de Broke and Thomas Fulford, knights, and Alexander Carew, John Moyle, and Thomas Kellygrew, esquires.[83]

Since Edgcumbe was the recipient it is unclear whether he was associated with Inclesden and Spereman, but, to exclude them from his associates might be unwise given those instances of affiliates granting to their patron in the Arundell charters; however, Incesden and Spereman only occur in this single transaction. It is uncertain whether Edgcumbe and Holland were closely acquainted, but Holland's involvement in four charters seems to suggest that he may have been closely associated with the Edgcumbes. Among the witnesses, their frequency of occurrence in transactions – Willoughby de Broke (on 4 occasions, and also in a bond), Fulford (on 2 occasions), Carew (3), Moyle (2), and Kellygrew (3) – seems to suggest that they were all Edgcumbe associates, which then perhaps justifies the inclusion of Inclesden and

[82] *CIPM*, i, no. 536; *ODNB*: 'Edgcumbe, Richard'; *HPB*, 291–2; Glanville (1974); below, ch. 8 and 9.
[83] NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME523.

Spereman, in a list of possible associates. It is unclear in which county the manor of Mutton was located, but Holland's principal residence was in Devon and, of the witnesses, Fulford was also a Devon gentleman, Carew had residences in both Cornwall and Devon, whereas Kellygrew was of Cornwall, and Moyle was presumably also Cornish gentry. These same witnesses appear in another land transaction of 10 December 1487 by which Edgcumbe and Holland granted the same manor to John Talbot. So, it seems likely that these witnesses were well-known to Edgcumbe and Holland and, in this case, the recipient, Talbot, may also have been an Edgcumbe client.[84]

(2) [10 March 1496]: Grant, in tail (for a rent of 3*s*. 10*d*. to be paid at Michaelmas, for all services) by Peter Edgcumbe to Peter Bevyll, esquire, and his wife Thomasia, of two messuages and gardens in Truro borough [Cornwall]. If Bevyll left no issue, the remainder was to descend to Peter Bevyll's issue, and then to the grantor. With a warranty against the Prior of Launceston, and his successors. The witnesses were Sir John Treffry, Roger Holland, esquire, John Trevanour esquire, John Gayere, and Richard Trevronek.[85]

Peter Beville occurs in two Edgcumbe charters, while the witnesses varied in occurrence: Treffry (involved on 3 occasions) and Holland (4 occurrences), and Trevanour, Gayere and Trevronek, mentioned in only one transaction each. The presence of the frequent Edgcumbe associates Treffry and Holland might suggest that the others may also have been connected with the family – to a greater extent than indicated in the charters alone. This land transaction concerned Cornish lands and, of the parties involved, it seems only Holland was a Devon gentleman, with the rest being Cornish gentry.

(3) [12 May 1488]: Grant by Sir Thomas Lovell, knight of the king's body, to Sir Richard Edgcumbe, knight, comptroller of the king's household, of the manors and lordships of Bodrugan, Tremodret, Trevelen, Penstrasowe, Trethek, Tregelan, Trelowthas, and thirteen others [Cornwall]. To Edgcumbe and his heirs male, whom failing, all the above manors (except Tregrehan and Trelowtha) are to revert to the crown. Thomas Kellygrew and Richard Boneython were appointed as the attorneys to deliver seisin. The witnesses

[84] NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME524.

[85] NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME486.

> were Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke, steward of the king's household, Sir John Biconyll, Sir William Huddlesfield, Alexander Carew, Edmund Courtenay, John Carminow, Richard Flamank, esquires, Otto Philip, Andrew Dymmock, and John Kyrton.[86]

In this document the attorneys are Kellygrew (occurring in three records) and Boneython (occurring in only one), and of the witnesses' frequencies of involvement in transactions: Willoughby (4 occurrences in charters, and a bond) reappears again, along with Carew (occurring in 3 charters), and Courtenay, Carminow, Flamank, Philip, Dymmock, and Kyrton, and the lawyers Biconyll and Huddlesfield who were involved in only one transaction. However, these witnesses' appearance alongside the more frequently appearing Willoughby and Carew suggests that they may have also been Edgcumbe associates. This charter concerned Cornish lands, therefore it is understandable for the attorneys and most witnesses to have been Cornish gentry (Carminow, Flamank, Philip, perhaps also Dymmock and Kyrton), with Courtenay presumably of Devon, Carew of both Cornwall and Devon, the lawyer Huddlesfield of Devon, but the other lawyer, Biconyll, of Dorset.

Evidently, Edgcumbe clients might appear in different charters in differing roles – as a witness on one occasion, as the recipient on another, or as the grantor on another occasion – emphasising why it is necessary to consider all parties in each charter as potential associates. Of a total of 45 Edgcumbe associates, only twelve (just over one-fifth) were members of the south-western political elites, and these would have been the most significant and influential of the Edgcumbes' clients. On the whole, the remainder of the associates seem to have been lesser gentry from Cornwall and Devon. Those individuals who are probable Edgcumbe associates are listed in Table 4 (below, p. 149) in order of their frequency of occurrence in the family's charters.

The small number of transactions limits, to some extent, the efficacy of ranking individuals on the basis of their frequency of involvement, but it is still possible to divide associates into inner and outer circles (using the same criteria as

[86] NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME622.

earlier): the inner circle of the Edgcumbe clientele seems to have comprised six individuals (15 per cent of the total). Two Edgcumbe associates were John Tremayne (*c.*1452–1504) of Collacombe (Dev.) whose sister, Joan, married Richard Edgcumbe; and William Trevanyon (d.1518) of Carhayes (Cor.) who married Richard's daughter, Agnes. However, despite their obvious propinquity with the Edgcumbes, they are not recorded as involved in any family transactions, which, again, reveals the problematic and indefinite nature of reconstructing associations based purely on charter evidence.

The Edgcumbes may have been linked to two lawyers, John Biconyll, and Sir William Huddlesfield; however, of course, the family's most significant associate was John Arundell, and many Edgcumbe clients were also closely connected to the Arundells (Peter Beville, John Carminow, Thomas Kellygrew, Sir John Treffry, also perhaps John Arundell of Tolverne, Stephen Calmady, Thomas Glyn, Nicholas Opy, and Constantine Rawe). Such coincidence of circles of association indicates that the Arundells and Edgcumbes may have been allied and working in co-operation, at least during Henry VII's reign. Individually, the Edgcumbes would perhaps not have been an effectual force in local affairs – but in alliance with the Arundells, collectively, the two families might have exerted considerable influence in Cornish politics and government. The Arundells, as seen, were connected with Robert, Lord Willoughby, meaning that the family might be viewed as secondary patrons, with members of the Arundell affinity then becoming tertiary patrons. The Edgcumbes also seem to have been linked to Willoughby, and this suggests that the Edgcumbes, Richard and Peter, might also be viewed as secondary patrons (whilst, coetaneously, being linked laterally with the Arundells).

The Edgcumbes' real prominence came during Henry VII's reign, and this is reflected in the chronological range of the family's connections, being mostly limited to the period after 1487. Excluding Tremayne and Trevanyon, of those Edgcumbe clients with a known residence (13), six were of Cornwall, seven of Devon (counting Carew's two residences), and one of Dorset. The relatively high number of Devon

Table 4: Edgcumbe Associates 1487–1500

Abbreviations: Ch.= charter; Oth.= Other; b-in-l= brother-in-law; personal names: R= Richard; Att.= Attorney. **Bold** denotes members of south-west political elites. *Italics* denote residents of the south-west counties. For references regarding this table see Appendix III.

Name	*Residence*	*Connection*	
		Ch.	*Oth.*
A. 'INNER CIRCLE': FAMILY			
Tremayne, John	***Collacombe (Dev.)***		***R's b-in-l***
Trevanyon, William	***Carhayes (Cor.)***		***R's s-in-l***
B. POSSIBLE 'INNER CIRCLE'			
Holland, Roger	***Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.)***	***4***	
Carew, Alexander	***Antony (Cor.); Shogbroke (Dev.)***	***3***	
Kellygrew, Thomas	***Arwenack (Cor.)***	***3***	
Treffry, Sir John	***Fowey (Cor.)***	***3***	
C. POSSIBLE 'OUTER CIRCLE'			
Fulford, Sir Thomas	***Fulford (Dev.)***	***2***	
Beville, Peter		***2***	
Also 3 others named twice			
Biconyll, Sir John	***South Perrott (Dor.)***	***1***	
Carminow, John	***Carminow (Cor.)***	***1***	
Huddlesfield, Sir William	***Dittisham; Shillingford (Dev.)***	***1***	
Sapcotes, Sir John	***Bampton (Dev.); Elton (Hants.)***	***1***	
Arundell, Sir John	***Lanherne (Cor.)***	***1***	
Also 29 others cited once			
B. PEERS			
Willoughby de Broke, Lord, Robert		***4***	***Bond (1)***
Clergy: Thomas, Abbot of Buckland			

associates is probably due to the fact that the Edgcumbes' principal residence, Cotehele, was adjacent to the Devon border. The Edgcumbe charters largely concerned properties in Cornwall (and to a lesser extent Devon) thus the family's associations seem to have been almost equally divided between these two shires.

* * *

In summary, the Hungerfords clearly had an extensive network of important clients – both numerically and geographically – throughout the south-west. And these affiliates appear not to have been constrained within their shire boundaries in their associations with their patron, but often occurred in charters regarding properties in other counties. With such extensive landed interests, the Hungerfords could not fail to have been important figures – their clear regional stature would mean that it was difficult for a monarch to fail to acknowledge the Hungerfords' importance and influence in the region. While the 'great' Arundells – as a gentry family of substance – seem to have

had almost as many clients in number, these were less extensive in geographical range, being mostly concentrated in Cornwall. The Edgcumbes had been a relatively minor gentry family and during Henry VII's reign were clearly able to rely on the support of a number of Cornish and Devon gentry but – lacking the Arundells' extensive landed estates throughout the region (and perhaps longevity of status) – did not have such a widespread network of associates; instead, their associates were largely concentrated around their Devon-border residence, Cotehele. In general, these examples seem to corroborate the axiom that the greater the family the more extensive its associations in both size and scope; in addition, they also illustrate how landed estates continually evolved, consolidated, or dispersed.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite some criticisms of county studies, as shown (above, pp. 104–8), the study of political elites is pertinent because of the nature of local society – the greater gentry were in a better position to form an identity that was regional in nature than lesser gentry because of the broader nature of their landed, marital, and personal interests; in addition, they were also the individuals who would be recruited by magnates for the influence that they could wield over their clients. It appears possible to speak of 'county elites': the counties seem to have been the primary foci for identification – study of those who served their communities by undertaking administrative offices has shown clear commitment to the area for which they were responsible, also reflected in their landholding, office-holding, and nuptiality.

The 'regional elite' – comprising those involved in all counties – was small in number, being composed mostly of peers and greater gentry. While there is a significant extra-county dimension to elites' landholding, office-holding, and marriages, this seems to be focused on meso-scale regions – the coupled-county units of Somerset/Dorset, and Devon/Cornwall. Regarding landed interests, there was strong overlap amongst the Somerset and Dorset elites and, also concerning office-holding, but while there was a high level of inter-marriage within and between these

counties, the Somerset and Dorset gentry were also most likely to find extra-regional spouses. The land- and office-holding overlap between the Devon and Cornwall elites was less pronounced and, as in the other two counties, there was a high proportion of endogamy. But, contrary to Rowse's emphasis, his description of a coagulated cousinage in Cornwall and Devon might be extended to include Somerset and Dorset.

With the principal foci appearing to be at county and meso-regional levels, the concept of a broader south-west regional identity seems somewhat problematic. However, that said, the trans-county and trans-regional nature of the Hungerford affinity – with many of the same clients utilised in transactions concerning different counties – shows how a magnate and his circle could provide a focus for patronage that was extra-county, perhaps even regional, in extent. Evidently, it was certainly possible for a magnate with extensive lands across the south-west to gain associates from each shire and thus for his lordship and affinity to have become a focus for the region as a whole. The ensuing chapters – covering the period chronologically from 1450 to 1500 – chart the fortunes of the south-western political elites, making possible a greater understanding of peers' affinities, influence on local government, and connections with regional magnates. Such evaluation will enable investigation of whether such regional figures embodied a focus for the south-west as a whole.

CHAPTER FIVE

PATRONS, CLIENTS, AND POLITICS: 1450–61

The aim of this study is to investigate the viability of a regional approach to governance in the late medieval south-west, and the issues of regions, political structures, and the elites' identities have been the focus of the preceding chapters. Now, following the structural framework outlined above (pp. 27–8), the ensuing five chapters are chronological in approach to the politics of the western shires during the later fifteenth century. Naturally, the first of these chapters begins with the later part of Henry VI's reign, and the last considers most of that of Henry VII.

* * *

Henry VI's inadequacy is widely held to have been the primary cause of the political upheavals of the mid-fifteenth century. To assess how this affected the south-west it is necessary, first, to give a brief regional review introducing major figures; then, to consider the realities of governance, patronage, and landholding in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. It is only after surveys of the county elites that a regional overview can be undertaken, which summarises notable aspects, and evaluates those aspects that were truly 'regional' in nature by relating county and regional perspectives to national politics and governance.

The fall of Henry's chief minister, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (*c.*1394–1450) in 1450 provides the starting point for this chapter, and it ends with Henry's deposition eleven years later. During this period, was there a magnate in the south-west whose landholding, office-holding, and associations were region-wide in extent, thereby providing a 'political centre' in the region? If so, this regional 'governor' might have become a quasi-regal figure as exemplified in integration between the governor's clients and royal household servants. In addition, was the regional magnate's authority supplemented by conferment of duchy of Cornwall

offices?

During Henry's minority, the Beauforts – his kin of the half-blood – were influential in central government and in Somerset and Dorset. Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (*c.*1375–1447), became involved in politics in the 1420s and 1430s, and it was around his leadership that local networks developed.[1] The bishop's nephew was John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (1404–44) whose military career in France ended in disgrace. However, the duke's brother, Edmund (1406–55), was created Marquess of Dorset and, after the cardinal's death, assumed his uncle's leading position at court and was awarded the dukedom of Somerset. The loss of Normandy in 1449 was blamed on the duke's poor leadership as governor-general of France, and, as a result, his estates in Somerset, Dorset and elsewhere, were sequestered. After Suffolk's fall, Somerset was a regular royal councillor and became the king's chief minister; apart from the two brief protectorates of Richard, Duke of York, Somerset continued as principal minister until his death at St Albans in 1455.[2] His son and heir, Henry Beaufort (*c.*1436–63), proved an able military commander and strategist – serving as captain of Calais – and appears to have been largely engrossed in national, rather than south-western, politics and government.[3]

The Beauforts' influence in Somerset and Dorset seems to have involved close affiliations with John, Lord Stourton, and Walter, Lord Hungerford. Sir John Stourton (1399–1462) of Stourton (Wilts.) rose to prominence because of his roles as a royal councillor from 1437 and as treasurer of the king's household from 1446.[4] And the Beauforts were connected with Walter Hungerford (1378–1449) – another royal councillor, and lord steward of the household from 1417, who was ennobled and appointed treasurer of England in 1426.[5] In addition, following Queen Margaret's direction of government from 1456 (and the preoccupation of Henry, Duke of

[1] *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Henry'; Harriss (1988).
[2] *CP*, xii(1), 49–54; *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Edmund, first Duke of Somerset'; Jones (1989).
[3] *CP*, xii(1), 54–7; *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Henry, second Duke of Somerset'.
[4] *CP*, xii(1), 301–2; *ODNB*: 'Stourton family'; *CPR 1446–52*, 8, 35, 160, 163, 475.
[5] *CP*, vi, 613–20; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Walter, first Baron Hungerford'.

Somerset with national affairs), James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire (1420–61) seems to have become influential in Somerset and Dorset. Created earl of Wiltshire in 1449, and a royal councillor from 1452, he was closely associated with Somerset's government, becoming lieutenant of Ireland in 1453 and treasurer of England in 1455. Favoured by Queen Margaret, he was again treasurer from 1458, and was given a greater role in the south-west.[6]

In Devon and Cornwall, the minority of Thomas, Earl of Devon (*c.*1414–58) throughout the 1420s enabled Sir William Bonville (*c.*1393–1461) of Shute (Dev.) and Chewton (Som.), and his allies Sir Philip Courtenay (*c.*1404–63) of Powderham (Dev.) and William Bourchier, Lord FitzWaryn (d.1469), to become prominent in both counties.[7] In Cornwall, lack of royal lordship may have meant that Cornish gentry sought the support of Devon's leading magnate, Sir William (later Lord) Bonville. So it may have been through duchy of Cornwall office-holding as well as association with the foremost Cornish figure, John Arundell (*c.*1421–73) of Lanherne, that Bonville exerted authority in the shire. On attaining his majority, the earl of Devon intended to reassert his influence, but found this impossible because of the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection's strength. His opposition to Bonville became embittered by disputes over duchy offices and continued throughout the 1450s – with each seeking protection from various court factions. Bonville's sway in Devon affairs endured until the late 1450s, when the earl's son, Thomas II (*c.*1432–61), was favoured by the queen and was able to engage with county matters to some extent.[8] After 1457, the Prince of Wales's Council also exercised some influence in Cornwall and, significantly, one of its councillors was the Somerset and Dorset magnate, James, Earl of Wiltshire.

[6] *CPR 1452–61*, 102, 229, 242, 417, 459; *CP*, x, 126–9; *ODNB*: 'Butler, James, first Earl of Wiltshire'.

[7] Devon: *CP*, iv, 326–7; *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Devon'. Courtenay: *HPB*, 229–30. FitzWaryn: *CP*, v, 507–8. Bonville: *CP*, ii, 218–19; *ODNB*: 'Bonville, William, first Baron Bonville'.

[8] *CP*, iv, 327; *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Thomas'.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET

The high profile of Cardinal Beaufort and his intimate relationship with Henry VI meant that it would be his and his family's patronage that was most sought by Somerset gentry. The role of the cardinal's nephew, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, as a royal councillor and then as chief minister during the 1450s meant that the Beauforts' influence in the shire endured. The Beauforts held few estates, and those that they did possess were mostly concentrated in Somerset and Dorset. Without great landed resources, it was only their family ties with Henry VI that guaranteed their significance as royal councillors; simultaneously, it was only their national status that brought the Beauforts local authority.

It appears that the Beauforts' clients included the Caraunts of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.): William Caraunt (*c.*1395–1476) was sheriff of Somerset/Dorset five times (lastly in 1450–1) and was knight of the shire twice (lastly in 1450–1). He mustered troops for John, Earl of Somerset in 1439, and was involved in various land transactions – acting as Somerset's executor in 1443.[9] William's son, John Caraunt II (*c.*1425–83), also fulfilled the office of sheriff in 1459–60, and William's brother, John Caraunt I (d.1478), was the duchess of Somerset's servant.[10] Another probable Beaufort associate was William Stafford (*c.*1407–50) of Stinsford (Dor.) and Southwick (Wilts.), whose father's illegitimate half-brother was John Stafford (d.1452), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1443. William Stafford served on the Somerset bench until his murder during Cade's Revolt.[11]

The Beauforts' formed strong connections with the foremost individuals in Somerset such as Sir John Stourton and Walter, Lord Hungerford. Stourton was a leading member of the gentry of Somerset and Wiltshire: between 1426 and 1441 he served seven terms as sheriff in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset/Dorset. As a

[9] Commission to muster for earl of Somerset, land transactions (as grantor, recipient, or witness), agent, executor 1430–62: *CPR 1436–41*, 370, 408; *CPR 1429–36*, 119; *CCR 1435–41*, 481; *CPR 1441–6*, 349, 408; *HPB*, 154–5; Mercer (1997), 45.

[10] *HPB*, 154.

[11] Commission to muster 1439: *CPR 1436–41*, 370, 408. Stafford was strongly connected to the Stourtons, corroborating this Beaufort attachment. For Archbishop Stafford, *ODNB*: 'Stafford, John'.

result of his alliances with the Beauforts and Lord Hungerford, Stourton was appointed as one of the king's councillors in 1437, and also became a king's knight. Stourton was involved with Beaufort land transactions from at least the 1430s: he was one of Somerset's feoffees for his wife's jointure, and was also the duke's principal executor in 1444.[12] Stourton was much favoured by Suffolk, and was endowed with the office of treasurer of the royal household; then, in March 1447, Stourton was appointed surveyor of the king's parks in Wiltshire.[13] Furthermore, in May 1448, Stourton was given the keeping of numerous manors in Somerset and Dorset and a Wiltshire forest, and the culmination of his rewards was his elevation to the peerage in 1448.[14] Stourton was designated joint-lieutenant of Calais in 1450, and managed to avoid being vilified for his involvement in Suffolk's regime. But under the subsequent government, led by Somerset, Stourton seems to have received little patronage: he ceased to be treasurer of the household in March 1453, though was then added to the Somerset bench.[15] Although he remained a royal councillor throughout York's protectorate, he was not present at St Albans; and after 1456, aged approximately fifty-seven, Stourton retired to his estates and took no further part in national politics.

The apparent association between the Beaufort and Stourton affinities is further exemplified in the Beaufort client William Caraunt who was married to Stourton's sister and had been involved with the family since the 1430s.[16] The Beaufort client, William Stafford, was married to Stourton's wife's sister. Another family connected to the Stourtons were the Warres of Hestercombe (Som.): Stourton's son-in-law was Richard Warre (*c.*1422–82) who was sheriff in 1452–3, while his father, Robert Warre (d.1465), served as sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1457–8, and as a JP from 1441. However, the Warres also held lands from Richard, Duke of York,

[12] Commission to muster 1439, and land transactions 1430–52: *CPR 1436–41*, 370, 408; *CCR 1435–41*, 481; *CPR 1441–6*, 349, 408; *CCR 1447–54*, 437; Mercer (1997), 45.

[13] *CPR 1446–52*, 35–6.

[14] *CPR 1446–52*, 8, 35, 160, 163, 475.

[15] *PR*, xii, 264–5; *CPR 1436–41*, 162; *CPR 1446–52*, 8, 160.

[16] Land transactions 1430–57: *CPR 1429–36*, 119; *CCR 1435–41*, 481; *CPR 1441–6*, 349, 408; *CPR 1452–61*, 419.

which may have encouraged them to remain impartial during the late 1450s.[17] Other Stourton associates included Alexander Hody (*c.*1405–61) of West Bower and Gothelney (Som.),[18] and William Twynho I (*c.*1420–72) of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.).[19] Lord Stourton and his affinity also appear to have been connected with the influential peer and Beaufort associate, Walter, Lord Hungerford.[20]

Walter Hungerford had been a JP, MP, and sheriff in Wiltshire during the 1400s; he had fought at Agincourt, and became a royal councillor and lord steward of the royal household in 1417. Consequently, during Henry VI's minority, Hungerford was a member of the regency council, and became treasurer of England. He remained in this post until 1432, and continued as a royal councillor until he began to retire from politics after 1440. Walter's son, Robert (*c.*1400–59), married Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Botreaux (*c.*1389–1462).[21] This alliance supplemented existing Hungerford estates in Somerset, Wiltshire, and Dorset, by securing more estates further west – in Cornwall. Robert served in France during the 1430s, but in domestic politics never emerged from his father's shadow: his activities were confined to Somerset and Wiltshire – being employed regularly on commissions, and as a JP. He took little part in national politics – remaining uncommitted during the 1450s – and in his later years was principally concerned with negotiating his son's ransom.[22] Robert II (*c.*1423–64) married Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Moleyns, being summoned to parliament in 1445 as Lord Moleyns *suo jure*. He was named on numerous commissions, serving on the bench in Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire as well as Somerset from 1449. Captured after

[17] *HPB*, 922–3; Rawlins (1964), 37; Gibson (1988–9), 183–5.

[18] Knight of the shire 1449–50, 1450–1, 1455–6, perhaps 1459, and JP from 1444; he was involved in Stourton land transactions from 1430s; his widow remarried Reginald, younger son of Lord Stourton: *CCR 1435–41*, 481; *CPR 1429–36*, 119. Also steward of Richard, Earl of Salisbury *c.*1432–55: *HPB*, 460–1.

[19] JP 1454 and 1457–9; John, Lord Stourton's executor 1462: *HPB*, 887.

[20] Feoffee, and land transactions 1443–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 224, 237, 253–4.

[21] Botreaux was JP from 1444; also feoffee, and land transactions 1458–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476.

[22] *CP*, vi, 617–18; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert, second Baron Hungerford'.

the English defeat at Châtillon and held for ransom, Moleyns was eventually released in 1459, and, on his return to England, immediately involved himself with politics. He was pardoned after Northampton and fought at Towton before fleeing to Scotland with Henry VI.[23]

The Hungerfords were a family of great significance in Somerset society: Walter's roles as lord steward, treasurer, and royal councillor meant that he was a focus for those in the locality seeking royal service. The Hungerfords were probably connected to the Beauforts, and were indirectly connected through the Stourtons; so Hungerford would, in effect, be a broker for both Beaufort and royal household service. Indeed, Walter's younger son was the crown retainer Sir Edmund Hungerford (fl.1452–70) of Down Ampney (Glos.).[24] Walter's son-in-law was Sir Philip Courtenay (*c.*1404–63) of Powderham (Dev.) who may have received the wardship of James Luttrell and his Somerset lands because of Hungerford's favour (though this is uncertain since he was also a king's knight). Another of Walter's sons-in-law, and a king's knight, was Sir Walter Rodney (*c.*1410–67) of Rodney Stoke (Som.), who was nominated to the Somerset bench in 1444.[25] Other Hungerford clients included John Cheyne (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Dev.) and Pynne (Dor.) who was sheriff in 1454–5;[26] Sir John Fortescue (*c.*1394–1476) of Modbury (Dev.);[27] and John Sydenham I (*c.*1420–68) of Brimpton Devery (Som.).[28]

In summary, it seems that the dukes of Somerset could not only depend on the cooperation of those directly associated with them (such as the Caraunts), but also rely on the support of others indirectly through secondary patrons such as Stourton and

[23] *CP*, vi, 618–21; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert, third Baron Hungerford and Moleyns'.

[24] JP from 1457; feoffee, land transactions, and beneficiary of Robert's will 1443–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 224, 241, 253–4; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93.

[25] Feoffee 1441–8: *HPB*, 720–1.

[26] Feoffee *c.*1449–69: *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 646; *HR*, i, 288–9.

[27] JP from 1444; feoffee, overseer of will, and land transactions 1458–60: NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 241; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93.

[28] Knight of the shire 1449–50, 1453–4, and 1460–1, and JP from 1453; land transactions from 1460: *CCR 1454–61*, 440; *HR*, i, 288; *CCR 1461–8*, 394; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 236, 239, 240; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477. His son, John Sydenham II (d.1521), was a JP from 1453.

Hungerford. So, including Stourton-Hungerford clients as indirect connections, analysis of shire offices indicates the extent to which the Beauforts' influence probably pervaded Somerset political society. Beaufort associates had regularly fulfilled local offices since the 1420s, and of the sheriffs' terms between 1437 and 1450, almost half were undertaken by Beaufort clients.[29] In comparison, between 1450 and 1461, over a third of sheriffs' terms were served by Beaufort clients.[30] Three Beaufort protégés were returned to parliament eight times during the same period; while the proportion of Beaufort affiliates employed on each commission of the peace varied over the decade from around one-fifth in 1449 and 1451, to almost half in 1454.[31] The sudden leap in numbers of Beaufort justices from one-fifth in 1451 to two-fifths in 1453 may be indicative of Somerset's role as the king's chief minister and of his desire to maintain his local influence.

While a decline in Beaufort influence might be discerned on the basis of the decrease in Beaufort sheriffs during the 1450s, the proportion of Beaufort JPs perhaps questions such a notion. It is not unrealistic to suggest that during the 1450s the Beauforts still managed to enjoy some influence in Somerset political society. The Beauforts' varying but continued influence in local affairs may be illustrated in the commissions of array: for instance, in March 1450, only two of the seven array commissioners were Beaufort associates, and two were household retainers;[32] whereas two months later, in May 1450, four of the ten commissioners were Beaufort clients, and a further two were household retainers.[33]

The Beaufort nexus was able to influence local government and society in Somerset as a result of Somerset's intimacy with the king, and of the royal household connections of Stourton and Hungerford. Given that the Beauforts seem to have been

[29] Mercer (1997), 45. Four Beaufort clients served 6 of 13 terms: William Stafford 1437–8, 1441–2; William Caraunt 1440–1, 1446–7; John St Loe 1442–3; and John Chideock 1447–8.

[30] Four Beaufort clients served 4 of 11 terms: William Caraunt 1450–1; Richard Warre 1452–3; Robert Warre 1457–8; and John Caraunt II 1459–60.

[31] Below, Appendix IV; for principles: above, ch. 3.

[32] *CPR 1446–52*, 319.

[33] *CPR 1446–52*, 381.

the primary royal representatives in the shire, it is likely that there would be some enmeshing between the king's servants and Beaufort-Stourton-Hungerford affiliates. Indeed, the two networks coincide, in the cases of the Hungerford associates and king's knights Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham and Sir Walter Rodney, and Sir Edmund Hungerford who was the king's carver and a knight of the body from 1446.[34]

In general, members of the king's household were often elected to county offices: in Somerset and Dorset between 1437 and 1450, almost two-fifths (38 per cent) of sheriffs' terms of office were fulfilled by household men.[35] Between 1450 and 1461, over a third (36 per cent) of sheriffs' terms were served by crown servants.[36] Even though these figures are not comprehensive, they give a reasonable indication of the importance of this policy in local and regional politics. The household servants were primarily local gentry who were rewarded with local patronage: for example, Nicholas St Loe (d.1486) of Keynsham (Som.) and Todmarton (Glos.) was sheriff in 1456–7, and his service in the king's household as a marshal of the hall was rewarded, in November 1448, with a grant of the marriage, wardship, and Wiltshire lands of Thomas Mountford.[37] Similarly, John St Barbe II (fl.1452–9) of South Brent (Som.) acted as sheriff in 1458–9, and was one of the queen's esquires; he was awarded the keeping of Donyate Park (Som.), and was employed as the queen's receiver of Tutbury (Staffs.).[38] Another example is that of Sir Edward Hull (*c.*1410–54) of Enmore (Som.), JP from 1440, and an esquire in the royal household from 1438 – later becoming a knight of the body; he also fought in France, and was showered with royal gifts: annuities, and the custody of some Somerset manors.[39] Hull was the duke of

[34] *CPR 1446–52*, 2.

[35] Three household sheriffs served 5 of 13 terms: Edward Hull 1438–9, 1443–4, 1448–9; John St Loe 1442–3; and John Norris 1445–6: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[36] Four household sheriffs served 4 of 11 terms: Nicholas Latimer 1453–4; John Willoughby 1455–6; Nicholas St Loe 1456–7; and John St Barbe II 1458–9: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[37] Queen's esquire 1452: *CPR 1446–52*, 151, 275.

[38] *CPR 1452–61*, 571; Somerville (1953), i, 543; Jeffs (1960), 320.

[39] *HPB*, 481–2; *CPR 1436–41*, 182, 533, 560; *CPR 1441–6*, 33, 253; *CPR 1446–52*, 210, 305. Feoffee of Duchy of Lancaster lands: Somerville (1953), i, 210; *PR*, xi, 404–10; Jeffs (1960), 299–301.

York's annuitant, and was his constable of Bridgwater Castle in 1451–2.[40] Hull's brother-in-law (his wife's sister's husband) and fellow crown retainer was the Northamptonshire sheriff Thomas Wake (*c.*1402–58) of Clevedon (Som.) and Blisworth (Northants.) who was employed as JP for Somerset from 1451.[41] Other royal household servants included Thomas Driffield (*c.*1420–80) of Windsor (Berks.);[42] Sir Roger Fiennes (*c.*1384–1450) of Hurstmonceaux (Sussex);[43] John Hymerford (*c.*1425–1501) of East Coker (Som.);[44] Nicholas Latimer (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.);[45] George Middleton (*c.*1425–79);[46] and Sir John Willoughby (*c.*1421–77) of Broke (Wilts.).[47]

The large number of royal servants employed in Somerset perhaps reflects the shire's concentration of crown estates, including certain duchy of Cornwall lands. Contrasting with the number of household sheriffs, between 1450 and 1461, only two escheators of a total of eleven (almost one-fifth), were household servants; and only two crown retainers were elected to parliament three times during the 1450s. The proportion of the sovereign's servants on each peace commission averaged just over one-tenth: varying over the decade from the highest of almost one-fifth in 1451, to the lowest of one-tenth in 1454. This seems to indicate that the emphasis of royal policy was on returning the king's retainers as sheriff rather than as other local officers. Henry VI's growing incapacity, combined with York's perceived kingly ambitions, led to the queen's assumption of a greater role in politics than usual for a consort.[48] It appears clear that the intensification in numbers of household sheriffs after 1455 was

[40] Hull was a member of the duke's retinue, and constable of Bordeaux in the 1440s; from April 1435, Hull was paid an annuity from Petherton (Som.) – paid in 1449–50; was constable of Bridgwater Castle in 1451–2: Johnson (1988), 233.

[41] *HPB*, 913; Jeffs (1960), 299–301.

[42] MP for Bridgwater 1449–50, and Taunton 1450–1; royal servant by 1454: *HPB*, 283.

[43] JP 1444–50; treasurer of the royal household 1439–46: *HPB*, 324.

[44] Escheator of Somerset/Dorset 1456–7; MP for Wells 1453–4; king's receiver and constable in Somerset: *HPB*, 457.

[45] Sheriff 1453–4: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[46] Escheator 1452–3; servant of the exchequer 1457–61: *HPB*, 590.

[47] Sheriff 1455–6: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[48] Maurer (2003), 2, 101, 123, esp. 127–202.

part of the queen's efforts to maintain royal authority.[49] Furthermore, if the Beaufort-Stourton-Hungerford nexus acted as a supplement to the royal affinity, then to household sheriffs might be added Beaufort sheriffs (Robert Warre in 1457–8, and John Caraunt II in 1459–60), meaning that from 1455 until the Yorkist government of 1460, every sheriff was associated with Henrician rule. Evidently, this cannot have been accidental – it plainly appears that their appointment was actively sought to ensure that the crown controlled the important resources of local government.[50]

* * *

The death of the king's chief minister, Somerset, at St Albans, and the nonage of his son Henry, may have briefly diminished the Beaufort connection's hold on the shire. Indeed, York's second Protectorate may have been able to influence Somerset: one of York's dependants, William Courtenay (*c.*1428–85) of East Coker (Som.), the son of Philip Courtenay of Powderham (Dev.), was returned as knight of the shire in 1455.[51] However, Henry, Duke of Somerset's minority was short-lived: he took possession of his estates in March 1457. He was favoured by the queen's party, was admitted to numerous offices – such as captain of Calais – and proved himself as a daring military commander.[52] But apart from being added to the commissions of the peace in Somerset and Dorset, he was not given any further influence in the south-west. With important military responsibilities, clearly, the duke was too involved elsewhere to be given further duties in the region. Instead, the magnate who was granted influence in Somerset was another of Margaret's supporters, James, Earl of Wiltshire.

The earl was originally involved in affairs in the east Midlands, but his profitable marriage brought estates including twenty-one manors in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. He had become a king's knight by 1442, was added to the Somerset bench, and was created earl of Wiltshire in July 1449 (also inheriting the earldom of Ormonde from his father in 1452). Wiltshire was York's steward in Dorset from 1446,

[49] Sir John Willoughby 1455–6; Nicholas St Loe 1456–7; and John St Barbe 1458–9.
[50] Jeffs (1960), 25–8, 146–8.
[51] Mercer (1997), 48.
[52] *CPR 1452–61*, 391, 516; *CP*, xii(1), 54–7.

and had been in receipt of an annuity. However, from 1452, he became a royal councillor closely associated with Somerset's government – serving as lieutenant of Ireland from 1453. Although he lost this office under York's protectorate, the earl was granted custody of some Somerset estates, and was treasurer of England from March to May 1455. Later, Wiltshire became closely associated with the queen and, after the death of his first wife, he married Somerset's sister – which assisted in further consolidating his membership of the court party. The earl again served as treasurer of England from October 1458; in addition, he was designated steward of the duchy of Lancaster lands in the 'south parts' and Wales from February 1459, and was awarded the keeping of the king's forests in Wiltshire, the forest of Petherton (Som.), and Cranbourne chase (Dor.).[53] Wiltshire's appointment to the Prince of Wales's council, with responsibilities for the duchy of Cornwall, may have enhanced his status in Somerset (and in Dorset) since the duchy possessed substantial estates in these two counties. In addition, he benefited from the Yorkists' attainders in 1459, by acquiring a mixture of annuities, custodies, and estate offices in Wiltshire and the adjoining counties, and by once again replacing York as lieutenant of Ireland. These endowments represented the earl's rewards in Somerset, which were only part of his rewards in the region.

It is impossible to evaluate fully Wiltshire's influence in Somerset, since his period of pre-eminence in local politics was so short-lived; however, because of the Beaufort-Stourton-Hungerford connection's centrality to Somerset, it might be expected that the earl would assume the leadership of this nexus (especially in the absence of the duke of Somerset). During the later 1450s, the Beaufort associates Stourton and William Caraunt were co-feoffees alongside the earl, and the Hungerford client John Sydenham II was involved in a land transaction with him in 1457.[54] While this is obviously not definitive evidence in itself, it may have been significant since it hints that at least some Beaufort-Stourton-Hungerford clients may have been

[53] *CChR 1427–1516*, 110; *CPR 1452–61*, 419, 542, 574, 585, 597; Somerville (1953), 428–9.
[54] *CCR 1454–61*, 213; *Pedes Finium for Somerset*, 123.

associated with the earl in the later 1450s, confirming the notion that he was becoming the county's primary figure. It is possible that another of Wiltshire's affiliates was William Browning (*c.*1405–72) of Melbury Sampford (Dor.) who filled the office of escheator in 1454–5, but this is unlikely since Browning was also strongly connected with York: he had been the duke's surveyor of Somerset and Dorset from 1447, and was assigned receiver of the duke's lands in Somerset and Dorset in 1449–50 (still employed as such in 1459–60).[55] But Browning's connections with both Wiltshire and York are better evaluated in light of the earl's connection with York: in March 1446, Wiltshire had been appointed the duke's seneschal of lordships in Dorset (for which he was paid in 1449–50 and 1451–2), and in 1459–60, he was York's annuitant.[56] But by the end of the 1450s, the duke and earl were supporting opposing sides of the Royalist and Yorkist factions, and this makes the evaluation of Browning's allegiance difficult, although it seems likely that his most significant attachment was to York's service.

Wiltshire's significance in Somerset, along with the sustained prominence of the Beaufort-Stourton-Hungerford connection, is illustrated in the commissions of array: in September 1457, commissioners in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire included the earl, and the other eleven were Beaufort associates.[57] In September 1458, the ten commissioners included Somerset, Wiltshire, and six of the remaining eight were Beaufort dependents, while one was a royal retainer.[58] In December 1459, Somerset commissioners were headed by Wiltshire; six of the eleven commissioners were Beaufort clients, and one was a member of the household.[59] During the later fifteenth century – a period of political turbulence – discontinuities in local administration often reflect the oscillations of national politics: the commissions of the peace in this period

[55] Wiltshire's feoffee 1447: *HR*, i, 1–2. York's surveyor of Somerset and Dorset, overseer of receivership and principal bailiff; receiver 1449–50 and 1459–60: *HPB*, 125–6; *CPR 1452–61*, 592; Johnson (1988), 229.

[56] Johnson (1988), 236

[57] *CPR 1452–61*, 405.

[58] *CPR 1452–61*, 489–90.

[59] *CPR 1452–61*, 557–9.

between 1457 and 1459 indicates a relatively moderate continuity among JPs, with over two-thirds of those chosen in 1457 being reappointed in 1459; this was caused by the death of Walter Hungerford, and the exclusions of York and Salisbury.[60] This level of continuity at least indicates that political alignments were readjusting to the new political scene.

After the Yorkist victory at Northampton, the sheriff returned in 1460–1 was twenty-one-year-old Humphrey Stafford (*c.*1439–69) of Hooke (Dor.) – son of the Beaufort-Stourton client William Stafford. During the late 1450s, Humphrey may have been associated with Wiltshire since his cousin was the earl's first wife. After his Yorkist conversion, during the rule of the Yorkist earls, Stafford was nominated as MP, sheriff, and designated constable of Taunton Castle (Som.) by William Waynflete (*c.*1400–86), Bishop of Winchester.[61] Later, under Edward IV, Stafford was to play a major role in the governance of south-west England.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET

There was a good deal of overlap between the political societies of Somerset and Dorset, and many of those active in Somerset local government were also prominent in Dorset affairs. As in Somerset, during the 1420s and 1430s it was around the leadership of Cardinal Beaufort that local networks had developed in Dorset. The high profile of the Cardinal, and his nephews, and their close relationship with Henry VI meant that leading local gentry would be drawn into their service. This Beaufort network endured after the cardinal's death, as his nephew, Edmund, also became a royal councillor. Suffolk's fall and the events of the early 1450s had some impact upon Dorset peace commissions as the period between 1447 and 1451 had a relatively moderate continuity rate (57 per cent).[62]

The Caraunts of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.), as Beaufort clients, were

[60] Below, Appendix IV.

[61] *CP*, iv, 327–8; *HPB*, 793–4; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey, Earl of Devon'.

[62] Below, Appendix IV.

involved in Somerset local government, but were also active in Dorset affairs: William Caraunt was a JP for Dorset from 1430, and his son John II served as MP for Dorset in 1453–4. Caraunt's daughter was married to John Newburgh I (*c.*1405–84) of East Lulworth (Dor.) who was elected knight of the shire in 1459 and 1460–1, and was selected as a JP from 1444. Newburgh was a long-standing Beaufort client, having been involved in Beaufort land transactions since the 1430s, and he was also the duchess of Somerset's mainpernor in 1456.[63] Another Beaufort client involved in Dorset as well as Somerset affairs was William Stafford who served on the Dorset bench until his death in 1450 (and was also connected to the Stourtons, as mentioned).

The Beauforts formed a strong connection with the leading Dorset landowner Sir John Stourton (as seen regarding Somerset). Stourton's son, William, served as knight of the shire in 1460–1, and as a Dorset JP from 1451. After Walter Hungerford's retirement from politics in the mid-1440s, the only senior representative of the household in Somerset and Dorset was the Beaufort ally, Sir John Stourton, who was a royal councillor and treasurer of the royal household (above, pp. 155–6). He had been favoured by Suffolk's regime with a peerage and the keepership of numerous manors in Somerset, Dorset, and a Wiltshire forest in 1448.

There was a degree of integration between the Beaufort and Stourton affinities, as detailed with regard to Somerset: the Beaufort clients William Caraunt, John Caraunt I, John Newburgh, John Fillol, and William Stafford were all also Stourton associates. Other Stourton clients included John Fillol (*c.*1408–67) of Woodlands (Dev.), who was married to John Caraunt I's daughter, was returned as knight of the shire four times during the 1450s, and acted as JP from 1439; and the Warres of Hestercombe (Som.): Robert, and his son, Richard (Stourton's son-in-law) both served terms as sheriff of Somerset/Dorset. Also, another possible dependant was Thomas Hussey (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton and Shapwick (Dor.) who was elected as burgess in parliament for Poole in 1460–1, and was later to be named as a feoffee of

[63] Mainpernor, and land transactions 1430s: *CCR 1435–41*, 481; Mercer (1997), 45.

the Stourtons in 1471.[64]

In summary, Beaufort clients were regularly employed in local government from the 1420s: five Beaufort associates were returned to parliament nine times from 1449–50 to 1460–1. The proportion of Beaufort clients acting as justices on each peace commission varied over the decade from almost two-thirds in 1447, to one-third in November 1458 (averaging over two-fifths). This number of Beaufort JPs is similar to the Somerset commissions of the peace, and illustrates the Beauforts' influence in local political society. The prominence of the Beauforts in Somerset commissions of array has been shown; however, there was only one array commission concerning Dorset during the early 1450s – in February 1452 – when commissioners for all four western counties included Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, and the Devon landowners: William, Lord Bonville, Sir Philip Courtenay, and Sir John Dinham.[65] Somerset, as chief minister, was probably instrumental in issuing the commission, so little may perhaps be made of the fact that the Beauforts and their clients are omitted from it.

While in Dorset there do not seem to have been any instances of merging between the Beaufort and the royal affinities, the king's household retainers were often employed in Dorset local government. The examples of the sheriffs Nicholas St Loe, John St Barbe II, and Sir John Willoughby of Broke (Wilts.), and escheator John Hymerford have been mentioned earlier.[66] One crown servant, Nicholas Latimer (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.) was sheriff in 1453–4, and was also knight of the shire in 1453–4.[67] Another royal servant – employed in the exchequer from 1457 – was George Middleton (*c.*1425–79) who was selected as escheator in 1452–3, and was elected MP for Dorchester in 1460–1.[68] Lastly, John, Lord Audley (*c.*1425–90), the only household JP – serving on the bench from 1456 to 1458 – was a

[64] *HPB*, 488–9.
[65] *CPR 1446–52*, 537.
[66] Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.
[67] Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.
[68] *HPB*, 590.

yeoman of the crown from 1450.[69] In contrast to the large numbers of crown servants returned as sheriff, only two household servants were elected to parliament, once each during the decade. The number of royal retainers employed in Dorset perhaps reflected the concentration of crown estates in Somerset and Dorset, principally those of the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall.

* * *

After Somerset's death, any decline in the influence of the Beaufort nexus in Somerset and Dorset proved only temporary: the duke's heir, Henry, enjoyed the queen's favour and, consequently, was presented with a number of offices.[70] However, apart from being added to the peace commissions in Dorset (and Somerset), the new duke was allowed no further influence in the region; he was presumably too involved with responsibilities elsewhere to be given more duties in the south-west. Instead, as in Somerset, it appears to have been the queen's supporter, James, Earl of Wiltshire, who was granted local influence in Dorset.[71] He was rewarded for his support with the office of treasurer, the stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster in the south parts, and the keeping of some local royal forests.[72] In addition, his marriage alliance with Somerset's sister solidified his political affiliations. The earl's appointment to the Prince of Wales's Council with its jurisdiction over the duchy of Cornwall may have also enhanced his status in Dorset, as the duchy was a substantial landowner in Somerset and Dorset.

Wiltshire's feoffee William Browning of Melbury Sampford (Dor.) was escheator, knight of the shire in 1450–1 and 1455–6, and JP until 1451 and again from 1453, and (as mentioned concerning Somerset) this attachment to Wiltshire by the late 1450s is uncertain since Browning was strongly linked to York, as his receiver since 1449–50.[73] The earl was attempting to step into the Beauforts' shoes, so he had to

[69] *HPB*, 29–30.
[70] *CPR 1452–61*, 391, 516.
[71] *CPR 1452–61*, 229, 242, 459.
[72] *CPR 1452–61*, 419, 542, 574, 585, 597; Somerville (1953), 428–9.
[73] Wiltshire's feoffee 1447: *HR*, i, 1–2. Browning's connection to York: Johnson (1988), 229.

forge connections with their clients, and the beginnings of this process may be inferred from the fact that the Beaufort affiliate William Caraunt and the Stourton client John Fillol were involved as co-feoffees alongside the earl in 1457 (above, p. 163). The yeoman of the crown and Dorset JP John, Lord Audley was in receipt of an annuity from the earl, and was an indentured retainer from March 1457.[74] As seen in Somerset, the earl's associates may have included some Beaufort-Stourton clients, which seems to indicate that Wiltshire began to recruit at least some members of the Beaufort nexus during the absence of the duke of Somerset.

The earl's significance in Dorset and the prominence of the Beaufort-Stourton connection are exemplified in the commissions of array: as mentioned, in September 1457, commissioners in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire included Wiltshire, and the other eleven commissioners were Beaufort protégés.[75] In September 1458, commissions included Somerset, Wiltshire, and Wiltshire's new associates William Stourton (Lord Stourton's son), John Fillol, and William Browning (York's receiver).[76] In February 1459, the commissions included Somerset and Wiltshire, and the other commissioners included four Beaufort associates and one royal servant.[77] In December 1459, commissions were reissued, and again the most prominent peer was Wiltshire, with six of the eight being Beaufort dependants.[78] Clearly, these commissions illustrate how the sustained importance of Beaufort-Stourton associates in local government meant that Wiltshire needed to win their support.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON

While the political societies of Somerset and Dorset were closely entwined, the personalities and politics of Devon were rather different. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Devon had been dominated by the earls of Devon. However,

[74] Indenture 1457: 'Private Indentures 1278–1476', no. 133; Hicks (1992), 152–3.
[75] *CPR 1452–61*, 405.
[76] *CPR 1452–61*, 489–90.
[77] *CPR 1452–61*, 495.
[78] *CPR 1452–61*, 557–9.

the premature death of Hugh, Earl of Devon in 1422 and the eleven-year nonage of his son, Thomas, with the consequent loss of direction, seems to have forced members of local society to seek alternative patronage. By the late 1420s, two figures emerged from this political vacuum: Sir Philip Courtenay and Sir William Bonville. Both were king's knights, veteran soldiers, and experienced administrators. Courtenay was the client and son-in-law of the king's councillor Lord Hungerford. Bonville possessed substantial estates in the south-west (mostly in Devon and Somerset) and served in France under Henry V. On his return to England he became involved in Devon politics – employed as a JP from 1431 – and also became associated with his fellow Devon landowner William, Lord FitzWaryn.[79] Even though the infant earl's mother, Anne, and her brother, John, Lord Talbot were granted custody of the earl and his estates, the countess's council included many who drifted towards the patronage of Courtenay and Bonville.

During the 1420s and 1430s, Bonville and Courtenay appear to have increased their involvement in the affairs of families who were traditionally loyal to the earls of Devon; accordingly, many families transferred to Bonville's benefaction.[80] Devon's landed income during his mother's lifetime was little more than that of Bonville; moreover, Courtenay and others used their membership of the earl's minority council to their advantage and to the earl's detriment.[81] As a result of Bonville's and Courtenay's efforts, by the time of his majority, Devon was faced with a lack of landed income, local influence, and support. Understandably, the infuriated earl felt that he needed to reassert his position, seek the support of a powerful patron, and attract the approval of the crown: accordingly, he married John, Earl of Somerset's daughter and sought the Beauforts' patronage.[82] Relations between Devon and Bonville had become embittered after the latter was awarded duchy of Cornwall offices (and this is detailed below, p. 179). The earl was seemingly unable to influence

[79] Cherry (1979), 95–6.

[80] Storey (1966), 85–7; Cherry (1981a), 237–8; Cherry (1979), 95–6; Cherry (1981b), 124–5.

[81] *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 66–7, 204–5, 278; Storey (1966), 85; Cherry (1979), 97.

[82] *CPR 1441–6*, 410; Cherry (1979), 97; Cherry (1981b), 125–6.

Devon politics to any great extent – such was the influence of the Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus. He perceived this as a challenge to his local and regional status, and the result was sporadic disorder and violence. While the earl received Beaufort patronage, Bonville forged an association with the duke of Suffolk. This alliance was consolidated by the marriage of Bonville's daughter to Suffolk's henchman, William Tailboys, and also by Bonville's ennoblement in 1449.[83]

Suffolk's fall from power deprived Bonville of his most influential patron, but he soon attached himself to another leading figure, the earl of Wiltshire – who had been closely allied with Suffolk and then, after 1450, had become attached to Somerset. Wiltshire's connection with Bonville provided Devon with the automatic support of Wiltshire's opponent, the Somerset and Dorset landowner Edward Brooke, Lord Cobham (*c.*1412–64).[84] Bonville's indirect connection with the Beauforts (through Wiltshire) meant that Devon made common cause with the Beauforts' opponent, York; but Devon's inability to become influential in county government provoked him to resort to violent means to strike against Wiltshire and Bonville. The earl suffered no immediate consequences for his warlike operations apart from being dismissed from the commissions of the peace for Devon and Cornwall in November 1451, and suffering the gross dishonour of having judicial proceedings taken against him in January 1452.[85] Such was Bonville's prominence in Devon politics that Somerset (despite his propinquity with Devon) had little option but to endorse Bonville's sure position. Accordingly, in 1452, Bonville was nominated custodian of Lydford Castle and the royal forest of Dartmoor, and then constable of Exeter Castle in April 1453.[86] These duchy offices, clearly, supplemented Bonville's influence in the shire, and further acknowledged his pre-eminence in Devon affairs.

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[83] Storey (1966), 87–8; Griffiths (1981), 574–6; Cherry (1981b), 126–8. For Tailboys: *HPB*, 835–6; Virgoe (1972–3), 459–82.

[84] Storey (1966), 89. For Bonville-Cobham disputes during the 1420s and 1430s: Cherry (1981a), 223–4.

[85] *CPR 1446–52*, 525; Storey (1966), 89–92.

[86] PRO, SC6/816/3, m. 2; SC6/816/4, mm. 2, 8; *CPR 1446–52*, 526; *CPR 1452–61*, 18, 91; Storey (1966),165.

Devon took advantage of the first opportunity – York's first Protectorate – to renew his attacks on Bonville. Consequently, Bonville was then forced to seek the support of the Yorkists – since they alone were in a position to defend him. However, rather than securing his safety, Bonville's defection (at a time when York's tenure of power was not assured) provoked Devon into further extremes of violence, such as the murder of the Bonville associate and local lawyer Nicholas Radford (*c.*1390–1455) of Upcott (Dev.).[87] Consequently, reports of disorder in the south-west were used by Yorkists to lever York into power as Lord Protector again in November 1455: the duke intervened to restore order to the south-west, and had Devon arrested and imprisoned following the battle at Clyst, in December 1455, between the earl's and Bonville's arrayed forces. However, the end of York's protectorate in February 1456 heralded the earl's release; he then gathered armed retainers and resumed his private warfare. A commission of enquiry into the feud was packed with Bonville-FitzWaryn clients (such as Walter and John Raleigh and John Bonville) and the proceedings inevitably condemned the actions of the earl and his followers.[88] Despite this, the government restored Devon to the commission of the peace in September, and in the following year he and his sons were pardoned of all charges against them – including Radford's murder.[89]

Evidently, it appears that the dominant force in Devon politics from the late 1420s was Bonville and his allies: Courtenay and FitzWaryn. By the late 1430s, Bonville's position had become so strong that Devon could make little progress in establishing his own authority in the county. Bonville's associate, Sir Philip Courtenay, was a JP from 1431 and an MP in 1455–6.[90] His son, William Courtenay (*c.*1428–85), was married to the daughter of the Bonville kinsman and dependant John Cheyne of Pinhoe (Dev.) and Pynne (Dor.), who served as sheriff in 1453–4.[91]

[87] *PR*, xii, 444, 446–7; Storey (1966), 165–73; *ODNB*: 'Radford, Nicholas'.

[88] Jeffs (1960), 177; Storey (1966), 166, 173–4; Cherry (1981b), 123–44.

[89] *CPR 1452–61*, 308, 358, 393, 398; Storey (1966), 174.

[90] Land transaction 1449: *CCR 1447–54*, 158; Cherry (1981b), 129.

[91] *CPR 1436–41*, 540; Cherry (1981b), 129; administrator 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 184.

Furthermore, Walter Raleigh (*c.*1410–64) of Widdecombe Raleigh (Dev.) was elected as knight of the shire in 1453–4, and was a JP from 1460.[92] Other Bonville clients included John More (d.1480/1),[93] and Nicholas Radford;[94] while other possible clients were Sir John Dinham (*c.*1406–58) of Hartland (Dev.),[95] John Gifford (fl.1444–1504);[96] and also the lawyer William Henston (*c.*1405–58) of Wonwell in Kingston (Dev.).[97]

During the 1450s, only one Bonville-FitzWaryn affiliate, John Cheyne, was returned as sheriff in 1453–4; and only one, Walter Rendel (*c.*1405–75) of Malston-in-Sherford (Dev.), was appointed escheator in 1452.[98] Three Bonville clients were each returned once as MPs. While the number of Bonville associates on the Devon bench fluctuated during the decade, from half in 1451 to under one-fifth in September 1458, in general, Bonville clients averaged around one-third of JPs on each commission until 1457, after which point they averaged just under a quarter until 1460, when they once again comprised half of Devon JPs. However, Bonville's influence in Devon is not reflected in commissions of array: in February 1452, commissioners for all western counties were Bonville and his associates, Courtenay and Dinham.[99] In June 1454, only three of the nine Devon commissioners were Bonville clients,[100] while in June 1455, array commissioners for Cornwall and Devon included Bonville himself, FitzWaryn, Courtenay, and Dinham.[101]

In contrast to the number and activity of these Bonville-FitzWaryn associates, those connected with the earl of Devon were few in number and were employed in

[92] Recognisance, and administrator 1456–63: *CCR 1454–61*, 171; *CCR 1461–8*, 184.

[93] JP from 1458; land transaction, and administrator 1449–63: *CCR 1447–54*, 158; *CCR 1461–8*, 184.

[94] JP from 1444; Bonville's councillor in the late 1440s: Cherry (1981b), 129.

[95] JP from 1444; land transaction 1449: *CCR 1447–54*, 158.

[96] JP 1444–59 and 1460–1; administrator 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 184.

[97] JP 1444–58, and knight of the shire 1449–50 and 1450–1: *HPB*, 443; land transactions 1450–5: *CCR 1447–54*, 353; *CCR 1454–61*, 125.

[98] Rendel was knight of the shire 1453–4: Cherry (1981b), 133.

[99] *CPR 1446–52*, 537.

[100] *CPR 1452–61*, 171.

[101] *CPR 1452–61*, 253.

local government in only minor capacities. William Boef (*c.*1405–61) was elected as knight of the shire in 1445–6, and was a JP from 1458; he had been the earl's feoffee in 1436, and was subsequently his steward in 1447–8.[102] Another Courtenay affiliate was John Copplestone (*c.*1395–1458) of Colbrook (Dev.) who sat on the county bench until 1451, and again from 1453 until his death; he was one of the earl's feoffees in 1436, and also his receiver.[103] It is indicative of Bonville's superiority in the locality, that it was his clients that were more influential – fulfilling the offices of sheriff and escheator – while Devon's clients were confined solely to parliament or the commissions of the peace.

There were also other magnates who participated in Devon political society, such as Henry, Duke of Exeter, Richard, Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Hungerford. The Hungerfords included amongst their clients John Cheyne, and Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham who (as shown) were also Bonville associates.[104] Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter (1430–75) was the king's cousin, and this familial relationship ensured that the duke of York offered a large marriage portion for him to marry his daughter, Anne. Like the Beauforts, the Hollands were granted their ducal rank purely on the basis of their royal connection, and lacked the landed resources with which to support this grade. In addition, while the duke had been given livery of his lands in 1449, he was unable to enjoy the entirety of his patrimony until his stepmother's death in 1457. The duke briefly gained custody of Gournay lands in Somerset and Dorset in 1450, and some duchy of Cornwall lands in 1451, but these were only temporarily in his keeping. Because of his royal lineage, Exeter disputed York's protectorate, mounted a rebellion in Yorkshire, and was subsequently imprisoned until late 1459. The duke was hardly involved in Devon politics, being

[102] Feoffee, steward, and recognisance 1436–58: *CPR 1436–41*, 602; *HPB*, 89; Cherry (1981b), 130; *CCR 1454–61*, 357–8.

[103] Feoffee 1436, and receiver 1428, 1447–8, and 1451–2: *CPR 1429–36*, 602; *HPB*, 220–1; Cherry (1981a), 377; Cherry (1981b), 130.

[104] Cheyne was a Hungerford feoffee *c.*1449–69: *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 646; *HR*, i, 288–9. Courtenay was Walter, Lord Hungerford's son-in-law, and involved in a land transaction 1460: *CCR 1454–61*, 440.

more concerned with his estates in Buckinghamshire and the North.[105] However, one Exeter affiliate was Sir Robert de Vere (*c.*1410–61) of Haccombe and Colebrook (Dev.) who was knight of the shire in 1455–6, and was a JP in 1455–6 and 1457–8.[106] Another magnate involved in Devon affairs was Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick: he became associated with John Nanfan (*c.*1400–59) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.) and Trethewell (Cor.) who acted as sheriff in 1457–8.[107] Nanfan was also active in Cornwall politics and government and his role in that county is discussed later.

Just as Nanfan was Warwick's protégé as well as a member of the royal household, so Sir Philip Courtenay was a close Bonville associate as well as a king's knight from 1439.[108] But apart from these examples, there are no other instances of crown servants intermingling with those of Devon magnates. Courtenay's role as a king's knight is not to be ignored, however, as it illustrates how Bonville was able to secure and maintain his position as the leading Devon magnate throughout the rises and falls of successive Henrician governments; therefore, it may well have been Bonville's association with Courtenay – the royal retainer – which was one of the keys to Bonville's political longevity.

As in Somerset and Dorset, members of the king's household were often employed in Devon county government: between 1437 and 1450, no royal servants were returned as sheriffs, though two crown servants were designated escheator.[109] In contrast, between 1450 and 1461 crown servants were returned for over a quarter (27 per cent) of the sheriffs' terms.[110] For example, the knight of the body Sir Edward Hull (*c.*1410–54) of Enmore (Som.) was sheriff in 1451–2; he held few estates in Devon, so might be viewed as an 'outsider' – sheriff solely as a result of the king's

[105] *CP*, v, 212–15; *ODNB*: 'Holland, Henry, second Duke of Exeter'; Stansfield (1987), 228–57; Payling (1989).

[106] Land transaction 1453, Devon receiver 1457, chamberlain 1457–60: *CCR 1447–54*, 501–2; *DCAD*, vi, C6133; *HPB*, 905.

[107] Servant, feoffee, and household officer 1423–50: *HPB*, 621–2.

[108] *HPB*, 229–30.

[109] Thomas Wise 1438–9 and John Trevelyan 1442–3.

[110] Three household sheriffs served 3 of 11 terms: Edward Hull 1451–2; John Nanfan 1457–8; and Baldwin Fulford 1459–60: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

patronage.[111] However, perhaps it is not insignificant that his shrievalty coincided with his appointment by York as constable of Bridgwater Castle in 1451–2.[112] Warwick's affiliate, John Nanfan, who was selected as sheriff, has been mentioned – he was chamberlain of the exchequer before becoming an esquire of the body in 1447; his service was rewarded with numerous gifts, which were mostly concentrated in Cornwall.[113] Another household retainer was Sir Baldwin Fulford (d.1461) of Fulford (Dev.) who was sheriff and JP in 1459–60.[114] Yet, while a quarter of Devon sheriffs' terms were undertaken by crown servants, only two household men were returned as MPs; also, the proportion of the king's retainers as JPs on each commission averaged just under one-tenth – except for December 1459, when the figure was almost one-fifth (18 per cent). As in Somerset and Dorset, this suggests that the shrievalty was deemed an office of such significance that it was important for royal servants to be returned; but, it seems that the role of household retainers was limited only to this post.

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With the queen's supervision of government, in Devon (as in Somerset and Dorset) the nomination of household sheriffs intensified during the late 1450s.[115] Margaret's influence also meant that Bonville's dominance had to end. However, his superiority in the shire was still reflected in the Devon commission of array issued in September 1457: the nine commissioners comprised the duke of Exeter, and Bonville, plus one Exeter affiliate, three Bonville clients, and one Courtenay dependent.[116] Thomas, Earl of Devon died in 1458, and his son Thomas II was an active supporter of the queen's cause: the new earl married Margaret's cousin, Marie of Maine in 1456–7, and was

[111] The only Devon lands that Hull held were granted to him jointly in April 1447: *CPR 1446–52*, 45; *HPB*, 481–2; Jeffs (1960), 299–301. Hull may have been associated with the Arundells since he was involved in one land transaction in 1451: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10.

[112] Johnson (1988), 233.

[113] *HPB*, 621–2; Jeffs (1960), 309–11.

[114] Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[115] John Nanfan 1457–8 and Baldwin Fulford 1459–60.

[116] *CPR 1452–61*, 402.

granted an annuity and the keeping of the king's forests in Devon and Wiltshire.[117] The earl's authority in Devon gained the queen's approval, and his new influence is illustrated in the election of his servant, John Anlaby, as escheator of Devon/Cornwall in 1459–60.[118] Moreover, Bonville's lawyer, William Henston, was employed by the earl and, according to Henston's will of 1458, Devon owed him money.[119]

Accordingly, the commissions of array after 1457 reflected Devon's prominence, but, because of their undeniable importance, also included the Yorkist Bonville and some of his associates: in September 1458, eleven commissioners for Devon comprised Exeter, Somerset, Devon, Bonville, plus an Exeter dependant, and two Bonville clients.[120] While Bonville's influence was not completely eradicated, it was relatively limited: in February 1459, the seven commissioners comprised Devon and Bonville, plus one Exeter client, one royal household retainer, and two Bonville associates. [121]

Clearly, Thomas II had begun to re-establish himself in Devon politics in the late 1450s despite the difficulties that he would face after so many years of factionalism; however, another Lancastrian magnate was introduced to Devon politics. As shown, Margaret's adherent James, Earl of Wiltshire was a significant figure in Somerset and Dorset, but in the late 1450s his role in Devon appears to have been enhanced. The earl's Devon estates were limited, but nevertheless he was added to the shire's peace commissions in July 1457. In addition, as one of the Prince of Wales's councillors, his involvement in duchy affairs would also touch Devon society because of its landholdings in the county. In December 1459, eleven commissioners of array included Exeter, Devon, and Wiltshire, and also one royal servant, one Exeter affiliate, one Courtenay associate, and two Bonville clients.[122] Wiltshire's lands and

[117] *CPR 1452–61*, 362, 547, 570, 580; *CP*, iv, 327.
[118] Devon's receiver 1458–9: Cherry (1981a), 377.
[119] Cherry (1981b), 130; PRO, PROB11/4, ff. 92v–93r.
[120] *CPR 1452–61*, 489–90.
[121] *CPR 1452–61*, 495.
[122] *CPR 1452–61*, 557–9.

offices in Somerset and Dorset and his nomination to the Devon bench indicates that he was becoming a figure of immense significance – perhaps of *regional* significance – in the later 1450s.

The polarisation of politics by the late 1450s meant that Yorkist rule from 1460 seems to have influenced Devon shire government: as indicated in the low continuity of JPs from 1459 to 1460 (36 per cent), caused by the exclusion of the Lancastrians, Devon, Wiltshire, Exeter, and others from the commissions;[123] and it is also shown in the selection of the Yorkist sheriff of 1460–1: John Dinham (*c.*1433–1501) of Hartland (Dev.). He gained livery of his lands in 1458, following the death of his father, the possible Bonville-FitzWaryn client Sir John Dinham (*c.*1406–58) of Hartland (Dev.). Dinham was attainted at the Coventry parliament of 1459, but following the Yorkist victory, in November 1460, was appointed chancellor of Ireland. He had become a member of the new king's household entourage by July 1461, and was to be prominent in Edward IV's governance of the south-west during the 1460s.[124]

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL

The landed and political society of Cornwall was dominated by the duchy of Cornwall; as a result, the local gentry seem to have looked directly to their duke for lordship or – in the absence of one – directly to the sovereign. The leading county gentry were, therefore, often involved in duchy administration as well as in the business of shire government. Without a duke, the monarch's direction was central to maintaining the duchy's local influence; accordingly, a failure of kingship would have a severe impact in areas of duchy dominance, since it was there that the king was acting as local lord as well as monarch. Duchy officials would be expected to exercise power on behalf of the duke to prevent local magnates from encroaching on the duchy's prepotency; but, without direct royal patronage, duchy officers and local

[123] Below, Appendix IV.

[124] *CP*, iv, 378–82; *ODNB*: 'Dinham Family'; 'Dinham, John, Baron Dinham'.

gentry would be inclined to seek alternative patronage from local peers. Indeed, Henry VI's inadequate governance seems to have forced some duchy officers and members of the county elite to seek alternative patrons within the wider theatre of the south-western region, and duchy office thus became a pawn in the hands of two violently opposing parties from Devon: the Bonville and Devon factions.

As discussed regarding Devon, during the earl of Devon's long minority, leading Devon gentry – Sir William Bonville and his clientele – involved themselves in Courtenay dependents' affairs; hence, on his majority, the young earl lacked local support. The relationship between the earl and Bonville became poisoned after Sir William was designated steward of duchy estates in the county in 1437.[125] This challenge to his authority enraged the earl to resort to violence. The situation was further exacerbated, in May 1441, when, in an administrative mistake, Devon was granted the office of steward of the duchy in all counties (in effect, lord steward): a post overlapping in jurisdiction with Bonville's position as steward of duchy estates *in* Cornwall.[126] This was followed by another outbreak of disorder when Devon tried to make good his appointment to the duchy stewardship by force.[127] Finally, the (chief) stewardship was settled in the earl's favour, and in February 1442, he was also granted Henry Bodrugan's wardship and Cornish lands.[128] However, despite this clear government favour to the earl, he was still seemingly unable to make much headway in influencing Cornwall politics against the overwhelming influence of the Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus.

Suffolk's fall had some impact on the Cornwall commissions of the peace, with a moderate degree of continuity in the period from 1445 to 1451 (57 per cent) – after the deaths of the duke of Exeter, Lord Hungerford, and the exclusion of the earl of Devon from the commission.[129] Such was the prominence of the Bonville-

[125] *CPR 1436–41*, 133.
[126] PRO, SC6/815/15, m. 5; *CPR 1436–41*, 532.
[127] Storey (1966), 87–8; Griffiths (1981), 574–5.
[128] *CPR 1441–6*, 54, 410.
[129] Below, Appendix IV.

FitzWaryn connection in Devon and Cornwall that Somerset (as chief minister) had little choice but to give his backing to Bonville's local authority. Hence, in March 1452, Bonville was confirmed as lord steward, steward of duchy lands in Cornwall, and was also granted other offices in Devon.[130] These nominations to duchy offices supplemented Bonville's Devon and Cornwall estates, thereby further acknowledging his pre-eminence. In the absence of lordship from the duke of Cornwall, it is perhaps understandable that some Cornish gentry sought the benefaction of the duchy's lord steward, Bonville, and his allies. One possible Bonville client, Walter Rendel, was returned as escheator of Cornwall/Devon (as seen in Devon, above, p. 173). Another likely Bonville associate, Sir John Dinham of Hartland (Dev.), was a JP from 1451.[131] However, more importantly, one possible Bonville affiliate in Cornwall was Sir John Arundell (*c.*1421–73) of Lanherne; he was also an esquire of the body, and served as sheriff in 1443–4 and 1457–8, and on the bench from 1445. In 1445, Arundell had been assigned as parker of the duchy parks of Hellesbury and Lenteglos (Cor.), and was bailiff of the duchy hundred of Penwith (Cor.) from 1452 to 1455.[132]

The Arundells of Lanherne were highly influential in Cornish society: they had been involved in county and duchy administration for a number of generations, and were noble in all but name. One Arundell client was Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart and Binhammy (Cor.) who was distantly related to the family; he was elected knight of the shire in 1453–4, and was a JP from 1442.[133] Another Arundell client was Thomas Bere (fl.1451–85) of Lankynhorne (Cor.) who served as JP from 1451 to 1453.[134] Other Arundell associates included the Cornishmen Richard Penpons (*c.*1405–65/6) of Treswithian,[135] Thomas Sage (*c.*1415–61) of Grampound,[136] Thomas

[130] PRO, SC6/816/3, m. 2; SC6/816/4, mm. 2, 8; *CPR 1446–52*, 526; *CPR 1452–61*, 18, 91.

[131] Land transaction 1449: *CCR 1447–54*, 158.

[132] Land transaction 1451: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10. Duchy offices: *CPR 1446–52*, 558; PRO, SC6/816/3, m. 2; DCO206, m. 2.

[133] Land transactions 1451: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10; AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361.

[134] Land transactions 1459–67: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/362.

[135] JP from 1451; land transactions 1453–66: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/924, 995/1; AR4/12, 526, 528, 726; AR4/163/1, 2; AR24/9, 10, 11.

Bodulgate (*c.*1410–71) of Trencreek,[137] also Thomas Limbury (*c.*1425–92) of Launceston,[138] and William Menwyneck (*c.*1420–78) of Menwyneck.[139]

The death of his grandfather in 1435 meant that John Arundell inherited substantial Cornish estates on his majority, and John's wardship and marriage were granted jointly to Walter, Lord Hungerford, John Copplestone, Nicholas Ashton, and Thomas Bere. In 1442, custody of his lands and marriage were given to Suffolk, and on his majority, Arundell married Suffolk's niece, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Morley.[140] Clearly, then, Arundell was supremely well-connected, with sustained links to the Hungerfords, and continued access to, and patronage from, Suffolk. It appears that Devon and Cornwall enjoyed close links with Suffolk's regime, with Arundell's familial ties as well as Bonville's connections. The probable association between Bonville and the Arundells seems further substantiated by the overlap between their clients: Ralph Reskymmer (d.1465/6), who sat on the county bench from 1451 to 1459, was associated with both Arundell and Bonville;[141] similarly, the possible Arundell client William Bere (*c.*1410–69) of Pengelly (Cor.), who was knight of the shire in 1455–6 and a JP from 1455 to 1459, was linked with Bonville in 1450.[142]

In summary, it appears that Lord Bonville could depend on the support not only of those directly associated with him, but also John Arundell and his connection. Including Arundell affiliates as indirect Bonville associates, analysis of shire offices

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[136] JP 1459–62; land transactions 1456–60: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/924, 177, 266; AR4/1259; AR20/24, 25, 26.

[137] Knight of the shire 1455–6, and JP from 1441; land transactions 1451–8: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10; AR1/940.

[138] MP for Launceston 1449–50, perhaps 1459 and 1460–1; attorney, and land transactions 1458–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/177, 268, 48, 89, 90, 45, 105/1, 270, 362, 363, 389, 710; AR4/184, 185, 186, 877, 528, 726, 1259, 1472; AR20/28; AR1/390.

[139] MP for Launceston 1450–2, 1459, and 1460–1; land transactions 1459–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1259; AR20/28.

[140] *CPR 1429–36*, 497; *CPR 1441–6*, 66.

[141] Bonville land transaction 1450: *DCAD*, iv, A8792. Arundell tenant and land transactions 1450–9: *DCAD*, iv, A8792, 10107; v, A11441; NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/266; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 13, 17, 21.

[142] Bonville association 1450: *Cornwall Feet of Fines*, no. 1088. Arundell land transaction 1458: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/266.

indicates the extent to which the peer's influence may have pervaded Cornish political society. The Bonville-FitzWaryn client Walter Rendel, escheator of Cornwall/Devon in 1452, has been mentioned (above, pp. 173, 180). In all, six Bonville associates were returned to parliament ten times during the decade from 1450 to 1461. The number of Bonville protégés on the county bench on each commission fluctuated during the decade, from just under one-third in 1445 to almost two-thirds in 1451 and December 1455; in general, Bonville clients averaged around a half of Cornish JPs, until 1460, when the proportion was reduced to over one-third.

In addition, the influence of Bonville and other magnates in Cornwall may also be illustrated in the commissions of array. Naturally, because of the duchy's importance in Cornish politics, a number of royal retainers and duchy officers were often included in the commissions. In August 1451, three array commissioners for Cornwall included one Arundell client, Sir John Coleshill, and Warwick's client, John Nanfan;[143] while in February 1452 the commissions for the south-western counties had a distinctly Bonville flavour, with Bonville himself and his associates Courtenay and Dinham being members.[144] The Cornish commission of array of June 1454 appointed five commissioners, including the Bonville ally, John Arundell, and four other Arundell dependants.[145] Again, in June 1455, the commissioners for both Cornwall and Devon had a Bonville colouring including Bonville, FitzWaryn, Courtenay, and Dinham.[146] In May 1456, the nine commissioners for Cornwall included two Bonville clients, seven other Arundell associates, and one household servant.[147] Collectively, these commissions, with the other figures, illustrate the high level of influence that Bonville exerted in Cornish politics and government during the 1450s, both directly and indirectly. So, it seems understandable how Bonville's grip on local administration endured until the end of the decade.

[143] *CPR 1446–52*, 480.
[144] *CPR 1446–52*, 537.
[145] *CPR 1452–61*, 171.
[146] *CPR 1452–61*, 253.
[147] *CPR 1452–61*, 309.

In the absence of direct patronage from the duchy, Cornish gentry seem to have turned to alternatives such as Bonville, but they may have also turned to other magnates such as the Beauforts, the Bishop of Winchester, Robert, Lord Hungerford, Henry, Duke of Exeter, and Richard, Earl of Warwick. This is best demonstrated by specific examples: William Caraunt of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.), a Beaufort client, served as escheator of Cornwall/Devon in 1441–2,[148] while the nomination of Bishop Waynflete's servant, John Wolfe (*c.*1425–83) of Kentisbury (Dev.), as escheator of Cornwall/Devon in 1453–4, was probably related to the bishop's rise into favour at court.[149] The Hungerfords were related by marriage to Lord Botreaux, who was a JP from 1445 until his death in 1462 (father-in-law of Robert I, Lord Hungerford).[150] Two of the duke of Exeter's affiliates were the royal servants John Arundell and Thomas Bodulgate (*c.*1410–71) of Trencreek (Cor.): Arundell had been involved in a land transaction with the duke in 1453;[151] while Bodulgate was the duke's servant from 1439, was knight of the shire during the 1440s and in 1455–6, and a justice of the peace from 1441 until 1459.[152] As discussed concerning Devon, the earl of Warwick was associated with the royal servant John Nanfan of Birtsmorton (Worcs.) and Trethewell (Cor.), who acted as sheriff in 1450–1 and 1456–7, and sat on the bench from 1442 until 1459;[153] he was also chamberlain of the exchequer before becoming an esquire of the body in 1447, and for his royal service he received wardships, annuities, and offices, including custody of Helston (Cor.), the constableship of Trematon Castle (Cor.), and the governorship of the Channel Isles.[154]

Enmeshing between members of a magnate's affinity and those of the royal household indicates that a magnate enjoyed royal support for his local role. Although

[148] *HPB*, 154–5.

[149] *HPB*, 962; for Waynflete, *ODNB*: 'Waynflete, William'; Davis (1989), 1–22.

[150] Feoffee, and land transactions 1458–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476.

[151] *CCR 1447–54*, 501–2.

[152] Servant, and land transaction 1439–53: *HPB*, 87–8; *CCR 1447–54*, 501–2.

[153] Earl's retainer, feoffee, and officer 1423–50: *HPB*, 621–2.

[154] *HPB*, 621–2; Jeffs (1960), 309–11; *CPR 1441–6*, 83; *CPR 1446–52*, 17, 51, 121, 426; *CCR 1447–54*, 3; *CPR 1452–61*, 15–16, 294, 387, 419.

their probable associates were also crown servants, Warwick and Exeter were largely engaged in politics and government in other counties, so that it was principally Bonville's influence in Cornish society that was endorsed by numbering crown retainers amongst his associates: the Bonville ally Arundell was an esquire of the body (above, p. 180). It was clear royal favour towards Bonville, such as this, that spurred the earl of Devon into violence during the later 1430s and 1450s culminating in Radford's murder and the 'battle' at Clyst (above, p. 172).

As in the other western counties in the mid-fifteenth century, royal household members were also involved in Cornish local administration. In Cornwall between 1437 and 1450, just over one-fifth (21 per cent) of sheriffs' terms were fulfilled by royal retainers.[155] Between 1450 and 1461, five household men were returned to parliament once each. The proportion of household justices on each commission of the peace averaged between one-quarter and one-third until the later 1450s: ranging from almost one-third in 1445 and March and December 1455, to the lowest figures of just over one-tenth in 1459 and 1460. Moreover, over two-fifths of the sheriffs returned were royal servants.[156] One crown servant was John Trevelyan (*c.*1415–75/84) of Nettlecombe (Som.) and Restormel (Cor.) who was sheriff in 1459–60, a knight of the shire in 1453–4 and a JP from 1455 to 1459. He was a yeoman of the crown by 1441, and was promoted to groom of the chamber, and then to esquire of the body by 1448. Trevelyan was also employed as the duchy's bailiff-itinerant in Cornwall from 1441, as steward of the shire's duchy estates from 1442, and as custodian of Restormel and Trematon Castles from 1443; just a year later, he was granted the manor and borough of Helston (Cor.), and was awarded some Cornish manors jointly with Thomas Bodulgate. In April 1447, with Bodulgate, Trevelyan was awarded the joint-parkership of Liskeard and also, in July, the joint-keeping of Eltham park. In addition to these gifts, Trevelyan was awarded the wardships and Cornish lands of John Penros

[155] Three household sheriffs served 3 of 14 terms: John Nanfan 1439–40; Thomas Whalesburgh 1441–2; and John Trevelyan 1448–9: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

[156] Three household sheriffs served 5 of 12 terms: John Nanfan 1450–1 and 1456–7; Thomas Whalesburgh 1453–4 and 1458–9; and John Trevelyan 1459–60: Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

in 1446, and of John Champernoun in 1448 during their minorities.[157]

As a result of these rewards and his favoured place at court, Trevelyan was named as one of those malign councillors who should be removed from the king's presence by the insurgents of Cade's Rebellion; he was also pilloried in popular ballads as 'the Cornysshe chawgh [chough], [who] offt w[i]t[h] his trayne, / hathe made our egull [Henry VI] blynde'.[158] This description of Trevelyan as a Cornish sea-bird concealing his actions from his master, apart from implying his deceit, also emphasises his rusticity, disparages his Cornish origins, and alleges that his character is that of a 'prater'. The potential 'racial' implications, however, should be read within the context of a ballad in which all individuals were personified in terms of their heraldic emblems: Trevelyan's armorial badge was a Cornish chough.[159]

Trevelyan's associate and fellow household retainer was Thomas Bodulgate of Trencreek (Cor.), the duke of Exeter's servant; he joined the royal retinue and became an esquire of the body. Bodulgate became constable of Tintagel Castle (Cor.) jointly with Thomas Clemens in 1452, and joint-havener of the duchy in Cornwall and Devon with Geoffrey Kidwelly in 1455.[160] During the 1450s, Bodulgate accused Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnoc (Dev.) of carrying off him, his servant, and his horses and goods, on the road between Oakhampton and Honiton (Dev.).[161] Other household servants included Sir Roger Fiennes (*c.*1384–1450) of Hurstmonceaux (Suss.);[162] Thomas Whalesburgh (d.1482) of Whalesburgh (Cor.);[163] Nicholas Buckley (*c.*1420–80) of Cornwall;[164] Thomas Clemens (*c.*1420–73) of Liskeard (Cor.);[165] and John

[157] DCO205, mm. 11, 12; PRO, SC6/815/15, mm. 5, 6; SC6/816/1, mm. 8, 10; SC6/816/2, m. 10; SC6/816/3, m. 10; SC6/816/4, m. 8; *CPR 1441–6*, 24, 134, 238, 322; *CPR 1446–52*, 60, 80, 87, 251, 267, 280, 513, 526; *CPR 1452–61*, 50; *Trevelyan Papers Prior to 1558*, 28–32, 33–7, 63–4; *HPB*, 873–4; Jeffs (1960), 331–3.

[158] *Trevelyan Papers*, vi; *Trevelyan Papers Prior to 1558*, 60–2, 65, 67, 72.

[159] *OED*, iii, 174.

[160] *HPB*, 87–8; DCO206, m. 2; *CPR 1452–61*, 18, 228; Campbell (1962), 119–20, 144.

[161] PRO, C1/24/223.

[162] JP until 1450; treasurer of the household 1439–46: *HPB*, 324.

[163] Sheriff 1453–4 and 1458–9; an esquire of the body; cousin of the half-blood to Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, and Trevelyan's father-in-law: *CP*, xi, 506–7; Jeffs (1960), 337.

[164] Escheator 1449–50, and MP for Lostwithiel 1453–4; yeoman of the crown from 1451: *HPB*, 129.

[165] MP for Liskeard 1449–50, and as JP from 1460: *HPB*, 188.

Norris (*c.*1405–66) of Bray (Berks.).[166]

* * *

Just as in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, numbers of royal household sheriffs in Cornwall appear to have increased in the late 1450s.[167] However, although the duke of Exeter was included in some commissions of array in the late 1450s, he was to gain no further influence in the county. Similarly, the earl of Devon was an array commissioner in 1459, but was not granted any duchy offices – or further influence. The commissions of array during the later 1450s illustrate how the Yorkist Bonville's influence in the shire persisted: in September 1457, ten commissioners included four Bonville affiliates, three Arundell clients, two duchy and household retainers, and Warwick's protégé John Nanfan.[168] In September 1458, ten commissioners included Exeter and Bonville; the rest comprised three Bonville affiliates, three Arundell associates, and two royal household and duchy officers.[169] In February 1459, eight commissioners included two Bonville associates, two Arundell affiliates, and three duchy and royal household servants – Bodulgate, Trevelyan, and Whalesburgh.[170] The December 1459 commissioners comprised Exeter, Devon, two Bonville associates, four Arundell dependants, and two duchy and household retainers.[171] Overall, these commissions show the enduring influence of the Yorkist Bonville-FitzWaryn connection in Cornish politics and administration both directly, and indirectly through the Arundell nexus.

Bonville's long-term prominence in Cornwall and Devon ensured that the Lancastrian regime had little option but to work with this Yorkist peer in order to control local government. Exeter, Devon, and Wiltshire did not enjoy the same long-

[166] MP for Truro 1453–4; yeoman of the chamber 1429–38, usher of the chamber 1438–41, esquire of the body 1441, keeper of the great wardrobe in 1444–6, and treasurer of the chamber 1446–50: *HPB*, 637–9.

[167] John Nanfan 1456–7; Thomas Whalesburgh 1458–9; and John Trevelyan 1459–60.

[168] *CPR 1452–61*, 402.

[169] *CPR 1452–61*, 489–90.

[170] *CPR 1452–61*, 495.

[171] *CPR 1452–61*, 557–9.

standing support as Bonville did, and it would take time for alignments to alter to a new settlement involving any Lancastrian lords. Hence, it may have been important for the queen to give added prominence to Wiltshire in the western shires during the later 1450s: encouraging local networks to seek his benefaction and develop his regional hegemony. However, a regional scheme was not Margaret's sole solution to the need to supplement kingly authority – she also exploited the power of the royal estates.

The queen, perhaps accurately, perceived York as a threat to her husband's kingship and to her son's succession, as one chronicler suggested:

> dreding that [her son, Edward, Prince of Wales] shude nat succeded hys fadre in the crowne of Englond, [the queen] allyed un to her alle the knyghtes and squyers of Chestreshyre for to haue theyre benevolence, and helde open householde among theym; and made her sone called the prince yeve a lyuery of swannys to alle the gentilmenne of the contre, and to many other thorought the lande.[172]

Margaret's activities were simply intended to maximise her own, and her son's, local support. Because of the king's illness, she may have attempted to remedy her husband's deficiency by 're-creating a real royal centre' under her own direction.[173] During the queen's leadership of government, great emphasis was placed on the exploitation of the crown estates: Margaret possessed considerable landed power in the Midlands through her duchy of Lancaster estates; and, following the breakdown of authority, these properties formed a nucleus from which she was able to expand, ultimately, to restore royal government nationally.

In February 1457, arrangements for the establishment of the Prince of Wales's household and council were finalised.[174] The council was to administer the prince's affairs concerning Wales, the Marches, the County Palatine of Chester, and the duchy of Cornwall; the prince's interests (including those in the south-west) aided the queen in extending royal authority throughout the kingdom. None of the prince's officers

[172] *English Chronicle*, 79–80.

[173] Maurer (2003), 101; 131–2 (quotation).

[174] *CChR 1427–1516*, 127; *PR*, xii, 477–92; *CPR 1452–61*, 357–8; Maurer (2003), 105–6, 133–6; Griffiths (1981), 781, 783.

was to act without the queen's authorisation, and many of the officers were closely connected to her: John, Viscount Beaumont – chamberlain of England since 1450 and chief steward of the queen's estates since 1445 – was nominated to be the prince's lord steward, and the duchy's lord steward. The prince's other counsellors were formally appointed, including various ecclesiastics, and five Lancastrian nobles.[175] Perhaps indicative of his importance nationally and regionally, from 1458, Viscount Beaumont became involved in numerous capacities with the Hungerfords.[176]

The prince's councillors bore responsibility for the duchy of Cornwall so, in effect, they would be members of the duchy council. The only magnate amongst these probable councillors that had substantial south-western landed interests was the earl of Wiltshire. The earl's selection as a councillor would give him eminence in Cornwall, which, combined with his own properties and other offices in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon would award him significant status in the south-west as a whole.[177] The nationwide political upheaval of the later 1450s made some impression on the Cornwall commissions of the peace: as shown in the moderate continuity (57 per cent) in the period 1458–9, influenced by the exclusion of Lancastrians such as Exeter, and the royal retainers Bodulgate, Trevelyan, and Nanfan.[178]

Although the October Accord of 1460 formally acknowledged York as heir to the throne and provided for him and his eldest sons to receive some revenues from Wales, the duchy, and the earldom of Chester, it is unclear if York received any monies or influenced any changes in duchy administration before his death at Wakefield.[179] Even if the duke had had a longer period of time and had taken an interest in the duchy, by 1460, he might have found it to be a focus of Lancastrian

[175] *CPR 1452–61*, 338. The peers were the earls of Stafford, Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and Lords Dudley and Stanley: *CPR 1452–61*, 359.

[176] Feoffee, overseer of will, and land transactions 1458–60: NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93. For examples of the prince's officers also engaged in the queen's service: Myers (1985a).

[177] *CP*, x, 126–9; Somerville (1953), 428–9; *CPR 1452–61*, 419, 542, 574, 585, 597.

[178] Below, Appendix IV.

[179] *PR*, v, 373–8, 380–1; *English Chronicle*, 100–6; Pugh (2001), 82–3.

loyalism. Despite the influence of local peers such as the Yorkist Bonville during earlier years, by the end of the 1450s, the duchy, with its affinity stretching across the south-west shires, may have provided the king with a regional power base.

OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF SOMERSET, BONVILLE, AND WILTSHIRE

In 1460, according to one chronicler, Somerset and Devon

> made oute commaundementes, in the queens name and the Prynce, to alle the weste counter, and gaderet grete people, and kepte hire wey towarde the toune of Brystow.[180]

This implies that large numbers of south-west residents were Lancastrian in sympathy; such mobilisation of forces seems possible because of the regional influence of the duchy, and the Lancastrianism of the western magnates, Somerset, Devon and Wiltshire. However, as seen, this image represents only a partial picture of south-west politics during the 1450s.

Henry VI's personal inadequacies entailed an inevitable lack of leadership.[181] In Cornwall, lack of royal lordship meant that the county became further linked with Devon and the wider theatre of south-western regional politics. Faced with the king's ineffective lordship, it appears that Cornish gentry sought alternative patronage from leading figures. Bonville's prominence in Devon, combined with his duchy offices and his association with the major local figure, John Arundell, ensured that the Cornish gentry primarily sought his patronage.

Bonville was not the chief focus for the south-west, even though his estates were distributed across all four counties. He was not awarded offices in any counties other than Devon and Cornwall; so, whilst not being regional on a macro-scale, his office-holding does appear to indicate his intended meso-scale dominance in Devon and Cornwall. Bonville's chief allies in Devon were Courtenay and FitzWaryn, and, in Cornwall, included Arundell. So, Bonville's clients were also limited to only Devon and Cornwall. As he was a crown representative in Devon and Cornwall, there was a

[180] Warkworth, 18–19.

[181] For another view of the monarch: Wolffe (1981).

degree of integration between Bonville clients and members of the king's retinue; therefore, on a meso-regional scale, Lord Bonville formed a sub-core of sovereign authority. In addition, his local power would have been greatly supplemented by duchy offices, with their attendant regional authority. As a result of Bonville's unassailable position, the Lancastrian regime had to endorse the Yorkist peer's local role; consequently, his influence in the two counties' government endured until the later 1450s, while Devon's lordship proved largely unattractive to local gentry.

Henry VI's regime seems to have become increasingly partisan under the direction of Suffolk and Somerset – perhaps as a result of not receiving counsel from a wide selection of courtiers. In addition, the king seems to have been incapable of distributing royal patronage in a restrained and balanced manner: it appears that petitioners merely received whatever they requested. Sometimes, this had immediate consequences, such as when Devon and Bonville were granted almost identical offices; in general, however, the consequences were not immediate but incremental. A petitioner obviously wished to augment his existing sphere of local influence, and this would be achieved by requesting lands or offices that supplemented his power base; therefore, the king, by accepting the requests, may have allowed a particular locality's patronage to become concentrated into the hands of an individual magnate – thereby creating a regional hegemony. As a result, this magnate's augmented sphere of influence could then encroach on other magnates' spheres of influence, perhaps inducing discontent.

H.R. Castor has suggested that Suffolk's regime intentionally endowed particular magnates with crown offices and lands in order to uphold royal authority; this may be attributing rather more intention than is warranted, although – whether unwitting or intentional – the result would be the same: as a result of royal patronage, a magnate gained the king's implicit approval for his influence in local administration. As a royal representative, a regional magnate's power was 'intrinsically connected to the authority of the crown'; accordingly, if his local influence proved unacceptable, the king would be unwilling to intervene and undermine his magnate's local power.

Hence, there could be no redress of grievances, perhaps provoking tensions within local society, associating royal authority with partiality.[182] Those unable to gain redress of their grievances might be provoked into rebellion in order to gain power and influence – such as the earl of Devon.

In areas where the greatest landowner was the crown itself (such as Cornwall), lack of royal lordship would force local gentry to seek alternative patronage from magnates, thereby creating or reinforcing a regional hegemony, which might exacerbate local tensions and erode royal authority (as in the case of Bonville). Furthermore, once created, regional magnates would be figures of great regional and national stature with the resources and capability of arraying forces either in defence or in destruction of the crown; the sovereign would become dependent on a magnate's regional control, and cooperation, which could only diminish the aura of the monarchy.

If Bonville was the principal magnate in Devon and Cornwall, was the Beauforts' influence limited to Somerset and Dorset? The Beauforts' familial ties with the king assured their prominence as royal councillors bringing them national status; in turn, it was this that enabled them to influence local society. However, status alone could not entirely ensure local power, and it was necessary for the Beauforts to cultivate alliances with leading nobles or gentry such as the Stourtons and Hungerfords: both connections were central to their exertion of political influence in Somerset and Dorset. While the Beauforts may have dominated government in the two shires directly and indirectly through the Stourton-Hungerford connection, they were also (through the Hungerfords) potentially linked with the Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus in Devon, although this is doubtful. Certainly, at least, the Hungerfords were, through their alliance with Botreaux, able to extend their influence into Cornwall to some degree. The earl of Devon's seeking of Beaufort patronage and marriage in the 1430s is another example of Beaufort regional influence. Devon's alliance with

[182] Castor (2000), 18, 45–9, 311–12.

Somerset reflected Bonville's alliance with Suffolk, so Bonville-Courtenay rivalry may have been a local manifestation of court rivalry between Suffolk and the Beauforts – though this is contested.[183] Suffolk's support of Bonville's position might be interpreted as the duke's attempt to undermine Beaufort power in the south-west. The Beauforts might be said to have been influential, at least to some extent, in each county of the region; but, although there are hints of associations in Devon and Cornwall, their real area of influence was undeniably Somerset and Dorset. So, strictly, the dukes of Somerset appear not to have been region-wide figures, though their status as members of the royal family may have complemented their authority and encouraged its acceptance throughout the region as a whole.

The Beauforts' chief allies, Lords Hungerford and Stourton, were both royal household officers. These associations and the general blurring between Beaufort and royal servants meant that they may have enjoyed a quasi-regal position of authority – making the duke of Somerset, in effect, a sub-core of the king's power. That other sub-core of authority in the south-west was the duchy of Cornwall; so, perhaps if royal policy had intended the Beauforts to be truly regional figures then they could be expected to have received duchy offices to supplement their authority. But that was not the case, and this might verify the view that Beaufort influence did not really extend into Devon and Cornwall.

The Beauforts' estates were restricted to Somerset and Dorset, and they did not gain any local crown offices to supplement their position there. So, in terms of estates, offices, and associations the Beauforts provided a political centre to a meso-region based on merely Somerset and Dorset. But, as the king's kinsmen, they did not need great estates or offices to gain the support of leading figures and influence wider politics, hence their broader regional importance. The Beauforts' regional role obviously became politicised because of their Lancastrianism and particularly so because of Somerset's position as chief minister. The partisan politics of civil war

[183] Watts (1996), 205–54.

may have meant that the Beauforts' local and regional standing became tainted, therefore factionalism filtered from polity into locality. Henry VI's profligate distribution of patronage and inability to hold magnates to account may have had two repercussions: rivalry at court – to gain the compliant king's ear – may have escalated into factionalism that percolated into the localities; simultaneously, unresolved disputes may have escalated into serious disorder; and above this presided an incapable and incapacitated king. In the south-west, if the Beauforts provided a Lancastrian focus in the eastern counties, then the duchy of Cornwall provided another further west, where Bonville also provided a Yorkist focus.

* * *

The queen's increasing control of government, after 1456, intended to remedy the king's deficient direction of affairs by recreating a 'royal centre'. She began this reassertion of authority by using her Midlands estates as her starting-point; then, her creation of the prince's patrimony and involvement in its function provided her with further territorial resources through which to extend her power.[184] It is within this context – of a collapse of both local and national authority – that the queen's policy of creating regional hegemonies, implemented after 1457, should be judged. With regional emphasis as a short-term intention – the ultimate aim being national reconstruction – Margaret appears to have encouraged her close supporters to become regional magnates.

Henry, Duke of Somerset might have been expected to play a prominent role in Somerset and Dorset affairs, but his involvement on the national scene made his leadership of local affairs difficult; instead, Beaufort's absence made possible the ascendancy of another magnate, James, Earl of Wiltshire. Even though it was desirable for the earl of Devon to lead Devon affairs, this would have proved challenging given the persistent predominance of the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection, so it may have been more advantageous for Wiltshire to have become influential in

[184] Maurer (2003), 133–6.

Devon and Cornwall.

Wiltshire's landed possessions were concentrated in Somerset and Dorset, but from 1457, he was not only endowed with royal offices there, but was selected to sit on the Devon bench and named as a member of the Prince of Wales's Council (with its responsibility for the duchy of Cornwall). Consequently, concerning office-holding, Wiltshire might be viewed as having region-wide responsibilities and concomitant national power; but were his clients dispersed across the region? Wiltshire possibly became associated with some Beaufort clients such as Stourton and other Stourton-Hungerford affiliates, without whom it would have been impossible for him to establish his influence; but other than these few possibilities this is difficult to establish because of the paucity of the evidence (partly caused by the brevity of his ascendancy). His appointment to the prince's council, and likely duchy council membership, ensured that duchy estates supplemented his local influence in Somerset and Dorset, as well as introducing him to Cornish political society. In this way, perhaps to some degree, Wiltshire's regional position may have been complemented by the duchy's regional influence. Therefore, by a combination of estates, royal offices, and prince's council membership, Wiltshire might have become a regional magnate – and a national power-broker – if he had had a longer period of time in which to establish himself. One chronicler claimed that

> The office[r]s of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre tresorere of Engelond for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple, and disheryted ryghtefulle eyres, and dede meny wronges.[185]

Naturally, if the earl's behaviour was inappropriate then this would have reflected badly on the queen. But, whether or not the earl's actions were favourable or injurious, Wiltshire was, undoubtedly, a central column in the edifice of Lancastrian monarchy.

Although endowment with patronage gave a regional magnate a vested interest in the continuity of the regime, this was only a limited and temporary approach:

[185] *English Chronicle*, 79.

creation of regional hegemonies required concentrating patronage into the hands of a few courtiers, leading to the regime's being perceived as partisan – especially unwanted during a time of factional strife. Regional governance was a temporary solution in order to restore national government, but also had corrosive long-term consequences for the crown's authority. Margaret's 'governors', such as Wiltshire, would have ultimately created the same tensions and problems as were generated by other regional magnates.

One feature common to all western counties was the assignment of the king's servants to shire offices. The nomination of such royal retainers as sheriffs was sought to ensure that central government secured the loyalty, and controlled the resources, of local government. Thus – when assembled – the *posse comitatus* would be used for, and not against, the king. This policy emerged under Cardinal Beaufort's direction, reaching its apogee in 1441, and continued under Suffolk, peaking again in 1448.[186] Under Margaret's influence, the sheriffs between 1457 and 1459 were crown servants – at a time when it was crucial for the king's government to command the localities' compliance. Though their positions may have been augmented by royal gifts, household sheriffs were employed in local office, by virtue of their local influence. In general, household sheriff numbers seem too numerous to be unintentional – which suggests that it was a deliberate policy.[187] Devon – a county that would have benefited from more controlled governance – had the fewest crown retainers. That there were many royal servants in Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, compared to few in Devon, indicates that household recruitment reflected duchy property configurations.

The changes in government during this last Lancastrian decade, York's protectorates, and the queen's dominance, all appear to have further entrenched the polarisation of politics. Henry VI's ineptitude originally caused the development of

[186] Jeffs (1960), 25–8, 56, 146–8; Griffiths (1981), 336–7.

[187] Jeffs (1960), 52–7, 157–60, 213, 218. Cf. Horrox (1989), 228; Horrox (1995), 12–13; Watts (1996), 95; Castor (2000), 7–8, 311–12.

partial government – provoking resentment, rebellion, and setting the scene for civil strife. Henry's kingly inadequacies strained the structures of command and response, and perverted the usual operation of governance.

CHAPTER SIX

REGIONAL GOVERNANCE AND READEPTION: 1461–71

Edward IV's accession promised an end to Henry VI's disastrous kingship. However, with the Lancastrian king and his supporters exiled, the Yorkist king's crown was insecure and vulnerable. Eighteen-year-old Edward endowed his chief supporters with great patronage but this did not prevent factionalism from developing within the regime: Richard, Earl of Warwick's disillusionment with Edward's governance motivated his rebellion and the series of crises that led to Henry VI's Readeption in late 1470; followed by Edward IV's restoration in early 1471. This chapter looks at how south-west governance was exercised through Edward's favourite, Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick (*c.*1439–69), examining how he became linked with the region's political elites. Following the framework established in Chapter 5, the issues of duchy of Cornwall office-holding and integration between magnate and royal clients have some countrywide resonance, and such regional issues are related to national patterns in the concluding overview.

The removal of Lancastrian peers from south-western society, because of the Yorkists' assumption of power, meant that there was a political vacuum. Edward IV lacked general support in the south-west and in the realm as a whole. In Somerset and Dorset, he relied principally on his supporter Lord Stafford who was endowed with local estates and offices.[1] Stafford's influence seems to have been dependent on his affiliation with his uncle (his mother's sister's husband), William Stourton (*c.*1430–78), son of John, Lord Stourton.[2] Moreover, Stafford's direct and indirect associations with the former Lancastrian Hungerford circle may have enhanced his local

[1] *CP*, iv, 327–8; *HPB*, 793–4; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey'; Pink (1915), 173–8.

[2] *CP*, xii(1), 301–3; *HPB*, 819; *ODNB*: 'Stourton Family'.

influence.[3] The king's brother, and heir to the throne, George, Duke of Clarence (1449–78) was, however, granted estates which coincided with those of Stafford; and Clarence's consequent lack of influence may have encouraged him to rebel in 1469.[4] During the rebellions of 1469, Stafford was summarily executed, and there was a brief re-settlement before Henry VI was restored in the short-lived Readeption.

Following the Yorkist Lord Bonville's death in 1461, it appears that Stafford became the principal magnate in Devon and Cornwall. He was further endowed with estates and duchy of Cornwall offices ensuring that he was the primary peer. His alliance with the former Bonville-FitzWaryn connection, and with John, Lord Dinham (*c.*1433–1501), may have meant that he was able to influence Devon affairs.[5] In addition, it may have been possible for Stafford to influence Cornish politics through the ambivalent Arundell affinity – led by his stepfather, John Arundell (*c.*1421–73) of Lanherne (Cor.).[6] Clarence's and Stafford's Devon and Cornwall estates again coincided, which may have led to some tensions: those gentry who participated in the Readeption government, and their possible associations with Clarence through the Hungerford nexus, are also of some relevance.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET

The leading magnates in Somerset during the 1450s, such as Somerset, Hungerford, and Wiltshire, had been strongly Lancastrian; accordingly, they were attainted and removed from the county's peace commissions on Edward IV's accession. As a consequence of this, as well as because of the addition of Yorkists such as Humphrey Stafford, John, Lord Audley, and the earl of Warwick, the period from 1459 to 1461 demonstrates a moderate continuity of JPs: with 57 per cent of those chosen in 1459 being re-commissioned in 1461.[7]

[3] *CP*, vi, 618–21; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert'.
[4] *CP*, iii, 260; *ODNB*: 'George, Duke of Clarence'.
[5] *CP*, iv, 378–82; *ODNB*: 'Dinham Family'; 'Dinham, John'.
[6] *ODNB*: 'Arundell Family'.
[7] Below, Appendix IV.

During Edward IV's first reign, Somerset politics was still influenced by the Stourton and Hungerford affinities which may have sought the patronage of Edward's courtier, Humphrey Stafford. He was the only son of the Beaufort-Stourton client William Stafford by Katherine Chideock, and it was because of his Chideock inheritance (principally focussed in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire) that he was destined to be a leading member of the Somerset gentry. In the later 1450s, Stafford may have been associated with the earl of Wiltshire whose first wife was his cousin.[8] However, Stafford converted to the Yorkist cause, and during the rule of the Yorkist earls was elected knight of the shire, sheriff of Somerset/Dorset, and appointed constable of Taunton Castle (Som.) by Bishop Waynflete in November 1460.[9] In July 1461, on the death of his cousin he also inherited the Stafford inheritance (focussed in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire) which, combined with his Chideock estates, made him one of the greatest landowners in Somerset. Subsequently, during the first year of Edward IV's kingship, he was nominated to the county bench, and was created Lord Stafford of Southwick.[10]

Stafford's landed interests were therefore principally concentrated in Somerset and Dorset, and, unsurprisingly, he was endowed with further lands and offices in order to consolidate his influence in these shires. In July 1461, Stafford was designated constable of Bristol and custodian of the royal forests of Kingswood (Glos.) and Fillwood (Som.).[11] His constableships of Taunton and Bridgwater Castles, and keeping of Petherton forest (Som.) were confirmed in 1465.[12] Moreover, in May 1468, Stafford was awarded the reversion of the custody of the royal forests of Exmoor and Neroche (Som.), and his status and prominence was further exemplified in his elevation to the status of earl of Devon in May 1469.[13] In addition, Stafford was

[8] *CP*, iv, 327–8; *HPB*, 793–4; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey'.
[9] Davis (1989), 8–9; Mercer (1997), 49.
[10] *CPR 1461–7*, 325.
[11] *CPR 1461–7*, 129; *CCR 1461–8*, 18–19, 21.
[12] *CPR 1461–7*, 438–9.
[13] *CPR 1467–77*, 85, 156.

also awarded custody of John Bratton and his Somerset and Dorset lands in 1466, and John, Lord Zouche and his estates in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire in 1468.[14] These wardships extended Stafford's landed interests in Somerset, albeit only temporarily during those minorities.

These grants, appointments, and wardships account for Stafford's rewards in Somerset alone, and the cumulative effect of these endowments placed him in a position of pre-eminence in Somerset; moreover, because of his intimacy with Edward IV, local gentry and peerage would be strongly attracted to his service, so Stafford's endowment with local influence appears to be the result of clear royal policy. One of Stafford's dependants was William Browning (*c.*1405–72) of Melbury Sampford (Dor.), York's receiver in Somerset and Dorset from 1449–50 until 1459–60; after the duke's death, it appears that he became involved with Stafford and was one of the executors of his will.[15] Browning was later selected as sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1463–4. The foremost figure connected with Stafford was his uncle by marriage, William Stourton.

John, Lord Stourton had been treasurer of the royal household in the 1440s (above, pp. 155–6), and took no part in the upheavals from 1459 to 1461. He and his son managed to escape attainder and cooperated with the Edwardian government. Indeed, Stourton was in Edward IV's favour: he retained his position as a justice of the peace; was granted the farm of the royal castle and custody of the park of More in May 1461; and, in addition, in April 1462, was assigned keeper of Robert, Lord Hungerford's forfeited lands.[16] Stourton's son and heir, William, succeeded his father in 1462, and was nominated to the Somerset bench in 1466.[17] William had married Margaret (d.1503), a Chideock co-heiress and Stafford's maternal aunt. This close family connection suggests that it is extremely likely that the Stourton nexus would

[14] *CPR 1461–7*, 532; *CPR 1467–77*, 112.

[15] *HPB*, 125–6; *CPR 1452–61*, 592; Johnson (1988), 229. Executor, and land transaction (as grantor, recipient, or witness) 1463–6: *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 196–201; *CCR 1461–8*, 369.

[16] *CPR 1461–7*, 25, 182.

[17] *HPB*, 819.

have become associated with Stafford; indeed, one might also ask whether the Stourtons, with their Lancastrian credentials, would have managed the transition to Yorkist rule so successfully if they had not been able to count on a strong connection with the new regime. The highest profile Stourton associate during the 1460s was Stourton's brother, Reginald Stourton (d.1489) of West Bower (Som.), who was sheriff in 1468–9. Reginald's brother-in-law (his sister's husband), Richard Warre (*c.*1422–82) of Hestercombe (Som.), was a JP from 1457.[18] The Stourton clients the Caraunts of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.) continued their service, including John Caraunt I (d.1478) who was a JP from 1469.[19] Other possible Stourton clients included John FitzJames (d.1476) of Redlynch (Som.);[20] and John Porter (fl.1459–83) of Portbury (Som.).[21] It seems that it may have been through the Stourton nexus that Stafford was able to influence Somerset shire administration.

As in the 1450s, John, Lord Stourton and his sons, William and Reginald, appear to have been allied with the Hungerfords.[22] Robert II, Lord Hungerford and Moleyns was decidedly Lancastrian – he fled with Henry VI to Scotland and was captured and executed after Hexham in May 1464. After his attainder in 1461, it was left to his mother, Margaret, Lady Hungerford and Botreaux, and his son, Thomas (*c.*1439–69), to seek Yorkist patronage and preserve the family's position.[23] The integration of Stourton and Hungerford affinities indicates that, ultimately, the Hungerfords would become indirectly affiliated with Stafford through the Stourtons. Indeed, this possible connection is further suggested by Stafford's own involvement in a land transaction with the Hungerfords in 1464.[24] Evidently, it appears that despite their Lancastrian sympathies, the Hungerford clientele had little option but to serve

[18] *HPB*, 922–3; Gibson (1988–9), 183–5.

[19] *HPB*, 154.

[20] JP from 1461; land transaction 1457: *CPR 1452–61*, 419; Mayo (1918), 54–68.

[21] JP from 1461; land transaction 1457: *CPR 1452–61*, 419.

[22] John, Lord Stourton as feoffee, and in land transactions 1443–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 224, 237, 253–4. William, Lord Stourton in land transaction 1464: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245. Reginald Stourton in land transaction 1460: *HR*, i, 237.

[23] *CP*, vi, 618–21; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert'.

[24] *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245.

Edward IV and Stafford; similarly, Stafford had little option but to rely – at least to some extent – on Hungerford support. In 1462, a commission was issued to arrest and imprison Lord Hungerford and Moleyns and his mother (along with Somerset) who were forming 'divers suspicious congregations'.[25] While Lord Hungerford and Moleyns was Lancastrian, his son, Thomas, fought for the Yorkists in the North; even so, in 1468, Thomas (along with Henry Courtenay, heir to the earldom of Devon) was arrested on suspicion of treason and later executed.[26]

Despite this apparent ambivalence, Hungerford clients were often sheriffs, MPs, and JPs (in contrast to Stourton clients who were, largely, only JPs) during the 1460s. Margaret, Lady Hungerford's father – Lord Botreaux – was a justice of the peace until his death.[27] One Botreaux-Hungerford associate was Thomas Seymour (d.1489), who sat as a JP from 1462.[28] The Sydenhams of Brimpton Devery (Som.) were also Hungerford clients: John Sydenham I (*c.*1420–68) was sheriff in 1465–6, as a JP, and was also returned as MP in 1460–1 and 1467–8 (and perhaps also to the two parliaments in between);[29] his son, John Sydenham II (d.1521), also served on the county bench until 1469.[30] Another Hungerford client may have been Robert Stowell (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.).[31] Another possibility for a Hungerford client was Henry Hull (*c.*1410–85) of Exeter (Dev.) and Ashill (Som.).[32] The greater number of Hungerford affiliates, compared to Stourton clients, indicates that the Hungerford connection was the principal force in Somerset politics.

In addition to Stourton-Hungerford support, Stafford may have gained the

[25] *CPR 1461–7*, 101.

[26] Warkworth, 6; Hicks (1991f), 175; Hicks (1992), 37.

[27] Feoffee, and land transactions 1458–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476.

[28] Botreaux land transaction 1462: *CCR 1461–8*, 145, 146. Hungerford land transactions 1462–9: *CCR 1461–8*, 144; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230, 246.

[29] Feoffee, and land transactions 1459–69: *HC*, no. 923, 925; *CCR 1454–61*, 440; *HR*, i, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 394; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 236, 239, 240, 246; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477; *HPB*, 833.

[30] Land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 394; confirmed by his father's Hungerford associations.

[31] Sheriff 1467–8, and JP until 1468, again from 1469; land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5.

[32] MP 1467–8, and JP 1468–70; land transactions 1463–4: *CCR 1461–8*, 272; *HPB*, 482–3.

support of another connection, principally centred in Devon: that of Lord Bonville.[33] The Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus is discussed in greater detail with regard to Devon and Cornwall, but one figure who had been linked with Bonville and was involved in Somerset affairs in the 1460s was his son-in-law, William Courtenay (d.1485) of East Coker (Som.) and Yelton (Dev.).[34] In addition, there is also the possibility of the Stourton and Bonville client John FitzJames (d.1476) of Redlynch (Som.).[35]

In summary, it appears that Lord Stafford might not have depended only on the support of those linked directly with himself, but also on the support of others via secondary patrons such as Stourton, the Hungerfords, and (to a lesser extent in Somerset) some former Bonville-FitzWaryn clients. So, including those members of the Stourton-Hungerford (and Bonville-FitzWaryn) connections as indirect associates, an analysis of shire offices indicates the extent to which Stafford's authority may have permeated Somerset political society. Of the sheriffs of Somerset/Dorset returned between 1461 and 1470, over two-fifths (44 per cent) of terms were undertaken by Stafford clients.[36] Stafford's associates accounted for only two MPs elected four times; from 1461 to 1469, his clients account for between two-fifths and a half of Somerset JPs on each commission: the proportions ranging from a peak of over half in 1462 and 1463, to a nadir of just under two-fifths in 1468 and July 1469. Stafford's influence in local affairs can also be illustrated in the commissions of array, which included many of those who may have been members of his affinity: in June 1461, ten of the twelve were Stafford associates;[37] in April 1466, nine of the twelve commissioners were Stafford clients.[38] In general, this appears to demonstrate the command of local government that Stafford may have wielded. He was the chief magnate in Somerset and because of his pre-eminent position, may have been

[33] *CP*, ii, 218–19; *ODNB*: 'Bonville, William'.

[34] Courtenay was JP until Readeption: *HPB*, 231–2.

[35] FitzJames's Bonville land transaction 1455: *CCR 1454–61*, 125; Mayo, 'FitzJames Family', 54–68.

[36] Four Stafford clients served 4 of 9 terms: William Browning 1463–4; John Sydenham I 1465–6; Robert Stowell 1467–8; and Reginald Stourton 1468–9.

[37] *CPR 1461–7*, 562–3.

[38] *CPR 1461–7*, 529, 561, 562–3, 571.

regarded as the crown's principal representative. Consequently, this appears to have been reflected in his affinity – with enmeshing between Stafford clients and members of the king's household. For example, Stafford's friend and ally John, Lord Audley had been connected with the earl of Wiltshire in the late 1450s, as had Stafford himself; he continued his royal household service under Edward IV, and was designated JP for Somerset.[39] There is also a possibility that the royal servant Christopher Worsley of Shute (Dev.) may have been connected with the Hungerfords.[40] Such intermingling indicates how Stafford clients and royal household servants blurred, meaning that Stafford might be perceived as representing the king's authority.

Audley was not the only royal servant to be involved in local administration: for instance, of the sheriffs' terms between 1461 and 1470, over half (55 per cent) were undertaken by crown retainers.[41] These three household sheriffs were all outsiders to the two counties: Thomas Herbert was from Wales, Sir George Darell from Wiltshire, and Christopher Worsley from Devon – perhaps illustrating the Yorkists' initial lack of reliable supporters in Somerset and Dorset, and how the regime valued loyalty before locality in shire government (at least in its early years). Christopher Worsley of Shute (Dev.) was twice selected as sheriff, and was a JP from 1468; he was a marshall of the hall in the royal household, was nominated keeper of the parks and constable of Dunster Castle (Som.) in 1462, and was granted lands in Dorset in February 1468.[42] He married Audley's half-sister, Elizabeth (Lord Cobham's widow).[43] In contrast to the office of sheriff, household men account for only a small proportion of Somerset JPs during the decade, with the highest number being one-tenth (11 per cent) in July and November 1469. If members of the king's

[39] *HPB*, 29–30.

[40] Land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–68*, 395.

[41] Three household sheriffs served 5 of 9 terms: Christopher Worsley 1464–5 and 1469–70; but Thomas Herbert 1461–3, and Sir George Darell 1466–7, do not qualify as members of the south-west political elites so fall beyond the scope of this work.

[42] *CPR 1461–7*, 200; *CPR 1467–77*, 48.

[43] *CPR 1461–7*, 374.

household and Stafford's clients are taken as direct and indirect servants of the crown, then almost all the sheriffs were crown servants during the decade. The almost complete domination of the shrievalty by the king's representatives is perfectly understandable in a period of intense instability, when it was imperative to be able to depend on the county officer who raised the *posse comitatus*.

* * *

The involvement of the king's brothers in politics after 1465 heralded some alterations in Somerset political society: the king's eleven-year-old youngest brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester was granted Beaufort lands in 1463 and 1468,[44] while the heir to the throne – the king's fourteen-year-old younger brother – George, Duke of Clarence was granted the lands of attainted Lancastrians such as Wiltshire and Devon in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset from 1463.[45] Therefore, Clarence's south-western possessions included, in all, five castles and fifty-five manors in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire – with the largest concentration being in Somerset.[46] Clarence's volume of lands indicates that he would be a significant figure in Somerset, and he was added to the county bench in 1466. He was lieutenant of Ireland from 1462, and acted as steward of England at the coronations of the king and his consort.

While at first the duke's power and influence was purely nominal, his minority ended when he paid homage to the king in July 1466. After this point, Clarence was involved in the local affairs of the counties where his estates lay. Although the duke's main seat was at Tutbury (Staffs.) and he possessed estates throughout the country, his status as the king's brother and heir meant that his patronage would be attractive to the gentry and peerage of Somerset and the south-west in general. However, even after Clarence was given a place in Somerset landed society the face of shire administration

[44] *CPR 1461–7*, 179, 292; *CPR 1467–77*, 139, 179. Agreements in 1469 resolved that most Hungerford estates would pass to Gloucester, and the Moleyns and Botreaux inheritances would pass to Thomas's daughter, Mary: *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 344, 348; *CP*, xii(2), 944–7; *HPB*, 275, 740–1; Hicks (1991f), 171, 177, 180–1; Kleineke (1998), 6, 35, 41–2, 246–7; *ODNB*: 'Dinham, John'.

[45] *CPR 1461–7*, 226–7, 331, 362, 366, 388, 454–5; Hicks (1992), 205–13.

[46] Hicks (1992), 172, 179. Clarence's other grants: *CPR 1461*–7, 198–9, 212–13, 214, 328–9.

did not change complexion: Clarence may have expected to have at least some of his supporters elected sheriff – the fact that he did not manage this or, indeed, manage to influence local government to any great extent, may have contributed to his disillusionment with his brother's governance, and to his support of Warwick's rebellion.

One of the outcomes of the 1469 Rebellions was Stafford's execution at Bridgwater;[47] and when Edward IV had escaped from Warwick's custody in October 1469, he issued commissions of array, which indicate who the king trusted at this time. The commissioners included Stafford's former allies: FitzWaryn, Audley, Dinham, and Stourton, and other gentry; so, in total, eight of the ten commissioners were past Stafford associates.[48] The commissions of March 1470 similarly mostly comprised Stafford dependants (66 per cent) – with the addition of the Gloucestershire magnate Thomas, Viscount Lisle.[49] Less than three months later, Edward IV reissued commissions, in June 1470, and these again relied on former Stafford servants (50 per cent), and also included Gloucester, and John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.[50] At this time, the commissions of the peace, from 1469 to 1470, reveal moderate continuity (55 per cent) resulting from the deaths of Worcester and Lisle, and Audley's exclusion.[51]

In October 1470, Warwick and Clarence returned triumphantly from exile and Henry VI was restored to the throne. During the Readeption, the Clarence client Nicholas Latimer (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.) served as sheriff (below, p. 212). The Readeption escheator was John Twynho (*c.*1445–75) of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.), a royal household servant since 1463; he was the son of William Twynho I (*c.*1420–72) – Lord Hungerford and Moleyns's executor in 1462 – and also

[47] Warkworth, 6–7; Rawlins (1964), 35–6.
[48] *CPR 1467–77*, 195–6.
[49] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.
[50] *CPR 1467–77*, 220.
[51] Below, Appendix IV.

Clarence's servant from 1470.[52] Twynho is one of the few examples of a clear Clarence-Hungerford connection, so questions whether there might have been broader Hungerford support for Clarence and the Readeption (especially in the light of their latent Lancastrianism); if so, this would have undermined Stafford's influence in Somerset (and perhaps justify Thomas Hungerford's execution for treason). The earl of Pembroke's death in July 1469 may have enabled Warwick to fulfil his aim to extend his influence in Wales: something – it seems – he had desired since the early 1450s; so, can something similar be said about Clarence? The duke may have been expecting to replace Stafford as regional 'governor'; however, under the Readeption regime, Clarence had to abandon his claim to the throne, and was to lose any properties he possessed forfeited by Lancastrians (meaning most, if not all, of them). In recompense, Clarence was confirmed as lieutenant of Ireland, and his title to the duchy of York may have been recognised. Inevitably, as a substantial beneficiary of forfeited Lancastrian lands, Clarence would lose estates and political importance in Somerset and the rest of the realm with the restoration of Lancastrians such as the Somerset and Wiltshire; so, it may have been his lack of reward that convinced Clarence to return to the Edwardian fold.[53]

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET

The change in government from Lancastrian to Yorkist was illustrated in Dorset commissions of the peace: from 1458 to 1461 there was a moderate continuity rate (60 per cent) caused, specifically, by York's death, Wiltshire and Buckingham's attainders, and the addition of certain loyal Yorkists.[54] Somerset and Dorset political societies were closely inter-related with regard to particular personalities, and also in terms of patronage networks: the Stourton and Hungerford blocs continued to be of prime importance in county matters, and may have become attached to the patronage

[52] *HPB*, 887.

[53] Hicks (1992), 52–109; *ODNB*: 'George, Duke of Clarence'.

[54] Below, Appendix IV.

of Edward's favourite, Humphrey Stafford.

Lord Stafford was not only involved in Somerset politics, but was also a leading member of the Dorset gentry, on account of his Chideock and Stafford inheritances. He was also endowed with more lands and offices in order to expand his influence: in July 1461, he was assigned constable of Bristol, and custodian of royal forests in Gloucestershire, Somerset, and the forest of Gillingham (Dor.).[55] In addition, Stafford was awarded wardships such as those of John Bratton and Lord Zouche (above, p. 200).[56] While Stafford received few Dorset offices, the estates accumulated from other peers' forfeited lands in the shire – plus his own significance in Somerset – will have had an impact upon shire society. The collective effect of this patronage in Dorset and Somerset may have made Stafford pre-eminent in both counties.

One of Stafford's executors, William Browning of Melbury Sampford (Dor.), became sheriff and was also a Dorset JP (above, p. 200). Another Stafford associate, John Fillol (*c.*1408–67) of Woodlands (Dev.), was elected MP in 1467–8 and perhaps in 1463–5, and was also a JP in 1465–7; like Stafford, he had been connected with Wiltshire in the late 1450s; and, furthermore, he had married the daughter of the Beaufort-Stourton client John Caraunt I.[57] Other possible Stafford protégés were John Newburgh (*c.*1405–84) of East Lulworth (Dor.);[58] and Thomas Hussey (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton and Shapwick (Dor.);[59] and, as detailed concerning Somerset (above, p. 200), William Stourton.

The influence that John, Lord Stourton had in Somerset also extended into Dorset. He cooperated with Edwardian rule – remaining on the county bench – and receiving the keeping of forfeited Hungerford lands. His son, William, was knight of

[55] *CPR 1461–7*, 129; *CCR 1461–8*, 18–19, 21.
[56] *CPR 1461–7*, 532; *CPR 1467–77*, 112.
[57] *HPB*, 325–6; Stafford land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 369.
[58] JP until 1471: *HPB*, 628; land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 369.
[59] JP from 1461: *HPB*, 488–9; land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 369.

the shire in 1461–2, and remained on the Dorset bench.[60] Since he was the husband of Stafford's maternal aunt, it seems highly probable that William, Lord Stourton and his affinity would have become associated with Stafford; indeed, some Stourton affiliates merged with Stafford's: the Stafford client John Newburgh had been an associate of the Stourtons since the 1430s;[61] and similarly, the Stafford client Thomas Hussey was Lord Stourton's feoffee in 1471.[62] In general, other Stourton clients included the peer's brother, Reginald (d.1489) of West Bower (Som.) who was sheriff; and also Stourton's brother-in-law (his sister's husband), William Caraunt (*c.*1395–1476) of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.), who continued as a JP throughout the decade.[63]

John, Lord Stourton and his sons, were involved in Hungerford land transactions during the 1460s (as discussed, above, p. 201). Similarly, the Stafford-Stourton client John Newburgh of East Lulworth (Dor.) also seems to have been associated with the Hungerfords during the 1460s.[64] The assumption that the Hungerfords would be associated with Stafford indirectly through the Stourtons is also implied by Stafford's direct involvement with the Hungerfords.[65] Despite their Lancastrian sympathies, the Hungerford connection clearly had to serve the Yorkists, and Stafford had to rely on Hungerford support. However, while Lord Hungerford and Moleyns and his mother were intriguing and were briefly arrested in 1462, his son, Thomas, fought for the Yorkists, although he was later implicated in a treasonous plot (above, p. 202).[66]

One Hungerford client may have been Stephen Preston (*c.*1425–74) of Catherston and Silton (Dor.), burgess in parliament for Lyme Regis (Dor.) in 1467–8 (and perhaps 1470–1);[67] he had been awarded an annuity, and designated York's

[60] *HPB*, 819.

[61] *CCR 1435–41*, 481.

[62] *HPB*, 488–9.

[63] *HPB*, 155.

[64] Feoffee, and land transactions 1462–9: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 246; *HR*, i, 288–9.

[65] *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245.

[66] Warkworth, 6; Hicks (1991f), 175; Hicks (1992), 37.

[67] Land transactions 1466–73: *CCR 1461–8*, 394–5; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139; *HPB*, 699–700.

constable of Bridgwater Castle and keeper of the forest of Petherton (Som.) in August 1460 (later confirmed by Edward IV); but in 1465, he lost these offices to Stafford.[68] Other possible Hungerford clients included Henry Hull of Exeter (Dev.) and Ashill (Som.);[69] Robert Stowell of Cothelstone (Som.);[70] and John Sydenham I of Brimpton Devery (Som.).[71] In addition to Stourton-Hungerford support, just as in Somerset, Stafford may have also been able to gain the support of the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection, principally centred in Devon (discussed below, pp. 214–16): one probable Bonville client was Christopher Cook (*c.*1430–81) of Thorne (Dev.), elected burgess in parliament for Lyme Regis in 1467–8; in 1474, he and others founded a perpetual chantry dedicated to Bonville's memory at Porlock (Som.).[72]

Lord Stafford could depend not only on the support of those directly linked with himself, but also on the support of other gentry, indirectly, via secondary patrons Stourton and FitzWaryn and their Stourton-Hungerford and Bonville-FitzWaryn affinities. Of course, the fact that Stafford could call on such support in Dorset as well as Somerset would have been of some significance both at a regional and, ultimately, at a national level. An analysis of offices undertaken by direct and indirect Stafford associates indicates the extent to which his authority percolated through Dorset. The shrievalty and escheatry of Somerset/Dorset have been discussed, and in Dorset five Stafford clients were returned to parliament a total of six times during the decade. The number of Stafford protégés who were Dorset justices of the peace averaged over two-fifths on each commission: ranging from the highest figure of over half in May 1465, to the lowest of over a third in 1467. Stafford's influence in local affairs is also illustrated in the commissions of array, which included members of his affinity: in June 1461, seven of the ten commissioners were Stafford associates;[73] while in April

[68] *HPB*, 699–70; Johnson (1988), 237; *CPR 1461–7*, 96.

[69] JP from 1468: *HPB*, 482–3; land transactions 1463–4: *CCR 1461–8*, 272.

[70] Sheriff 1467–8; land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5.

[71] Sheriff 1465–6; feoffee, and land transactions 1460–9: *HC*, no. 923, 925; *CCR 1454–61*, 440; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 394; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 236, 239, 240, 246; *HR*, i, 288–9; *HPB*, 833.

[72] *CPR 1467–77*, 476; *HPB*, 215.

[73] *CPR 1461–7*, 562–3.

1466, six of the nine commissioners were Stafford affiliates.[74] These figures demonstrate how Stafford had become *the* chief focus for politics and government in Somerset and Dorset, and as shall be seen, for the south-west region as a whole. Stafford's position as the king's principal magnate in the region – and one of his few favourites – will have also reinforced his local, regional, and wider national standing, ensuring that he was *the* power-broker for south-west England.

Lord Stafford's status as the crown's principal representative, and close relationship with Edward IV, meant that there was some overlap between Stafford associates and royal servants: Stafford's ally Lord Audley – who was also involved in Somerset affairs – remained on the Dorset bench, and was nominated steward of Dorset royal forests and custodian of Wardour Castle (Wilts.); in June 1469, he was also granted the wardship of William Winning, along with custody of his Dorset and Wiltshire estates during his nonage.[75] Audley was the only household JP in Dorset, and the only household MP was Edward Hardgill (*c.*1435–87) of Mere (Wilts.), who represented Weymouth in 1467–8. Hardgill was a yeoman of the crown in the king's household, and was granted the parkerships of royal parks in Hampshire and Oxfordshire.[76] Another royal retainer was the marshall of the hall and sheriff Christopher Worsley who was also involved in Somerset (above, p. 204).

* * *

In 1465, Queen Elizabeth was granted estates in Wiltshire and other lands and annuities in Dorset and Gloucestershire.[77] The queen was not the only new Dorset landowner: Gloucester was granted Somerset's lands and former Beaufort estates (above, p. 205). Clarence was granted the lands of attainted Lancastrians in Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and other counties; consequently, as mentioned, Clarence's south-western possessions amounted to over fifty manors and properties in the western

[74] *CPR 1461–7*, 529, 561, 562–3, 571.

[75] *CPR 1461–7*, 8, 87; *CPR 1467–77*, 162; *HPB*, 29–30; *CP*, i, 341–2.

[76] *CPR 1452–61*, 645; *CCR 1454–61*, 467; *CPR 1461–7*, 24, 48, 72, 522; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 11; *HPB*, 422–3.

[77] *CPR 1461–7*, 430, 480–2; *CCR 1461–8*, 277, 415; Somerville (1953), i, 340; Westervelt (1997), 44.

counties, and Wiltshire, and Hampshire. As a significant Dorset landowner, Clarence was added to the bench in 1466; and as the king's brother, Clarence's landed presence was of immense importance – since local gentry and peerage in the shire and the south-west in general would seek his benefaction.

One of Clarence's most prominent servants appears to have been Nicholas Latimer of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.) who had been a customer of Poole until 1460.[78] Latimer had been attainted in 1461, and some of his lands were granted to Sir John Howard, with others – including Loxton (Som.) – granted to Sir Edward Grey.[79] Latimer was pardoned, and gravitated towards Clarence as a new patron; he had his attainder reversed in 1468.[80] While Howard sold his share of the lands back to Latimer, Grey may have refused to surrender Loxton: consequently, Latimer appealed to Clarence to settle the dispute.[81] Subsequently, Loxton was awarded to Latimer, and Clarence's good lordship may have further persuaded him to support Warwick and Clarence's rebellion.[82] Again, as in Somerset, there are few examples of Clarence associates during the 1460s: it may have been because of his limited local connections – and lack of influence in county affairs – that he became disillusioned with the government.

After Stafford's execution and Edward IV's escape from captivity, the king issued array commissions in October 1469, which indicate on whose support he was relying. The commissions included Stafford's former allies, namely FitzWaryn, Audley, Dinham, and Stourton and, in total, nine of the ten commissioners were former Stafford clients.[83] The commissions of March 1470 similarly comprised past Stafford associates (two-thirds), and the addition of William, Earl of Arundel and his heir, Lord Maltravers, may indicate an attempt to broaden support.[84] Less than three

[78] *CPR 1461–7*, 454; *HPB*, 527–8.
[79] *CPR 1461–7*, 111.
[80] *PR*, xiii, 390; *CPR 1461–7*, 454; *CPR 1467–77*, 90; Hicks (1984), 28; Mercer (1997), 50.
[81] *CPR 1461–7*, 90, 111, 178, 200, 269, 525, 537; Hicks (1992), 48, 217; Hicks (1991c), 142–3.
[82] Thomson (1972), 237–9; Hicks (1992), 73, 188, 217; Mercer (1997), 50.
[83] *CPR 1467–77*, 195–6.
[84] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.

months later, the commissions of June 1470 again largely relied on former Stafford servants (73 per cent), and also included the earl of Worcester.[85] At that time, because of the unstable national situation, the overall membership of the Dorset commissions of the peace had moderate continuity (50 per cent) in the period from 1469 to 1470.[86]

During the Readeption, the Clarence client Nicholas Latimer was sheriff and also, perhaps, knight of the shire.[87] John Twynho of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.) was chosen as escheator, and had been associated with the Hungerfords (as discussed above, p. 206).[88] Similarly, Stephen Preston of Catherston and Silton (Dor.) who may have been returned as burgess in parliament for Lyme Regis (reprising this role from 1467–8) also appears to have been a Hungerford client.[89] Both Twynho and Preston may have been Hungerford dependants and both were employed in the Readeption government. Twynho sought Clarence's patronage – while it appears Preston did not (although this seems not improbable). Again, as in Somerset, the possibility of Hungerford associates seeking Clarence's patronage prior to the Readeption could have undermined Stafford's position in Dorset. Of course, the restoration of exiled Lancastrian peers to their patrimonies meant Clarence would lose lands he had been granted, and may have persuaded him to be reconciled with his brother.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON

Just as demonstrated with regard to the other counties, the tumultuous transition from Henrician to Edwardian government was reflected in the commissions of the peace: in Devon, from June to July 1461 there was an extremely low level of continuity (30 and 38 per cent) – and the most striking addition to the bench, in 1462, was the Somerset and Dorset figure, Humphrey Stafford.[90] Although Devon affairs were very different

[85] *CPR 1467–77*, 220.
[86] Below, Appendix IV.
[87] *HPB*, 527–8.
[88] *HPB*, 887.
[89] *HPB*, 699–700. Land transactions 1466–73: *CCR 1461–8*, 394–5; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139.
[90] Below, Appendix IV.

from those of the counties further east and the county continued to be influenced by the Bonville-FitzWaryn affinity, during the 1460s, one person who may have been connected with it, and was common to all western counties, was Humphrey, Lord Stafford.

While, as seen, Lord Stafford's inheritance was concentrated in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire, it appears that Edward intended Stafford's sphere of influence to encompass Devon as well. He was granted the core of the Devon estates of the earldom of Devon;[91] then, in July 1467, this was confirmed and he was granted further royal lands;[92] while in November 1464, he gained the reversion of the office of master forester of Exmoor.[93] Ultimately, in May 1469, when created earl of Devon, Stafford was granted further manors and lands forfeited by Henry Courtenay, executed for treason three months earlier.[94] In addition, Stafford was also granted a number of wardships, such as those of James, son of James Dernford in 1467, of Richard, son of John Whitlegh, and of the five daughters of Richard Champernoun, along with his Devon and Cornwall estates.[95] Stafford was also linked with important figures in Devon. For instance, his stepfather, John Arundell, was designated sheriff of Devon in 1464–5 (but was more influential in Cornwall); in addition, Stafford's executor, John Cheyne of Pinhoe (Dev.), was selected as sheriff in 1461–3;[96] Cheyne had been a Bonville kinsman, feoffee, and supporter and his affiliation with Bonville and FitzWaryn may have also reflected Stafford's connections with this nexus.[97]

The Bonville-FitzWaryn alliance dominated Devon politics throughout the

[91] *CPR 1461–7*, 116, 323; *CPR 1467–77*, 22–3, 124. The estates of the earldom of Devon were initially assigned, in August 1462, to William Neville, Lord Fauconberg (*c.*1401–63), who later became earl of Kent (*CPR 1461–7*, 225; also *CP*, v, 281–7; viii, 163; *ODNB*: 'Neville, William, Lord Fauconberg'). So it was only after Kent's death, in February 1463, that the estates were granted to Stafford, but he had, by that time, already been awarded significant offices in Somerset, Dorset and Cornwall indicating his expected local and regional role (above, pp. 199, 208, and below, p. 221).

[92] *CPR 1467–77*, 17.

[93] *CPR 1467–77*, 85; *HPB*, 793–4.

[94] *CPR 1467–77*, 156; *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Humphrey'.

[95] *CPR 1467–77*, 116.

[96] *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 196–201.

[97] *CPR 1436–41*, 540; Cherry (1981b), 129; *CCR 1461–8*, 184. Fulk, Lord FitzWaryn's feoffee 1475: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454.

1440s and 1450s (Chapter 5) but on Bonville's death in 1461, his sole heir was his infant great-granddaughter, Cecily.[98] Naturally, a child could not provide leadership to the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection. Moreover, Bonville's allies, Lord FitzWaryn and Sir Philip Courtenay, were also both entering their sixties (both were deceased before 1470), and similarly could not provide the dynamic direction that was required. Into this leadership void, stepped Lord Stafford. His father, had been Bonville's feoffee in 1448; and his grandfather, Humphrey Stafford (*c.*1379–1442), had also been a Bonville supporter.[99]

While familial association with Bonville cannot be cited as definitive evidence for Stafford's recruitment of Bonville clients to his affinity, it cannot have hindered his efforts to win their support. The Bonville-FitzWaryn connection was central to exerting political influence in Devon and in the first months of the reign, county officials were drawn predominantly from the Yorkist affinities of Bonville, FitzWaryn, and Courtenay.[100] Sir Philip Courtenay was a JP until his death in 1463.[101] His son, William Courtenay (*c.*1428–85) of East Coker (Som.) and Yelton (Dev.), was Bonville's son-in-law, and was also nominated as a JP from 1464 (above, p. 203). Another probable Bonville client was Philip Beaumont (*c.*1432–73) of Gittisham and Heanton (Dev.) who was sheriff and MP in 1467–8, and on the bench from 1466.[102] Other Bonville-FitzWaryn clients included John Gifford (fl.1444–1504);[103] John More (d.1481);[104] and Walter Raleigh (d.1464) of Fardel (Dev.);[105] and there is also the possibility that Nicholas Carew (*c.*1423–70) of Beddington (Surrey) may have also

[98] *ODNB*: 'Bonville, William'.

[99] *HPB*, 795.

[100] Of 51 commissioners in Devon (July 1460–June 1461), nearly a quarter had been overtly hostile to the earl in 1455–6 and, of these, one third were closely related to Courtenay or FitzWaryn: Cherry (1981b), 139–40.

[101] Land transaction 1449: *CCR 1447–54*, 158.

[102] *HPB*, 58; Fulk, Lord FitzWaryn's feoffee 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936.

[103] JP from 1461; Bonville administrator 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 184; FitzWaryn land transaction 1460: *CCR 1454–61*, 448.

[104] JP until 1464; administrator, and land transaction 1449–63: *CCR 1447–54*, 158; *CCR 1461–8*, 184.

[105] JP until 1464, and perhaps MP 1461–2 and 1463–5; administrator, and recognisance 1456–63: *CCR 1454–61*, 171; *CCR 1461–8*, 184; *HPB*, 707–8.

been a Bonville-FitzWaryn associate.[106]

One of the most prominent Devon landowners was John Dinham, son of the probable Bonville-FitzWaryn affiliate, Sir John Dinham of Hartland (Dev.). John Dinham was elected sheriff in 1460–1, and had become a member of the new king's household by July 1461, when he was created master forester of Dartmoor.[107] Although he was granted forfeited Hungerford lands in Devon, Somerset, and Oxfordshire in 1464 and was raised to the peerage in 1467, Dinham's rewards pale into insignificance compared to Stafford's voluminous endowments.[108] Dinham's prominence was restricted to Devon, with limited interests in Cornwall, but this position was consolidated by his sisters' marriages to eminent Devon figures such as Fulk, son of Lord FitzWaryn, John, Lord Zouche, and Sir John Carew.[109] Perhaps the most significant of these marriages was that of his sister to Stafford's uterine half-brother, Thomas Arundell (*c.*1452–85) of Lanherne. Dinham's former associations with Bonville, combined with his connections with leading Devon figures, placed him at the heart of the Bonville-FitzWaryn network.

It seems reasonable to suppose that, as a result of this and their own familial relationship, Stafford and Dinham cooperated in Devon politics; and both peers held duchy of Cornwall offices. Dinham's only duchy office was that of master forester or ranger of Dartmoor; however, in November 1464, Stafford superseded Dinham's office by obtaining the stewardship of Dartmoor.[110] It is interesting to ask whether this was a manifestation of rivalry between the two men. In July 1463, Dinham had become chief steward of Clarence's estates in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall (formerly owned by William Neville, Earl of Kent).[111] Dinham's relationship with Clarence clearly indicates his importance in Devon affairs, but whether this was a

[106] Sheriff 1469–70; recognisance 1458: *CCR 1454–61*, 263.

[107] *CPR 1461–7*, 126; *CCR 1461–8*, 111, 287. Dinham loaned money to Edward IV and was recompensed: *CCR 1461–8*, 16; *CPR 1461–7*, 439; *ODNB*: 'Dinham, John'.

[108] *CPR 1461–7*, 301, 333, 359–60; above, p. 214.

[109] Dinham as FitzWaryn feoffee 1471–5: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936, 1454.

[110] PRO, SC6/816/7, m. 2; SC6/816/8, m. 1.

[111] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR37/21.

symptom of any further political manoeuvring is uncertain – it certainly would have been advantageous for Dinham to remain on good terms with both Stafford and Clarence, if practicable.

There also appears to have been some integration between Bonville-FitzWaryn and Hungerford affinities. The Hungerfords were influential in Devon because of the marriage of Robert, Lord Hungerford to Margaret, daughter of the Cornish landowner Lord Botreaux. Stafford's stepfather, John Arundell, had been associated with the Hungerfords since the 1430s.[112] Stafford's executor, John Cheyne, had also been linked to the Hungerfords since the late 1440s (above, p. 158).[113] Furthermore, Bonville's ally, Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, had married Hungerford's sister.[114] Other possible Hungerford clients included Thomas Bere (fl.1451–85) of Bodmin and Lankynhorne (Cor.) who was briefly a JP in 1461;[115] and also possibly Philip Copplestone (d.1473) of Colbrook (Dev.) who was nominated as a JP from 1468, and was accused in 1463–4, by several of the earl of Warwick's tenants, of riotous assaults and the murder of John Singe at South Tawton (Dev.).[116] So, these examples suggest that the Bonville-FitzWaryn and Hungerford affinities shared some members and may have been, to some extent, in co-operation.

In summary, including those directly connected with Lord Stafford, and those indirectly connected to him through the Bonville-FitzWaryn and Hungerford nexuses, it might be possible to survey Stafford's potential influence in Devon shire administration. Of the sheriffs of Devon returned between 1461 and 1470, over two-fifths (44 per cent) of the terms were filled by Stafford clients – a similar figure to that of Somerset/Dorset.[117] In total, ten Devon MPs were Stafford clients; at the same time,

[112] Land transactions 1463–77: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511.

[113] Feoffee, chantry founder, and land transactions *c.*1449–72: *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 386, 394, 394–5, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 227, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 646; *HR*, i, 256, 288–9; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477, 1478; *HC*, no. 925; *CPR 1467–77*, 311.

[114] Land transaction 1460: *CCR 1454–61*, 440.

[115] Land transaction 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 271.

[116] Land transaction 1463: *HR*, i, 256. PRO, C1/28/383.

[117] Four Stafford clients 4 served of 9 terms: John Cheyne 1461–3; John Arundell 1464–5; Philip

though, the proportion of Stafford affiliates on the county bench on each commission steadily decreased during the decade, from the peaks of almost two-thirds in July 1461, to half in 1462, one-third in 1464, and the lowest of a quarter in February and July 1468. That said, Stafford's overall significance in Devon politics can also be illustrated, through an examination of the commissions of array: in June 1461, six of the ten commissioners were Stafford associates;[118] while, in April 1466, only three of the ten were Stafford clients.[119] Potentially, Stafford would have been able to wield at least some authority as the crown's representative in the county's affairs. The centrality of his leadership to Devon politics and broader south-west society would have meant that his status on a regional and, ultimately, on a national scale, would have been significantly enhanced. Stafford became a crucial national–regional power-broker – one of the pillars upon which rested the pediment of Yorkist government.

Only three members of the king's household were involved in Devon affairs during the 1460s. The first was Thomas Clemens (*c.*1420–73) of Liskeard (Cor.), a servant of the royal household since 1452, who was briefly nominated as a justice of the peace in 1461.[120] The second example is Christopher Worsley (d.1471) of Shute (Dev.), selected as sheriff in 1465–6 and also sheriff of Somerset/Dorset; he was a marshall of the hall, and was linked by marriage to Audley and Cobham.[121] The third was Stafford's stepfather, John Arundell, an esquire of the body, who was nominated sheriff in 1464–5. So, of the Devon sheriffs between 1461 and 1470, over one-fifth (22 per cent) of the terms were undertaken by royal household servants.[122] If crown retainers and Stafford clients are taken together as direct and indirect royal servants, it seems clear that, as in Somerset and Dorset, the Devon shrievalty – and therefore shire administration – was very strongly dominated by the king's men.

Beaumont 1467–8; and Nicholas Carew 1469–70.

[118] *CPR 1461–7*, 562–3.

[119] *CPR 1461–7*, 529, 561, 562–3, 571.

[120] *HPB*, 188.

[121] *CPR 1461–7*, 200, 374.

[122] Two royal retainers served 2 of 9 terms: John Arundell 1464–5; and Christopher Worsley 1465–6.

* * *

The duke of Clarence was the other major figure during the 1460s: in January 1463, he was granted numerous Devon and Dorset manors, as well as properties in other counties, along with royal estates in Devon, and also the reversion of lands in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon.[123] In July 1465, he was granted nine Devon manors, and other lands in Somerset and Dorset forfeited by the Lancastrian earl of Wiltshire.[124] The extent of Clarence's estates ensured that he would be a significant figure in Devon; he was appointed to the county bench in 1466. As a result of his substantial landed interests and, of course, his position as heir presumptive to the throne, the Devon peerage and greater gentry would, undoubtedly, have been attracted to Clarence's service. For example, it appears that some Hungerford associates may have become associated with the duke: Sir Philip Courtenay (*c.*1430–89) of Kingston and Molland (Dev.) was a Hungerford client from at least 1467, and became Clarence's councillor from 1470.[125] In 1470, when Henry VI's rule was restored, Courtenay served as sheriff and perhaps knight of the shire. Although not connected with Clarence, another Hungerford associate involved in the Readeption administration was the JP, Hugh Courtenay (*c.*1420–71) of Boconnoc (Dev.).[126] The fact that Hungerford protégés were, once again, involved in the Readeption government – and that Philip Courtenay was a Clarence affiliate – highlights the possibility of broader Hungerford support for Clarence (as in Somerset and Dorset, above pp. 206–7, 213). However, in general, Clarence's failure to influence Devon – as well as Somerset and Dorset – affairs may have encouraged him to support Warwick's rebellion.

In early 1469, the trials and executions for treason of Thomas Hungerford and Henry Courtenay may have had local implications (above, p. 202): it was rumoured

[123] *CPR 1461–7*, 226–7.

[124] *CPR 1461–7*, 331, 454–5.

[125] Land transactions 1467–77: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 1078; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511. Clarence councillor 1470–8: *HPB*, 230–1.

[126] Land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246; *HPB*, 229.

that 'menne sayde the Lord Stafford of Southwyke was cause of the seyde Herry Courtenayes death',[127] which was probably a consequence of Stafford's creation as earl of Devon and grant of Courtenay lands in Devon and Cornwall a month later.[128] As Edward's regional representative in the south-west, Stafford's supposed implication in Courtenay's death may have tainted Edward IV himself with responsibility.

A few months later – during the 1469 rebellions – Stafford was executed, and when Edward issued commissions of array, indicating on whom he depended: in October 1469, the commissioners included Dinham, Audley, and FitzWaryn, and the latter's son Fulk, all of whom had been associated with Stafford.[129] In March 1470, four of the six commissioners were Stafford dependants.[130] A month later, further commissions included Gloucester, John Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, Walter, Lord Mountjoy, and five Stafford associates: so, in total, five of the thirteen commissioners had Stafford links.[131] In June 1470, commissioners included Worcester and Dinham, and six of the nine were Stafford clients.[132]

Stafford's sudden removal from western affairs – the literal decapitation of his leadership – meant that there was a temporary political vacuum. In November 1469 Dinham was designated steward of Stafford's Devon lands, and in the following March, he replaced Stafford as keeper of Exmoor and the royal forest of Neroche (Som.).[133] However, this minor re-settlement was to last only a few months: Dinham and others were removed from the commissions of the peace in the period from April to November 1470 – and it was at this time that the continuity of JPs was at a relatively low level (41 per cent) as a result of the rebellion and Readeption.[134] In

[127] Warkworth, 6; Hicks (1991f), 175; Hicks (1992), 37; *HPB*, 793–4.
[128] *CPR 1467–77*, 156; *HPB*, 793–4; *CP*, iv, 327–8; Davis (1989), 8–9; Mercer (1997), 49.
[129] *CPR 1467–77*, 195–6.
[130] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.
[131] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.
[132] *CPR 1467–77*, 220.
[133] *CPR 1467–77*, 176, 205; *CP*, iv, 378–82; *ODNB*: 'Dinham, John'.
[134] Below, Appendix IV.

February 1470, Edward IV granted the bulk of the earldom of Devon estates to Warwick's brother, John Neville, Earl of Northumberland in recompense for the loss of his earldom (which was restored to Henry Percy). This action, as well as Neville's creation as Marquess Montague may have been intended to undermine his support for his brother, Warwick.[135] This may also indicate one of the reasons for Clarence's subsequent rejoining of the Yorkist faction: he was denied overall south-western regional governance, on top of the potential loss of his estates to reinstated Lancastrian lords.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL

Edward's accession had an impact on appointments to the Cornish bench: the period from 1460 to 1462, shows a moderate level of continuity (54 per cent) as a result of the removal of York, Salisbury, Bonville, and Botreaux, plus the addition of some trusty Yorkists.[136] There was some degree of overlap between personalities and politics in Devon and Cornwall, just as during the previous decade, the Bonville-FitzWaryn interest was prominent in shire affairs and, during the 1460s, one feature common to both shires was Humphrey, Lord Stafford.

It seems that Edward intended Stafford's region of influence to include not only Somerset, Dorset, and Devon but also Cornwall. In February 1463, following the death of William, Earl of Kent, Stafford was awarded the core of the Courtenay estates in Cornwall and this was confirmed in July 1467 when he was granted some royal lands.[137] Moreover, Stafford was awarded a host of duchy of Cornwall offices: in 1461, he was appointed lord steward, and steward of duchy estates in Cornwall;[138] then, in 1464, he was granted the stewardship of Dartmoor, and a year later was designated steward of the duchy's Devon lands and lord warden of the stannaries.[139]

[135] *CPR 1467–77*, 189; Kleineke (1998), 249.

[136] Below, Appendix IV.

[137] *CPR 1467–77*, 17; for other Devon estates, above, p. 214.

[138] PRO, SC6/816/7, m. 9; SC6/816/8, m. 6; DCO207, m. 5; *CPR 1461–7*, 25, 120; *CP*, iv, 327–8; *HPB*, 793–4.

[139] PRO, SC6/816/7, mm. 2, 9; SC6/816/8, mm. 1, 6; DCO207, m. 5; *CPR 1461–7*, 360, 439.

Ultimately, in May 1469, on his creation as an earl, Stafford was granted more Courtenay properties in Cornwall.[140] Furthermore, Stafford was also granted custody of the five Champernoun heiresses and their estates.[141] Clearly, the overall effect of all these estates, wardships, and offices positioned Stafford as *the* central figure in Cornish political society, with clear implications for his competitive position within national politics.

Stafford seems to have been connected as patron – directly – with only two Cornish gentry. Firstly, he may have been associated with Edward Ashton (*c.*1430–82) of Callington (Cor.) who was burgess in parliament for Truro in 1467–8, and a JP from 1469.[142] Secondly, shortly after his father's death in 1450, Stafford's mother Katherine married John Arundell. The Arundells of Lanherne were the most influential family in Cornwall and seem to have been the keystone of Bonville's influence in the shire during the 1450s; so Stafford's connection with the family would have guaranteed him access to Cornwall's political elite, thus further accumulating importance in both wider regional and national politics. Stafford's stepfather, John Arundell, was elected sheriff of Devon, and sheriff of Cornwall in 1469–70, and was also nominated as a JP for Cornwall almost continuously from 1445. Arundell was favoured by the Edwardian government and, in July 1461, was granted custody of the duchy parks of Hellesbury and Lanteglos (Cor.), and was created a knight of the Bath at Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1465.[143]

It is impossible to know whether Stafford's relationship with his stepfather was either amicable or adversarial, and this dilemma is further compounded by the fact that this was a period of constantly fluctuating allegiances in English political life: although Arundell was associated with the Yorkist Bonville during the 1450s, and was employed as sheriff during the 1460s, he was to fight for the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury in 1471. While the Arundell affinity therefore appears ambivalent in its

[140] *CPR 1467–77*, 85, 156.
[141] *CPR 1467–77*, 116.
[142] Land transaction 1468: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 302; *HPB*, 24–5.
[143] *CPR 1461–7*, 123.

support of Stafford, it seems likely that the peer's status and central role in Cornwall (and the region as a whole) would have made it impossible for the nexus not to have cooperated with him – it would have been in their interests to exploit this direct connection to the new king. The Cornish Arundell client Thomas Bere of Bodmin and Lankynhorne was designated to sit on the county bench from 1463 and was sheriff in the same year.[144] His brother – a possible Arundell protégé – was William Bere (*c.*1410–69), chosen as coroner from 1461 until 1464, elected sheriff in 1465–6, and JP from 1466.[145] Another affiliate of John Arundell was his cousin and tenant Sir Renfrew Arundell (*c.*1420–68) of Tremodret (Cor.), sheriff from 1461 to 1463 and a JP from 1465 to 1467.[146] Another Arundell client, Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart and Binhammy, was MP in 1461–2, also JP, and sheriff in 1466–7.[147] Other Arundell protégés appear to have included William Menwyneck (*c.*1420–78) of Menwyneck;[148] and Richard Penpons (*c.*1405–66) of Treswithian.[149]

There was also a degree of integration between the Arundell and Hungerford connections: John Arundell had himself been associated with the Hungerfords since the 1430s.[150] Similarly, the Arundell protégé Sir John Coleshill seems to have been a Hungerford client.[151] And there is also a possibility that the Arundell client Thomas Bere may have been associated with the Hungerfords.[152] The marriage of Robert, Lord Hungerford to Lord Botreaux's daughter, had brought the Hungerfords influence in Cornwall. Like the Arundell nexus, the Hungerfords were also ambivalent in their

[144] Land transactions 1459–67: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/362.

[145] *HPB*, 66; land transaction 1458: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/266.

[146] Tenant 1460: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 25, 36; *HPB*, 20.

[147] Land transactions 1451–75: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10; AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1384; *HPB*, 204–5.

[148] JP from 1466, and perhaps MP for Launceston 1461–2: *HPB*, 584; land transactions 1459–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1259; AR20/28.

[149] JP until 1466; steward, and land transactions 1453–66: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/358; AR1/924, 995/1; AR4/12, 526, 528, 726; AR4/163/1, 2; AR24/9, 10, 11; *HPB*, 677–8.

[150] Land transactions 1463–77: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511.

[151] Land transactions 1463–9: *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236.

[152] Land transaction 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 271.

support of Edwardian rule – yet also connected with Stafford (above, pp. 207, 213). An obvious Hungerford ally, Botreaux served on the bench until his death in 1462;[153] but was also a tenant of the Arundells.[154] Another Hungerford client may have been the royal household servant Avery Cornburgh (*c.*1430–87) of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and Dovers (Essex) who served as sheriff in 1464–5 and 1468–9, perhaps as MP in 1463–5 and 1467–8, as well as a JP from 1463.[155]

It is by the analysis of those directly and indirectly associated with Stafford that it is possible to discern to what extent he could rely on local support in Cornwall – thereby, of course, consolidating power and influence further afield. Of the sheriffs returned between 1461 and 1470, over three-quarters (78 per cent) of the terms were filled by identified Stafford clients.[156] In Cornwall, four Stafford clients were returned five times to parliament; in addition, Stafford affiliates account for an average of two-fifths of Cornish justices on each peace commission between 1461 and 1469: the lowest proportion being one-third in 1462, and the highest being a half in July 1463. In addition, the commissions of array indicate the balance of local influence: in June 1461, only three of the twelve commissioners were Stafford clients;[157] while in April 1466, six of the nine were Stafford protégés;[158] and in July 1468, four of the nine commissioners were linked to Stafford.[159] This analysis shows the command of local administration that Stafford may have exerted in Cornwall, which mirrors his significant influence in the other south-western counties.

One consequence of Stafford's prominence in county affairs, was the overlap between his dependants and royal household retainers. For example, Avery Cornburgh of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and Dovers (Essex) was associated with Stafford through the

[153] Feoffee, and land transactions 1458–60: *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476.

[154] Tenant 1463: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 39–40.

[155] Land transactions 1463–70: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 552; *HPB*, 223–4.

[156] Four Stafford clients served 7 of 9 terms: Renfrew Arundell 1461–3; Thomas Bere 1463–4; Avery Cornburgh 1464–5 and 1468–9; John Coleshill 1466–7; and John Arundell 1469–70.

[157] *CPR 1461–7*, 561.

[158] *CPR 1461–7*, 529, 561, 562–3, 571.

[159] *CPR 1467–77*, 102.

Hungerfords, but he was also a member of the king's household and a duchy of Cornwall administrator. He was endowed with the office of yeoman of the crown from 1455, being promoted to gentleman usher of the chamber before 1463.[160] Cornburgh continued in his duchy offices as feodary, constable of Launceston Castle and water-bailiff of Plymouth and other ports; in addition, he was also assigned joint-parker of the duchy park of Kerrybullock in 1461, was granted three Cornish manors for life in 1463 and became constable of Restormel in 1466.[161]

Royal retainers accounted for exactly one-third (33 per cent) of the sheriffs' terms between 1461 and 1470.[162] For instance, John Sturgeon (*c.*1430–92) of Gatesbury (Herts.) was sheriff in 1467–8, and was selected to be custodian of Devon and Cornwall mines in 1459.[163] Only one crown servant was returned to parliament twice; while the proportion of the king's servants as JPs on each commission averaged under one-fifth: the zenith being one-fifth in July 1463, and the lowest point being one-tenth, in February 1462 and March 1463. One household man was Thomas Clemens of Liskeard, JP for Cornwall from 1460, and briefly JP for Devon in 1461; he served as a duchy officer during the 1450s and as a household servant from 1452. On Edward's accession, Clemens managed to continue his service as joint-constable of Tintagel, and was also designated controller of works at duchy properties in July 1461.[164] In addition, in 1461, he was also made parker of the duchy park of Liskeard, joint-havener (with Richard Edgcumbe and Geoffrey Kidwelly), and steward of the duchy's Cornwall estates from May to December 1461.[165]

If Stafford clients and household servants are taken as direct and indirect servants of the crown, the cumulative effect of all these appointments is one of almost

[160] *CPR 1452–61*, 629; *CCR 1454–61*, 464; *CPR 1461–7*, 16, 220; *CCR 1461–8*, 12, 114; *HPB*, 223–4.

[161] PRO, SC6/816/7, mm. 12–13; SC6/816/8, m. 7; *CPR 1452–61*, 630; *CPR 1461–7*, 19, 64, 78, 220, 447; *CCR 1461–8*, 123, 215; *HPB*, 223–4.

[162] Two royal retainers served 3 of 9 terms: Avery Cornburgh 1464–5 and 1468–9; and John Sturgeon 1467–8.

[163] *HPB*, 825–6.

[164] *HPB*, 188; *CPR 1461–7*, 40.

[165] PRO, SC6/816/6, m. 7; *CPR 1461–7*, 7, 11; Campbell (1962), 119–20, 144.

complete control of Cornish government by the king's servants. Cornwall, of course, had a particularly large number of royal servants as a result of the preponderance of duchy offices and estates in the shire. Whilst in the later 1450s, the duchy's regional power may have become a Lancastrian power base, Edward's accession had meant that the duchy became an arsenal of Yorkist authority. The duchy's regional influence, harnessed by Stafford's stewardship, greatly bolstered his local, regional, and national standing, as well as his ability to participate in court politics.

* * *

In 1463, Clarence was granted a number of forfeited estates in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, and also royal lands in Devon. In total, the duke possessed eleven Cornish manors, and was nominated to the county bench in 1466 (above, pp. 205, 211–12, 219). Yet, despite his landed presence, he was not granted any duchy offices, and because of Stafford's pre-eminence it is unlikely that he would have exerted much influence in local administration; consequently Clarence may have become dissatisfied with his brother's regime.

Stafford's death in August 1469 meant that a number of duchy offices fell vacant: some posts were temporarily awarded to Lord Dinham, but these were restricted to Devon (above, p. 216). In November 1469, John Stafford (*c.*1440–73) was selected as Lord Stafford's replacement as lord steward and steward of the duchy estates in Cornwall: he was the younger son of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, and was created earl of Wiltshire in January 1470.[166] However, the new earl did not have much time to establish his influence in Cornwall before the upheavals of the Readeption. Edward IV's commissions of array give an indication of those supporters whom he most trusted in the localities during that period: in October 1469, Lord Stafford's ally, Dinham, was made commissioner of array.[167] In March 1470, four of the five commissioners were former Stafford associates.[168] A month later, further

[166] *CPR 1467–77*, 173, 175–6; *CP*, xii(2), 724–6.
[167] *CPR 1467–77*, 195–6.
[168] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.

commissions included Gloucester and the new earl of Wiltshire, Walter, Lord Mountjoy, while only three of the total eight commissioners were former Stafford clients.[169] In June 1470, commissioners included Worcester and Dinham, with seven of the other eight commissioners being former Stafford associates.[170] In 1469–70, the Cornwall commissions of the peace indicate a relatively moderate continuity rate (64 per cent), caused by the removal of various Yorkists – including the Arundell protégé Sir John Coleshill and the Stafford client Edward Ashton – and the addition of the Lancastrians Henry Courtenay and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.[171]

During the Readeption, Halnath Mauleverer (d.1502) of Ashwater in Devon and Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.) was returned as sheriff – and it is most likely that he would have been associated with Warwick. In 1466–7, Mauleverer and his wife Jane (daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Carminow) disputed the partition of the Carminow estate with Sir Hugh Courtenay and his wife Margaret.[172] Yet this contention seems not to have soured relations between Mauleverer and Courtenay sufficiently for them to take opposing sides during the Readeption, as might have been expected: when Mauleverer was sheriff, Courtenay served as a JP. Two Hungerford dependants were employed in Cornish local government at that time: Hugh Courtenay of Boconnoc (Dev.) who was one of Cornwall's JPs, was also active in Devon;[173] and Thomas Tregarthyn I (*c.*1410–75) of Tregarthyn (Cor.) who may have been elected as burgess in parliament for Liskeard;[174] in addition, Tregarthyn may have been associated with the Arundells.[175] Another probable Arundell protégé was John Trenowith (*c.*1427–97) of Bodmin and Fentengollan (Cor.) who represented Cornwall in the Readeption Parliament.[176]

[169] *CPR 1467–77*, 219.

[170] *CPR 1467–77*, 220.

[171] Below, Appendix IV.

[172] PRO, C1/31/275.

[173] Land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246; *HPB*, 229.

[174] *HPB*, 866. Land transactions 1469–70: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 552.

[175] Land transaction 1468: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/270.

[176] Tenant and land transactions 1460–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 61, 93; *HPB*, 869.

The presence of these Hungerford clients in county administration during the Readeption raises the question of their possible connections with Clarence (as with their counterparts in Somerset and Dorset). The Hungerfords, like the Arundells, were ambivalent – seeming both to support and undermine the regime at the same time. Indeed, this illustrates the problems faced by Stafford in the south-west and confronted by Edward IV in the realm in general. Clarence supported Henry VI's restoration but received little reward for his efforts.[177] He would have lost out to former Lancastrians restored to their lands so, instead, Clarence may have chosen to support Edward IV.

OVERVIEW: THE REGIONAL ROLE OF HUMPHREY, LORD STAFFORD

After they 'landed in the west-contrye, upon estar day [1471], at Waymowthe', Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales 'assembled greate people and cam to Tewkesberye';[178] Somerset and Devon

> dowted nothinge but that they shuld assemble so great puisaunce of people in divars parties of England, trewly assured unto theyr partye ... and in that contrye [the south-west] they would begyne. And so, forthewith, they sent alabout in Somersetshere, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshere, for to arredy and arrays the people by a certayne day ... at Excestar, they sent for Syr John Ayndell, Syr Hugh Courteney, and many other on whom they had any trust, and, in substaunce, they araysed the hole myghte of Cornwall and Devonshire, and so, with great people, they ... toke the right waye to Glastonberye, and, from thens, to the citie of Bathe ... and, as they went, they gatheryd the hable men of all thos partes ... for that they reputyd them old enheritors of that contrie.[179]

That the invading Lancastrians were able to array many west-countrymen bears testament to the longevity of attachment of clients to their old patrons, yet, this may have also been attributable to westerners' desire for a replacement for Stafford's regional rule.

The complaints of the rebels of 1469 that Edward IV had excluded the 'true

[177] *CP*, x, 239–40; Ross (1974), 65, 156–8.

[178] *Arrivall*, 22.

[179] *Arrivall*, 23.

lords of the blood' from his counsels, given his favourites too much patronage, and that these courtiers had used their power unjustly cannot be dismissed as the fanciful rationale for revolt: these allegations may have had some truth, for, after all, the rebels' manifesto was designed to appeal to popular grievances.[180] Edward's general lack of support amongst the peerage meant that he concentrated patronage into the hands of a few figures, such as Warwick in the Midlands and the North, Pembroke in Wales, and Stafford in the south-west.[181] This is understandable and unavoidable (at least to a certain extent); however, he continued to rule through this small number of courtiers throughout the entirety of his first reign. Furthermore, Edward proved far too generous in delegating local power, endowing his favourites with astonishing amounts of lands and offices. In one sense, rewards gave a magnate a vested interest in the continuance of the regime, but it would have been more advantageous to distribute patronage more widely in order to broaden support.

It seems clear that Lord Stafford's land-holding, office-holding, and clientele suggest that he acted as a political centre for the south-west region. Stafford's inheritances already made him a significant figure in Somerset and Dorset but, favoured by Edward IV, he was granted extensive lands forfeited by Lancastrians throughout the region, such as the estates of the earldom of Devon. In addition to his own properties, Stafford was showered with many offices in Somerset and Dorset, as well as other positions of immense significance in the region – in particular, his endowment with the most important duchy of Cornwall offices ensured that he dominated Cornwall.

It seems quite understandable to find that, as a figure of local, regional, and national importance, Stafford's associations were regional in nature: he was connected to major figures from each county. Stafford's position provides an example of how political influence operated in fifteenth-century England – percolating vertically and

[180] Warkworth, 46–51; Morgan (1973), 9.

[181] For the North: Pollard (1990), 285–315; for the Midlands: Carpenter (1992), 487–516; and for Wales: Lowe (1977).

laterally – and how it was necessary for him to win over leading gentry and peerage (to act as secondary patrons) in order to influence local politics and administration. In Somerset and Dorset, Stafford was able to exploit his familial connection, as Lord Stourton's nephew, in order to re-focus the political elites around himself and recruit the most important gentry as his dependants. The long-standing integration between the Stourton and Hungerford connections was also an advantage: since it was also through the Hungerford connection (although admittedly ambiguously) that Stafford was able to consolidate his political influence in both counties. In Devon, his familial associations with the pre-eminent Bonville-FitzWaryn connection cannot have hindered acceptance of his leadership at a time when FitzWaryn and Courtenay were entering their autumnal years. In Cornwall, Stafford's stepfather, John Arundell, was the head of one of the most influential families in the shire: so this ambivalent family relationship may have been utilised to draw in the greater gentry of Cornwall as his affiliates – as Bonville had done during the 1450s.

Evidently, Humphrey Stafford might be seen as a truly *regional* 'governor' who became a focus for the greater gentry and peerage of all four counties. Occupying such a quasi-regal role, might Stafford also be perceived as a sub-core of royal authority? Indeed, enmeshing between Stafford's associates and household retainers appears clear – as shown by the possible examples of Audley and Avery Cornburgh. Intermingling of regional and royal affinities was symptomatic of a governor's representation of sovereign authority, and of becoming a regional commander of household men. With some Stafford clients as royal servants, Stafford's vicegerential role was theoretically kept in check by these clients (acting partly on the king's behalf) as well as by the monarch himself. The duchy of Cornwall might also be viewed as a sub-core of royal authority, with its influence radiating throughout the counties from Cornwall to Wiltshire (above, pp. 98–102). The duchy's region of influence coincided with Edward's gubernatorial region: Stafford's endowment with senior duchy offices indicates that the power of this landed entity was used to supplement his political influence in the region.

As a result of his estates, offices, and familial and local connections, Lord Stafford had resources of momentous potential at his command. However, his exalted position as regional governor and as the crown's representative may have also caused local tensions. The nature of Edwardian rule – with Stafford and the small number of other Yorkist peers (Audley and Dinham) – may have promoted the impression that the region, and therefore the realm as a whole, was dominated by a partisan faction of magnates. Indeed, Audley was identified by the rebels as one of the king's grasping favourites – which seems extraordinary given his low profile compared to other magnates – and it is likely that this perception arose from his association with Stafford in the south-west.[182] Other than Dinham and Audley, the only other magnate of importance in the region was Clarence.

Edward also had to reward his brother with landed estates: tied by a wish not to displace or upset the insatiable Warwick, Clarence's chosen sphere of influence was divided between the Midlands and the south-west. Naturally, because of Clarence's status as the king's heir presumptive, his presence in the south-west may have attracted leading gentry to his service: the Hungerford connection seems to have supplied some supporters for Clarence and later the Readeption government, while also maintaining their association with Stafford. This ambivalence was one of the problems facing Stafford in the region – and also facing Edward IV in governing the realm. The possibility of the Hungerford nexus's seeking Clarence's patronage would have undermined Stafford's authority in Somerset and Dorset, and therefore potentially in the region in general.

Even after Clarence was given a place in south-western political society, county government bore no imprints of his power, which may have provoked his frustration and contributed to his disillusionment with his brother's governance. Just as it may have been Warwick's thwarted ambition to gain greater political influence in Wales after Pembroke's death that was a contributory factor in his estrangement from

[182] Warkworth, 46–51.

the king, so it may have also been with Clarence's desire to take Stafford's place in the south-west. However, Clarence lost out in Devon with Dinham's advancement – and also in Cornwall with Wiltshire's ascendancy. The duke may have been promised south-west domination by Warwick, but then, once the Readeption was realised the earl reneged on this offer, and may have provided Clarence with a reason to be reconciled with his brother.

Regional governance seems to have been Edward's preferred method of reasserting royal authority. On the face of it, his scheme seems neat, tidy-minded, and not unreasonable; however, in practice, this method of governance had serious flaws: it was an admirable short-term answer, but a potentially disastrous long-term failure (as explained above, pp. 10–11, 190–1, 194–5). The concentration of patronage that was required would inevitably provoke calls of exclusivity. Peers of immense regional influence would, potentially, be able to raise forces to come to the monarch's assistance (just as Stafford and others did); but on the other hand, such a peer would possess a greater ability to undermine the king's rule should he become disillusioned by it (just like Warwick). As a region came under one magnate's control, so the dependence of central government on the victor's good will and cooperation increased – a realm of such governors risked reversing the roles of monarch and magnate – if the peerage could dictate royal policy, the status of the crown would be vitiated. A regional governor might induce strains within local society: since his authority represented royal authority, so the king could not intervene if his local role was inadequate without undermining his local representative's power; consequently, injustices perpetrated by a regional magnate would reflect on the crown itself.[183]

The king's household servants were also extensively utilised in the localities and, as shown, a large number of royal retainers were chosen as sheriffs, with some also active as MPs and JPs. Therefore, directly through crown service – and indirectly through the service of a regional magnate – Edward IV was able to achieve almost

[183] Castor (2000), 18, 45–9, 311.

complete command of shire administration throughout south-west England. The domination of the shrievalty by both crown retainers and Stafford clients illustrates the continuing importance of this administrative post: it was logical for the government to have dependable, loyal servants in such important positions. Edward's zealous reassertion of sovereign authority was understandable – both as an antidote to the vacuity of Henry VI's kingship and as a reaction to the insecure and volatile political climate; but while this domination of county offices guaranteed the Yorkists' command of local government in the short-term because of its intensive nature, in the medium- to long-term, it may have encouraged dissent.

The regional governance of Edward IV's first reign was not a purely Yorkist innovation, as seen, in its dying days, the Lancastrian regime under Queen Margaret was forced into a gubernatorial scheme, and this mode of government appears to have been recreated by the Yorkists also faced with the same problem: uncertainty concerning their general support. However, by intensifying the regional governance model, Edward IV may have exacerbated its ultimate eventuality, rebellion and deposition; therefore, it may have been his regional hegemonies that cost Edward his throne in 1470 and may even have continued the Wars of the Roses.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REGIONAL GOVERNANCE AND RESTRUCTURING: 1471–83

'Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat / And made our footstool of security', Shakespeare has Edward IV state triumphantly following his restoration to the throne.[1] The deaths of Henry VI and his son and heir, Edward, meant the end of the Lancastrian cause, and also ensured that Edward IV's second reign could be relatively free from the insecurity and sedition that had dominated his first reign. Edward's second reign was to be one of stability and, as a result, he was able to restructure local politics and governance in the south-west, and throughout the realm, to his own design. However, the consequences of this reordering may have resulted in the deposition of his son, Edward V, and usurpation by his brother, Richard III.

Following Lord Stafford's fall in 1469, did another noble's landed interests, offices, or affinity provide a regional 'centre' of power? After the Yorkist restoration, Edward's brother, George, Duke of Clarence was the most prominent south-western landowner.[2] In Somerset and Dorset, Clarence's possible association with William, Lord Stourton and the Hungerford nexus may have ensured that he enjoyed some local influence.[3] However, it appears that, within a short time, Stourton and Hungerford clients had sought alternative patrons.[4] The involvement of the king's chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings (*c.*1431–83), in Hungerford affairs brought him into Somerset and Dorset politics thereby possibly undermining Clarence's local authority.[5] In addition, from 1475, the marriage of the king's stepson, Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset (*c.*1455–1501), to the Bonville heiress meant that he might become a

[1] *Henry VI, Part 3*, V.7.
[2] *CP*, iii, 260; *ODNB*: 'George, Duke of Clarence'.
[3] *HPB*, 819; *CP*, xii(1), 302–3; *ODNB*: 'Stourton family'.
[4] *CP*, vi, 618–21; *ODNB*: 'Hungerford, Robert'.
[5] *CP*, vi, 370–4; *ODNB*: 'Hastings, William, first Baron Hastings'.

significant magnate in the two counties.[6]

In Devon and Cornwall, John, Earl of Wiltshire had little time in which to establish his authority before his early death. Clarence seems to have been able to exert only slight influence in the counties through his association with the Hungerford connection.[7] However, even this appears to have been undermined by Hastings's custody of the Hungerford estates and heiress. However, the central force in Devon politics remained the former Bonville-FitzWaryn connection now led by the royal councillor John, Lord Dinham.[8] Hastings's wardship of the Bonville inheritance followed soon after by Dorset's marriage may have confused the associations of the 'Dinham-FitzWaryn' connection, while in Cornwall, the Arundell connection – central to shire politics – appears to have continued to be connected with both Dinham-FitzWaryn and Hungerford affinities.[9] More generally, the awarding of duchy of Cornwall offices to Woodville associates after 1473 and the rise in prominence of the Prince of Wales's Council were also significant developments.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET

George, Duke of Clarence had been granted Somerset lands during the 1460s, but his primary focus was on his Midlands estates. His landholdings were increased by marriage, in 1469, to Isabel, elder daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick. After Warwick's death at Barnet, Clarence was permitted to enter into the earl's lands, but they were encumbered by jointures and dowers, as a result, Clarence gained livery of only a few manors in Rutland and Northamptonshire; in addition, the marriage, in 1474, of Clarence's brother Gloucester to Isabel's younger sister, Anne, meant that the lands would be partitioned. Clarence and Gloucester's dispute over this division resulted in the resumption of Clarence's lands in 1473. Edward imposed a settlement in 1474 whereby Gloucester received all lands north of the Trent and in Wales, while

[6] *CP*, iv, 418–19; *ODNB*: 'Grey, Thomas, first Marquess of Dorset'.
[7] *CP*, xii(2), 724–6.
[8] *CP*, iv, 378–82; *ODNB*: 'Dinham Family'; 'Dinham, John'.
[9] *ODNB*: 'Arundell Family'.

those in East Anglia, the east Midlands, and the south-west were divided between them. Clarence's estates totalled twenty manors in Somerset, plus others in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; and he was also granted most of the Courtenay estates.[10] Clarence continued as a Somerset justice of the peace, and was awarded the office of lord great chamberlain. Moreover, in April 1472, Clarence and others were granted custody of four Luttrell manors and Somerset lands during the nonage of William, Earl of Pembroke.[11]

The duke of Clarence's prominence in Somerset, combined with his status as the king's brother, meant that the local peerage and gentry would be strongly attracted to his service. Most of the duke's enfeoffments involved Midlands figures and only one – the duke's annuitant and household officer John Sutton, Lord Dudley (*c.*1400–87) – was involved in Somerset affairs as a JP briefly in 1475.[12] Another individual who may have been linked with Clarence was the lawyer Thomas Littleton (*c.*1415–81) of Frankley (Worcs.) who was briefly added to the county bench in 1475.[13] More importantly perhaps, Clarence may have been associated with the leading Somerset figure, William, Lord Stourton.[14]

Lord Stourton was a justice of the peace, but this was the extent of his local activities and while he and his son and heir, John (*c.*1454–85), were granted custody of the royal forest of Petherton (Som.) in 1472, this was the entirety of their rewards.[15] It appears that the Stourton affinity may have diminished in size, or at least in participation in shire matters, since it is possible to identify only three examples of possible Stourton clients involved in local administration: John FitzJames (d.1476) of Redlynch (Som.) sat on the county bench until 1475, and again until his death;[16] the

[10] *PR*, xiv, 209–11, 257–63; *CPR 1467–77*, 457–8, 529–30, 550, 594; Hicks (1992), 205–13; Hicks (1991a), 326–31.

[11] *CPR 1467–77*, 330, 342–3, 344.

[12] *CP*, iv, 479–80; *ODNB*: 'Sutton, John, Baron Dudley'; Carpenter (1992), 693.

[13] Land transaction 1470: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 624. For Littleton's connections to Buckingham: Carpenter (1992), 412, 700; and James, Earl of Wiltshire's feoffee 1447: *HR*, i, 1–2.

[14] Land transaction (as grantor, recipient, or witness) 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 952.

[15] *CPR 1467–77*, 372.

[16] Land transaction 1457: *CPR 1452–61*, 419; Mayo (1918), 54–68.

likely Stourton affiliate John Porter (fl.1459–83) of Portbury (Som.) was a JP throughout the reign, apart from a brief interlude from September to November 1475;[17] also the possible Stourton client and royal household retainer Edward Hardgill (*c.*1435–87) of Mere (Wilts.) acted as sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1479–80.[18] During the 1450s and 1460s there appears to have been significant integration between the Stourton and Hungerford affinities; Stourton himself had been involved in Hungerford affairs, and it seems likely that this association would continue.[19] Therefore, it is probable that the Hungerfords would be connected with Clarence perhaps directly, or at least indirectly, through the Stourton link.

Since the death of Robert, Lord Hungerford and Moleyns in 1464, the Hungerford affinity had been led by his mother Margaret, Lady Hungerford, and his son, Thomas. On Thomas's execution for treason in 1469, his daughter, Mary, became the sole heiress, and with the Hungerford connection facing a long minority it seems most likely that many may have chosen to turn to Clarence's patronage. Indeed, Margaret, Lady Hungerford's stepmother – widow of Lord Botreaux – had married Clarence's annuitant Sir Thomas Burgh of Lincolnshire.[20] Some Hungerford affiliates appear to have been associated with Clarence during the Readeption and, especially given his new status, there seems no reason to think that this state of affairs did not continue.

Further evidence of alliance between Clarence and Hungerford clients can be seen in the example of the leading Wiltshire figure, Sir Roger Tocotes; he had been associated with Clarence from 1468, and was also affiliated with both the Hungerfords and Stourtons.[21] Another example is that of the Twynho family of Keyford-by-Frome

[17] Land transaction 1457: *CPR 1452–61*, 419.

[18] Land transaction 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 952; *HPB*, 422–3.

[19] Land transaction 1464: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245.

[20] Hicks (1992), 66, 218.

[21] Tocotes was principally involved in Wiltshire affairs (therefore does not qualify as a member of the south-west elite) but his example substantiates the overlap between Clarence, Hungerford, and Stourton affinities. *CPR 1467–77*, 517–18, 530, 597; *CCR 1468–76*, nos. 952, 962; *CP*, xi, 301; *HPB*, 859; Hicks (1992), 138–9. Clarence feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 517–18, 529–30. Hungerford feoffee and land transactions 1459–72: *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 386; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 245, 246, 250, 1078; *HR*, i, 237, 288–9; *HC*, no. 923, 926; NRA17343 (Hungerford),

(Som.) who were Clarence's adherents from at least 1470: William Twynho (*c.*1420–72) was the duke's household servant from 1470. Perhaps like Tocotes, Twynho had been an executor of John, Lord Stourton's will in 1462, and was possibly a Hungerford protégé as well.[22] William's wife, Ankarette Twynho, was the Duchess of Clarence's household servant, and was later accused (by the sorrow-stricken duke) of poisoning her. Their sons, John Twynho (*c.*1445–75) and William Twynho (*c.*1445–97), were implicated in Clarence's rebellion, and were later involved in the management of his estates.[23] These examples seem to illustrate the overlap between Clarence, Hungerford, and Stourton associates, which itself strongly indicates cooperation between these affinities. Certain other Hungerford clients were involved in Somerset local government, such as John Huggins (*c.*1430–1500) of Whitstaunton (Som.), escheator in 1474–5, and JP from 1476.[24] The Hungerford affiliate John Cheyne (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Devon) and Pynne (Dorset) was designated to sit on the Somerset bench until 1474.[25] Other Hungerford clients appear to have included William Paulet (*c.*1404–88) of Hinton St George (Dor.);[26] Robert Stowell (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.);[27] John Willoughby (*c.*1421–77) of Broke (Wilts.);[28] and possibly Henry Hull (*c.*1410–85) of Exeter and of Ashill (Som.).[29]

In 1472, the marriage of the Hungerford heiress, Mary, was arranged, her intended husband being Edward, son of Lord Hastings.[30] The couple had wed by

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WRO490/1477. Stourton land transaction 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 952; above, p. 128.

[22] Land transaction 1469: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230. John, Lord Stourton's executor 1462: *HPB*, 887.

[23] *HPB*, 887–8; Hicks (1992), 139.

[24] Land transaction 1466–73: *CCR 1461–8*, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139; *HPB*, 480.

[25] Feoffee, chantry founder, and land transactions *c.*1449–69: *HR*, i, 256, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 386, 394, 394–5, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 227, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 646; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477, 1478; *HC*, no. 925; *CPR 1467–77*, 311.

[26] JP 1472–5, 1475–83; land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246; Winn (1976).

[27] JP until 1475, and 1475–83; land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5.

[28] MP for Somerset 1472–5; feoffee, and land transactions 1459–69: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230, 236, 237, 238, 245, 246, 250; *HR*, i, 288–9; *HC*, no. 923; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477; *HPB*, 952.

[29] JP 1472–3; land transactions 1463–4: *CCR 1461–8*, 272; *HPB*, 482–3.

[30] *HR*, i, 303–4; *CPR 1476–85*, 101.

1481 – when they received licence to enter into her estates – and in 1482 Edward was summoned to parliament as *suo jure* Lord Hungerford.[31] This union had serious implications for the Hungerford connection, for Clarence's clients, and for south-western politics in general because of the status and authority of Edward's father. Hastings had been lord chamberlain of the household since 1461.[32] If this position of power was not enough, Hastings's Warwickshire and Leicestershire estates had been supplemented by further forfeited lands in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire during the 1460s; in addition, he was awarded duchy of Lancaster offices in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Huntingdonshire, including the stewardships of Leicester, Castle Donnington, Higham Ferrers, and Fotheringhay.[33] After Edward's restoration, Hastings continued as chamberlain, became captain of Calais, and also continued in his regional Midlands role. Indeed, Clarence nominated him to further duchy of Lancaster offices as chief steward of Tutbury and the High Peak, which he retained after the resumption of 1473.[34]

These offices supplemented Hastings's landed estates and extended his region of influence into almost all the Midland counties. But, this was also of significance to Somerset politics, since the Hastings-Hungerford marriage would have implications for Clarence's local support. Hastings's court influence meant that it was decidedly likely that the Hungerford nexus would seek his, rather than Clarence's, patronage. In addition, Clarence himself may have contributed to this – and his own political demise – by proving an inadequate lord, being unable to keep the peace and protect his own clients leading to the disintegration of his local support – as demonstrated in Warwickshire and the Midlands.[35] Edward had forgiven his brother's disloyalty, and during his second reign allowed him to become chief magnate in the Midlands and the

[31] *CPR 1476–85*, 233.

[32] *CPR 1461–7*, 190.

[33] *CPR 1461–7*, 13, 103–4, 352, 354, 540; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 5; *CPR 1467–77*, 154; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 495; Somerville (1953), i, 428–9.

[34] *CPR 1467–77*, 310–11, 330, 488; *CPR 1476–85*, 268; Hicks (1991a), 328–9. For Hastings as captain of Calais: Grummitt (2000).

[35] Cf. Carpenter (1986), 23–48, esp. 32–3; Carpenter (1992), 516–22.

south-west, but Clarence appears to have been incapable of sustaining his own influence.

Lord Hastings's influence in Somerset and the south-west was also supplemented by wardships, such as those of Mary Hungerford, and George, Earl of Shrewsbury, giving him custody of two major inheritances with considerable south-western estates. Furthermore, Hastings's marriage to Katherine Neville, Lady Harrington (d.1503/4) also brought him the custody of her daughter, Cecily, and her extensive Bonville estates until 1474. These three inheritances were not inconsiderable individually, and Hastings's collective custody of all three would have meant that he was a significant landed influence in Somerset.[36]

Clarence's authority appears to have been steadily undermined by Hastings, as the duke's clients increasingly sought alternative patronage. For instance, Sir Roger Tocotes – in addition to his associations with Clarence – also became constable of Devizes and master of the game on the queen's Wiltshire estates.[37] An example of the shift towards Hastings's patronage might also be seen in Giles Daubeney (*c.*1451–1508) of Barington and South Petherton (Som.).[38] He served as sheriff in 1474–5 and as a JP from 1475, and was associated with the Hungerford clients William Paulet of Hinton St George (Dor.), John Cheyne of Pynne, John Huggins, and Robert Stowell.[39] This suggests that Daubeney was connected with the Hungerford circle, and therefore potentially linked with Clarence. However, by 1477, Daubeney had become an esquire of the body, acting again as sheriff in 1480–1 and as MP in 1478 and 1483, which, at a time when the Hungerford clientele might be expected to have sought Hastings's patronage, seems more than coincidental.

Furthermore, the Stourton nexus may have also drifted from Clarence's patronage as well as from the patronage of the Lords Stourton. As a consequence of

[36] *CPR 1467–77*, 311, 460; *CPR 1476–85*, 120–1. The Hungerford inheritance may have been a contentious issue between Hastings and Gloucester, who had also been granted Hungerford lands: *CPR 1467–77*, 94, 139, 466–7; cf. Hicks (1991f), 179.

[37] Hicks (1992), 168.

[38] *CPR 1467–77*, 398; *HPB*, 259–60; *CP*, iv, 102–5; *ODNB*: 'Daubeney, Giles, first Baron Daubeney'.

[39] Land transaction 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1385; feoffees 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

Stourton's inactive role in local affairs, some Stourton protégés may have sought alternative patronage especially when, after his father's death in 1478, John, Lord Stourton continued this inactivity. The peer's mother, Margaret (d.1503), remarried to John Cheyne (*c.*1445–99) of Falstone Cheyne (Wilts.), an esquire of the body since 1471 and master of the horse from 1479.[40] In contrast to the inactivity of the Stourtons, Cheyne's position at court may have actually led to his *de facto* assumption of the leadership of the Stourton connection. It is therefore significant that the Stourton affinity, with previous connections to Clarence, may have shifted its focus towards a member of the royal household, headed by Hastings.

In summary, it seems that Clarence's role in the Midlands and the south-west – and consequently in the positioning for power in the realm as a whole – may have been gradually undermined by Hastings. Including Stourton and Hungerford affiliates as possible indirect associates of Clarence, before 1475, only one escheator, and one MP returned once were connected with him. The number of potential Clarence clients as JPs on each commission declined between 1471 and 1475 from the highest figure of half in 1472, to under a third in August 1474, then to one-tenth as a result of Edward IV's restructuring of the commissions; the proportion of around one-third returned in November 1474, but in the years after that the figures averaged around a quarter. A further indication of the duke's influence was in the commissions of array: in April 1471, four of the six commissioners may have been Clarence dependants;[41] later, in March 1472, seven of the eleven commissioners were possible clients of Clarence, and two were household retainers.[42]

Despite the apparent strength of Clarence's influence in the array commissions, his local power seems to have been fading. As seen, the commissions of the peace give some indication of political turbulence – in the period from August to November 1474, the commissions demonstrated extremely low continuity rates (19

[40] *CP*, iii, 191–2; *HPB*, 182–3.
[41] *CPR 1467–77*, 284.
[42] *CPR 1467–77*, 350–1.

and 30 per cent); what event could have prompted such a plummet in permanence? It seems that these low figures resulted from the brief replacement of the customary justices with royal household JPs (including Hastings, Stanley, Dudley, Ferrers of Chartley, Dinham, and Welles).[43] This direct royal intervention was probably a measure designed to settle problems arising from Clarence's inadequate rule of the Midlands and also perhaps the south-west too – the next commission reinstated the original justices, and by this time Hastings's local influence may have been pre-eminent.

The Stourton and Hungerford nexuses may have become increasingly associated with Hastings and his son. After 1475, only one Stourton client was selected as sheriff; the number of Stourton-Hungerford JPs on each commission averaged around a quarter for the rest of the reign. This apparent decline in Stourton-Hungerford clients' prominence in shire administration may have resulted from the absence of direct leadership because of Lord Hastings's preoccupation with Midland and Calais concerns. Edward Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.) is an example of a royal servant associated with both Clarence and Hastings: he may have been indirectly associated with Clarence through the Stourton affinity, and had been employed as a yeoman of the crown since 1460. As a crown servant, Hardgill would have been acquainted with Hastings: indeed, Hardgill was promoted to usher of the king's chamber in May 1476. He was also granted the wardship of John Horwood of Hampshire in 1477, and was sheriff in 1479–80.[44]

Royal household servants were prominent in local government: of the Somerset/Dorset sheriffs between 1471 and 1483, household retainers account for a third (33 per cent) of the terms.[45] The number of household JPs on each commission varied during the reign: until 1475 it averaged under one-tenth (with the exception of the September 1474 commission when the percentage was two-fifths); after the

[43] Below, Appendix IV. For general analysis of JPs: Lander (1989), 109−12.

[44] *CPR 1467–77*, 586; *CPR 1476–85*, 15; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 10.

[45] Three household sheriffs served 4 of 12 terms: Giles Daubeney 1474–5 and 1480–1; William Berkeley 1477–8; and Edward Hardgill 1479–80.

highest proportion of one-quarter in October 1476 there was a gradual decline in numbers until over one-tenth in November 1482. The crown servant John, Lord Audley was nominated as a JP in 1472–3, and from 1474; he was designated as master of the hounds in July 1471, and became one of the king's councillors.[46] William Berkeley (*c.*1450–85) of Beverstone (Glos.) was an esquire of the body from 1474, acted as sheriff in 1477–8 and a JP from 1476. Berkeley was granted the constableships of royal castles and stewardship of Hampshire lands including, in 1478, Edward, Earl of Warwick's lands during his minority.[47]

Another example of a crown retainer who was prominent in Somerset society is that of the probable Hungerford affiliate Giles Daubeney of Barington and South Petherton (Som.), as mentioned (above, p. 240). He was sheriff, JP, and MP, and an esquire of the body by July 1477, when he was granted custody of Petherton Park (Som.), and was made constable of Taunton Castle by Bishop Waynflete. By 1480 he had been promoted to knight of the body, and was granted the marriage and custody of John, Lord FitzWaryn during his nonage. In February 1483, Daubeney was appointed constable of Bridgwater Castle (Som.).[48] Other members of the king's household included Walter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley (*c.*1432–85);[49] William Nottingham (*c.*1415–83) of Gloucester;[50] Edward Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.);[51] and John Hymerford of East Coker (Som.).[52] Of the household sheriffs between 1471 and 1483, it is interesting to note that three of the four terms were after 1477, which seems to indicate that the king was keen to maintain his hold on local government in his final years. Given his evidently secure position, this seems quite zealous – so was this a mark of Edward IV's own initiative or symptomatic of the Woodvilles' increasing

[46] *CPR 1467–77*, 266, 440–1, 444; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 696, 697, 1221, 1416; *HPB*, 29–30; *CP*, i, 341–2.

[47] *CPR 1467–77*, 447; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 167; *CPR 1476–85*, 135; *HPB*, 69–70.

[48] *CPR 1476–85*, 47, 60, 177, 337; *HPB*, 259–60; Davis (1989), 15.

[49] JP 1475; and Prince of Wales's councillor 1472–83: *HPB*, 272–3; *CP*, v, 321–5; *ODNB*: 'Devereux, Walter, Baron Ferrers of Chartley'.

[50] JP 1475–6; the king's attorney until 1483; baron of the exchequer until 1479, chief baron of the exchequer and royal councillor 1479–83: *HPB*, 642–3.

[51] Yeoman of the crown, then usher of the chamber 1476–83: *HPB*, 422–3.

[52] MP for Bridgwater 1483; and the king's receiver and constable in Somerset: *HPB*, 457.

hold on governance during his declining years? While this is difficult to answer, the Woodvilles were certainly in the ascendant, and another major figure introduced to Somerset affairs was Queen Elizabeth's son by her first marriage – Thomas Grey.

* * *

The king's marriage in 1464 had brought the Woodvilles and Greys a number of lucrative marriages, such as that between Thomas Grey and Anne, daughter and heir of Henry, Duke of Exeter.[53] In August 1472, Grey was created earl of Huntingdon (a subsidiary title of the Hollands) but Anne's childless death meant that Thomas could not inherit any duchy estates. In July 1474, it was arranged for him to wed Hastings's stepdaughter, Cecily Bonville (*c.*1460–1530), sole heiress of the Bonville inheritance.[54] In 1475, he received livery of Cecily's estates in the south-west and the North, and was created marquess of Dorset.[55] In 1479, he became master of the game of all forests in Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall forfeited by Clarence and others in those counties.[56] Later, in 1480, the marquess was granted wardship of Clarence's son, Edward, Earl of Warwick, with custody of his lands in Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire.[57] Clarence's south-western lands were considerable and the marquess's custody of them significantly supplemented his own regional position. The marquess was added to the county bench in 1480, and was also briefly granted the wardship of Joan, daughter of James Dernford involving the custody of her south-western lands from 1480 to 1482.[58]

The marquess's designs concerning the Exeter inheritance had not subsided: as part of the separation settlement between the duke and duchess of Exeter, the duchess had received a good portion of estates, and after the duke's death – ignoring the rightful claim of the heir general, Ralph, Earl of Westmorland – it was the duchess

[53] For the Woodville marriages: Lander (1976a); Hicks (1991b).

[54] *CChR 1427–1516*, 249; *PR*, xiv, 220–4; *CPR 1467–77*, 456; *CPR 1476–85*, 36; *CP*, iv, 418–19.

[55] *CChR 1427–1516*, 249; *CPR 1467–77*, 514; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1390; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 335; for an estate survey in Henry VIII's reign: Phellyps, *A Survey of West Country Manors, 1525*.

[56] *CPR 1476–85*, 139, 263; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 874.

[57] *CPR 1476–85*, 212, 283–4.

[58] *CPR 1476–85*, 174.

who became the sole heiress. Her subsequent second marriage, to Thomas St Leger, meant that their daughter, Anne, became the heiress on her mother's death in 1476.[59] St Leger was a member of the royal household and, following Clarence's death, in 1478, was nominated feodary of his lands in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.[60] Also, in 1479, St Leger was granted custody of William Thorpe and his lands in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somerset, and Cornwall, and other counties.[61] Dorset betrothed his son, Thomas Grey (1477–1530), to Anne St Leger and, in anticipation of the couple's inheritance, in the Parliament of January 1483, the marquess was granted a life interest in most of the duchy of Exeter estates.[62]

Through his marriage to Cecily Bonville, Dorset may have also inherited clients of the former Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus. However, Hastings's prevenient custody of Cecily and her estates would have meant that some Bonville-FitzWaryn clients may have sought his patronage during that time. Would those associated with such an established figure as the king's chamberlain now seek the patronage of the king's juvenile stepson? This is a problematic question – and given the paucity of evidence it is impossible to answer either way. In Devon, the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection appears to have coalesced around the leadership of John, Lord Dinham. The Dinhams of Hartland (Dev.) were Bonville's allies during the 1450s, and Dinham's brother, Roger (d.1490) served as a JP in 1473–5.[63] It is therefore uncertain whether Dorset – intensely involved in court affairs – was much concerned with cultivating an affinity; so, despite the marquess's introduction into Somerset society, it seems that Hastings would have been the most influential magnate through his command of the Stourton-Hungerford grouping.

Edward IV's restructuring of governance also brought another peer into Somerset politics: William, Earl of Pembroke. After the death of his wife, the queen's

[59] *CCR 1476–85*, no. 15.
[60] *CPR 1476–85*, 91, 132, 134; *HPB*, 736–7.
[61] *CPR 1476–85*, 151, 304.
[62] *PR*, xiv, 447–53.
[63] FitzWaryn feoffee 1472–5: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936, 1454.

sister, he was persuaded to resign his earldom and Welsh lands (which were then granted to the Prince of Wales in order to supplement his authority in south Wales); in recompense, he was created earl of Huntingdon in July 1479, and endowed with duchy of Cornwall estates in Somerset and Dorset illegitimately alienated by Act of Parliament in 1483.[64] The duchy's influence in Somerset was thereby eliminated, and such enforced actions may have encouraged the new earl to support Richard III's usurpation.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET

In Dorset, just as during the early 1460s, the transition from Lancastrian to Yorkist government had some influence on local JPs, in the period from 1470 to 1471, there was a moderate level of continuity (60 per cent) in the commissions of the peace. Lancastrian JPs were excluded from the commissions, and Yorkists were added, such as the former Stafford associates Lord Audley and William Browning, also added were the Stourton client John Caraunt II, the Hungerford dependant Henry Hull, and the Clarence client Nicholas Latimer.[65]

After the Edwardian restoration, Clarence was well-placed to become the single most significant Dorset magnate, and he continued to be appointed to the county bench. The duke's portion of the Warwick inheritance enhanced his existing estates, and the final settlement meant that he was a substantial landowner in the west Midlands and south-west. The duke's lands after 1473 totalled eighteen manors in Dorset, with others in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.[66] Just as in Somerset, Clarence may have attempted to become associated with the leading figures in Dorset society, but his attempts may have been undermined by the local patronage offered by Hastings.

After Stafford's death, it seems probable that the Stourton connection would

[64] *CChR 1427–1516*, 250; *PR*, xiv, 422–4; *CPR 1467–77*, 275, 289, 566; *CP*, x, 402–3; *ODNB*: 'Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke'.

[65] Below, Appendix IV.

[66] *CPR 1467–77*, 330, 342–3, 344, 457–8, 529–30, 550, 594; for other estates, above, pp. 235–6.

have sought the benefaction of another major courtier, like Clarence, and this appears to be substantiated by the duke's involvement in Stourton land transactions (above, p. 236). William, Lord Stourton received little patronage from the restoration government, and was active only as a justice of the peace. The Stourton affiliate Edward Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.) has been mentioned, and the long-standing Stourton client William Caraunt of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.) was present on the Dorset bench until his death.[67] His son, John Caraunt II (*c.*1425–83), was also a JP in 1471–9, and again from 1479.[68] Another Stourton dependant was John Newburgh I of East Lulworth (Dor.), nominated to the bench from 1473;[69] and another possible Stourton client was Thomas Hussey (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton and Shapwick (Dor.) and Salisbury (Wilts.), a JP from 1471.[70]

Lord Stourton himself had been associated with the Hungerford connection during the 1460s (above, p. 201); there had always been an element of assimilation between the Stourton and Hungerford affinities, which was strongly indicative of co-operation. It is likely that many Hungerford clients would have turned to Clarence's patronage with whom some may have been involved during the 1460s. Further indication of Hungerford clients' association with Clarence may be seen in the example of the Twynhos of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.): William Twynho I and his wife, Ankarette – who were involved in Somerset as well as Dorset. They were employed in the duke's household from 1470, and were linked with both Hungerfords and Stourtons (above, pp. 237–8). As mentioned, their son, William Twynho II of Moore Critchell and Shipton Solers (Dor.), had been implicated in Clarence's rebellion, and later administered some of the duke's estates; he was returned as burgess in parliament for Weymouth in 1472–5, as knight of the shire in 1478 (and perhaps 1483), and was also a JP in 1474–5 (above, p. 238). The intermingling

[67] Land transactions *c.*1430s–57: *CPR 1429–36*, 119; *CCR 1435–41*, 481; *CPR 1441–46*, 349, 408; *CPR 1452–61*, 419; *HPB*, 155.

[68] *HPB*, 154.

[69] *HPB*, 628.

[70] Feoffee 1471: *HPB*, 488–9.

between Clarence and Hungerford clients suggests that there may have been an element of cooperation between them. Another Hungerford protégé was John Huggins of Whitstaunton (Som.) who, as mentioned, was chosen as escheator, and was also burgess in parliament for Melcombe in 1472–5 (above, p. 238). The Stourton dependant John Newburgh of East Lulworth (Dor.) was a JP from 1473, and was also connected with the Hungerfords.[71] Other Hungerford clients may have possibly included Henry Hull (*c.*1410–85) of Exeter (Dev.) and Ashill (Som.),[72] William Martyn (*c.*1445–1504) of Athelhampton (Dor.),[73] and Stephen Preston (*c.*1425–74) of Catherston and Silton (Dor.).[74]

The Hungerford clientele may have been linked with Clarence during the 1470s, but the betrothal and marriage of the Hungerford heiress to Hastings's son had immense implications. Hastings was a powerful figure through his role as chamberlain, and in the Midlands through his properties and duchy of Lancaster offices (above, pp. 238–40). These offices supplemented his estates and extended his sphere of influence into almost all the Midland counties – overlapping with, and potentially undermining, Clarence's position there. Similarly, because of the Hungerford link, Hastings's influence would have also been likely to undermine the duke's position in the south-west – as the Hungerford clientele would seek the prestigious patronage of the king's chamberlain.

In addition to the Hungerford estates, Hastings was also custodian of the earldom of Shrewsbury and the Bonville inheritance, as outlined concerning Somerset (above, p. 240). Collectively, these inheritances ensured that Hastings would exert extensive influence in Dorset and the region more generally, thereby consolidating his power base in the realm at large. As a consequence of Hastings' prominence, some

[71] Feoffee, and land transactions 1462–9: *HR*, i, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 246; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1477; *HPB*, 628.

[72] JP until 1474; above, p. 238.

[73] MP 1478 and perhaps 1483, and JP from 1482; attorney 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1078; *HPB*, 579–80; Colbourne (1991), 192–3.

[74] MP for Lyme Regis 1472–5; land transactions 1466–73: *CCR 1461–8*, 394–5; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139; *HPB*, 699–700.

Clarence clients appear to have sought his patronage. They may have sought alternative patrons, simply as a result of Clarence's inadequacies. For instance, the Hungerford client Giles Daubeney of Barington and South Petherton (Som.) – as mentioned – served as sheriff, and was associated with numerous Hungerford protégés, and therefore perhaps with Clarence. By 1477, Daubeney had become an esquire of the body, and the conjunction of his Hungerford associations and his royal household career – at a time when the Hungerfords were probably seeking Hastings's patronage rather than Clarence's, seems to confirm this trend. Moreover, as a consequence of the inactive roles played by William, Lord Stourton and his son John, some of their clients may have also sought alternative patrons, and the remaining Stourton protégés may have dwindled in number following the second marriage of John's mother to the esquire of the body and master of the horse, John Cheyne. Cheyne was a Dorset JP in 1482–3, and it seems reasonable to assume that because of his familial relationship and successful career, he may have superseded Stourton as leader of at least some former Stourton associates (above, pp. 240–1).

In summary, in Dorset (as in Somerset), by including Stourton and Hungerford clients as possible indirect Clarence affiliates, an analysis of shire offices indicates the extent to which Clarence's authority may have permeated Dorset political society. Before 1475, only one of the duke's clients was escheator; and in Dorset only two Clarence MPs were returned once. The number of Clarence clients who acted as justices on each commission of the peace averaged around two-fifths until 1475: ranging from over one-third in 1472, to two-fifths in 1474; in 1475, the proportion of potential Clarence associates as JPs averaged around one-third. A further indication of Clarence's importance is illustrated in array commissions: in April 1471, two of the six commissioners were the duke's dependants, and one was a royal retainer;[75] also, in March 1472, five of the eight commissioners were Clarence associates, and one household servant.[76]

[75] *CPR 1467–77*, 284.

[76] *CPR 1467–77*, 350–1.

Although this analysis seems to indicate that Clarence enjoyed some local support through his attachment to existing patronage networks, this was obviously on a limited scale. Despite being well-placed to become *the* most potent south-western magnate and initially winning the support of the most influential individuals in Somerset and Dorset, the duke seems to have squandered this opportunity – just as he seems to have done in the Midlands. The period from 1475 to 1478 was one of moderate continuity in the commissions of the peace (56 per cent), caused by the replacement of ordinary JPs with household figures including Lord Stanley and Richard Tunstall, and also William, Earl of Arundel and Lord Maltravers.[77] This was a brief measure of royal intervention which may have been designed to quieten affairs arising from Clarence's rule of the Midlands and south-west, and lasted until April 1478 when the original justices were restored. By this time, it seems likely that through the cumulative effect of these patronage networks, Hastings's influence in Dorset would have been practically unrivalled – thus Edward IV was able to replace Clarence's ineptitude with Hastings's competence in local affairs.

Following the Stourton-Hungerford connection's probable shift to Hastings's benefaction after approximately 1475, just one possible Hungerford protégé, William Martyn, was returned twice as knight of the shire; and only one Stourton client was elected sheriff: Edward Hardgill in 1479–80, who was also a member of the royal household. The example of Edward Hardgill's associations with the Stourton clientele (and therefore potentially with Clarence), and his later household career (and probable link with Hastings) has been detailed (above, pp. 237, 242). Again, as in Somerset, during the later 1470s, the decline in the influence of the Stourton-Hungerford affinity may have been caused by a lack of leadership since Hastings was unavoidably absent from local affairs.

In Dorset, the sovereign's servants were mostly employed as JPs but, even so, averaged under one-tenth of JPs on each commission until 1481 (with the exception of

[77] Below, Appendix IV.

the November 1475 commission – including some household officers – when the figure was 19 per cent); after December 1481 (14 per cent) there was a slight increase in household JPs, reaching a peak in February 1482 with one-fifth. The royal retainers, Giles Daubeney, William Berkeley of Beverstone, and John Cheyne of Falstone Cheyne (Wilts.), as Somerset figures, have been discussed (above, pp. 241, 243); but another royal servant was Lord Audley who was a JP from 1471, and was granted the office of master of the hounds, and also became one of the king's councillors (above, p. 243). It appears that Audley and Clarence had had a disagreement and Audley personally invaded Clarence's park at Canford (Dor.) and took deer there.[78] Later, on 2 March 1478, after Clarence's execution, Audley was granted the stewardship of Clarence's Dorset manors during the nonage of the duke's heir, Warwick.[79] Another crown servant was John Wykes (*c.*1420–89) of Bindon-in-Axmouth (Dev.) who was elected burgess in parliament for Lyme Regis in 1472–5 and was one of the esquires of the body from 1472; in 1474, Wykes was granted a Yorkshire manor for his good service and, in 1479, was granted the Isle of Lundy.[80] Another example is that of John Cheverell (*c.*1441–85) of Chantmarle and Upper Stirthill (Dor.) who acted as sheriff in 1471–2, and was on the county bench from 1481; he was granted the stewardship of the royal property of Ramesham (Dor.) on 2 March 1478 and, in 1480, he and others were granted joint-custody of the lands of John Hussey of Shapwick (Dor.).[81] The other men of the king's household included Edward Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.);[82] and William Nottingham (*c.*1415–83) of Gloucester.[83] The household servants involved in local government represented royal authority at a local level, just as Hastings's patronage did. The frequency with which royal servants were returned as sheriffs during the last years of the reign may indicate that, as Edward IV began to suffer ill

[78] Hicks (1992), 152.

[79] *CPR 1476–85*, 68.

[80] *CPR 1461–7*, 23, 123, 124; *CPR 1467–77*, 346, 437; *CPR 1476–85*, 155; *HPB*, 926.

[81] *CPR 1476–85*, 69, 238.

[82] Sheriff, yeoman of the crown, and usher of the chamber 1476–83: *HPB*, 422–3.

[83] JP 1475–83; baron of the exchequer, then chief baron, king's councillor, and attorney 1479–83: *HPB*, 642–3.

health, the queen and her relatives intended to maintain and intensify royal control. Indeed, during the later 1470s, another figure was introduced to Dorset: the king's stepson, Thomas Grey.

* * *

Grey had gained some Dorset and south-western estates, from his first marriage, to Anne Holland, but his second marriage, to Cecily Bonville, brought greater landed interests in the region. Grey was created marquess of Dorset and, following Clarence's death, in February 1479, was created master of the game of all forests in Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall (above, pp. 235–6). As mentioned concerning Somerset, in 1480, he was granted the wardship of Clarence's heir, Warwick, as well as custody of his lands in Dorset, Somerset, and other counties. The marquess was also granted custody of the Dernford heiress and her estates. As shown, Clarence's lands would have greatly supplemented the marquess's own properties in the shire and the region in general; Dorset was also nominated to the county bench from 1480. The marquess's eldest son and heir, Thomas, was betrothed to Anne St Leger – the sole heiress of the duchy of Exeter – and in anticipation of the couple's inheritance, the marquess was granted a life interest in certain duchy estates in January 1483.

Just as in Somerset, whether or not Dorset cultivated an affinity is difficult to tell: Hastings's custody and wardship of the Bonville estates may have meant that some Bonville-FitzWaryn clients sought his service during that time, and they might therefore be unlikely later to seek the marquess's patronage. Again, as in Somerset, Edward's reordering also inserted William, Earl of Pembroke into Dorset society. He was deprived of his earldom and Welsh lands and compensated with the earldom of Huntingdon and former duchy of Cornwall estates in Somerset and Dorset. Edward's double miscalculation ensured that the alienation of these lands entirely removed the duchy from Dorset society and, concurrently, the earl may have been encouraged to endorse Richard III's claim to the throne.

Evidently, during the second reign, Clarence was intended to be Edward IV's chief magnate in Somerset and Dorset, but it seems probable that his lordship soon

became undesirable to local figures, who sought the benefaction of alternatives such as Hastings. With so many demands on his attention, Hastings was unable to dedicate himself to concerns in these two counties. So, Dorset's growing influence might have proved an effective force in Somerset and Dorset, but this remained only a probability since his focus remained on court politics and he had little time to establish his position before the Woodvilles' downfall in 1483.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON

Henry VI's deposition and the re-establishment of Yorkist government inevitably influenced local county administration: the period from March to June 1471 indicates a moderate level of continuity on the Devon commissions of the peace (50 per cent), caused by the exclusion of Lancastrians, and the addition of Yorkists such as Lords Dinham and FitzWaryn, other Dinham-FitzWaryn clients, and John, Earl of Wiltshire.[84] In Devon, just as in Somerset and Dorset, it appears that although Clarence may have been well-placed to cultivate patron-client connections his attempts may have been undermined by the Hastings-Hungerford interest and by his strained relations with the influential Dinham-FitzWaryn affinity; and Clarence's failure to garner local support obviously had consequences for the duke's wider fortunes.

Edward IV appointed John Stafford as lord steward of the duchy of Cornwall in October 1469.[85] He was created earl of Wiltshire in January 1470, continued as lord steward after the restoration and, in June 1471, became chief butler of England.[86] The earl might have become an important figure in Devon and Cornwall – and the region as a whole – but for his untimely death in 1473; subsequently, custody of his heir and estates was granted jointly to the queen, Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, and William Dudley.[87]

[84] Below, Appendix IV.
[85] *CPR 1467–77*, 175.
[86] *CPR 1467–77*, 173, 175–6, 262.
[87] *CPR 1467–77*, 540, 562.

What minor influence that Wiltshire may have wielded in Devon derived principally from his duchy offices. Another immensely more significant Devon magnate was the king's brother, Clarence, whose influence stemmed from his extensive landed estates – and was recognised in his nomination to the bench. The final settlement of the Warwick inheritance left Clarence as a substantial landowner in the West Midlands and south-west, and in July 1474, he was endowed with most of the forfeited Courtenay estates. The duke's estates after 1473 totalled thirty-two Devon manors, with others in Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset (above, pp. 235–6, 246).

From his Devon landholdings, Clarence should have been able to build a following which would contribute to his construction of a broader national political interest. Clarence's connection with the Twynhos of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.) has been detailed (above, pp. 237–8), and John Twynho – who was involved in managing the duke's estates – was elected burgess in parliament for Plympton in 1472–5.[88] Clarence's possible connection to the lawyer Thomas Littleton, a Devon JP in 1474–5, has been detailed (above, p. 236). Another Clarence client, Sir Philip Courtenay (*c.*1430–89) of Kingston and Molland (Dev.), was the duke's councillor from 1470, and a Hungerford associate from 1467; he had been sheriff during the Readeption, and was nominated to the county bench in 1471–4 and 1475–8, and also as knight of the shire in 1472–5.[89] Again, as in Somerset and Dorset, Clarence seems to have been associated with the Hungerford nexus as far as it extended into Devon: two of the sheriffs between 1471 and 1483, may have been connected with the Hungerford clientele – and therefore it is likely that they may have been linked with Clarence. These were Philip Copplestone (d.1473), in 1471–2;[90] and John Cheyne (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Dev.) and Pynne (Dor.), in 1472–3. Another Hungerford client may have been the royal servant Avery Cornburgh (*c.*1430–87) of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and

[88] *HPB*, 887; Hicks (1992), 139.

[89] Councillor 1471–8: *HPB*, 230–1. Hungerford land transactions 1467–77: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 1078; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511.

[90] Land transaction 1463: *HR*, i, 256.

Dovers (Essex) who was burgess in parliament for Plymouth in 1478 and perhaps also in 1483 (below, pp. 259, 262–3).[91]

Again, the Hastings-Hungerford marriage alliance would have brought Hastings into Devon politics – his prominence at court would ensure that Hungerford affiliates would be likely to be more attracted to his service than to that of Clarence – thereby undermining the duke's authority. One possible Hungerford affiliate was the Somerset and Dorset landowner Giles Daubeney, sheriff in 1481–2, who was associated with two Hungerford clients in Devon. The first of these, John Arundell of Lanherne, was Daubeney's father-in-law, and was a JP in 1472–4, and had been involved in Hungerford land transactions from the 1430s.[92] The second, John Cheyne of Pinhoe (Dev.), was Daubeney's feoffee in 1475.[93] However, through his royal household connection, it is likely that Daubeney would have been connected with Hastings.

In summary, including Hungerford clients as the duke's indirect affiliates, it is possible to assess Clarence's influence in Devon, which would have been a key component of his wider interest bloc regionally and nationally. Two Clarence MPs were returned to the 1472–5 Parliament; and Clarence affiliates comprised a negligible proportion of Devon JPs, only one – Philip Courtenay – on each commission until 1474. Yet, these figures indicate that the duke's influence was minimal, which also seems to be shown in commissions of array: in April 1471, one of the six commissioners was the duke's associate, whereas Fulk, Lord FitzWaryn and his dependant Philip Beaumont were also appointed;[94] in March 1472, one of the sixteen commissioners was Clarence's associate, whereas Dinham-FitzWaryn associates accounted for six commissioners.[95]

[91] Land transactions 1463–70: *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 552; *HPB*, 223–3.

[92] Land transactions 1430s–69: *CCR 1429–35*, 345–6; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511. Marriage agreement 1468: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/12.

[93] Feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[94] *CPR 1467–77*, 284.

[95] *CPR 1467–77*, 350–1.

Evidently, Clarence was by no means the primary force in Devon politics: if his lordship in the south-west was similar to that in his Midlands region of influence then his south-western supporters may have faced a lack of protection and support. The commissions of the peace show an extremely low level of continuity (13 per cent) from February 1474 to November 1475, and this represents the period when the shire's justices were removed and replaced by the royal household servants Hastings, Stanley, Audley, Dudley, Ferrers of Chartley, and Welles.[96] Edward IV's involvement in Devon matters might have been intended to settle affairs arising from Clarence's local role. By the time of Clarence's fall, Hastings may have come partly to replace his local leadership to some extent, but, in Devon, the foremost figure was John, Lord Dinham.

* * *

The significance of Lord Dinham and his brother-in-law Fulk, Lord FitzWaryn (*c.*1449–79) in Devon society, and also the enduring importance of the former Bonville-FitzWaryn connection, are illustrated in the commissions of array. There had been some overlap between the Bonville-FitzWaryn and Hungerford connections during the 1450s and 1460s, and examples included John Arundell of Lanherne and John Cheyne of Pinhoe (Dev.). Arundell had been a Bonville ally, and his son, Thomas (*c.*1452–85), had married Dinham's sister.[97] John Cheyne was another Bonville client, and was named as FitzWaryn's feoffee in 1475.[98]

One Bonville-FitzWaryn affiliate during the 1450s had been John Dinham of Hartland (Dev.), whose son, John, was raised to the peerage in 1468. During the 1460s, Dinham had remained in the long shadow cast by Stafford's regional 'vicegerency' but, in October 1469, he was re-granted the custody of Dartmoor and awarded custody of some duchy manors in Devon, as well as the office of lord warden

[96] Below, Appendix IV.

[97] Land transaction 1451: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10.

[98] Bonville feoffee, and administrator: *CPR 1436–41*, 540; *CCR 1461–8*, 184; Cherry (1981b), 129. FitzWaryn feoffee 1475: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454.

of the stannaries.[99] These duchy offices would supplement Dinham's Devon landed estates, and he was a JP from 1471. In 1475, he finally became a royal councillor, and was awarded an annuity from four Devon manors in 1478, being granted two Devon manors and further lands in 1480.[100]

By reason of their advantageous marriages, Dinham's sisters had placed him at the centre of Devon and Cornwall societies (above, p. 216). By the early 1470s, the former Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus seems to have become chiefly associated with Dinham and FitzWaryn (thus becoming a Dinham-FitzWaryn connection).[101] Lord FitzWaryn became a JP from 1471, but, in 1474, the twenty-five-year-old requested to be excused from any position of responsibility – perhaps a result of ill health, since he died five years later.[102] Clarence's grave disagreement with FitzWaryn during the early 1470s perhaps indicates that the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection cannot be regarded as associated with Clarence in any way.[103]

In summary, three Dinham-FitzWaryn dependants were employed as sheriff, one as escheator, and two as MPs. The proportion of Dinham-FitzWaryn JPs on each commission was one-quarter in 1471 and (excepting the errant commission of 1474) the proportion was over one-tenth in 1475, then one-fifth in 1476, and afterwards under one-tenth in 1480 and 1481. An example of a probable Dinham client was John Dennis (*c.*1425–91) of Barnstaple and Orlegh (Dev.) who was designated to sit on the bench until 1474, again in 1475–82, and again in 1483.[104] Dinham's brother, Charles Dinham (*c.*1434–91) of Nutwell (Dev.), was sheriff in 1476–7, sat on the bench in 1471–4, 1476–7, and from 1478, and was also elected knight of the shire in 1478 (and perhaps 1483); in 1482, he was granted the custody of six-year-old Joan Dernford

[99] *CPR 1467–77*, 173; *CP*, iv, 378–82

[100] *CPR 1467–77*, 527, 559; *CPR 1476–85*, 137, 200; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 348.

[101] Dinham as a FitzWaryn feoffee 1471–5: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936, 1454.

[102] *CPR 1467–77*, 443; *CP*, v, 507–8.

[103] Hicks (1992), 152.

[104] Devon auditor 1464–5: Cherry(1981a), 378. Dinham pension 1489–90: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881; *HPB*, 269; Kleineke (1998), 148.

(whom he later married) and her lands in Devon and Cornwall.[105] Another example is that of the royal household retainer John Sapcotes (*c.*1448–1501) of Bampton (Dev.) and Elton (Hants.) who acted as sheriff in 1477–8, as MP in 1483, and as a JP from 1481. In 1475, he had been granted the wardship of Joan Champernoun and her Devon estates, and became involved in FitzWaryn affairs. In 1480, Sapcotes married FitzWaryn's widow (Dinham's sister), Elizabeth, and was made receiver-general of FitzWaryn estates in Shropshire and Staffordshire.[106] Other Dinham-FitzWaryn clients included Philip Beaumont (*c.*1432–73) of Gittisham and Heanton (Dev.),[107] John Reigny (fl.1470–4),[108] Christopher Cook (*c.*1430–81) of Thorne (Dev.),[109] and Thomas Hext (fl.1472–1501) of Devon.[110]

Even though Clarence's local connections were limited, it appears that because of the inadequacy of his lordship (and perhaps also as a result of the presence of better-placed patrons) those local gentry and peerage who sought his benefaction had accepted the patronage of others, such as Hastings and Dinham. Some Clarence and Dinham clients had also been royal servants, as was Avery Cornburgh. After 1475, Hungerford associates were probably drawn mostly to Hastings's patronage, and this may have been the case with Giles Daubeney, who was sheriff of Devon in 1481–2, as mentioned. Another royal servant was Sir John Sapcotes who was associated with the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection, and served as an esquire of the body from 1472.[111]

Of the sheriffs of Devon returned between 1471 and 1483, crown retainers accounted for one-quarter of the terms.[112] The examples of Sir John Sapcotes and Giles Daubeney have been mentioned. Another household servant, Sir John Halliwell

[105] *CPR 1476–85*, 249; *HPB*, 275. FitzWaryn feoffee 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936.

[106] *CPR 1467–77*, 564; *CPR 1476–85*, 218, 228; *HPB*, 740–1. FitzWaryn feoffee, and steward in Berkshire and Wiltshire 1475–7: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 264.

[107] JP until 1474; FitzWaryn feoffee 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 936; *HPB*, 58.

[108] Escheator 1474–5; FitzWaryn feoffee 1471: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454; Dinham feoffee, and land transaction 1470–9: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/575; AR37/31.

[109] JP until 1474; founded a chantry to Bonville's memory 1474: *CPR 1467–77*, 476; *HPB*, 215.

[110] JP from 1480; Dinham pension 1489–90: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881; Kleineke (1998), 148.

[111] *HPB*, 740–1.

[112] Three household sheriffs served 3 of 12 terms: John Sapcotes 1477–8; Halnath Mauleverer 1479–80; and Giles Daubeney 1481–2.

(*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode (Cor.) and Bigbury (Dev.), was employed as escheator of Cornwall/Devon in 1473–4, and as a JP in 1471–4 and 1480–3; in 1474, he was bound in a recognisance, with Sir John Crocker and his servants, to keep the peace.[113] In 1478, Halliwell was granted the keepership of Stokenham Park, during Warwick's minority, and was also presented with the constableship of Plympton Castle, forfeited by Clarence.[114] Halnath Mauleverer (d.1502) was sheriff in 1479–80: he had been employed as an usher of the chamber since 1476 and, in 1478, was granted the mastership of the game of the king's parks of Colcombe and Okehampton (Dev.).[115]

The crown servant Avery Cornburgh (*c.*1430–87) of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and Dovers (Essex) was elected burgess in parliament for Plymouth in 1478 (and perhaps in 1483), and was a yeoman of the crown and chamber until 1474 when he was promoted to esquire of the body and sea captain.[116] Another esquire of the body, John Courtenay (*c.*1445–1509) of Exminster and Kenn (Dev.), was returned as knight of the shire in 1478.[117] Of the three sheriffs of Devon who were linked to the royal household, all three were employed as such after 1476 – after the decline of Clarence's influence in the south-west had set in. The proportion of household JPs on each commission averaged less than one-tenth throughout the reign – with the exception of the February 1474 commission when the proportion was under one-third, and other years when no crown retainers were included (such as 1475, 1476, 1478, and 1479). Household retainers personified a direct link between crown and locality, as did Hastings, but, in addition, another magnate who would represent sovereign authority in the shire was introduced to Devon's political scene: the king's stepson.

* * *

Thomas Grey's marriage to the Bonville heiress brought him extensive estates in the south-west, particularly concentrated in Devon. He was created marquess of Dorset,

[113] *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1344.
[114] *CPR 1476–85*, 94; *HPB*, 406–7; Geare (1953), 195–201.
[115] *CPR 1476–85*, 122.
[116] *HPB*, 223–4.
[117] *HPB*, 229.

appointed to the Devon bench in 1480, and was also granted brief custody of the Dernford estates (above, p. 244). The marquess's first wife's mother, Anne, Duchess of Exeter, became the sole heiress of the duchy inheritance, and married Thomas St Leger (*c.*1440–83). Following the duchess's death, their daughter, Anne, became the sole heiress, and her custody was entrusted to St Leger in 1476.[118]

Thomas St Leger had been a knight of the body since 1462. He was nominated as a Devon JP briefly in 1474, and then regularly from 1475. Following Clarence's death, he was designated feodary of the duke's lands in Somerset, Devon and Cornwall during Warwick's minority, which significantly extended his landed interests; he was also promoted to joint-master of the hart hounds.[119] St Leger's influence was supplemented by local wardships, such as custody of the lands of William Thorpe in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somerset, and Cornwall, plus joint-custody of the marriage and lands of Nicholas Holewey during his nonage.[120] St Leger was clearly a significant figure in Devon, and was closely allied with Dorset, since the marquess betrothed his son, Thomas, to Anne St Leger, and was granted a life interest in most of the duchy estates in early 1483 (above, p. 245).

Apart from St Leger, however, it is difficult to identify any more of the marquess's clients. Hastings's supervision of the Bonville estates may have meant that former Bonville-FitzWaryn associates turned to his patronage, so it is unclear whether they would have sought the marquess's service at a later date; in addition, in Devon, the nexus had clearly become focussed around Dinham. Perhaps if Dorset had had a longer period of time in which to forge local associations (and the inclination to do so) he might have cultivated an affinity. Even Clarence and Hastings had not enjoyed extensive support in Devon because the main force in shire affairs continued to be the Dinham-FitzWaryn clientele; in due course of time, perhaps the marquess might have altered this state of affairs, but his lack of local influence simply made it easier for

[118] *CCR 1476–85*, no. 15.
[119] *CPR 1476–85*, 91, 107, 132, 134; *HPB*, 736–7.
[120] *CPR 1476–85*, 151, 168, 304.

Edward IV's restructured settlement of south-west politics to be overturned by the king's usurping brother.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL

The Yorkist restoration printed its mark on Cornish administration: the commissions of the peace showed a moderate level of continuity from 1471 to 1472 (58 per cent), caused by the removal of Lancastrians (such as Warwick and Oxford) and the addition of Yorkists (such as the Stafford associate Edward Ashton, other gentry, and the earl of Wiltshire).[121] During Edward IV's second reign, perhaps the most significant trend in Cornish politics and government was the construction of a reversionary interest for the Prince of Wales as duke of Cornwall, which was controlled, almost entirely, by the queen's family. Clarence's clientele-building activities may have touched on Cornwall, only to be undermined by the pervasive Hastings-Hungerford and Dinham-FitzWaryn influences just as in Devon.

Following Stafford's death, Edward IV selected Wiltshire as the duchy of Cornwall's lord steward; he continued in this role after the Edwardian restoration, and was also chosen to be steward of duchy estates in Cornwall in December 1471.[122] The earl became chief butler of England; and, in 1472, was numbered amongst Margaret, Countess of Richmond's feoffees; she had recently married Thomas, Lord Stanley – the lord steward of the royal household and the duchy's bailiff-itinerant.[123] Wiltshire's lands, combined with his duchy office, meant that he would be a prominent figure in Cornwall until his early death in 1473. It was in September of that year that the Lancastrian sympathiser John de Vere, Earl of Oxford (*c.*1442–1513) seized the off-shore citadel, St Michael's Mount; following a blockade and siege, Oxford and his fellows capitulated, and the earl was later pardoned.[124]

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[121] Below, Appendix IV.

[122] *CPR 1467–77*, 173, 175–6; DCO209, mm. 4, 6.

[123] *CPR 1467–77*, 262. Feoffee 1472: *CPR 1467–77*, 339. Stanley: DCO208, m. 4; DCO209, m. 6; DCO210, m. 6; *CP*, iv, 205–7; *ODNB*: 'Stanley, Thomas, Earl of Derby'.

[124] *CP*, x, 239–44; *ODNB*: 'Vere, John de, thirteenth Earl of Oxford'; Warkworth, 26–7; Ross (1974), 192.

On his return from exile, Edward IV established a household and council for his eldest son, which – mirroring the council of 1457 – was to administer the prince's affairs concerning Wales, the Marches, the County Palatine of Chester, and the duchy of Cornwall. The prince's councillors included a number of senior churchmen; the queen; the prince's household officers; the prince's uncles, Clarence, Gloucester, and Anthony, Earl Rivers; and also Lord Hastings.[125] While the prince's council was not coterminous with the duchy council, there would obviously be some overlap in personnel: for instance, Hastings was both one of the prince's councillors and the duchy's receiver-general.[126] Hastings replaced Earl Rivers as captain of Calais in 1471, and this episode may have developed into some antagonism at court.[127] It may have been in recompense for the loss of the captaincy that Rivers replaced Hastings as the duchy's receiver-general by at least February 1473. In light of his role as the prince's tutor and governor, it seems not unreasonable that the earl should have been nominated to such an important duchy office. However, a month later, he also replaced the late earl of Wiltshire as the duchy's lord steward.[128] It was simply unprecedented for one figure to occupy both these important offices simultaneously, and clearly indicates Rivers's centrality to duchy matters and the Prince of Wales's affairs during the 1470s.

Following Earl Rivers's double appointments, a raft of changes were also made to the prince's councillors and duchy officers.[129] Numerous Woodville protégés became involved in duchy administration for the first time – often replacing long-serving officials: for example, in February 1473, Avery Cornburgh appears to have lost the office of feodary in Cornwall and Devon, and the constableship of Launceston

[125] *CPR 1467–77*, 283; *PR*, xiv, 422–32; *CChR 1427–1516*, 239, 250. For the nature and membership of the prince's council: Hicks (2005), 91–136. For ordinances determining the 'politic, sad [grave, serious] and good rule' of his household: Orme (1984).

[126] PRO, SC6/816/6, mm. 1, 8; SC6/816/7, m. 9; SC6/816/8, mm. 1, 6; DCO207, mm. 1, 5; DCO208, mm. 1, 4; *CPR 1461–7*, 9, 221.

[127] *CPR 1467–77*, 450; Ives (1968), 222.

[128] DCO209, mm. 1, 4; DCO210, m. 4.

[129] *CPR 1467–77*, 366.

Castle to the queen's cousin and duchy councillor Sir John Fogge, and his son, John.[130] That said, Cornburgh's other offices of constable of Restormel Castle (held since 1466) and water bailiff of Plymouth and other Devon ports (held since 1460) were confirmed at that time (above, pp. 254–5, 259).[131]

Moreover, in 1471, Thomas Clemens had lost the office of havener to the prince's chamberlain and annuitant Sir Thomas Vaughan, who was later comptroller (deputy warden) of the stannaries in 1476–8.[132] Sir William Allington became the prince's attorney-general from 1472 until around 1477, and was later speaker of the House of Commons, as well as chancellor of the duchy in 1478.[133] These nominations of Woodville associates are echoed throughout the households of the king, the queen, and the princes, and it may have been the close-knit nature of the royal family's households that provoked complaints of the exclusivity of governance during Edward IV's second reign.[134] Obviously, such changes in duchy office-holders may have also stimulated alienated former administrators later to support Richard III. It is unclear, but the new position of chancellor, created for Allington in 1478, presumably involved his custody of the prince's great seal but may have also entailed some responsibilities of the lord stewardship, since Earl Rivers, though remaining in that post, may have been preoccupied with other concerns; the creation of this office also hints that some administrative changes may have been undertaken within the duchy during the 1470s. This would mirror similar concerns in the crown estates perhaps best indicated in the example of the 'Ordinances' for the duchy of Lancaster (*c.*1472–83) which aimed at encouraging effective administration and estate management, and at improving the royal revenues.[135]

One notable figure who was *not* granted duchy offices, however, was the duke

[130] DCO209, mm. 2, 5; DCO210, mm. 2, 5.

[131] DCO210, m. 8.

[132] DCO208, m. 4; DCO209, m. 5; DCO210, m. 5; Campbell (1962), 119–20, 144.

[133] DCO208, m. 4; DCO209, m. 5; DCO210, m. 8; *HPB*, 9; Lowe (1980–2), 558.

[134] Mancini, 65; Fleming (1987), 87.

[135] 'Ordinances for the Duchy of Lancaster'; Somerville (1953), 243–55. For the crown estates: Wolffe (1970), 51–65.

of Clarence. On the other hand, he possessed lands in all south-western counties, including Cornwall, and the final settlement of the Warwick inheritance (and his grant of most of the forfeited Courtenay estates) meant that his lands after 1473 included fifteen Cornish manors (above, pp. 235–6, 246, 254). He was chosen as a Cornish JP and, as in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, the duke seems to have been connected with the Hungerford nexus. The Hungerford-Botreaux marriage alliance brought the Hungerfords extensive Cornish estates, and Hungerford associates often served in Cornish local administration: for instance Avery Cornburgh may have been MP in 1472–5, and as JP until 1475 (above, pp. 259, 262–3). He was also a member of the royal household and was involved in duchy administration, as mentioned. Other clients may have included John Arundell (*c.*1421–73) of Lanherne (below, pp. 265–7); and Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart and Binhammy (Cor.).[136] One possible Hungerford dependant was Thomas Bere (fl.1451–85) of Lankynhorne in Cornwall;[137] and another possible Hungerford client was John Glyn II (*c.*1448–1512) of Morval (Cor.) who was nominated to the bench in 1472–3.[138] His father, John Glyn I, was Wiltshire's deputy steward of Cornwall. In 1472, Glyn was murdered by servants of the duchy official and royal retainer, Thomas Clemens, because 'of olde malice and envye' that Clemens had against Glyn as his replacements as deputy steward.[139]

However, as outlined concerning the other counties, the Hastings-Hungerford alliance effectively meant that Hungerford clients would have sought Hastings's rather than Clarence's benefaction. Giles Daubeney of Barington and South Petherton (Som.) who was selected under-sheriff of Cornwall in 1476–7, was associated with certain Hungerford clients, as mentioned, and also became an esquire of the body. Hastings's role as chamberlain and Daubeney's concurrent connections with the

[136] JP from 1471; land transactions 1463–9: *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; *HPB*, 204–5.

[137] JP until 1472, 1475–8; land transaction 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 271.

[138] Land transaction 1470: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 552; *HPB*, 380–1.

[139] *PR*, xiv, 78–83; PRO, C1/43/58, C1/48/121, C1/59/107; Ross (1972), 61; Rowse (1941), 106–8.

Hungerfords and with royal service seem to substantiate this. Furthermore, despite Hastings's loss of the duchy receiver-generalship in 1473, his influence in the county may have persisted to some extent and, in August 1477, he was appointed custodian of the duchy park of Liskeard.[140]

In summary, before 1475, Clarence clients accounted for only one MP; and the number of Clarence justices on each peace commission averaged less than one-tenth until 1478 (with the exceptions of 1472 and 1473 when the proportions were under one-fifth). Clearly, in contrast to the other three counties, these figures demonstrate that Clarence's influence in Cornwall was small (as it was in Devon, above, pp. 255–6). Clarence's lack of influence is also shown in the commissions of array: in April 1471, none of the four commissioners were Clarence associates, whereas one was Lord FitzWaryn, and another two were members of the king's household.[141]

* * *

Lord FitzWaryn's inclusion in the array commission indicates that the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus might also have exerted some influence in Cornwall, which, given the oft-proclaimed inter-related nature of Devon and Cornwall societies, seems a natural likelihood. Lord Dinham's chief interests were in Devon and only partially extended into Cornwall despite his duchy offices. He was confirmed as keeper of Dartmoor, and was granted custody of the duchy's Devon estates, as well as the office of warden of the stannaries (above, pp. 256–7). The Dinham-FitzWaryn affiliates involved in Cornwall included John Reigny (fl.1470–4), escheator of Cornwall/Devon in 1473–4;[142] and the Hungerford client John Arundell.

The Arundells of Lanherne were enormously influential, and the small number of their associates in the Cornwall commission of array gives only a slight indication of the family's real importance in Cornish politics: in March 1472, only two of the

[140] DCO210, m. 7.

[141] *CPR 1467–77*, 284.

[142] FitzWaryn feoffee 1471: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454; Dinham feoffee, and land transaction 1470–9: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/575; AR37/31.

eight commissioners were Arundell affiliates.[143] But this might be explained by Arundell's ambiguity – during the 1460s, John Arundell may have been associated with his stepson, Lord Stafford, but he also fought for the Lancastrians. He had been involved with the Hungerford clientele since the 1430s, and this association – later with Hastings and the royal household – seems to have been confirmed by his daughter's marriage to the probable Hungerford protégé and royal retainer Giles Daubeney in 1468 (above, p. 240). In addition, Arundell had also been involved with the Bonville-FitzWaryn connection since the 1440s, and the connection with this affinity was confirmed in the marriage of his son, Thomas, to Dinham's sister, Katherine.

John Arundell's association with the Hastings-oriented Hungerford connection is also confirmed by mixing between the Hungerford and Arundell circles of clients: for example both Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart and Binhammy (Cor.), and Thomas Bere (fl.1451–85) of Lankynhorne sat on the Cornish bench during the 1470s.[144] Other Arundell clients included the Cornishmen Henry Bodrugan (d.1503) of Bodrigan,[145] John Carminow (fl.1474–92) of Carminow,[146] Thomas Limbury (*c.*1425–92) of Launceston,[147] and William Menwyneck (*c.*1420–78) of Menwyneck.[148] Further possible Arundell affiliates were Sir John Treffry (d.1500) of Fowey (Cor.) who was under-sheriff in 1482–3;[149] his relative Thomas Treffry (fl.1461–74);[150] and Sir Walter Courtenay (*c.*1440–1504) of Exeter (Dev.).[151] At the

[143] *CPR 1467–77*, 350–1.

[144] Coleshill's land transactions 1451–66: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10; AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *HPB*, 203–4. Bere's land transactions 1459–67: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/362. For their Hungerford connections, above, p. 264.

[145] JP 1472–4 and from 1477; cousin, feoffee, tenant, and land transactions 1456–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/270; AR1/265/1, 2; cf. AR19/7; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 17, 29, 50, 81; Rowse (1944); *ODNB*: 'Bodrugan, Henry'.

[146] JP from 1474; land transactions 1466–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/361; AR20/28, 29.

[147] JP until 1476, and from 1478; attorney, and land transactions 1458–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/177, 268, 48, 89, 90, 45, 105/1, 270, 362, 363, 389, 710; AR4/184, 185, 186, 877, 528, 726, 1259, 1472; AR20/28; AR1/390; *HPB*, 544.

[148] JP until 1478; land transactions 1459–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1259; AR20/28; *HPB*, 584.

[149] Tenant 1480–99: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 97, 114.

[150] JP 1472–4; tenant 1463: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 55.

[151] Escheator 1472–3; land transaction 1466: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/710; *HPB*, 231.

time of Oxford's capture of St Michael's Mount in 1473, Warkworth described Arundell's cousin, Henry Bodrugan, as the 'scheff reulere of Cornwayle' who acquired the king's displeasure for supplying victuals to the besieged earl and his men. Bodrugan's alleged great local influence might – in no small part – be attributed to his ties with the Arundell nexus.[152] Following John Arundell's death, during the siege, his daughter by his first marriage, Anne, and her husband, Sir James Tyrell (*c.*1445–1502) of Gipping (Suffolk), claimed certain estates that had descended to John's son by his second marriage. Tyrell became involved in Cornish affairs by representing the county in 1478 (and perhaps in 1483), and this dispute may have later proved to be one of the motives for Tyrell's support of Richard III.[153]

In summary, in the period down to 1475, the integration between Clarence's associates and royal household servants (such as Avery Cornburgh), and the duke's status as the king's brother, should have marked out the duke's position as one of the shire's most notable magnates; however, there are few other examples of Clarence clients so it seems that the duke's local following was limited. In Cornwall, just as in the other south-west counties, those attracted to his service may have found his patronage inadequate. Consequently, Clarence's local influence was minimal, and his supporters may have drifted to Hastings's service, and probably to that of the foremost Devon peer, Dinham. The Arundell connection also numbered the royal servant Giles Daubeney amongst its associates, and it is most likely that this nexus may have also been linked with the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection. In Cornwall, as indicated, direct royal service was available through the duchy – although the overwhelming influence of the Woodvilles in duchy affairs after 1473 suggests that local families were largely excluded. Indeed, the peace commissions demonstrate a moderate level of continuity in the period from December 1474 to November 1475 (53 per cent) caused by the exclusion of former duchy officials such as Avery Cornburgh, Richard Edgcumbe,

[152] Warkworth, 26.

[153] Marriage agreement 1469: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/835, 836; *HPB*, 889–90; *ODNB*: 'Tyrell, James'.

and other Cornish gentry, and the addition of the probable Arundell client Thomas Bere.[154]

In Cornwall, as in Devon, royal retainers were active in local government: of Cornwall's under-sheriffs returned between 1471 and 1483, crown servants account for half of the terms.[155] The household retainer, John Fortescue (*c.*1440–1500) of Ponsbourne (Herts.), acted as under-sheriff from 1471 until 1476; he was granted four Devon manors in 1474, and had become an esquire of the body by 1476.[156] Giles Daubeney, as mentioned, was a knight of the body and under-sheriff, and was also bailiff of a Cornish hundred in 1477–8.[157] It seems that there was a clear crown policy of strong leadership, with Fortescue and Daubeney between them holding office as under-sheriff for six consecutive years. Avery Cornburgh, as seen, was elected as MP and chosen as JP, and was also a yeoman of the chamber until his promotion to esquire of the body and sea captain in 1474.[158] Cornburgh was also the only household JP involved on commissions from 1472 to 1474. John Halliwell (*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode (Cor.) and Bigbury (Dev.) was escheator in 1473–4, and constable of Plympton in 1478.[159] Thomas Clemens (*c.*1420–73) of Liskeard (Cor.) – the alleged murderer of John Glyn in 1472 – fulfilled his functions as a JP until that year, and had been a royal household servant since 1452.[160] In contrast to the situation in the other counties, there were no household sheriffs in Cornwall after 1477, which might indicate the crown's concentration of its efforts in counties less dominated by royal estates.

* * *

Another significant figure in Cornwall, in addition to Arundell, Dinham, FitzWaryn, and Clarence, was a member of the extended royal family: Thomas, Marquess of

[154] Below, Appendix IV.
[155] Two household sheriffs served 6 of 12 terms: John Fortescue 1471–6; and Giles Daubeney 1476–7.
[156] *CPR 1467–77*, 296, 473, 589; *CPR 1485–94*, 96, 264.
[157] DCO210, m. 1.
[158] *HPB*, 223–4.
[159] *HPB*, 406–7; Geare (1953).
[160] *HPB*, 188.

Dorset. His second marriage to the Bonville heiress brought Cornish, as well as other south-western, estates. By April 1477, the marquess had replaced Sir Thomas Bourchier as steward of duchy lands in Cornwall, which office served to supplement the marquess's landed interests and political power.[161] As outlined concerning the other counties, after Clarence's death, Dorset was made master of the game of all forests in Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall, and others in those counties. In 1480, he was granted custody of Warwick's estates, and those of the Dernford heiress (above, p. 244). The marquess was chosen to sit on the Cornish bench from 1480, and gained a life interest in some duchy of Exeter estates, which, combined with his own estates, meant that his position in Cornwall was much ameliorated.

The former Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus had coalesced around Dinham's leadership, as mentioned concerning Devon, therefore it is difficult to determine whether former clients would wish to gain the marquess's benefaction. This situation may have also been blurred by the fact that the Bonville inheritance had been in Hastings's custody, and once again given the scarcity of evidence, it is difficult to discern whether or not associates would desert the chamberlain's patronage. It is interesting to note that the marquess was Thomas Arundell's tenant from at least 1480.[162] But, whether this connection was significant is another matter; certainly, the Arundells would be well-placed to negotiate the perils of politics during the ensuing years. Such positioning was important: only a few years later the Woodville-dominated duchy, the Prince of Wales's council, and Dorset's south-western hegemony, along with Edward IV's wider settlement of Cornish affairs, would all be shattered by Richard III's accession.

OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF CLARENCE, HASTINGS, DINHAM AND DORSET

After his victory over the Lancastrians, Edward IV's governance should have become more inclusive – in order to reconcile the rifts of previous decades – but it appears that

[161] DCO210, m. 8.

[162] *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 88, 132.

he did not govern impartially. Perhaps Edward realised that he had been too generous in delegating local power in his first reign and, in his second reign, bridled the horse of patronage by endowing his favourites with few lands and offices; but, even so, he seems to have continued to distribute patronage disproportionately so, while some were granted much, few other peers received many rewards. Edward's second reign was a time of restructuring in local and regional politics. In order to address the question of whether one peer offered a political focus to the region, it is necessary to consider the estates, offices, and affinities of Clarence, Hastings, Dinham, and Dorset in turn.

As the king's brother – and a substantial landowner in the western counties – Clarence was in a supposedly unrivalled position of pre-eminence. Despite this, it appears that he was not awarded any significant south-west offices – notably, he was persistently denied any duchy of Cornwall posts. However, simply because of his high status and extensive properties, the region's gentry would have been attracted to his service, and he may have been able to influence local politics and government to some extent: in Somerset and Dorset, Clarence was associated with the Twynhos and others, and may have been indirectly linked with further gentry through the Stourton and Hungerford connections. In Devon, Clarence's likely affiliations with Philip Courtenay, the Twynhos, and perhaps some Hungerford clients may have enabled him to exert some influence in politics, and perhaps in Cornwall (again through Hungerford clients). The duke's disputes with Audley and FitzWaryn may have solidified his dependence on the Hungerford connection, thus his support could be completely undermined by the Hastings-Hungerford coalition, bringing Hastings into local affairs.

The Hastings-Hungerford marriage ensured that the Hungerford connection would seek Hastings's patronage. At a time when Clarence's position in the Midlands was being destabilized by Hastings's appointment to crown offices there, Hastings's custody of three major south-western inheritances undermined Clarence's position in Somerset and Dorset – thus establishing Hastings as the principal magnate (although

his preoccupation with other responsibilities may have meant a decline in the Stourton-Hungerford connection's influence in local administration). So, although at the start of Edward's second reign, Clarence was *the* most important peer in the region, after only a few years, as a consequence of his incompetence as a patron in the Midlands, and perhaps in the south-west, his position had been superseded by Hastings.

The Hungerford connection's inclusion of some royal retainers during the 1470s (such as Edward Hardgill) confirms that Clarence was a representative of crown power (albeit for a short time before his influence waned), and similarly for Hastings later in the decade, although the examples of overlap between royal and regional affinities are few in number. Significantly, neither Clarence nor Hastings was ever granted any duchy of Cornwall offices, so neither was allowed to supplement his local power with duchy authority. While Clarence and Hastings did not enjoy regional offices and seem not to have provided an overall focus for the region in terms of clientele, it seems probable that they did form a political centre for Somerset and Dorset at least.

In Devon and Cornwall, the earl of Wiltshire's prominence – as a result of his duchy of Cornwall involvement – ended with his premature death. It seems that the long-standing Dinham-FitzWaryn clientele – principally led by Dinham – was still influential in local affairs (and Clarence's relationship with this connection will have been damaged by his dispute with FitzWaryn). So, did Dinham form a regional focus for Devon and Cornwall with regard to his lands, offices, and affiliates? Dinham's estates were mainly centred in these far-western counties, his duchy office-holding as lord warden of the stannaries reinforced this, and it appears that the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection was primarily centred on Devon, with some Cornish clients. But, the Arundell connection's intermingling with both Hungerford and Dinham-FitzWaryn clienteles indicates its centrality to Cornish affairs (and shows how the Arundell nexus was potentially best placed to take advantage of whichever way the 'winds of change' blew). So it seems that Dinham might have been a meso-regional

focus for Devon and Cornwall during this period.

The marquess of Dorset's marriage to the Bonville heiress made him a great landowner throughout the western counties. However, his office-holding was more limited: although added to each county bench, he was awarded duchy office only in Cornwall. Through his marriage, the marquess might have attracted support from former Bonville-FitzWaryn protégés; but perhaps he did not have sufficient time to establish his position before 1483 – if that was possible to any great extent given Hastings's pre-eminence and previous custody of the Bonville estates. It appears that Grey's most influential ally was the royal retainer Thomas St Leger. But apart from him, and with the marquess's association with the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus uncertain, it is unclear to what extent Dorset was influential in local affairs.

Contemporaneous commentaries on the hostility between Hastings and the queen's family reportedly arose from Hastings's replacement of Earl Rivers as captain of Calais. The queen was also believed to dislike Hastings, and tension grew between them concerning partition of the earldom of Shrewsbury. Furthermore, hostility between Hastings and Dorset was rumoured to have been caused by competition for mistresses and resulted in both parties' suborned informers spreading incriminating stories about the other.[163] A significant aspect of the hostility may have arisen from their coinciding landed interests in the Midlands and the south-west: the Hastings-Hungerford connection may have made it difficult for Dorset to exert influence in the region. Moreover, in January 1483, Dorset inherited his paternal grandmother's Ferrers of Groby estates – focussed in Leicestershire and the Midlands – this was at the very heart of Hastings's power base, and the prospect of the marquess's patronage might have undermined Hastings's support in his Midland core.[164]

It seems, then, that the region's sub-core of royal authority, the duchy of Cornwall, was not fully harnessed to enhance any magnate's power during Edward's second reign. While Dinham was lord warden of the stannaries, and Dorset was

[163] *CPR 1467–77*, 450; Mancini, 69; Ives (1968), 221–2; Ross (1974), 98.
[164] *CPR 1476–85*, 336; Denton (1999).

steward of duchy lands in Cornwall, these posts did not endow their recipients with region-wide influence, only with localised renown. Rather, it appears that duchy power had become more intimately connected to the Prince of Wales's administration as indicated in the nomination of Earl Rivers as both lord steward and receiver-general. His appointment heralded more extensive changes in duchy administration: thereafter, most offices were dominated by Woodville associates – thereby excluding long-standing administrators.

Undoubtedly in order to avoid alienating increasingly profitable crown lands, Edward used parliament to enforce the manipulation of inheritances and, unsurprisingly, such actions did not endear him to some peers, notably those who lost out. As seen, the duchy of Exeter inheritance was settled on Dorset in 1483 – rather than on Ralph, Earl of Westmorland. The earl's nephew and heir, Ralph, Lord Neville, one of Richard, Duke of Gloucester's key allies in the North, would prove his loyalty during Richard's usurpation.[165] The alienation of duchy lands in favour of Huntingdon in order to gain the earldom of Pembroke for the Prince of Wales, was another of Edward IV's miscalculations, and apparently served only to guarantee Huntingdon's later alliance with Gloucester. The replacement of long-lasting duchy of Cornwall officials with Woodville nominees also appears likely to have been a source of grievance.

It seems significant that Westmorland and other disgruntled peers, such as the duke of Buckingham, supported Richard III's usurpation; and later it was to be Buckingham (for a time), Huntingdon, and the former duchy officer Avery Cornburgh who would serve Richard III faithfully. In brief, Edward appears to have given certain individuals vested interests in seeing the collapse of his governance; for the moment, Edward could sustain his regime and keep the peace. It may be argued that Edward IV did not receive counsel from a wide selection of his subjects: the Woodvilles' domination of the prince's council and duchy offices seems to indicate this. Thus the

[165] Hicks (1978), 86; Horrox (1989), 65.

question is raised of whether Edward was malignly influenced by the queen's party: did they 'surround the king ... and finally rule the very king himself'.[166] While Mancini's depiction may be hyperbole, this may have been the perception, and the identification of Edward's rule with the Woodvilles may have compromised his kingship.

The involvement of household retainers in local government was one aspect common to all counties. There were a number of household sheriffs, as shown, and there seems to have been little difference in this policy from Edward's first reign or, indeed, from that of Henry VI. According to the Crowland Chronicler, after the death of Warwick and later that of Clarence, Edward IV

> was persuaded that he could rule as he pleased throughout the whole kingdom ... the king ... exercised his office so haughtily ... that he seemed to be feared by all his subjects while he himself feared no man. Since his most faithful servants had been distributed all over the kingdom as keepers of castles, manors, forests and parks no attempt could be made however stealthily by any man, whatsoever his distinction, without his being immediately faced with it.[167]

The chronicler's views may have been shaped by several aspects of Edward's rule: the involvement of royal servants in county administrative positions; the domination of duchy offices by the Woodville faction; the involvement of Hastings in all the western counties as well as the Midlands; and the manipulation of inheritance laws in preference of the king's favourites. In general, perhaps the 'tyranny' of Edward IV seems not an unreasonable suggestion.

During his second reign, Edward persisted in pursuing his ideal of regional governance: his favourites were established as regional 'governors' just as during the 1460s. Gloucester was regional governor in the North, Hastings in the Midlands, and potentially Dorset in the south-west. Wales was the undisputed domain of the Prince of Wales's council, while East Anglia came under the influence of the duke of York's circle – leaving the south-east as the chief recruiting ground for the royal

[166] Mancini, 65; Ross (1974), 101–2. For alternative views: Lander (1976b); Carpenter (1992), 516–47; Carpenter (1997), 156–81, 182–205.

[167] *Crowland*, 147.

household.[168] However, just as in his first reign, the serious flaws of regional governance inevitably re-surfaced: focusing royal patronage on a limited number of courtiers encouraged the view that the regime was exclusive; but, more importantly – given the motivation – any regional governor would have the resources and capacity, potentially, to depose the king. In 1469, the rebellious governor had been Warwick; while it was not Edward IV who was to be deposed – with his increasing ill health – the factions and rivals positioned themselves, and at the first opportunity it was his twelve-year-old son who was overthrown.[169] As explained, Edward IV's regional hegemonies may have proved destabilising by exacerbating frictions within local communities: if a magnate's lordship was unacceptable no superior authority could intervene if that peer was the crown's principal agent; thus leading to the crown being viewed as partial (with all the attendant consequences).[170]

Edward IV's scheme of regional hegemonies during his second reign appears not to have been particularly innovative or unique as some, such as T.M. Westervelt, have recently inferred.[171] The ultimate outcome of regional governance – deposition – seems to have been eventually realised as, on Edward's death, the only magnate strong enough to rescue the kingdom from Edward V's potentially pernicious Woodville-dominated minority was the duke of Gloucester. However, in itself, Richard III's usurpation was to divide the realm once again, and further continue the Wars of the Roses.

[168] Morgan (1973), 18–21; Morgan (1987), 64–6; Starkey (1981), 270; Hicks (1991b). For Wales: Griffiths (1972); Lowe (1980–2), 545–73; and the North: Horrox (1986); Horrox (1989), 27–88; Pollard (1990), 316–41.

[169] Edward IV was in good health until early 1483 but there are references to increasing corpulence and hints at ill health from the later 1470s, so, while his death may have been unexpected, his health may have been the subject of concern: Ross (1974), 287; Hughes (2002), 293–4.

[170] Castor (2000), 18, 45–9, 311.

[171] Cf. Westervelt (2001b), 96–106.

CHAPTER EIGHT

USURPATION AND UPHEAVAL: 1483–5

'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child' (Ecclesiastes, 10: 16): the death of Edward IV and the accession of his twelve-year-old son and heir, Edward V, presaged a Woodville-dominated minority or protectorate followed by a Woodville-influenced kingship. Richard, Duke of Gloucester's seizure of the child-king at Stony Stratford on 30 April 1483 and the successive events that led to Richard's enthronement on 26 June, were intended to liberate the land from this execrable situation (as Richard would have us believe). But Richard's actions provoked former Yorkist servants to rebel against his rule in the October Rebellion of 1483. His subsequent policy of 'northern plantation' could only ever have been a short-term measure and, in the longer-term, he may have hoped to win the support of former rebels for his inclusive regime.[1] This chapter examines the political structures of the western counties to see how local families were to be included in Richard's regime. Was the duchy of Cornwall's authority invoked, by the conferment of its offices, to complement the local power of a regional figure?

In Somerset and Dorset, the first figures to be removed from the counties' societies were Edward IV's courtiers: Thomas, Marquess of Dorset (*c.*1455–1501), and William, Lord Hastings (*c.*1431–83).[2] Richard's initial endowments of his favourites, John Howard, Duke of Norfolk (*c.*1422–85) and Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (*c.*1455–83), with minor south-western estates and responsibilities indicates that Richard was intending to rely on existing magnates such as John, Lord Stourton (*c.*1452–85) and John Cheyne (*c.*1445–99) for his support.[3] However, the

[1] Mancini; Pollard (2001b), 33–44.

[2] Dorset: *CP*, iv, 418–19; *ODNB*: 'Grey, Thomas'. Hastings: *CP*, vi, 370–4; *ODNB*: 'Hastings, William'.

[3] Norfolk: *CP*, ix, 610–12; *HPB*, 473–4; *ODNB*: 'Howard, John, first Duke of Norfolk'. Buckingham:

October Rebellion – involving large numbers of south-west gentry – meant that Richard's settlement had to be reassessed. The introduction of northerners into the southern counties in 1483–4 was succeeded by the prominence of John, Lord Audley (*c.*1425–90), John, Lord Zouche (*c.*1459–1524), and William, Earl of Huntingdon (*c.*1455–91) who may have attracted the support of the remaining gentry.[4]

In Devon and Cornwall, Dorset and Hastings were similarly removed from political society, and the principal force in Devon politics remained the formidable Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus led by John, Lord Dinham (*c.*1433–1501).[5] His influence may have also extended into Cornwall through association with his brother-in-law, his sister's husband, Thomas Arundell (*c.*1452–85).[6] After the uprising, the involvement of Arundell may have raised Richard's suspicions of Dinham's loyalty, and meant that he had to reconsider his settlement of Devon and Cornwall. Some northerners were introduced to the counties, but primarily it was Richard's henchman Sir James Tyrell (*c.*1440–1502), given forfeited Arundell lands, who enjoyed a leading place in Cornish society.[7] In addition, because of his responsibilities in Wales (and its relationship with the duchy of Cornwall), the earl of Huntingdon may have also become involved in Cornish affairs to some extent.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET

During Gloucester's protectorate, the Somerset commissions of the peace show a relatively moderate continuity rate (64 per cent), with the exclusion of those associated with Edward IV's government, and the addition of Richard's allies.[8] Given the changes in political fortune nationally, alterations were only to be expected to be

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CP, ii, 389–90; Rawcliffe (1978); *ODNB*: 'Stafford, Henry, second Duke of Buckingham'. Stourton: *CP*, xii(1), 303; *ODNB*: 'Stourton Family'. Cheyne: *CP*, iii, 191–2; *HPB*, 182–3.

[4] Audley: *CP*, i, 341–2; *HPB*, 29–30. Huntingdon: *CP*, x, 402–3; *ODNB*: 'Herbert, William'. Zouche: *CP*, xiii, 946–7.

[5] *CP*, iv, 378–82; *ODNB*: 'Dinham Family'; 'Dinham, John'.

[6] *ODNB*: 'Arundell Family'.

[7] *HPB*, 889–90; *ODNB*: 'Tyrell, James'.

[8] Below, Appendix IV.

made at county level and be manifested in the continuity of the justices of the peace.

Edward IV's stepson, Dorset, was removed from local commissions, his lands were seized, and his presence was effectively eliminated from the south-western scene. Through the marriage of his son to the Hungerford heiress, the other major figure was Lord Hastings. In effect, he appears to have come to lead the Hungerford affinity, but Hastings's unexpected execution on 13 June 1483 meant that the connection effectively became leaderless. The removal of these two figures – cornerstones of Edward IV's governance – created a political vacuum in Somerset that was filled by other peers who either became loyal Ricardians or attempted to remain neutral, such as Lords Audley, Cobham, and Zouche, and the earl of Huntingdon (below, pp. 289–90). In addition, Richard also introduced his supporters to Somerset: Edward, Lord Lisle, John, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry, Duke of Buckingham.

Lord Lisle (d.1492) was an early ally of Richard: it was reported on 21 June 1483, that Lisle 'is come to my lord protectour, and awates upon him', and a week later he was created Viscount Lisle.[9] However, although he held some landed interests in Somerset, his principal sphere of influence was not the south-west, but the Midlands.[10] Lord Howard, as heir-general of the last Mowbray duke of Norfolk, had been deprived of his inheritance in favour of Edward IV's second son, Richard. Howard's support of Richard III was rewarded when the king overturned that settlement and created him duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster in the south parts (i.e. south of the Trent), and Admiral of England. In late July 1483, Norfolk was also granted lands in East Anglia, the south-east, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Cornwall, and six Somerset manors including former Hungerford estates. While it is significant that Norfolk received some Somerset estates, his local involvement appears to have been particularly focussed in East Anglia and the south-east.[11]

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[9] *Stonor Letters*, ii, 161.

[10] *CChR 1427–1516*, 260; *CP*, viii, 58–62; xii(1), 301–4; *Coronation Documents*, 349.

[11] *HM*, i, 7, 72, 74, 80, 117, 155, 266; ii, 111; *CPR 1476–85*, 359, 363, 365, 497–8; *CChR 1427–1516*, 258.

Richard's other chief supporter was the duke of Buckingham. Despite his extensive estates throughout the realm, Buckingham sat as a JP only for Staffordshire during the 1470s and was not employed by Edward IV in any public offices – hence his grievance fomented into support for Richard's usurpation. In May 1483, Buckingham was endowed with virtually vice-regal authority in Wales and the Marches – being appointed chief justice and chamberlain of North and South Wales; he was also granted supervision of the king's subjects, nomination to offices, constableships of castles, and the power of array in Wales, the Marches, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire.[12] Hastings's death heralded the prospect that the duke might succeed to Hastings's Midlands power base; indeed, he was granted custody of Hastings's duchy of Lancaster castles and honours of Tutbury (Staffs.), High Peak (Derbs.), and Castle Donnington (Leics.). Shortly afterwards, in anticipation and expectation, it was reported that Hastings's men had 'become my lord of Buckingham's men'.[13] While Buckingham was installed as lord great chamberlain and constable of England, he may have desired Hastings's post as lord chamberlain (giving him even greater power). Accordingly, the fact that this position was given to Francis, Lord Lovell may have been a contributory factor in the duke's rebellion.[14] Buckingham's motive to rebel may have also arisen from problems with his grant of the de Bohun inheritance (including one Somerset manor and Dorset lands).[15] Furthermore, Buckingham may have been disappointed with the extent of his rewards in the Midlands – perhaps expecting endowments on the scale of those in Wales and the Marches. Alternatively, Buckingham may have been fearful of public reaction to Richard's usurpation or may have hoped to advance his own kingly claim. But, whatever his motivation, the duke's broad responsibilities in the Midlands and Wales meant that his involvement in Somerset affairs could only be on a limited scale.[16]

[12] PRO, PSO1/56/2, 7–12; *HM*, i, 9–13, 16–17, 28–32, 70, 72; *CPR 1476–85*, 349–50, 356, 361.

[13] *Stonor Letters*, ii, 160–1.

[14] *HM*, i, 65, 69; *CPR 1476–85*, 361.

[15] *HM*, ii, 2–4; Rawcliffe (1978), 31–2.

[16] More suggested that it was his insatiate ambition that made Buckingham ripe for revolt: More; cf. *Polydore Vergil's English History*, 195; 'Historical Notes of a London Citizen'.

'Buckingham's Rebellion' was a pivotal event in Richard's reign. Although Richard's pre-rebellion settlement had excluded Woodville protégés, he had continued to govern using Edward IV's servants; but rebellion shattered this settlement – destroying Richard's confidence in the gentry of southern England.[17] Those rebels who were members of Somerset society can be divided into five categories: courtiers, Buckingham adherents, Beaufort associates, Daubeney clients, and royal household retainers. The courtiers included Dorset and Buckingham. Only one likely Buckingham client was involved in Somerset, William Uvedale (*c.*1454–1524) of Wickham (Hants.), whose father, Sir Thomas Uvedale (*c.*1401–74) had faithfully served the Staffords. During the protectorate, in May 1483, Uvedale replaced Sir Edward Woodville in command of Porchester Castle (Hants.), and was summoned to be knighted at Edward V's coronation.[18]

The Beaufort affiliates constitute those connected with Lady Margaret Beaufort (*c.*1443–1509), daughter of John, Duke of Somerset and mother of the pretender Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Margaret held a number of Somerset lands, and had married the lord steward of the household, Thomas, Lord Stanley (*c.*1435–1504). Margaret was connected with two rebels: William Hody (*c.*1434–1524) of Gothelney (Som.) who was nominated to the county bench from July 1483 until the uprising;[19] and John Heron of Langport (Som.) who was portreeve for her manor of Langport (Som.).[20] She had conspired in the intrigue but was spared attainder – forfeiting only her titles and estates – because of the good service of her husband. Her properties were re-granted to Stanley, and he was to keep her a virtual prisoner.[21] While Richard had been uncertain of Stanley's support during the usurpation (having been briefly arrested just before Hastings's execution), he continued as lord steward.

[17] Ross (1981), 105–24; Horrox (1989), 138–77, 178–225.

[18] *HM*, i, 181, 252; *CPR 1476–85*, 504, 523; *HPB*, 901; *ODNB*: 'Uvedale, Sir William'.

[19] Feoffee 1472, and Margaret's household servant: *CPR 1467–77*, 339; Jones and Underwood (1992), 144–5; *HPB*, 461; *ODNB*: 'Hody, William'.

[20] Jones and Underwood (1992), 63.

[21] *PR*, xv, 36–7; Jones and Underwood (1992), 64, 98; *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby'.

After he helped to extinguish the uprising, Stanley was rewarded with the office of constable of England.[22]

Daubeney affiliates consisted of those connected with Giles Daubeney of Barington and South Petherton (Som.), who had been a key shire figure – twice sheriff of Somerset/Dorset, MP, and a JP until April 1483, then again from July until the rebellion. He had been a knight of the body since at least 1477, and was married to Elizabeth, sister of the Cornish rebel Thomas Arundell. Following the uprising, Daubeney fled to Brittany, was attainted, and his lands forfeited.[23] In addition, the Beaufort client William Hody had been associated with Daubeney and had also been an annuitant and feoffee for Thomas Arundell (perhaps confirming this Daubeney connection).[24] A second Beaufort client, the rebel John Heron, had also been Daubeney's feoffee;[25] while another intrigant was Daubeney's tenant William Case (*c.*1450–94) of South Petherton and Norton (Som.).[26] In addition, the rebel John Huggins (*c.*1430–1500) of Whitstaunton (Som.) had been escheator, and was a JP until April 1483 and from July until the uprising. He had also been a feoffee for Daubeney, and for Daubeney's brother-in-law Thomas Arundell;[27] and had also been involved in Hungerford affairs during the 1470s.[28]

As a result of the Hungerford nexus' association with Hastings, his execution might be expected to have spurred some clients into revolt. While Daubeney himself was not directly connected with the Hungerford circle, he was linked with the rebellious Hungerford client John Huggins, and with two possible Hungerford supporters who did not rebel: William Paulet (*c.*1404–88) of Hinton St George

[22] *HM*, i, 94; *CPR 1476–85*, 367, 381; *ODNB*: 'Stanley, Thomas, first Earl of Derby'.

[23] *HPB*, 259–60; *CP*, iv, 102–5; *ODNB*: 'Daubeney, Giles'.

[24] Land transaction (as grantor, recipient, or witness) 1475: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1385; Arundell annuitant, and feoffee 1479: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR21/6; AR20/30.

[25] Feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[26] *HPB*, 162.

[27] Feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533; *HPB*, 480; Arundell feoffee 1479: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR21/6.

[28] Land transactions 1466–73: *CCR 1461–8*, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139.

(Dor.);[29] and Robert Stowell (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.).[30] While the elderly William Paulet did not participate, his son, Amias Paulet (*c.*1457–1538), did take part, and it seems likely that he would be connected with Daubeney and the Hungerford circle through his father's associations. Probably as a consequence of his son's implication in the uprising, William Paulet was excluded from the peace commissions; but Amias was pardoned in May 1485.[31] In summary, it appears that Daubeney was connected with five Somerset rebels, and also inspired six of his servants to rebel.[32] While some Hungerford clients may have rebelled in reaction to Hastings' execution, on the whole, the Stourton-Hungerford grouping seems to have had little influence amongst those who revolted – although it may have been used as a communication network between insurgents.

The final category of rebels concerns members of the royal household. Three Somerset rebels were in crown service: Giles Daubeney, who had been a knight of the body; John Cheverell, and William Berkeley. John Cheverell (*c.*1441–85) of Chantmarle and Upper Stirthill (Dor.) had been sheriff, and steward of the royal park of Ramesham (Dor.); he was later pardoned in February 1484.[33] William Berkeley (*c.*1450–85) of Beverstone (Glos.) had been sheriff, and was a JP until after the rebellion; he served as an esquire of the body, and may have also been associated with Buckingham.[34]

Although some Somerset rebels were associated with Lady Margaret Beaufort, the greatest number of insurgents appear to have been linked with Daubeney. As a member of the royal household headed by Hastings, Daubeney cannot but have been influenced by Hastings's execution – perhaps inspired to rebel in retaliation.

[29] Land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246; Daubeney feoffee, and land transactions 1475: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1385; *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[30] Land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5; Daubeney land transaction 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[31] *HM*, i, 276; *CPR 1476–85*, 534; *HPB*, 667–8; *ODNB*: 'Paulet, Sir Amias'; Winn (1976).

[32] Ross (1981), 108.

[33] *HM*, i, 124; *CPR 1476–85*, 69, 430.

[34] *HPB*, 69–70.

Daubeney's connection with numerous Hungerford clients indicates his probable connection with this nexus, led by Hastings and his son, Edward. The overlap between Beaufort, Daubeney, and Hastings affiliates is comparable to the general association amongst Margaret's supporters, Woodville protégés, and Edward IV's household retainers. Largely, the revolt seems to have been a response to Richard's usurpation and the ascendancy of his supporters. Following the widespread attainders of many rebels, Richard may have still embraced the hope that a majority would seek his service in the future, and in order to give them the opportunity to be reconciled, he pardoned numerous of them (such as William Uvedale and John Cheverell); but there is little evidence that this was successful.

* * *

Not all members of Somerset political society had been involved in the uprising. Only three household servants participated of the six who had been employed by Edward IV during the 1470s. The three royal servants who remained loyal continued their service under Richard III: John, Lord Audley, Edward Hardgill, and John Hymerford. Audley had been one of Edward IV's councillors, and master of the hounds. Although he was put under a recognisance on 2 July 1483, Audley was present at Richard's coronation a few days later. However, his brother, Thomas, had been involved in the revolt and, as a result, Lord Audley was removed from the bench. He and his brother later received pardons, and the peer was soon reconciled with the government: in March 1484, he was granted an annuity and, in December, was presented with the exalted office of treasurer.[35] Another of Edward IV's servants who remained faithful was Edward Hardgill (*c.*1435–87) of Mere (Wilts.) formerly sheriff, and an usher of the chamber; he was designated joint-verger of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in late May 1483, and, in July, became controller of customs at Bridgwater. This patronage from the new regime may have persuaded him to remain loyal – although such a

[35] *CCR 1476–85*, 360; *CPR 1467–77*, 266, 440–1, 444; *HM*, i, 107, 145, 165; ii, 31; *CPR 1476–85*, 384, 415, 488; *HPB*, 29–30; *CP*, i, 341–2; *Coronation Documents*, 406; Somerville (1953), i, 628; Horrox (1989), 160.

policy was not successful in other cases. Hardgill's position in Wiltshire and Hampshire seems to have been extended – perhaps to compensate for the numerous rebels: in February 1484, Hardgill's annuity (granted in 1476) was confirmed, along with his offices as ranger of an Oxfordshire forest, steward of the duchy of Cornwall property of Mere (Wilts.), and parker of the royal park of Freemantle (Hants.).[36] While Richard evidently trusted Audley and Hardgill, he appears to have been less trusting of the crown retainer John Hymerford (*c.*1425–1501) of East Coker (Som.), who had been Edward IV's receiver and constable in Somerset, but was not employed in any capacity during the reign.[37]

Involvement in the rebellion evidently cut across connections such as the Stourton-Hungerford nexus: some rebelled, while others remained loyal. Consequently, it was difficult to identify those who would support the government, and those who might not. It had largely been committed Yorkists who participated in the rebellion, meaning that Richard might have to rely on the support of former Lancastrians and neutral parties, none of whom would be inclined to defend his rule against a rival claimant. Richard no doubt consoled himself with his confidence in those associated with him as duke of Gloucester in the North; therefore, Richard's solution was to employ his northern retainers in southern England.[38]

Reflecting national instability, the commissions of the peace in the period from August to December 1483 demonstrate a relatively moderate rate of continuity – 53 per cent – largely caused by the exclusion of rebels (and others whose loyalty was uncertain) and the addition of loyal supporters.[39] In the aftermath of the uprising, the northern plantations were a key part of Richard's new settlement and the western counties. The sheriff in 1483–4 was the household retainer and northerner Edward Redmayne (*c.*1455–1510) of Harewood (Yorks.), who had been in the retinue of

[36] *HM*, i, 20–1, 21–2, 68, 123; *CPR 1476–85*, 348, 361, 403, 454–5, 456; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 1083; *HPB*, 422–3.

[37] *HPB*, 457.

[38] Horrox (1989), 178–225; Pollard (2001a); Pollard (1990), 342–66.

[39] Below, Appendix IV.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. On Richard's accession, he was elevated to the post of esquire of the body and, in December 1484, he was granted a Somerset manor forfeited by the traitor Thomas Arundell, and the Wiltshire lands of the insurgent Sir Roger Tocotes.[40] Other northerners were nominated to the county bench and were granted rebels' forfeited lands, such as Sir Thomas Markenfield, Richard, Lord FitzHugh, and John, Lord Scrope of Bolton. Sir Thomas Markenfield (d.1497) of Markenfield (Yorks.) was a JP from December 1483, and a knight of the body; as reward for his support, he was granted seven Somerset manors and an annuity.[41] Richard, Lord FitzHugh (*c.*1458–87) served as a JP from December 1483, and was granted an annuity from the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster honour of Tickhill (Yorks.). In 1484, he was further endowed with five Somerset manors, one Dorset manor, and two Wiltshire manors, and was also custodian of the royal park of Petherton (Som.).[42]

Thomas, Lord Scrope of Masham and Upsall (*c.*1459–93) had long been a loyal retainer of Richard's, and had been knighted by him on the Scottish campaign. He was one of the king's councillors and perhaps a member of the Council of the North; Scrope was added to the county bench after the rebellion, and also gained some Somerset lands.[43] The proportion of household men as JPs remained low: ranging from under one-tenth in the commissions of April and June 1483, to just one-tenth in July and August commissions, and back to under one-tenth in December 1483 and February 1484.

John, Lord Scrope of Bolton (*c.*1437–98) had been one of Richard's councillors since 1475, and was related to Richard's chief supporters: William Catesby was his stepson, Richard Radcliffe was his brother-in-law, and Francis, Viscount Lovell was his nephew. He attended Richard's coronation in July 1483, and

[40] *HM*, i, 236; *CPR 1476–85*, 501; *HPB*, 709; Pollard (1990) 347, 352.

[41] *HM*, i, 134, 137, 235; *CPR 1476–85*, 470; Pollard (2001a), 28; Pollard (1990), 350.

[42] *HM*, i, 109, 119, 220; *CPR 1476–85*, 413; *CP*, v, 429–30.

[43] *CP*, xi, 569–71. 'Private Indentures 1278−1476', no. 155; Attreed (1983); *CPR 1467−77*, 582, 599; *CPR 1476−85*, 238; *Coronation Documents*, 393.

a few weeks later was made chamberlain of the duchy of Lancaster. He became a JP in December 1483, and it appears that his region of influence was mostly intended to encompass Devon and Cornwall.[44] Lord Scrope's brother-in-law, Sir Richard Radcliffe was a knight of the body and was one of the king's most loyal supporters. He did not play a large enough part in Somerset politics during the short reign to qualify as a member of the county's political elite, but as one of Richard's henchmen, his potential role in the locality deserves some mention. He was rewarded with estates and offices in the region, in September 1484, being granted a small number of manors in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Devon, and appointed constable of Taunton (Som.) by Bishop Waynflete.[45]

Another plantation was Henry, Earl of Northumberland who, in 1474, had become Richard's indentured retainer, and was created lord great chamberlain in November 1483. However, this office – and that of warden-general of the Scots Marches – were both simply honorific titles.[46] Northumberland gained the reversal of his ancestors' attainders, meaning that he could hold his estates by inheritance rather than by royal grant.[47] Through his mother, the earl was one of the heirs to the Poynings and de Brian inheritances: the Poynings estates were centred in Surrey and Sussex, but included eight Somerset manors and a hundred; while the de Brian inheritance consisted of estates in Wales, Gloucestershire, Kent, Devon, Dorset, along with eight Somerset manors. In December 1483, Northumberland secured a grant of all the de Brian estates.[48]

The earl was not added to the commissions of the peace, despite receiving

[44] *HM*, i, 73; *CPR 1476–85*, 501; *CP*, xi, 544–6; *ODNB*: 'Scrope, John, fifth Baron Scrope of Bolton'.

[45] *CPR 1476–85*, 472; Davis (1989), 15; Horrox (1989), 202; Mercer (1997), 60.

[46] 'Private Indentures 1278–1476', no. 154; Hicks (1978), 83. *CCR 1468–76*, 100; *HM*, ii, 39–40; iii, 12–13; cf. *CCR 1476–85*, 46; *CPR 1476–85*, 409; Hicks (1978), 90–1. Northumberland's term as Warden of the East and Middle Marches ended in December 1484, and was not renewed: *CPR 1476–85*, 462, 578–80.

[47] *PR*, xv, 38–44; Bean (1958), 112.

[48] *CPR 1446–52*, 24; *CCR 1454–61*, 98; *HM*, ii, 39–40. The grant was not entered in the Patent Rolls or ratified in parliament, but was effective: Bean (1958), 113, 117–22. Edward Poynings, heir male of the Poynings inheritance, probably rebelled because of Richard's favour of Northumberland.

these lands, and may have regarded these rewards as little more than what he was due. At first, Northumberland may have welcomed the advancement of his protégés in royal service – such as Edward Redmayne – as a guarantee of his own interests, and an indicator of his good lordship.[49] However, ultimately, he would not be able to offer them any rewards that were comparable to those that the king could provide, and the earl may have felt threatened by an erosion of authority amongst his clients – perhaps compounded by Richard's establishment of the Council of the North. Moreover, the earl may have also viewed Richard's consideration of Sir Thomas Butler's claims to the de Brian estates (below, p. 290) as a threat to his grant, and this may have further encouraged him to reconsider his support for the regime.[50]

An indication of the importance of northerners in Somerset may also be illustrated in the commissions of array: in May 1484, the fourteen commissioners included Zouche and the attorney-general Morgan Kidwelly; three were Stourton-Hungerford associates, and three northerners (FitzHugh, and the royal retainers Thomas Markenfield and Edward Redmayne).[51] However later, in December 1484, the balance had distinctly changed, with no northerners included: the thirteen commissioners included Zouche and Kidwelly; two were Stourton-Hungerford clients, and one was the crown servant William Bracher.[52]

This illustrates that the northern plantations may have been planned as only a temporary measure, and that Richard was attempting to reinstate native Somerset and Dorset gentry to shire government. This is also suggested in the appointments of the sheriff and escheator in 1484–5: the sheriff was Sir Thomas Fulford (d.1490) of Fulford (Dev.) – neither a northerner nor a household retainer. In May 1477, Fulford's servants had been involved in the 'wounding, beating and hunting' of St Leger's servant.[53] However, this episode seems not to have led to Fulford's support of

[49] Hicks (1978), 99.
[50] *HM*, iii, 107–8, 114–16; Hicks (1978), 92; Pollard (1990), 356, 358–9.
[51] *CPR 1476–85*, 397–8.
[52] *CPR 1476–85*, 488–90.
[53] *CCR 1476–85*, no. 222.

Richard's usurpation, since he may have been involved in the uprising: Fulford was indicted but pardoned, so was not subject to attainder.[54] The nomination of the Devon-derived Fulford as sheriff indicates a lack of appropriate candidates from Somerset and Dorset, moreover, it appears that Fulford was never rewarded for his later support. William Bracher of Somerset was elected escheator in 1484–5, and was a yeoman of the crown by August 1483, when he was chosen as parker of the royal park of Okehampton (Dev.). A few months later, he was created bailiff and parker of the royal park of Barington (Som.), and granted an annuity. In March 1484, Bracher 'for his good service against the rebels', was granted three Somerset manors forfeited by Sir William Berkeley of Beverstone.[55] A further illustration of Richard's restoration of native gentry to local offices can be seen in FitzHugh's replacement as keeper of Petherton Park (Som.). Awarded the office in January 1484, he was replaced in January 1485 by the knight of the body Sir William Houghton (d.1508) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.). Houghton's marriage to Joan, sister of Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) meant that, on Coleshill's death, he inherited his brother-in-law's lands in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall (confirmed in July 1484).[56]

While Richard's northerners were not completely removed from Somerset, there seems to have been a gradual restoration of the natural leaders of political society. The commissions of array illustrate the importance of the remaining Stourton-Hungerford affiliates to Richard's rule. A number of Stourton-Hungerford clients stayed loyal and served in local government during the reign – despite their associations with Daubeney and other rebels: for instance, the Hungerford and Daubeney dependant Robert Stowell (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.) was chosen to sit on the bench throughout the reign;[57] the Stourton and Hungerford client Thomas Champneys (d.1506) of Frome Salwood (Som.) was nominated as a JP from 1484;[58]

[54] Horrox (1989), 173.

[55] *HM*, i, 80, 106, 174; *CPR 1476–85*, 366, 373, 390.

[56] *CCR 1476–85*, no. 1269; *HM*, i, 270; ii, 189–90; *CPR 1476–85*, 528.

[57] Hungerford land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5; Daubeney feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[58] Hungerford land transactions 1458–69: NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476; *CCR 1468–76*,

and John, Lord Stourton's uncle, Sir Reginald Stourton (d.1489) of West Bower (Som.), was JP from December 1483.[59] These Stourton-Hungerford allies also included Lord Stourton himself, who sustained his family's long-standing association with the Hungerford circle, and continued the traditional Stourton stance of serving whoever was monarch. He remained on the county bench, and may have been inspired to support Richard's rule because his stepfather – the household servant John Cheyne (*c.*1445–99) of Falstone Cheyne (Wilts.) and Compton and Enborne (Berks.), who had come to lead the nexus after 1479 – was involved in the uprising.

Although Stourton attempted to remain neutral, there were a number of other magnates who actively supported Richard's government, and former Stourton-Hungerford protégés may have sought the patronage of these peers. John, Lord Cobham was one of those sent to capture Edward Woodville who had escaped to sea during the protectorate. Cobham's inclination to support the usurpation may have been influenced by his dispute with Sir William Stonor of Stonor (Oxon.) over lands in Kent. Cobham may have sought Gloucester's patronage in order to balance Stonor's patronage from Dorset and the queen. Cobham's sphere of influence had moved from the south-west to the south-east, but he remained a Somerset JP throughout 1483 and was rewarded with an annuity in 1484.[60]

One of Richard's key supporters after the revolt was William, Earl of Huntingdon. He had been forced to resign his father's earldom of Pembroke, in favour of the earldom of Huntingdon and some duchy of Cornwall lands in Somerset and Dorset. It may have been this affair that soured Huntingdon's relations with Edward – ensuring that he was one of Richard's early supporters. Huntingdon attended Richard's coronation and was appointed Edward, Prince of Wales's chamberlain.[61] He was a Somerset justice of the peace from June 1483 and, in February 1484, agreed to

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no. 230; overseer of Stourton lands 1480: *CIPM*, i, no. 18.

[59] Also Hungerford land transaction 1460: *HR*, i, 237.

[60] *HM*, i, 187, 188; *CPR 1476–85*, 370, 430, 433; *Stonor Letters*, i, xxxiv, no. 121, 131, 324; *Coronation Documents*, 317; *CP*, iii, 346–7; *ODNB*: 'Cobham Family'.

[61] *PR*, xiv, 422–4; *CPR 1485–94*, 141.

marry Richard's illegitimate daughter, Katherine. In May 1484, his earldom was confirmed, and he was granted lands in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset.[62] While Huntingdon was given additional estates in the south-west, after the rebellion, he was also granted influence in Wales and the Marches. Following Buckingham's death, in November 1483, Huntingdon was appointed chief justice of south Wales. Moreover, in August 1484, after Prince Edward's death, he became chief justice and chamberlain of south Wales.[63]

Another of Richard's loyal supporters was John, Lord Zouche, who held substantial Somerset estates and had been a Somerset JP since 1481. Although he also held minor interests in Dorset, Devon, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire, Zouche's sphere of influence lay primarily in the Midlands. He was rewarded for his support with the wardenship of Gillingham and Selwood forests (both in Dorset), and fought for Richard at Bosworth.[64] Richard appears to have been willing to win over former Lancastrians in order broaden his support, and one of these may have been Sir Thomas Butler – heir to the earldom of Ormonde and brother of the Lancastrian earl of Wiltshire. The foundation of the earl's power during the 1450s had been the de Brian estates, and the only way for Richard to gain Butler's support was to reconsider the estates' settlement on Northumberland, which seems to have been the intention of a commission, issued in February 1485, to consider Butler's petition.[65] This was a gamble since it threatened Northumberland's grant, and depended on Butler's loyalty to the regime. Indeed, Butler was intriguing for Henry Tudor, which is confirmed by his later career under Henry.[66] Richard's tactic may have been to threaten the redistribution of the de Brian estates as an incentive for Northumberland to redouble his support of Richard; however, if this was the case, it manifestly failed since

[62] *HM*, i, 187; ii, 137; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 1087.
[63] *HM*, i, 94, 139, 187, 269; ii, 105; *CPR 1476–85*, 367, 431, 538.
[64] *HM*, i, 122.
[65] *CPR 1476–85*, 508.
[66] Horrox (1989), 318–19.

Northumberland proved crucially inactive at Bosworth.[67]

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET

Dorset and Somerset political elites were closely inter-related, and the Stourton and Hastings-Hungerford blocs would be expected to have continued to be prominent in county affairs during Richard's reign. Just as in Somerset, the Dorset commissions of the peace during the usurpation – from March to June 1483 – show a moderate level of continuity (65 per cent): resulting from the exclusion of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury (*c.*1454–84), and others;[68] such changes to the composition of the commissions of the peace thus reflecting alteration of political alignments nationally.

The removal of Dorset from commissions and the seizure of his estates and Hastings's execution left a political vacuum, which was filled by Richard's favourites and lesser nobles, such as Buckingham, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and FitzHugh. The duke of Norfolk was principally concerned with his East Anglian estates and influence but, from May, his role as chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster in the south parts brought some influence in Dorset through the duchy's estates there. He was granted, in late July, south-eastern and East Anglian lands, but also Somerset, Cornwall, and two Dorset manors, including some former Hungerford estates (above, p. 278). Richard's greatest supporter, Buckingham, was endowed with the right to oversee nominations to offices and array in Wales, the Marches, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire. The duke also gained lands in Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire from his award of the de Bohun inheritance (above, p. 279).

A number of those involved in the October Rebellion in Dorset were also involved in Somerset (therefore mentioned earlier). The courtiers who rebelled were Dorset and Buckingham, and the Beaufort affiliate was the rebel John Heron of Langport (Som.). In late September 1483, Richard ordered the confiscation of Bishop

[67] *GC*, 237, 242. Vergil implied that there had been friendly contact between Northumberland and Tudor: *Polydore Vergil's English History*, 215, 224–5; *Crowland*, 181.

[68] Below, Appendix IV. *ODNB*: 'Woodville, Lionel'; Thomson (1986).

Woodville's temporalities, and the king's suspicion of him was probably justified since he may have acted as intermediary between the south-western rebels, Buckingham, and the Woodvilles.[69] Some Dorset rebels may have been associates of Giles Daubeney – JP from March to June 1483 – who was married to the sister of the rebel Thomas Arundell. The rebels John Huggins, John Heron, and Daubeney's tenant William Case have been discussed, as has the intrigant Amias Paulet, the son of the elderly Hungerford and Daubeney protégé William Paulet of Hinton St George (Dor.). Some insurgents may have been associated with Buckingham, such as William Uvedale (*c.*1454–1524) of Wickham (Hants.), and Sir William Berkeley of Beverstone (Glos.) – who was also a member of the royal household – and both have already been considered (above, pp. 280, 282). In addition, Nicholas Latimer (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.), who was nominated to the county bench until the rebellion, was the duke's chamberlain; Latimer was pardoned in late April 1484, and a month later put under recognisance to be of 'true and good bearing towards the king and his heirs, and serve him in war and peace' when required.[70] William Twynho II (*c.*1445–97) of Moore Critchell and Shipton Solers (Dor.), a JP from June until the revolt, had acted as the duke's attorney in 1475; his brother, John Twynho, had been Buckingham's steward in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.[71]

Some rebels were members of the sovereign's household, as were the Somerset landowners Giles Daubeney, Sir William Berkeley of Beverstone, and John Cheverell (who was a JP until the uprising). Another household retainer and rebel was John Cheyne of Falstone Cheyne (Wilts.) and Compton and Enborne (Berks.), husband of William, Lord Stourton's widow. There may have been some antagonism between Cheyne and his stepson, John, Lord Stourton. Cheyne was removed from the county bench in June 1483, and lost his offices of master of the horse and master of the henchmen to Sir James Tyrell some time during Richard's protectorate or soon

[69] *HM*, ii, 23–4; *CPR 1476–85*, 462; cf. Thomson (1986), 132–3; Horrox (1989), 151.
[70] *HM*, i, 181; *CPR 1476–85*, 435; *CCR 1476–85*, 365; *HPB*, 527–8; Rawcliffe (1978), 195, 227.
[71] *HPB*, 887–8.

after his accession, which may have persuaded him to rebel. In contrast, even though Stourton was married to Katherine, sister of the seditious William Berkeley, he managed to remain loyal to the Ricardian government, but this may have been specifically because of Cheyne's participation in the revolt. In summary, the most important figure – possibly connected with five rebels – was Daubeney. The Stourton-Hungerford nexus may have worked as a communication network but, largely, the rebellion appears to have been a reaction against Richard III's usurpation and perhaps – in the case of Hungerford clients – an expression of resentment at Hastings's execution.

* * *

While four royal servants had been involved in the revolt, three who had worked for Edward IV chose not to participate: Audley was named a JP until after the rebellion and, as discussed, was eventually reconciled with Ricardian rule – later serving as treasurer of England. While Edward Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.) – a yeoman of the crown under Edward IV – was utilised in Wiltshire and Hampshire, John Wykes (*c.*1420–89) of Bindon-in-Axmouth (Dev.) – an esquire of the body since 1472 – did not participate in the rebellion yet, like the royal servant John Hymerford in Somerset, was not employed in any significant capacity during the reign.[72]

The commissions of the peace in the period from June to December 1483 reveal a relatively low level of continuity (47 per cent): largely caused by the exclusion of rebels.[73] Richard was unsure of the loyalty of many local gentry and, as in Somerset; his solution was his policy of 'northern plantation'. The northerner George Neville (fl.1483–94) of Raskelf (Yorks.) – one of the esquires of the body – was nominated as JP after the rebellion. Later, in June 1485, Neville was appointed custodian of Cranbourne chase and royal forests in Dorset, as well as constable of Corfe Castle (Dor.). A month later, he was granted six Somerset manors and estates,

[72] *CPR 1461–7*, 23, 123, 124; *CPR 1467–77*, 346; *HPB*, 926.

[73] Below, Appendix IV.

and Dorset lands.[74] Another northerner was Richard, Lord FitzHugh who was a JP from June 1483, and was keeper of Petherton Park (Som.) from January 1484. Then, a few months later, he was granted five Somerset manors, two Wiltshire manors, and one Dorset manor (above, p. 285). Richard's retainer the earl of Northumberland, great chamberlain and warden-general of the Scots Marches, also received a grant of the Poynings estates – including two Dorset manors and other Somerset lands; and the de Brian estates – included Devon and Somerset lands and ten Dorset manors (above, p. 286). Northumberland may have been dissatisfied with these rewards and this, in combination with other factors, may have led him to reconsider his Ricardian support.

An indication of the importance of northerners in Dorset may be illustrated in the commissions of array: in May 1484, the eighteen commissioners included Audley and the attorney-general Morgan Kidwelly, two Stourton-Hungerford associates, three were northerners: FitzHugh, and the royal servants George Neville and Edward Redmayne.[75] Later in the year, the northerners had largely been removed from the commissions: in December 1484, the nineteen commissioners included Audley, Kidwelly, two Stourton-Hungerford clients, and the northern retainer Redmayne.[76] This, as in Somerset, suggests that Richard was aiming to include more local gentry in shire government later in his reign.

Not all members of the Stourton and Hungerford interest participated in the October uprising, though, some continued their service on the bench under Richard III: examples are the possible Stourton client Thomas Hussey (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton and Shapwick (Dor.),[77] and the possible Hungerford associate William Martyn (*c.*1445–1504) of Athelhampton (Dor.).[78] Lord Stourton was one of those who served under Richard III, as mentioned. Although he had been removed from the

[74] *HM*, i, 283; *CPR 1476–85*, 549–50.

[75] *CPR 1476–85*, 397–8.

[76] *CPR 1476–85*, 488–90.

[77] JP from 1471; Stourton feoffee 1471: *HPB*, 488–9.

[78] JP from 1482; Hungerford attorney 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1078; *HPB*, 579–80; Colbourne (1991), 192–3.

bench in March 1483, Stourton was reinstated after the rebellion. He appears to have been inactive in local politics, so some Stourton-Hungerford affiliates – faced with a lack of leadership – may have sought the patronage of Ricardians such as Huntingdon, Cobham, and Zouche who were all involved in Somerset affairs. Huntingdon was one of Richard's key supporters after the revolt, and was selected to sit as a JP; he was granted lands in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and two Dorset manors forfeited by Thomas Arundell. In addition to this influence in the south-west, Huntingdon was also influential in Wales – which became his principal area of influence (above, pp. 289–90). John, Lord Cobham remained a JP throughout 1483, but may have been more involved in south-eastern affairs. Similarly, Zouche continued as a JP, but held only minor landed interests in the county. Another Dorset landowner was Sir Thomas Butler and, as mentioned, Richard may have been aiming at winning Butler's support by considering the re-settlement of the de Brian estates. This contradicted Northumberland's grant of the estates, and therefore potentially undermined his loyalty – while there was no guarantee of Butler's definite commitment.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON

Just as in Somerset and Dorset, in Devon, the commissions of the peace from 1482 to May 1483 reveal a moderate continuity rate (62 per cent).[79] The removal of Dorset and Hastings had some impact on Devon politics since the marquess held substantial estates, and Hastings's son, Edward, possessed Hungerford lands in the shire. Richard added two of his chief allies to the bench: Buckingham and Norfolk – although neither was granted substantial estates in Devon. Yet, despite these alterations, Richard's principal supporter was to become John, Lord Dinham, whose leadership of the prominent Dinham-FitzWaryn affinity appears to have been central to Richard's control of the county's affairs (for Dinham's role during the reign, below, pp. 299–301).

[79] Below, Appendix IV.

Buckingham's rebellion seems to have attracted fewer participants in Devon than in other western counties. Again, Devon rebels can be divided into courtiers, administrators, and royal household retainers. The courtiers were Dorset and Buckingham. Another high-profile insurgent was Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, Edward IV's secretary, who participated in the rebellion alongside his brother Walter, but his other brothers, William, Philip, Humphrey and John remained loyal to Richard.[80]

The administrators included the former sheriff Edward Courtenay (d.1509) of Boconnoc in Cornwall, and the former escheators Walter Courtenay (*c.*1440–1504) and Thomas Pyne (who was escheator in 1482–3), both of Exeter. Another intrigant was Robert Willoughby (*c.*1452–1502) of Broke (Wilts.), who had been sheriff and JP until the revolt. Willoughby's involvement, and his subsequent attainder and forfeiture of estates meant the advancement of Richard's staunch ally, Humphrey Stafford (d.1486) of Grafton (Worcs.). Stafford had helped to put down the uprising by demolishing bridges over the intumescent River Severn preventing Buckingham from joining up with the south-western rebel contingent. In reward, Stafford was granted Willoughby's lands, and may have also taken over lands formerly belonging to Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick (certainly by November 1484), claiming them as his heir male (to the detriment of Stafford's heir general, Willoughby).[81]

Furthermore, four royal household servants were involved in the rebellion, including Giles Daubeney who had been sheriff in 1481–2 (above, pp. 281, 282). The former escheator Sir John Halliwell (*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode (Cor.) and Bigbury (Dev.) was a JP until May 1483, and again from August until the insurgence, and had been constable of the royal borough of Plympton in 1478.[82] Sir Thomas St Leger (*c.*1440–83) of Guildford (Surrey) was nominated to the Devon bench until the revolt.

[80] *Crowland*, 165; *Polydore Vergil's English History*, 199–200; for the Woodville-Courtenay dispute: *CCR 1468–76*, 411, 423; Thomson (1972), 240–2; Ross (1981), 110.

[81] *Polydore Vergil's English History*, 201–2; Rawcliffe (1978), 33; Ross (1981), 109–10, 116–17; *HPB*, 792–3, 793–4, 821, 886–7, 952; *CP*, iv, 328; *ODNB*: 'Willoughby, Robert, first Baron Willoughby de Broke'.

[82] *HPB*, 406–7; Geare (1953), 195–201.

He was a knight of the body, and joint-master of the hart hounds from 1478, as well as being married to the king's sister Anne, Duchess of Exeter.[83] Sir William Stonor of Stonor (Oxon.) was not greatly involved in Devon political society but was closely associated with Dorset and the queen, and the promotion of Cobham in Richard's government may have persuaded him to rebel since he and Cobham had been involved in a dispute concerning some Kent lands (above, p. 289). Clearly, Devon rebels were not great in number and the majority seem to have comprised members of the royal household.

* * *

Some crown servants revolted, yet a number remained loyal and continued their service under Richard III, such as John Courtenay (*c.*1445–1509) of Exminster and Kenn (Dev.), an esquire of the body or chamber since 1475. Courtenay was not given any local offices or responsibilities but did become a knight of the body, and in reward for his loyalty was granted, in March 1484, a duchy of Cornwall annuity.[84] The royal servant Avery Cornburgh (*c.*1430–87) of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and Dovers (Essex) – an esquire of the body from 1474 – may have represented Plymouth in the 1484 Parliament.[85] Cornburgh was also involved in duchy of Cornwall administration (below, p. 303). Two further loyal crown servants were the brothers Sir Philip and Sir William Courtenay. Sir Philip (*c.*1430–89) of Kingston and Molland (Dev.) was formerly Clarence's councillor, and had been linked with the Hungerford nexus; he was assigned to sit on the Devon bench from 1483, became a knight of the body, and was awarded a duchy annuity in March 1484.[86] His brother, Sir William (*c.*1428–85) of East Coker (Som.) and Yelton and Powderham (Dev.), was a JP from 1483, a knight of the body from 1484, and was also rewarded with a similar duchy annuity.[87]

[83] *HPB*, 736–7.

[84] *HM*, i, 129; *CPR 1476–85*, 428; *HPB*, 229.

[85] *HPB*, 223–4.

[86] Clarence councillor 1470–8: *HPB*, 230–1; Hungerford land transactions 1467–77: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 1078; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511. Duchy annuity: *HM*, i, 129; *CPR 1476–85*, 428.

[87] *HM*, i, 129; *CPR 1476–85*, 428; *HPB*, 231–2.

The number of household JPs during the reign ranged from the single justice in May 1483, to almost one-fifth in June, one-quarter in August, and almost one-third in December 1483 – after which the proportion was around one-quarter.

Another of Richard's household men was Lord Dinham's brother Charles Dinham (*c.*1434–91) of Nutwell in Devon, a former sheriff, who continued on the bench under Richard's rule, becoming a knight of the body in 1484. At some point early in Richard's reign, Dinham's wardship of Joan Durnford (granted in 1482) was confirmed and, in February 1484, undoubtedly in reward for his continued loyalty, he was granted the Devon estates of the rebel John Halliwell (with both grants confirmed in March 1485).[88] In addition to his own brother, Dinham's brother-in-law (his sister's husband) was also one of Richard's household retainers: Sir John Sapcotes (*c.*1448–1501) of Bampton (Dev.) and Elton (Hants.) was an esquire of the body; he may have been knight of the shire in 1484, and was JP until May 1483 and again from August 1483. In June 1484, as a reward for his 'good service against the rebels', Sapcotes was granted two Somerset manors and one Devon manor.[89]

The commissions of the peace in the period from August to December 1483 demonstrate a moderate level of continuity (60 per cent) resulting from the exclusion of rebels and the addition of Ricardians – mostly Richard's trusted northerners.[90] The sheriff returned in 1483–4 was Halnath Mauleverer (d.1502) of Ashwater (Dev.) who was promoted from usher of the chamber to esquire of the body in 1484, and was also a JP from December 1483. Although Mauleverer was originally of Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.), he settled in the south-west because of his wife's Cornish inheritance.[91] Halnath's brother, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, was returned as sheriff in 1484–5. In the aftermath of the rebellion, in November 1483, Thomas was granted the command of Plymouth, and in April 1485, was rewarded with the manor, borough,

[88] *HM*, i, 143, 267, 270; ii, 90; *CPR 1476–85*, 471, 542; *HPB*, 275.
[89] *HM*, i, 143; ii, 90–1; *CPR 1476–85*, 431–2; *HPB*, 740–1.
[90] Below, Appendix IV.
[91] *CPR 1476–85*, 122, 502; Horrox (1989), 200.

and hundred of Plympton.[92]

Richard's other plantations in Devon included John, Lord Scrope of Bolton who, after the rebellion, was nominated as a justice of the peace, and a commissioner of array in Cornwall and Devon.[93] In April 1484, Scrope was granted the stewardship of the Bishop of Exeter's temporalities (Peter Courtenay had joined the rebellion); and, in December, Scrope was rewarded with one Devon manor, and another in Cornwall, along with the reversion of one Somerset manor on Stanley's death (previously held by Margaret Beaufort); in addition, Scrope was appointed constable of Exeter Castle, and granted two substantial annuities.[94] Another of Richard's northerners was Thomas Broughton (fl.1459–89) who was granted a lordship, three manors and a hundred, and also the stewardship of two lordships, and the office of master of the game of royal parks in Devon.[95] In addition, the earl of Northumberland gained Devon lands from the settlement of the de Brian inheritance, although he was never added to the Devon bench.[96] The importance of Richard's northerners is illustrated in the commissions of array: in May 1484, the eighteen commissioners included some northerners (Scrope of Bolton, Thomas Broughton, and Thomas Mauleverer), plus Sir Thomas Butler, five Dinham associates, and four crown servants.[97] In December 1484, the twenty-one commissioners included Sir Thomas Butler, some northerners (Scrope of Bolton, Broughton, and Thomas Mauleverer), also five Dinham affiliates, and five household retainers.[98]

The commissions of array also illustrate how the Dinham nexus was central to Devon local government. Indeed, Lord Dinham had been lieutenant of Calais, while Hastings was captain during the 1470s, and during the protectorate and usurpation

[92] *HM*, i, 276; ii, 34–5; *CPR 1476–85*, 531.

[93] *CPR 1476–85*, 370.

[94] *HM*, i, 149; ii, 124; *CPR 1476–85*, 501, 502. For Courtenay: *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Peter'; also Thomson (1972), 241–2.

[95] *HM*, i, 136, 167, 237; ii, 166.

[96] *CPR 1446–52*, 24; *CCR 1454–61*, 98; Bean (1958), 113, 117–21.

[97] *CPR 1476–85*, 397–8.

[98] *CPR 1476–85*, 488–90.

Dinham remained in this post, but was not promoted to the captaincy (which was awarded to Richard's illegitimate son, John de Pontefract).[99] No doubt in order to smooth Dinham's potentially ruffled feathers and as an incentive to support Richard's government, in May 1483, Dinham was installed as lord steward of the duchy of Cornwall and later, in June 1483, was also appointed master forester of Dartmoor, steward of the duchy's Devon lands, and lord warden of the stannaries.[100] In reward for his support, in April 1484, Dinham was also granted the reversion of two Devon manors and a hundred, and a Hampshire hundred in anticipation of Stanley's death.[101] However, other than these rewards, Dinham received little more and, in August 1484, even though he remained lord steward, the stewardship of duchy estates in Cornwall was removed from his sole supervision and awarded to Richard's henchman, Sir James Tyrell.[102] This adjustment may have been a symptom of Richard's suspicion. After all, the peer's sister was the wife of the rebel Thomas Arundell who had escaped to exile in Brittany, so Richard probably had some reservations about Dinham's loyalty. However, equally, by this action, Richard may have alienated Dinham and perhaps persuaded him to entertain the notion that a position at a Tudor royal court might be attained by the intervention of Arundell and others of his acquaintance.

Dinham's Calais role occupied him throughout the reign, and although he continued on the bench, it was presumably left to his relatives and associates to exert influence in Devon on his behalf. Lord Dinham and his brother-in-law (his sister's husband) Fulk, Lord FitzWaryn had cooperated to influence shire affairs during the 1470s; similarly, during Richard's reign, Dinham-FitzWaryn dependants continued to play a role in local government. Dinham's brother, the royal retainer Charles Dinham, has been mentioned.[103] Dinham's sister (Lord FitzWaryn's widow) had taken as her second husband the crown servant Sir John Sapcotes who, like his brother-in-law, was

[99] *HM*, i, 161; iii, 28–31; *CPR 1476–85*, 386; Kleineke (1998), 252. Pontefract: *HM*, i, 271.
[100] *HM*, i, 20, 130, 161, 265; *CPR 1476–85*, 386, 430.
[101] *HM*, i, 176–7.
[102] *HM*, i, 125; *CPR 1476–85*, 474.
[103] Feoffee, and an executor of Thomas Arundell's will 1485: *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7.

rewarded with duchy of Cornwall office: in May 1483, he was selected as receiver-general.[104] John Dennis (*c.*1425–91) of Barnstaple and Orlegh in Devon was in receipt of a pension from Dinham in 1489–90, and it is probable that this association may have been formed earlier.[105] He was employed as a JP from May to December 1483 and again from January 1484, and may also have been returned as Barnstaple's burgess in parliament in 1484. Similarly in receipt of a Dinham pension in 1489–90 was Thomas Hext (fl.1472–1501) who was a JP from 1480.[106] By the middle of 1484, Richard appears to have had clear suspicions of Dinham's loyalty and, consequently, that of his clients. At a time of national insecurity, it might not have been desirable to have selected a Dinham client as sheriff of Devon – who would then have at his disposal the command of the *posse comitatus*; hence the selection of the northerner Sir Thomas Mauleverer as sheriff in 1484 – in contrast to the other western counties which had selected local gentry to their shrievalties.

Dinham and his clientele were not the only Ricardians with influence in Devon, and some gentry may have sought the patronage of Cobham, or the ambivalent Sir Thomas Butler. Lord Cobham was rewarded for his service in May 1484 when he was granted an annuity, and two Devon manors, a borough and a hundred, and one Cornish manor forfeited by Sir William Stonor.[107] Butler was appointed as an array commissioner, and was added to the bench in November 1484. In addition, Richard's consideration of Thomas Butler's claims to the de Brian inheritance may have been designed to win his support but simultaneously may have alienated Northumberland (above, pp. 290–1, 295).

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL

The Dinham-FitzWaryn affinity dominated Devon politics, as seen, and this grouping

[104] FitzWaryn feoffee, and steward of FitzWaryn estates in Berkshire and Wiltshire 1475–7: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1454; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 264; Arundell feoffee 1485: *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7. The duchy's receiver-general: PRO, PSO1/56/4; *HM*, i, 18, 74; *CPR 1476–85*, 348, 364.

[105] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881; *HPB*, 269; Kleineke (1998), 148.

[106] NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881; Kleineke (1998), 148.

[107] *HM*, i, 187, 188; *CPR 1476–85*, 430, 433.

had been strongly linked with Cornwall's most important and influential family – the Arundells; however, Richard III's rule would mean a new settlement of Cornish politics. After Edward IV's death, Gloucester's protectorate altered the political fortunes of many of Edward's supporters: the commissions of the peace of the period from 1480 to May 1483 show a relatively low continuity rate (46 per cent) – as a result of the exclusion of six gentry and other figures whom Richard must have mistrusted.[108]

Dorset's and Hastings's removal from the peace commissions was matched by Richard's introduction of two of his allies into Cornwall: Norfolk and Buckingham. Norfolk was chosen to sit on the county bench and in late July 1483, he was granted lands in East Anglia, the south-east, and the south-west including two Cornish manors and also – in another endowment – twenty-one Cornish manors (above, p. 278).[109] Norfolk's son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey was granted a duchy of Cornwall annuity during his father's lifetime in August 1484.[110] However, with Buckingham's and Norfolk's regions of influence being focused in other parts of the realm neither was involved with Cornish matters.

The duchy of Cornwall had long been linked with the governance of Wales; therefore, the extensive influence that Richard granted to Buckingham in Wales may have meant that he was also given a role in duchy administration – perhaps, at least, as one of the prince's councillors following the creation of Richard's son as Prince of Wales in August 1483.[111] During the protectorate, Richard removed Woodville associates from duchy offices – restoring the long-enduring administrators that they had supplanted. Anthony, Earl Rivers, Edward V's tutor and councillor, lord steward and receiver-general of the duchy, and the prince's chamberlain, Sir Thomas Vaughan, were arrested at Stony Stratford, to be executed at Pontefract less than two months later. The Woodville protégé Sir John Fogge of Ashford (Kent) and his son

[108] Below, Appendix IV.
[109] For the duke's Cornish estates: *HM*, i, 74, 80, 266; *CPR 1476–85*, 359, 365, 497–8.
[110] *HM*, i, 206, 220; *CPR 1476–85*, 479.
[111] *CChR 1427–1516*, 260.

John were removed as joint-constables of Launceston Castle, and the younger John Fogge was also removed as the duchy's feodary. The advancement of Woodville affiliates during the 1470s may have encouraged Avery Cornburgh to support Richard III's usurpation (above, pp. 262–3, 297). Under Richard's rule, Cornburgh continued as an esquire of the body and became under-treasurer of England. He was appointed comptroller (deputy warden) of the stannaries in May 1483, and confirmed as constable of Restormel Castle, parker of Kerrybullock, and bailiff of Plymouth and other boroughs.[112]

Undoubtedly in order to sweeten the loss of not being nominated captain of Calais and to entice him to support Richard's rule, in May 1483, Dinham was created the duchy's lord steward. Later, in June 1483, he was further rewarded with the offices of master forester of Dartmoor, steward of the duchy's Devon estates, and lord warden of the stannaries (above, pp. 299–301). It may have been Richard's intention for Dinham to be the principal figure in Cornish affairs, as in Devon. Dinham's brother-in-law, the household retainer Sir John Sapcotes, was designated the duchy's receiver-general in May 1483, and his influence in Cornwall was further extended with the custody of James Tregurra's lands in February 1484.[113] Moreover, Dinham's other brother-in-law, Thomas Arundell, was a key figure in Cornish affairs. Evidently, with these connections, Richard seems to have intended Dinham and his clients to augment their influence in Cornwall. Despite his being involved with affairs at Calais, Dinham's duchy appointments may have attracted Cornish gentry to his service.

The October rebellion drew a number of participants from Cornwall, and these rebels can be divided into the categories of courtiers (such as Dorset and Buckingham), Woodville associates, Arundell clients, administrators and others, and royal servants. The Woodville affiliates involved in the uprising included the former duchy official Sir John Fogge, later pardoned in February 1485, and the Woodville kinsman Richard Haute of Ightham Mote (Kent) who had lost his post as comptroller

[112] *HM*, i, 41–2, 76, 204; *CPR 1476–85*, 465; *HPB*, 223–4.

[113] *HM*, i, 112; *CPR 1476–85*, 429; for duchy appointments, above, pp. 300–1.

of the prince's household on Richard's accession. The Arundell associates involved in the revolt included the leader of the connection, Thomas Arundell: he had been knighted at Richard's coronation, and was nominated to the bench from July 1483 until the uprising. Arundell's sister, Elizabeth, was married to the Somerset and Dorset insurgent Giles Daubeney. Another intrigant was Richard Nanfan (*c.*1445–1507) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.) and Trethewell (Cor.) whose connection with the Arundells came through his mother, whose first husband had been Sir Renfrew Arundell of Tremodret (Cor.) – a cousin of the Lanherne Arundells – and this connection may have proved more significant than the distant familial link suggests.[114] Richard Edgcumbe (*c.*1443–89) of Cotehele (Cor.) took part in the rebellion, then fled to Brittany and was pardoned in January 1484. His motivation to rebel may have been from his former Lancastrianism, or he may have been associated with the Arundells: although there is no evidence for an Arundell connection at that time, during Henry VII's reign there was significant overlap between Arundell and Edgcumbe dependants, which might therefore be traced earlier.[115] Another Arundell client was John Treffry (d.1500) of Fowey (Cor.) who was a tenant, and had been under-sheriff in 1482–3.[116]

The 'administrators' category included former shire officials such as the rebel and former sheriff Robert Willoughby of Broke (Wilts.), and Edward Courtenay (d.1509) of Boconnoc (Cor.) who was a JP from July until the uprising. Further rebels included the former escheator Walter Courtenay, and the former sheriff Richard Nanfan. The Arundell client John Treffry also fits into this category for he was sheriff, at the same time as his fellow rebel Thomas Pyne was escheator, in 1482–3. The members of the monarch's household involved in the rebellion included the former sheriff Giles Daubeney, and the former escheator Sir John Halliwell. In summary, it seems that despite the great influence of the Arundell clientele, only a small number

[114] *HPB*, 623; *ODNB*: 'Nanfan, Sir Richard'.
[115] *HPB*, 291–2; *ODNB*: 'Edgcumbe, Sir Richard'; below, ch. 9.
[116] Tenant 1480–99: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 97, 114.

of associates participated in the revolt alongside Thomas Arundell. The largest number of rebels were administrators – former sheriffs, escheators, and JPs – with seemingly little to connect them other than their previous county government careers.

* * *

Only two household men rebelled in 1483, while a further two had also been employed by Edward IV but chose not to mutiny against Richard's rule. One of these, John Fortescue (*c.*1440–1500) of Ponsbourne (Herts.), under-sheriff of Cornwall from 1471 to 1476, was an esquire of the body. Early in Richard's reign, Fortescue was granted annuities from two lordships during the earl of Warwick's minority. However, despite the fact that he did not participate in the rebellion, Richard may have harboured some suspicions, which may have been well-founded since, in December 1484, Fortescue's estates were forfeited – indicating possible involvement in seditious activities.[117] The other royal retainer who remained loyal was the esquire of the body Avery Cornburgh, who was assigned duchy offices during Richard's protectorate (above, p. 303). The proportion of household justices averaged around one-tenth: from the single JP in the May and July commissions, to the two JPs in December 1483 and November 1484.

The uncertain political climate that followed Richard's accession was reflected in the Cornish commissions of the peace in the period from May to June 1483, which indicates a relatively moderate continuity rate (57 per cent). This was because of the removal and addition of a number of Cornish gentry, and also the period from July to December saw a similar degree of continuity – 56 per cent – because of the insurgence.[118] After the rebellion, Richard's lack of confidence in the south-western gentry meant that he was willing to trust only those crown servants in whom he had complete confidence, and his loyal northern supporters – in whom he had great faith. Consequently, the sheriff returned in 1483 was the household man Sir James Tyrell, who was to be a central figure in Cornish affairs in Richard's post-rebellion settlement

[117] *HM*, i, 138; ii, 184; *CPR 1467–77*, 589; *CPR 1485–94*, 96, 264.

[118] Below, Appendix IV.

(below, pp. 307–9).

Richard's northern supporters were introduced to the commissions of the peace: such as Halnath Mauleverer of Ashwater (Dev.), JP from 1483, and esquire of the body from 1484 (above, p. 298). Originally from Yorkshire, he gained lands through his marriage to one of the Carminow heiresses, and had been in dispute concerning this inheritance with his wife's nephew, Edward Courtenay of Boconnoc (above, p. 296). Indeed, after Courtenay's participation in the uprising, Mauleverer gained an increased share of the inheritance – three Cornish manors – and was also awarded the office of constable of the duchy castle of Launceston.[119] Another of Richard's northerners was Thomas Broughton (fl.1459–89) who was nominated a JP, and was rewarded with Devon lands and offices. The Ricardian Lord Scrope of Bolton was a JP, and was nominated as an array commissioner in Cornwall and Devon.[120] From 1484, Richard appears to have been aiming at including native gentry in shire government – the sheriff in 1484–5 was Sir William Houghton of Birtsmorton (Worcs.), whose brother-in-law was the Cornish landowner Sir John Coleshill. On Coleshill's death, Sir William inherited his properties in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and, by January 1485, Houghton had become a knight of the body (above, p. 288).[121]

The Cornwall commissions of array reveal those individuals on whom Richard depended – namely northerners and Arundell affiliates. In May 1484, the fifteen commissioners included the northerner Scrope of Bolton, three Arundell clients, Sir Thomas Butler, and the royal retainers Halnath Mauleverer and Sir James Tyrell.[122] In December 1484, the sixteen commissioners included Butler, the northerner Scrope, three Arundell protégés, and the crown servants Mauleverer and Houghton.[123] These commissions indicate how the Arundell connection was the most important force in

[119] *HM*, i, 235, 245; iii, 141; *CPR 1476–85*, 122, 502; Horrox (1989), 200, 284.
[120] *CPR 1476–85*, 370.
[121] *CCR 1476–85*, no. 1269.
[122] *CPR 1476–85*, 397–8.
[123] *CPR 1476–85*, 488–90.

Cornish affairs. Richard may have hoped that Dinham would become the central figure in Cornwall, but the October Rebellion – with the peer's brother-in-law, Arundell, as one of the rebels – may have changed Richard's plan. Even though, in April 1484, Dinham was granted the reversion of two Devon manors and a hundred on Stanley's death, apart from this single reward, he received no further patronage – by August 1484, he had lost supervision of the duchy's lands in Cornwall to Sir James Tyrell (above, p. 300).

Thomas Arundell's involvement in the October Rebellion may have been connected to the advancement of Sir James Tyrell of Gipping (Suff.) – his half-sister's husband. This marriage brought Tyrell some landed interests, which enabled him to participate in Cornish political society.[124] Since the death of John Arundell in 1473, his son, Thomas, and Tyrell had been engaged in a dispute concerning Tyrell's wife's inheritance. His promotion in Richard's government therefore threatened Arundell with the potential loss of some his estates and may have persuaded him to rebel.[125] Tyrell had been Richard's councillor and feoffee, and had fought during the Scottish campaigns. On Richard's accession, Tyrell was appointed master of the horse, master of the henchmen, knight of the body, and the duchy's havener.[126] At Lostwithiel, on 16 June 1483, Tyrell was elected knight of the shire, but this planned parliament was postponed. Subsequently, he may have been elected knight of the shire for the 1484 Parliament, and was also chosen as a county JP. He helped to suppress the October uprising, and was rewarded with the forfeited Arundell estates.

In the aftermath of the revolt, Tyrell acted as sheriff in 1483–4, and was one of those who administered Buckingham's forfeited Welsh estates.[127] It was probably as a result of Tyrell's involvement in Welsh affairs – combined with suspicion of Dinham – that Richard decided, in August 1484, to appoint Tyrell as steward of the

[124] Marriage agreement 1469: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/835, 836; *HPB*, 889–90; *ODNB*: 'Tyrell, Sir James'.

[125] PRO, C1/53/3; Horrox (1989), 174; Pollard (1990), 350.

[126] Campbell (1962), 119–20, 144.

[127] *HM*, ii, 34; *PR*, xv, 46–8.

duchy's lands in Cornwall and constable of Tintagel Castle.[128] Moreover, in April 1484, Tyrell was also granted the joint-wardship of John Arundell of Trerice (Cor.) – forfeited by Sir John Fogge – and became a chamberlain of the exchequer.[129] Sir James Tyrell was an immensely important figure in Cornwall and Wales, and from January 1485 was also installed as captain of Guisnes.[130] That these great responsibilities were mounted on Tyrell's shoulders illustrates how limited Richard's circle of trusted advisers had become: his duties at Guisnes prevented him from fighting at Bosworth. It seems reasonable to assume that after the uprising and exile of Thomas Arundell, the remnants of the Arundell nexus would have been likely to seek Tyrell's patronage – as recipient of forfeited Arundell estates and husband of John Arundell's daughter. A number of Arundell associates were appointed to the peace commissions during the reign, including Thomas Bere (fl.1451–85) of Lankynhorne (Cor.),[131] Henry Bodrugan (d.1503) of Bodrigan (Cor.),[132] John Carminow (fl.1474–92) of Carminow (Cor.),[133] Sir John Coleshill (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart and Binhammy (Cor.),[134] Thomas Limbury (*c.*1425–92) of Launceston (Cor.),[135] and John Trenowith (*c.*1427–97) of Bodmin and Fentengollan (Cor.).[136]

The Arundell clientele's cooperation with Tyrell is not certain, however; even one of the Somerset insurgent Giles Daubeney's feoffees had not participated in the

[128] *HM*, i, 125, 286; *CPR 1476–85*, 474.

[129] *HM*, i, 170; *CPR 1476–85*, 430.

[130] *HM*, i, 255; ii, 187–8.

[131] JP from December 1483; land transactions 1459–67: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/362.

[132] JP from 1477; cousin, feoffee, tenant, and land transactions 1456–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/270; AR1/265/1, 2; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 17, 29, 50, 81; Rowse (1944), 17–26; *ODNB*: 'Bodrugan, Henry'.

[133] JP 1474–May 1483, and from July 1483; land transactions 1466–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/361; AR20/28, 29.

[134] JP 1471–May 1483; land transactions 1451–66: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR19/10; AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *HPB*, 204–5.

[135] JP 1478–May 1483, July–December 1483, and from November 1484; attorney, and land transactions 1458–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/177, 268, 48, 89, 90, 45, 105/1, 270, 362, 363, 389, 710; AR4/184, 185, 186, 877, 528, 726, 1259, 1472; AR20/28; AR1/390; *HPB*, 544.

[136] JP from December 1483; tenant and land transactions 1460–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 61, 93; *HPB*, 869.

revolt: this was the Cornishman Sir Thomas Grenville (*c.*1450–1513) of Stowe and Kirkhampton who had been sheriff in 1480–1 and JP from May to July 1483, and again from November 1483.[137] Similarly, despite the fact that Hastings had been executed, some former Hungerford clients, like Sir John Coleshill and possibly Thomas Bere, did not rebel.[138] It seems likely that some members of the Arundell bloc may have sought alternatives to Tyrell's patronage; so, they may have been drawn to the benefaction of the Prince of Wales's chamberlain, Huntingdon.

The earl married Richard's illegitimate daughter in 1484, and was restored to his earldom of Pembroke and Welsh lands.[139] The earl was also granted estates in Dorset and Somerset, and one Devon manor sequestered from the rebel Edward Courtenay, plus other Devon lands forfeited by William Stonor, along with ten Cornish manors.[140] Because of his involvement in Wales, Huntingdon may have also attained a position in the duchy of Cornwall, perhaps as a councillor. His brother-in-law (his sister's husband) was the Arundell cousin and affiliate Henry Bodrugan (d.1503) of Bodrigan (Cor.), a Cornish JP and commissioner of array. It may have been through Bodrugan that some Arundell followers – who resisted Tyrell's leadership – found alternative lordship from Huntingdon. Bodrugan's wife, Huntingdon's sister, Margaret, was the widow of Thomas, Viscount Lisle – and Bodrugan was also associated with Edward, Viscount Lisle, whose landed interests in Cornwall were limited, but who was a staunch Ricardian.[141]

Other Ricardians who may have provided leadership in Cornwall were Lord Cobham and Sir Thomas Butler. Cobham was primarily involved in south-eastern affairs but, in May 1484, was granted an annuity and Devon and Cornwall lands forfeited by Sir William Stonor (above, p. 289). The ambivalent Butler was chosen as

[137] Feoffee 1483: *CIPM*, iii, no. 529.

[138] Bere's Hungerford land transaction 1463: *CCR 1461–8*, 271. Coleshill's Hungerford land transactions 1463–9: *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236.

[139] *HM*, i, 94, 139, 187; ii, 105, 137; *CPR 1476–85*, 431, 538.

[140] *HM*, i, 187; ii, 137; *CCR 1476–85*, no. 1087.

[141] Land transaction 1475: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME1043, 332.

a commissioner of array in 1484 and this, combined with his nomination as a JP and his landed interests in Somerset and Dorset, suggests that he was gaining Richard's favour. Indeed, Butler's claims to the de Brian properties were considered from February 1485. However, by attempting to win Butler's support, Richard may have also been managing, coetaneously, to weaken the support of his northern ally, Northumberland.

OVERVIEW: REGIONAL ROLES AND NORTHERNISATION

Richard had exploited the advantages and weaknesses of Edward IV's regional scheme in order to usurp the throne. It was to Richard's advantage that he had been the crown's 'governor' in the North and, consequently, had the resources at his disposal to challenge the succession. Richard undoubtedly understood – and tried to govern by – the accepted behaviour expected of an ideal king, but the means by which he secured the throne doomed his reign to be interpreted as illegitimate and tyrannical; accordingly, he lacked popular support.

While Richard was aware of the inherent problems of regional governance, nevertheless, with allies such as Buckingham and Norfolk, he was obliged to concentrate patronage in the hands of these favourites – providing them with regional power. Across all the western shires, Norfolk and Buckingham could be only minor figures given their other regions of influence in East Anglia, and Wales and the Midlands, respectively. Though, Buckingham may have been influential through his powers of array in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire.

Initially, of course, Richard's rule aimed at being inclusive; this noble aspiration was shattered by the October Rebellion which made governance even more difficult, with less support, and posed the persistent and pervading question of whom the king could trust. The insurgence drew its supporters from across the region and seems to have been, in essence, a Yorkist uprising against Edward V's disinheritance; in its aftermath, Richard could rely only on those who did not participate – those who remained neutral, or who were former Lancastrians. Moreover, the participation of

some royal household servants in the revolt, understandably, made Richard wary of trusting his brother's former servants.[142] The scale of rebellion in the south-west – and the consequent reality of Richard's post-rebellion lack of support – forced him into inserting short-term leaders into localities. Richard's solution was to depend upon those of his courtiers he did trust – his own ducal northern retainers. Hence, in order to remedy his lack of support in the south, he inserted his trusted northerners into southern counties, including the south-west; naturally, those counties with more rebels required a greater number of Richard's imposed supporters.

In Somerset and Dorset, three of the five royal retainers were northerners; while, in Cornwall and Devon, two of the eight crown servants were. In the south-west, in general, five of six sheriffs returned in 1483 and 1484 were household servants, and three were northerners. Although northern plantations constituted half of sheriffs, this policy was at its most intensive in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion. In 1484–5, it appears that Richard made efforts to include native gentry in shire government. The policy of plantation, in the western counties at least, may have not been as tyrannical as suggested in the first instance by A.J. Pollard; however, it may have been the extent to which Richard employed the policy across southern England that provoked a hostile reaction. High numbers of royal retainers in shire government, combined with high levels of northerners in the royal affinity, may have created an impression of northern dominance of the south – an illusion of a 'northern tyranny' – which may be a simplification, but might have been the prevailing perception.[143]

Nevertheless, this perception may have been sufficient to incite apathy and antipathy to the Ricardian regime, thus serving only to alienate those remaining members of local societies who had not rebelled. At the same time, the king's dependence on his northerners meant that his rule would be perceived as exclusive –

[142] For discussion of the difficulty of discerning loyalties: Cunningham (2003), 159–73.

[143] Horrox (1989), 178–225, 273–323; for the tyrannical nature of this policy: Pollard (1991a), 15–32; and for his revised opinion that this view of the plantations as a 'tyranny' was 'crude and simplistic': Pollard (2001), 8; Pollard (1990), 342–66, esp. 346–53.

his northern supporters would be viewed as partisan; consequently, partiality would become associated with the crown. Furthermore, the northern plantations' short-term nature meant that having endowed northerners with local patronage, Richard had to redistribute it to focal figures in the west in order to win their support. This deprived the northerners of patronage recently awarded to them, simultaneously undermining the foundation of his rule. Richard was in the worst of all possible situations – trying to balance numerous conflicting and irreconcilable interests. Furthermore, in order to maintain his grip on his vital northern power base, he established what was to become the Council of the North. By denying regional power to any individual magnate, this solution enabled the king to rule a region directly despite lack of support; this application of conciliarism was to become a key to successful governance in ensuing decades.[144] However, the denial of northern power to Northumberland and Ralph, Earl of Westmorland may have had critical consequences for Richard's kingship when neither noble committed themselves to fight at Bosworth.[145]

Whilst these aspects of Richard's reign had an impact on the western counties, in his post-sedition settlement was there a figure who provided a regional focus, whose estates, offices, and affinity were spread throughout all the shires? Apparently not; but, despite the brevity of his kingship, some possibilities do emerge from the counties' political elites. In Somerset and Dorset, the remaining members of the Stourton-Hungerford clientele who were actively involved in county affairs may have sought the patronage of the Ricardians Audley, Cobham, Zouche, and Huntingdon as well as that of the ambivalent Stourton. Perhaps the most prominent of these peers was Audley, a landowner in both counties who became Richard's treasurer – perhaps if the reign had not been cut short, it might have been Audley who emerged as a significant force in Somerset and Dorset.

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[144] *HM*, iii, 114.

[145] Westmorland probably hoped to gain his portion of the Exeter inheritance but received few rewards, despite Richard's promise: 'do me good service as you have always before done, and I trust now so to remember you as shall be the making of you and yours': *Paston Letters*, vi, 71–2; Pollard (1990), 360–1.

In Devon, Richard cultivated Dinham's support during the protectorate, and this might account for the relative paucity of rebels from the shire. The majority of those who remained loyal were connected with the Dinham nexus. Dinham's combination of his inherited landholding, his senior duchy offices (as lord steward, lord warden, and steward in Devon), and the intermingling between his own associates and servants of the royal household (such as Sir John Sapcotes and Charles Dinham) mark him out as a major figure in Devon and Cornwall – an agent of crown power, with his authority bolstered by duchy appointments. Not only through his duchy offices, but also as the brother-in-law of Thomas Arundell, Dinham would have also been well-placed to extend his influence into Cornwall. However, Arundell's involvement in rebellion may have brought Dinham's loyalty into question; accordingly, Richard may have grown suspicious of him and his clientele, and, as a result, the jurisdiction of Dinham's office of lord steward was adjusted. In Cornwall, forfeited Arundell estates and the stewardship of duchy lands in Cornwall were granted to Richard's henchman, Tyrell, and it may have been that at least some of the Arundell connection subsequently sought his patronage. Apart from northerners, the Ricardians who may have been involved in Devon and Cornwall affairs included Cobham and Huntingdon – both of whom were granted lands in the shire – and also perhaps the titular earl of Ormonde, Sir Thomas Butler, in Devon.

Huntingdon, husband of Richard's natural daughter, might be a prime candidate for a regional figure: he owned estates in Somerset and Dorset, and with influence in Wales it seems likely that he would also become involved in duchy administration – bolstering his position in the far-west. This is a distinct possibility and, in Cornwall, his connection with the Arundell client Henry Bodrugan may have meant that the Arundell affinity sought his benefaction. Another of Richard's allies was Lord Cobham whose landholding included Somerset and Dorset properties, and further Devon and Cornwall lands; so there is a possibility that Cobham might have been a regional figure, although the fact that he was not endowed with local offices, as might be expected, perhaps dampens this notion. Similarly, Lord Zouche's lands

extended to Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and although he was also endowed with local office, his real sphere of influence was supposed to be in the Midlands.

Northumberland became an important Somerset and Dorset landowner because of his de Brian and Poynings lands, but further local power was denied him. Richard's northern plantation peer, FitzHugh, had been granted both Somerset lands and offices and may have become a prominent figure. Similarly, Lord Scrope of Bolton was given estates and certain offices in Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, which may have established him as a focal figure in those counties. A number of Ricardian peers were potentially involved to a greater or lesser extent in some, but not all, of the western counties; none of them, however, appears to have received sufficient estates with which to establish substantial authority.

In general, Richard's distribution of patronage appears to have been restrained and balanced – a quality commendable in any monarch. However, Richard's intensely difficult circumstances meant that, ideally, he would have to over-endow magnates – in the short-term – to secure their support. So, Richard's distribution of patronage may have been too restrained for his precarious situation. Perhaps it was the reserved nature of patronage that provoked Buckingham to rebel. Similarly, it may have been the limited nature of their endowments that weakened the authority of Richard's plantations. Richard III's rule was undoubtedly subject to immense strains and pressures, thus it is difficult to evaluate his governance effectively, given the brevity of his reign; however, ultimately, all these factors culminated in apathy amongst his supporters on the battlefield, and in his loss of the English crown.

CHAPTER NINE

CENTRALISATION AND SETTLEMENT: 1485–1500

Henry VII's claim to the English crown was tenuous, but was realised largely because of Richard III's unpopularity, enabling Lancastrians and Yorkists to unite in revulsion at his usurpation and in opposition to his rule. However, Richard's defeat owed more to the inactivity of the peerage and gentry than to their active support for the Earl of Richmond, and Henry's position as monarch was far from secure even after the union of the red rose and the white, forged in his marriage to Elizabeth of York. Throughout his reign he faced challenges from conspiracies, such as the plot of Humphrey Stafford of Grafton in 1486, and that involving Lambert Simnel in 1487. In addition, from 1491, Henry also had to deal with the sustained threat from Perkin Warbeck, culminating in the September Rebellion of 1497, only a few months after the largely taxation-inspired June Rebellion in Cornwall. During the reign, was there one magnate who provided a regional 'political centre' – with estates, offices, and clients throughout the western shires?

In Somerset and Dorset, Richard III's northerners (such as FitzHugh, Scrope of Bolton, and others) were excluded from local affairs, while Lancastrians were given restitution of their former estates and inheritances. For instance, the king's mother, Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby was restored to her estates, as was Sir Thomas Butler (d.1515) who was later recognised as earl of Ormonde and designated the queen's chamberlain.[1] In addition to former Lancastrians, former participants in the rebellion of 1483 were restored to their forfeited lands. The Stourton nexus may have coalesced around the leadership of the 1483 rebel John, Lord Cheyne (*c.*1445–99), while the Hungerford connection seems to have sought the

[1] *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Margaret'; Jones and Underwood (1992). Ormonde: *CP*, x, 131–3.

service of Edward, Lord Hastings (*c.*1466–1506), and through a Hastings-Cheyne alliance (echoing the old Stourton-Hungerford association), it may have been that Cheyne exerted some influence in Somerset and Dorset.[2] However, Cheyne's other interests may have meant that, in reality, the most prominent peer was the former rebel, now royal councillor and lord chamberlain, Giles, Lord Daubeney (*c.*1451–1508), who was restored to his estates and awarded numerous local offices.[3] Daubeney's former connections with Hungerford clients may have helped to place him at the centre of Somerset and Dorset societies. To a lesser extent, the Devon-based Dinham-FitzWaryn clientele seems to have been involved in Somerset and Dorset affairs as a result of the leadership of the former rebel, now royal councillor and lord steward, Robert, Lord Willoughby de Broke (*c.*1452–1502).[4] However the exclusion of James, Lord Audley (*c.*1463–97), William, Lord Stourton (*c.*1457–1524), and some major gentry from local administration (as well as the unpopularity of high levels of taxation) may have led to their disillusionment and motivated them to rebel in June 1497.[5]

In Devon and Cornwall, Richard III's northerners and Sir James Tyrell were removed from local government; and, in reply, Lancastrians and former rebels were restored to their estates. In these two counties the most important force in local politics was the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus, led by the royal councillor John, Lord Dinham (*c.*1433–1501).[6] However, Dinham's involvement in national affairs may have meant that the affinity increasingly focussed around his wife's brother, Lord Willoughby, who was restored to his extensive estates. In addition, Willoughby's association with the former Lancastrian Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1509) may have meant the formation of a 'tripartite' alliance that was able to influence

[2] Cheyne: *CP*, iii, 191–2; *HPB*, 182–3. Hastings: *CP*, vi, 374–5.

[3] *CP*, iv, 102–5; *HPB*, 259–60; *ODNB*: 'Daubeney Family'; 'Daubeney, Giles'; Luckett (1995a).

[4] *CP*, xii(2), 683–6; *ODNB*: 'Willoughby, Robert'; Luckett (1996).

[5] Audley: *CP*, i, 341–2; *ODNB*: 'Tuchet, James, seventh Baron Audley'. Stourton: *CP*, xii(1), 304–5; *ODNB*: 'Stourton Family'.

[6] *CP*, iv, 378–82; *HPB*, 740–1; *ODNB*: 'Dinham Family'; 'Dinham, John'.

Devon affairs.[7] In Cornwall, the Dinham-FitzWaryn and Courtenay associations were less influential, so Willoughby forged alliances with the leading Cornish gentry, the Edgcumbes and Arundells.[8] While some Cornish figures participated in the June Uprising of 1497, it was the September Rebellion that seems to have been more Cornish in character. Most Cornish participants may have been motivated to rebel in June as a protest against recent tin-mining legislation, and this may have remained a sensitive issue, recrudescing into further revolt in September, when Warbeck landed in Cornwall hoping to ride this popular tide of protest.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SOMERSET

In the period from 1484 to September 1485 the Somerset commissions demonstrate an extremely low continuity rate (with only 19 per cent of those nominated in 1484 being reappointed in 1485): this was caused by the removal of Ricardians, the restoration of those who had rebelled in 1483, and the addition of former Lancastrians.[9] All Richard's 'northern plantations' – such as Lord FitzHugh,[10] the earl of Northumberland,[11] and Lords Scrope of Bolton,[12] and Scrope of Masham[13] – were returned to their northern homelands. Other Ricardians were reconciled to Tudor rule. John, Lord Cobham attended the queen's coronation in 1487.[14] William, Earl of Huntingdon was pardoned, and confirmed as an earl in 1488.[15] The exception was John, Lord Zouche (who fought for Richard and was taken prisoner at Bosworth): he was attainted, his lands distributed, and was put under a recognisance to 'be loyal to the king and observe faith and serve him truly in all things'. Even though he was later

[7] *CP*, iv, 328–30; *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devon'.
[8] *ODNB*: 'Arundell Family'; 'Edgcumbe, Richard'.
[9] Below, Appendix IV.
[10] *CPR 1485–94*, 16.
[11] *CPR 1485–94*, 120, 138; *CP*, v, 429–30.
[12] *CPR 1485–94*, 190, 199, 216, 238, 264, 273; *CP*, xi, 544–6; *ODNB*: 'Scrope, John'.
[13] *CPR 1485−94*, 238, 264; *CP*, xi, 569–71; *Coronation Documents*, 393.
[14] *CP*, iii, 346–7; *ODNB*: 'Cobham Family'.
[15] *CPR 1485–94*, 141, 237; *CP*, x, 402–3; *ODNB*: 'Herbert, William'.

pardoned and had his attainder reversed, he was not fully restored until 1495 and, even then, was not reinstated to the commissions of the peace.[16] His eventual rehabilitation may have been due to the combined influence of his brother-in-law Lord Dinham, and Lady Margaret Beaufort.[17]

The Stourton and Hungerford connections had been important in Somerset politics in previous reigns and appear to have continued to be so, but under new leaders. The Hungerford heiress had married Edward, Lord Hastings. Under Henry VII, Hastings's estates and titles were confirmed and, in 1487, he was granted livery of his lands.[18] After Bosworth, the attainders of Mary Hungerford's father and grandfather were reversed, and she was at last able to enter into her full inheritance.[19] It is most probable that Hastings initially came to lead the Hungerford nexus, and this is corroborated by the inclusion of former Hungerford affiliates – such as the Wiltshire gentleman John Mervyn – as the peer's feoffees. In addition, the overlap between Stourton and Hungerford connections so characteristic of previous reigns may also explain Cheyne's involvement as Hastings's feoffee.[20] However, despite his wife's extensive south-western estates, Hastings seems not to have involved himself with western affairs, receiving no further royal patronage in the region – instead, he seems to have concentrated his efforts in the Midlands; so, the leadership of the old Stourton-Hungerford connection may have fallen to Cheyne.

John Cheyne (*c.*1445–99) had married William, Lord Stourton's widow, making him John, Lord Stourton's stepfather. Cheyne's career as Edward IV's esquire of the body and master of the horse contrasted to his stepson's political inactivity. While Cheyne participated in the 1483 Rebellion, Stourton accepted Richard's rule, and died shortly after Bosworth. Probably as a result of the family's Ricardian

[16] *PR*, xv, 107–12; xvi, 44–5, 193–5; *CIPM*, iii, 547; *CCR 1485–1500*, 34–5; *CPR 1485–94*, 96, 150, 222–3; *CP*, xii(2), 946–7

[17] Jones and Underwood (1992), 113; Kleineke (2000), 79, 87.

[18] *CPR 1461–7*, 137; *CPR 1485–94*, 205, 210; *CP*, vi, 374–5.

[19] Excluding two Devon and one Somerset manors, which Dinham granted to Hastings in 1489: *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, iv, 344, 348; *HR*, i, 270; Hicks (1991f), 181; Kleineke (1998), 42.

[20] For both Mervyn and Cheyne as Hastings's feoffees: *HR*, i, 291.

support, Stourton's brother, William, Lord Stourton, was not summoned to parliament or recognised as a peer until 1496.[21] Meanwhile, Cheyne had been one of Tudor's leading commanders at Bosworth, and was chosen as a knight of the body from 1485, was raised to the peerage in 1487, and became a royal councillor in 1497. He also gained some forfeited Zouche estates – divided between himself and Daubeney – albeit only until Zouche's attainder was reversed.[22] In March 1486, Cheyne was assigned Hampshire offices, stewardship of the manors of Cranbourne, Canford, and Poole (Dor.), custody of Cranbourne chase and Blakedon Park (Dor.), and stewardship of the earldom of Salisbury and Warwick on the Isle of Wight. He was made a knight banneret after Stoke, and the following year replaced FitzHugh as constable of Barnard Castle.[23]

Cheyne's familial connection with the Stourtons may have initially divided the Stourton clientele but, in the long-term, it seems highly likely that – because of his successful political career – he would have led the clientele. The Stourton connection may have become, effectively, the Cheyne nexus, and Cheyne's probable affiliation with Hastings confirms the old Stourton-Hungerford alliance (better described as the Cheyne-Hastings connection). A former Hastings-Hungerford protégé was Thomas Champneys (d.1506) of Frome Salwood (Som.) who was nominated to the Somerset bench from 1484.[24] Another possible dependant was the probable former Hungerford client William Martyn (*c.*1445–1504) of Athelhampton (Dor.) who was sheriff of Somerset/Dorset in 1489–90 and 1500–1;[25] he was more involved in Dorset affairs, and is discussed later (below, p. 331). In addition to Champneys, who seems to have been connected to both Hungerfords and Stourtons, another Stourton affiliate – and therefore likely Cheyne associate – was Henry Burnell (d.1491), sheriff in 1490–1,

[21] *CP*, xii(1), 304–5; *ODNB*: 'Stourton Family'.

[22] *PR*, xv, 107–12; xvi, 44–5; *CIPM*, iii, 547; *CPR 1485–94*, 150.

[23] *CPR 1485–94*, 102, 139, 339; *CPR 1494–1509*, 55; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 252; *CP*, iii, 191–2; *HPB*, 182–3; Bennett (1987), 129, 136.

[24] Land transactions (as grantor, recipient, or witness) 1458–69: NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1476; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230; overseer of Lord Stourton's lands 1480: *CIPM*, i, no. 18.

[25] Attorney 1472: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1078; *HPB*, 579–80; Colbourne (1991), 192–3.

and JP from 1485.[26] However, as one of Henry VII's most reliable supporters, Cheyne was also involved in other counties: as mentioned, he was constable of Barnard Castle, but he was also constable of Christchurch and Southampton, and keeper of the New Forest, and held further estates in Wiltshire.[27] So, perhaps – like Hastings – Cheyne may have been unable to provide the *local* leadership that was required to maintain the Cheyne-Hastings connection in Somerset.

Given Hastings's Midlands involvement – and Cheyne's possibly persistent absence – the Cheyne-Hastings nexus may have therefore drifted towards another leading Somerset figure: Henry's trusted courtier and councillor Sir Giles Daubeney of Barington and South Petherton (Som.). He had been Edward IV's knight of the body and participated in the 1483 Rebellion. He joined Henry's court-in-exile, fought at Bosworth and, on Henry's accession, had his attainder reversed. He was a JP from 1485, and may have been returned to parliament in 1485–6. Daubeney was one of Henry's leading courtiers and military commanders – as well as a regular attender of the king's council. In October 1485, Daubeney was appointed master of the hart hounds and, a month later, also joint-master of the Mint.[28] After Zouche's attainder, Daubeney – along with Cheyne – received a portion of his lands.[29] In March 1486, he was created Lord Daubeney, lieutenant of Calais and Guisnes, and became a chamberlain of the exchequer; he was also often employed on diplomatic missions.[30] The culmination of his career was to be selected as chamberlain in 1495 – following the shocking exposure of Sir William Stanley's treason – an appointment which indicates Henry's strong confidence in Daubeney.

In addition to these offices of state, Daubeney was also granted others that enhanced his local influence: in October 1485, he was granted custody of the royal forests of Kingswood and Fullwood (Glos./Som.), and made constable of Bristol

[26] Steward of Stourton's estates 1480: *CIPM*, i, 9.
[27] *HPB*, 182–3.
[28] *CPR 1485–94*, 28, 124.
[29] *PR*, xv, 107–12; xvi, 44–5; *CIPM*, iii, 547; *CPR 1485–94*, 150.
[30] *CChR 1427–1516*, 267; *CPR 1485–94*, 206; Gunn (1993), 29–30.

Castle; he was also chosen, in January 1488, as steward of the earldom of Salisbury's Somerset estates.[31] In November 1493, Daubeney became joint-warden, chief justice, justice-in-eyre, and master of the game in the royal forests south of the Trent.[32] Moreover, Daubeney was granted the wardship of John Portman of Orchard Portman (Som.) in 1489.[33] As a local landowner, Daubeney was connected with a number of major south-western families: his wife was the aunt of John Arundell of Lanherne, so it was through the Arundells that he was connected with Lord Dinham – an association further consolidated by the marriage of Daubeney's daughter, Cecily, to Dinham's sister's son, John, Lord FitzWaryn (d.1539). Daubeney may have become associated with the Stourton-Hungerford affinity during the 1470s, so he would have been in a good position to attract former Hungerford clients into his service.

It is an indication of Daubeney's local prominence that two of his clients were elected sheriff: his brother, James Daubeney (fl.1487–1528) of Wayford (Som.), was sheriff in 1487–8 (and later participated in the Western Rebellion); the other Daubeney client (and possible rebel) was Sir Hugh Luttrell (d.1521) of Dunster (Som.) – married to Daubeney's half-sister – was sheriff in 1488–9, and a JP in 1487–93 and again from 1494.[34] However, Luttrell was also connected with Edward, Earl of Devon having been named as the earl's feoffee (below, p. 324).[35] Another Daubeney client was John Choke (d.1488) of Long Ashton and Stanton Drew (Som.), a JP from 1485, and who made Daubeney a beneficiary of his will.[36] Daubeney's tenant – and fellow rebel in 1483 – was William Case (*c.*1450–94) of South Petherton and Norton (Som.) who was escheator in 1485–6, a JP from 1486 until his death, and also perhaps a burgess in parliament in 1491–2.[37]

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[31] *CPR 1485–94*, 41, 43, 199; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 29, 33.

[32] *CPR 1485–94*, 422, 450; Somerville (1953), i, 628.

[33] *CPR 1485–94*, 265.

[34] Luttrell as Daubeney's feoffee 1491–5: NRA6670 (Luttrell), L1/30; L28/23; Daubeney as Luttrell's feoffee: *CPR 1485–94*, 454.

[35] Feoffee 1492: *CPR 1485–94*, 406; William Courtenay as Luttrell's feoffee 1493: *CPR 1485–94*, 454.

[36] *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 273–5.

[37] *HPB*, 162.

Daubeney was the most significant magnate in Somerset, but not the only one of importance. In addition to Daubeney, the king's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, was also influential. In Henry's first parliament Richard III's measures depriving Margaret of her lands were reversed, so she was established as a major landowner and an arbiter in local disputes, in her own right. In the 'Great Grant' of 1487, the countess was given substantial estates in the Midlands and south-west – notably duchy of Exeter lands in Devon, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, and south Wales.[38] As the daughter of the first Beaufort duke of Somerset, Margaret claimed former Beaufort lands – including those held by Edward, Earl of Warwick. The countess was granted custody of Warwick and his estates, and also wardship of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Ralph, Lord Neville (heir of the earldom of Westmorland).[39] Margaret's husband, Thomas, Earl of Derby, was mostly concerned with his estates in the north Midlands and Lancashire, and their landed interests remained wholly separate.

Margaret was an important influence on Henry's kingship, and he acknowledged this with the extensive patronage that she received in return. While Margaret had substantial south-western estates, her main sphere of interest was in the Midlands – where she wielded 'conciliar authority' centred on Collyweston (Northants.).[40] The Hodies had been closely associated with the Stourtons and Beauforts, and one of Margaret's clients was William Hody (*c.*1434–1524) of Gothelney (Som.) who became attorney-general in 1485.[41] Another of the countess's protégés may have been Hugh Oldham, who is considered later since he was connected to Robert, Lord Willoughby.[42]

Another Somerset figure was Sir Thomas Butler (d.1515) who had served

[38] *PR*, xv, 126–7, 176–8; Jones and Underwood (1992), 98–100; Condon (1979), 114.

[39] *PR*, xvi, 105–8; Jones and Underwood (1992), 67, 101–2, 108.

[40] *ODNB*: 'Beaufort, Margaret'.

[41] JP from 1485; household servant, and feoffee 1472: *CPR 1467–77*, 339; Jones and Underwood (1992), 144–5. *CPR 1485–94*, 20, 139; *ODNB*: 'Hody, Sir William'.

[42] Arthurson (1994), 20.

Richard III, though it seems probable that he was intriguing on behalf of Henry. Butler was the heir of the earldom of Ormonde, and the 1461 attainder of his brother – James, Earl of Wiltshire – was reversed in Henry's first parliament: thereby restoring Butler to the earldom. He became a royal councillor and Queen Elizabeth's chamberlain in 1486.[43] In 1488, the de Brian inheritance (bestowed on Northumberland by Richard III) was subject to an agreement. While Northumberland was recognised as heir general of Sir Guy de Brian, the other parties claiming an interest – Ormonde, Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir Thomas Seymour – also benefited from the settlement. Ormonde's claim as heir-general rested on his brother's marriage to the de Brian heiress: he was granted the Isle of Lundy and two Somerset manors, plus reversion of a further three Somerset and three Dorset manors on the death of his sister-in-law, Eleanor, dowager Countess of Wiltshire.[44] It seems that the old Beaufort (and Lady Margaret's) client William Hody was also involved in land transactions with Ormonde concerning the peer's share of the de Brian inheritance.[45]

Another of Somerset's magnates was Sir Robert Willoughby of Broke (Wilts.), who was the king's lord steward from 1488.[46] He held only minor Somerset landed interests – since his primary focus was in Devon, Cornwall, and Wiltshire. In 1486, Willoughby was granted a Somerset manor and other lands forfeited by Zouche, and became lieutenant of the duchy of Lancaster forest of Braden (Wilt.).[47] He also became steward of Cecily, Duchess of York's Wiltshire estates and, in February 1493, was made joint-steward of the earldom of Warwick and Salisbury estates in Wiltshire, and steward of the duchy of Lancaster manors of Trowbridge and Aldbourne (Wilts.).[48] Willoughby was also granted, in August 1494, custody of John Choke and his Somerset lands.[49] The peer's brother, Sir William Willoughby (*c.*1455–1513) of

[43] *PR*, xv, 149–51; *CPR 1485–94*, 56, 122.
[44] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 403, 410; Bean (1958), 123–5.
[45] Land transaction 1489: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 403.
[46] *CPR 1485–94*, 47, 65, 282; *CP*, xii(2), 683–6.
[47] *CPR 1485–94*, 129; *PR*, xv, 102–4; Somerville (1953), i, 633.
[48] *CPR 1485–94*, 420; Somerville (1953), i, 632.
[49] *CPR 1485–94*, 474.

Bere (Dor.), was nominated to the bench from 1487 onwards, and may have also been returned to parliament in 1491–2. In October 1485, he was awarded the office of master of the harrier hounds and, by the following year, had become a knight of the body, being rewarded with one Gloucestershire and six Somerset manors forfeited by Zouche.[50] Another Willoughby associate may have been Hugh Oldham (fl.1494–1507) who was a JP from 1498. In 1492, Oldham was appointed joint-receiver-general of the earldom of Warwick and Salisbury lands, and of Northumberland's estates, and was also granted custody of Alexander Wood and his estates in 1496.[51]

Willoughby's sister had married John, Lord Dinham in 1488, and this union sealed an important alliance, in relation to Willoughby's local influence. Dinham's interests were principally focussed on Devon and are discussed later. Two Dinham clients appear to have been involved in Somerset affairs and these were John Trevelyan and William Case. John Trevelyan II (fl.1484–1509) of Nettlecombe (Som.), a JP in 1485–9 and again from 1498.[52] Daubeney's tenant William Case (*c.*1450–94) of South Petherton and Norton (Som.) was escheator in 1485–6, JP from 1486, and perhaps knight of the shire in 1491–2. One of the beneficiaries of Case's will in 1494 was Dinham's sister, Lady FitzWaryn.[53] While this is explained further later, it appears that the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus may have coalesced around Willoughby's leadership. In addition to this association, he may have also cultivated an alliance with Edward, Earl of Devon. The earl was a Somerset justice of the peace from 1485 and had been restored to his family's estates – including two Somerset hundreds and five manors, although these lands (apart from two Somerset manors) were surrendered to his relative Sir William Knyvet in 1490.[54] One of the earl's

[50] *CPR 1485–94*, 124, 127–8; *HPB*, 952–3.

[51] Feoffee 1486: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 83. Grants: *CPR 1485–94*, 368; *CPR 1494–1509*, 78.

[52] Bond 1487: NRA40633 (Trevelyan), WO55/7/1; pardon, May 1486: WO37/1/1. Trevelyan's connection with Dinham and Willoughby is confirmed by the fact that he was a tenant of the Willoughby client John Arundell in 1499: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 106, 117.

[53] *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 317–18; *HPB*, 162.

[54] *PR*, xv, 152–5; *CPR 1485–94*, 28–9, 81, 305–6, 313. Devon-Willoughby bond 1494: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 753.

feoffees was Daubeney's ally Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster (Som.) who acted as sheriff, and as JP.[55] The earl's steward was Sir John Speke (*c.*1442–1518) of White Lackington and Milton (Som.) and Haywood and East Dawlish (Dev.), who was involved in the Western Rebellion with Luttrell, and was added to the county bench only afterwards in 1498.[56]

Another peer with considerable Somerset estates was the queen's half-brother, Thomas, Marquess of Dorset. He derived his landed interests from his wife's Bonville inheritance. He had rebelled in 1483, had been attainted, and had supported Henry Tudor's bid for the throne. However, later, he had to be forcibly prevented from accepting Richard's offer of reconciliation in 1485; consequently, Henry justifiably distrusted him. So, despite his close familial relationship to the king, he did not enjoy Henry's favour. The marquess was denied any real position of prominence and his involvement was confined to being a Somerset JP, though from only 1495. Dorset was confirmed as a marquess in November 1486, but was forced to renounce all grants from Edward IV into order to achieve the reversal of his attainder. Henry remained ever-suspicious of the marquess, and he was temporarily imprisoned during Simnel's rebellion – only being released after Stoke.[57]

In May 1492, Dorset agreed a recognisance whereby fifty-five mainpernors entered obligations on his behalf to ensure his loyalty and good conduct.[58] A month later, as Henry was embarking on his Breton expedition, Dorset was pardoned; but his loyalty was made the subject of an extensive recognisance designed to ensure that he did not commit treason or misprision of treason. It conveyed his and his wife's lands to twelve feoffees, and if enacted in its entirety this agreement could have brought about the marquess's complete disinheritance.[59] In August 1496, a number of the marquess's mainpernors were required to appear at Okehampton (Dev.), suggesting

[55] Feoffee 1492: *CPR 1485–94*, 406.

[56] Steward 1488–9: Arthurson (1987), 6.

[57] *CPR 1485–94*, 143; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 247; *PR*, xv, 184–6; Lander (1976e), 286.

[58] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 618; Pugh (1992), 62–4.

[59] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 612; Condon (1979), 114; Lander (1976e), 286–8; Pugh (1992), 62–4, 102–5.

that he may have breached the terms of his recognisance. His mainpernors included James, Lord Audley, Edward, Earl of Devon, Amias Paulet, and John Trevelyan.[60] The marquess had participated in the king's Breton campaign in 1492, and also aided in suppressing the Cornish rebels in 1497, but even so, Henry's mistrust of him prevailed. The marquess's treatment clearly illustrates how Henry's system of bonds and recognisances effectively bound peers and gentry in loyalty to his government.[61]

In summary, it appears that Somerset was not influenced by only one magnate, but by a number – with each having at least some chance to influence shire affairs. However, it is clear that by far *the* most potent magnate was Daubeney who, because of his local, regional, and national stature seems most likely to have come to lead the Hastings-Cheyne (former Stourton-Hungerford) affinity. Of the sheriffs of Somerset/Dorset returned between 1485 and 1500, two terms were undertaken by the possible Hastings-Cheyne client William Martyn; two by Daubeney clients; and one by a Devon affiliate: so perhaps a total of four terms served by possible Daubeney-Hastings-Cheyne clients.[62] Of the escheators, only one was a magnate client, and that was the Dinham and Daubeney protégé and royal retainer William Case. Of the members of parliament returned, only two were magnate clients (namely Case and the Willoughby associate and royal servant William Willoughby).

The most significant influences in the Somerset peace commissions were Daubeney-Hastings-Cheyne clients and Willoughby affiliates. Possible Daubeney-Hastings-Cheyne clients collectively comprised an average of one-tenth of justices on each commission of the peace: the peak was almost one-fifth in August 1487. Willoughby clients comprised under one-fifth of JPs on each commission, the lowest proportion was under one-tenth in November 1485, and the highest was almost one-quarter in August 1487 and 1488 – falling to under one-tenth in 1494 and 1495, and

[60] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 972.

[61] For the broader policy: Cunningham (1995), 1–5, 52–128; for its local application: Lancashire, 129–80; Suffolk, 181–229; Kent, 230–97; and the north-east: Cunningham (1996).

[62] William Martyn 1489–90 and 1500–1; the Daubeney clients James Daubeney 1487–8, and Hugh Luttrell 1488–9 (also Devon).

recovering to almost one-fifth in 1498.[63] The commissions of array also confirm these as the most important magnates: in December 1488, the six commissioners included Daubeney, Willoughby, and Cheyne, and the gentry included one royal retainer, and one Hastings-Cheyne protégé.[64]

It might be expected that, as the king's principal agents in the county, Daubeney, Cheyne, and Willoughby had clients who would include members of the king's affinity. While Daubeney was chamberlain, it is interesting to note that the only case of overlap amongst his and royal protégés was William Case, escheator in 1485–6, JP, perhaps MP in 1491–2, and usher of the chamber from 1486.[65] Willoughby's affinity included his brother, William Willoughby of Bere (Dor.), a knight of the body and master of the harrier hounds.

In general, of the sheriffs' terms of Somerset/Dorset between 1485 and 1500, just over a tenth (12 per cent) were fulfilled by household men.[66] Evidently the appointment of crown retainers as sheriffs was not a key priority. In contrast, of the escheators returned during the same period, almost one-quarter (25 per cent) of terms were undertaken by crown servants, perhaps revealing Henry's particular concern with raising revenues from his feudal dues.[67] Three royal servants were returned to parliament once each; and the number of household justices was under one-fifth on each peace commission, ranging from just under one-tenth in 1485 and from 1494 to 1499, to a peak of almost one-fifth in 1487 and 1488. One of Henry VII's retainers was John Turberville (*c.*1450–1502) of Friar Mayne (Dor.) and Bradford (Wilts.), sheriff in 1486–7. He had been William Collingbourne's associate in July 1484 when they pinned the infamous seditious verse to the door of St Paul's Cathedral; whereas Collingbourne had been executed, Turberville fled to Brittany and returned to England

[63] Below, Appendix IV.

[64] *CPR 1485–94*, 279–80.

[65] *CPR 1485–94*, 22; *HPB*, 162.

[66] Two household sheriffs served 2 of 17 terms: John Turberville 1486–7; and Richard Pudsey 1497–8.

[67] Three household escheators served 3 of 12 terms: William Case 1485–6; John Basket 1488–9; and Richard Pudsey 1489–90.

with Henry VII. In September 1486, for service 'done at great cost to himself', he was created coroner and marshal of the royal household.[68] He was more involved in Dorset affairs, and is discussed later. Another household man, Sir Richard Pudsey (*c.*1455–99) of Pinhoe (Wilts.), was escheator in 1489–90 and sheriff in 1497–8. He was employed in the royal household as serjeant of the cellar from 1485 to 1487, then as esquire, and later, as knight of the body. He was rewarded for his service, in March 1500, with a seven-year lease of four Somerset manors and other lands.[69]

* * *

The Western Rebellion of June 1497 was, according to the Great Chronicle of London, caused by the 'levying of such money as ye have hard grauntid by the last parliament'.[70] In June 1497, the absence from the south-west of Daubeney and Willoughby and their retinues on Scottish campaign created the pre-conditions for a potentially successful uprising. The June Rebellion began in Cornwall and, en route to London, the rebels marched through Somerset: thus it was at Wells that Lord Audley became one of the rebels' leaders.[71]

James, Lord Audley (*c.*1463–97) was the son of John, Lord Audley who had been Richard III's treasurer (prevented from fighting at Bosworth because of naval business) but was fully reconciled with Henry's rule, acting as a councillor from 1486. However, Audley's sphere of interest was limited to the south-east.[72] His heir, James, fought at Stoke and was knighted after the battle – being granted livery of his lands, nominated to the bench from 1491, and attending parliament.[73] However, a number of factors may have persuaded young Audley to rebel: he received no further patronage in the region, which, combined with the rise of Cheyne and Daubeney and other magnates, may have stirred his antipathy. Cheyne had been granted Audley's father's

[68] *HM*, ii, 212; Horrox (1989), 276; *CPR 1485–94*, 129, 292.

[69] *CPR 1494–1509*, 201; *HPB*, 701.

[70] *GC*, 278; Bush (1991), 395–6.

[71] Arthurson (1987), 1–18; Arthurson (1994), 163–7; Luckett (1992), 104–71; Fletcher and MacCulloch (1997), 15–17; Rowse (1941), 114–40.

[72] *PR*, xv, 264; *CPR 1485–94*, 66, 337.

[73] *CPR 1485–94*, 337.

offices and he may have encroached on Audley's region of influence.[74] Moreover, because of his marriage to Dinham's niece, Lord FitzWaryn's daughter, Joan (d.1532), Audley may have expected to gain greater influence through the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus – therefore he may have become disillusioned because of its shift towards Willoughby. Furthermore, Audley's brother, John, had married Edward IV's illegitimate daughter, so he might hope to enjoy significant patronage from a regime led by Warbeck or Warwick.[75]

While Audley and his tenants revolted, there were few other peers or greater gentry involved; however, those gentry who were fined in the months and years afterwards are a good indication of the uprising's participants.[76] The eight greater gentry rebels can be divided into Audley, Daubeney, Hastings-Cheyne, and Devon clients. The two Audley affiliates were Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster, a distant relative, from whom Audley held lands;[77] and Robert Stowell (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.) who named Audley as his feoffee.[78] The Daubeney dependants included the peer's brother, James Daubeney of Wayford (Som.), and his half-sister's husband, Hugh Luttrell, as well as his former feoffee, Stowell.[79] The Hastings-Cheyne clients were former Stourton-Hungerford associates such as the Somerset men Stowell,[80] Thomas Champneys of Frome Salwood, John Sydenham (d.1521) of Brympton Devery,[81] and the possible Hungerford client John Hymerford (*c.*1425–1501) of East Coker. Hymerford had also been the king's receiver and constable in Somerset, and after becoming customer of Poole in 1486 may have become disillusioned by his lack of further advancement.[82] Lord Stourton may have also been involved, since he was later

[74] Arthurson (1994), 163.

[75] *CP*, i, 341–2; *ODNB*: 'Tuchet, James'.

[76] Fines were imposed on suspected Devon and Somerset rebels: *Anglica Historia*, 109; cf. *PR*, xvi, 379–87; also Havinden (1996), 1–15.

[77] *CIPM*, i, 247; Luckett (1992), 137–8.

[78] *CIPM*, iii, 161.

[79] Feoffee 1475: *CPR 1467–77*, 533.

[80] Land transactions 1463–7: *CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5.

[81] Land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 394.

[82] Hungerford land transaction 1466: *CCR 1461–8*, 395; *HPB*, 457.

put under bonds and fined because he received into his household some of 'his servaunts being at Blakhethe'. Stourton's brother-in-law (his wife's brother) – the rebel Henry Rogers – was also Audley's half-brother, and a number of other Stourton associates from Dorset may have also participated.[83]

The earl of Devon's affiliates included the Daubeney client Hugh Luttrell, and the earl's steward Sir John Speke of White Lackington (Som.) and Haywood and East Dawlish (Dev.) who was added to the county bench only after the revolt. Some of the rebels had been denied any opportunity to participate in shire administration since 1485: including Stowell, Sydenham, and Hymerford.[84] Also, the rebel John Verney (*c.*1449–1505) of Honibere (Som.) had been escheator in 1483–4 but, since then, had been excluded from county office. As taxpayers, the region's gentry and peerage may have resolved to register their protest at unpopular taxation by joining the insurgence; however, beyond the immediate fiscal cause, it appears that these rebels' principal grievance was their own disappointment at being excluded from participating in shire administration. Contemporaneous accounts of Daubeney's wavering loyalty during the uprising probably arose from his close relationships with some rebels, but this seems not to have affected Henry's confidence in him: he was again despatched to deal with further rebellion in Cornwall on Warbeck's invasion in September 1497.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DORSET

In Dorset, just as in Somerset, the county's commissions of the peace reveal the impact of national events on local affairs: the period from 1484 to 1485 shows a low rate of continuity in the commissions (27 per cent), as a result of the exclusion of Ricardians and the addition of former Lancastrians and 1483 rebels.[85] Richard III's northern retainers – such as George Neville – were removed from local society (although Neville accommodated himself with Henry and fought for him at Stoke, but

[83] Luckett (1992), 134, 153–4.
[84] Luckett (1992), 359.
[85] Below, Appendix IV.

fell from favour in the late 1480s);[86] while other Ricardians were reconciled to Henrician rule – such as Cobham, who concentrated on his landed interests in Surrey and Sussex, and Edward, Viscount Lisle, who was employed in the Midlands.[87] As mentioned, the staunch Ricardian John, Lord Zouche was attainted, and was only gradually reconciled with the Henrician regime (above, pp. 317–18).

Somerset politics impinged to a great extent upon Dorset affairs; therefore in surveying shire government some repetition is unavoidable. As detailed in Somerset, the Stourton and Hungerford connections both continued under new leaders: Hastings and Cheyne. Cheyne, a knight of the body and councillor, sat on the Dorset bench from 1485. The likely Cheyne dependant, Henry Burnell, sheriff in 1490–1, has been mentioned. The possible former Hungerford associate William Martyn of Athelhampton (Dor.) was sheriff twice, and was also involved in Dorset affairs as a JP from 1482. In 1495, he was granted a licence to fortify Athelhampton Hall and enclose its park, and was awarded joint-wardship of John Trenchard and his lands, and of William Clopton in 1498.[88]

Cheyne's other interests may have meant that the most important magnate in Dorset (as in Somerset), effectively, was Lord Daubeney, who became the duchy of Lancaster's steward in Dorset and Hampshire in 1488.[89] Later, as well as becoming chamberlain, he was also a Dorset JP from 1499. Moreover, on Cheyne's death, Daubeney replaced him as steward of Cranborne, master of the chase, and master of the hunt in Blakedon Park (Dor.).[90] Daubeney's brother, James, who was sheriff, later rebelled in 1497 along with his half-sister's husband, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster (Som.), as mentioned. Daubeney's previous associations with the Stourton-Hungerford nexus may have meant that he was able to entice some former clients into *his* service rather than that of the Hastings-Cheyne connection.

[86] Arthurson (1994), 17.
[87] *PR*, xv, 271; *CP*, viii, 59–61.
[88] *CPR 1494–1509*, 43, 55, 126; *HPB*, 579–80.
[89] *CPR 1485–94*, 199; Somerville (1953), i, 628.
[90] *CPR 1494–1509*, 188; *HPB*, 259–60.

Another of the shire's chief magnates was the councillor and lord steward, Lord Willoughby. His sphere of influence was primarily focused on Devon and Cornwall, but he was a Dorset JP from 1493. One of his dependants, Hugh Oldham, was involved in Somerset, as seen, and also as a Dorset JP from 1497. Willoughby's sister married the Devon landowner Dinham whose growing involvement in administrative affairs at Westminster (particularly in the exchequer) may have meant that the Dinham-FitzWaryn clientele – hitherto led by Dinham – came to seek Willoughby's benefaction. The only Dinham associate involved in Dorset was William Case of South Petherton and Norton (Som.), escheator in 1485–6, who was also Daubeney's tenant. In addition to his likely alliance with the Dinham nexus, Willoughby may have also been connected with the earl of Devon (who was briefly restored to two Dorset manors, above, p. 324). One of the earl's feoffees was the Daubeney affiliate Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster.

In summary, therefore, Dorset (like Somerset) seems to have been greatly influenced by the king's principal agents: Daubeney, Willoughby, and Cheyne. Again, as in Somerset, although the queen's half-brother, Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, held some Dorset estates on account of his wife's inheritance, he was not added to the county bench. Henry's distrust of the marquess meant that he was placed under recognisances to ensure his loyalty, and these bonds, in combination with the fact that he did not enjoy royal patronage, meant that the marquess seems to have played little part in local affairs. The joint-shrievalty and escheatry have been mentioned, and the number of possible Hastings-Cheyne-Daubeney and Willoughby clients on the Dorset bench was negligible, with only one JP each. The commissions of array also reveal the settlement of Dorset local politics: in December 1488, six commissioners included Daubeney, Willoughby, one of Edward, Lord Lisle's associates, one Daubeney affiliate, and one Willoughby client (also a royal retainer).[91]

The only example of overlap between members of the king's household and

[91] *CPR 1485–94*, 279–80.

the clients of the peerage, as in Somerset, is the case of the Dinham and Daubeney associate and crown servant William Case of South Petherton and Norton (Som.) who was escheator, and usher of the chamber (above, p. 321). Only one household man, John Turberville, was returned to parliament twice; and numbers of household servants on the bench averaged under one-fifth, ranging from just over one-tenth in 1494, to almost one-fifth in 1496. Henry's highest profile royal household men, were his chamberlain, Daubeney, and his knight of the body, Cheyne; but another significant household retainer was the coroner and marshal of the household, Sir John Turberville (*c.*1450–1502) of Friar Mayne (Dor.) and Bradford (Wilts.), who was sheriff, a JP, and perhaps represented Dorset in parliament in 1491–2 and 1495. In September 1486, for his service (before 1485), he was granted the constableship of Corfe Castle, and the offices of forester and ranger of the royal forest of Purbeck. From 1490, he was treasurer of Calais and later became a royal counsellor.[92] Another royal servant was Sir Richard Pudsey of Pinhoe (Wilts.), escheator in 1489–90 and sheriff in 1497–8, as mentioned.[93] The household retainer Henry Uvedale (*c.*1460–1516) of Corfe (Dor.) and Barford St Martin (Wilts.) was appointed to the county bench from 1497 and was employed as the king's sewer from 1490.[94]

* * *

Many of those involved in the Western Revolt of June 1497 who were active in Dorset have already been detailed since the shire's political elite overlapped with Somerset's to a great extent, and especially so concerning clienteles. Bonds and recognisances were Henry's preferred method of ensuring the loyalty and obedience of the peerage and gentry, and were deployed in the aftermath of the western revolt (above, pp. 328–30). Lord Audley was a Dorset landowner, and the other rebels included Daubeney's brother, James, and the Daubeney and Devon client Hugh Luttrell – both had been involved in shire administration. Lord Stourton and some former Stourton clients may

[92] *CPR 1485–94*, 129; *CPR 1494–1509*, 6, 41; *HPB*, 884–5.
[93] *HPB*, 701.
[94] *HPB*, 899–900.

have also participated in the revolt, as mentioned. Stourton's exclusion from county affairs was the main reason for his protest, while the Stourton clients, the Newburghs, may have contributed to the rebellion in the person of Sir Roger Newburgh (*c.*1457–1515) of East Lulworth in Dorset, sheriff in 1496–7 and JP from 1491, who later, in 1504, entered a series of bonds for his payment of a fine (which may have been related to the rebellion).[95] However, the Stourton feoffee Thomas Hussey (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton and Shapwick (Dor.) was nominated to the bench, so he cannot have been aggrieved about exclusion from shire government.[96] Another participant was the perennially rebellious Nicholas Latimer (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.), active in all rebellions of the past half-century, who was later put under bonds and fined.[97] The involvement of some Somerset and Dorset gentry in the insurgence illustrates the fact that disaffection with the regime was not limited to only the far-western shires.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN DEVON

In Devon, as seen in Somerset and Dorset, Henry's accession had a great impact upon the shire's peace commissions: in the period from 1484 to 1487, they indicate a low continuity rate (30 per cent).[98] Former Ricardians were reconciled with Henrician rule, such as Lord Scrope of Bolton – although, in February 1488, he was pardoned for his involvement in the Lambert Simnel revolt. Lord Cobham lost forfeited Devon and Cornwall lands that he had been granted after the October Rebellion and made peace with Henry, concentrating on his south-eastern estates. Zouche, who held Devon lands, was only gradually rehabilitated – he eventually obtained the reversal of his attainder although he was not appointed to the county bench.

Lord Dinham and the Dinham-FitzWaryn affinity had initially been central to Richard III's governance of Devon, but the peer may have reconsidered his loyalty

[95] Luckett (1992), 135.

[96] *HPB*, 488–9. Bond 1501: *CCR 1500–9*, 4; Luckett (1992), 135.

[97] *CCR 1500–9*, 13, 41–2; Luckett (1992), 133.

[98] Below, Appendix IV.

and was certainly able to make peace with Henry VII. That Dinham was reconciled with the new government may have been due to consideration of his record of long service to Edward IV and perhaps through the influence of his stepson, John Radcliffe, Lord FitzWalter (1452–96), lord steward until 1488.[99] Dinham was installed as treasurer of the exchequer in July 1486 and, thereafter, seems to have become principally concerned with his responsibilities as a royal minister and courtier, and with exchequer affairs.[100] Moreover, Dinham, a Devon JP since 1471, was removed in the first commissions of the reign in 1487. Dinham's wife and daughter had died in 1485, and this was followed by the death of his only son, George, in 1487. It may have been with the intention of providing another heir that Dinham wed Willoughby's sister, Elizabeth, after March 1488 (however, no heir was forthcoming).

Dinham's brother, Charles Dinham of Nutwell (Dev.), was nominated to the bench continuously from 1478 until 1487. His sister's husband, Sir John Sapcotes (*c.*1448–1501) of Bampton (Dev.) and Elton (Hants.), was JP continuously from 1483 (above, pp. 298, 300–1, 303). As one of Richard III's esquires of the body, he was initially mistrusted by the new king, but fought for Henry at Stoke and was knighted after the battle. Perhaps as a consequence of his armed assistance, Sapcotes was reappointed as an esquire of the body in 1488 – being later promoted to knight of the body in 1497. Also, in that year, Sapcotes was granted custody of Edward Pomeroy and his Cornwall and Devon estates, and was also commissioned to entreat with the rebels of those counties to 'receive as such as are willing into favour', and grant pardons – exemplifying the king's clear trust of him.[101]

Dinham's nephew (his sister's son) was Sir Edmund Carew (*c.*1464–1513) of Mohun's Ottery (Dev.), a JP from 1491; he fought for Tudor and was knighted at Bosworth. In September 1497 it was Carew, the earl of Devon and the latter's son,

[99] FitzWalter was later embroiled in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy and exposed in 1494: *ODNB*: 'Radcliffe, John, sixth Baron FitzWalter'.

[100] *CPR 1485–94*, 118; Pugh (1992), 53; Kleineke (1998), 6, 35, 254–5; *ODNB*: 'Dinham, John'.

[101] *CPR 1494–1509*, 108, 115; *HPB*, 740–1; Bennett (1987), 129, 136.

William, who helped Exeter's inhabitants resist the invading Warbeck.[102] Other Dinham clients included Thomas Hext (fl.1472–1501),[103] and John Dennis (*c.*1425–91) of Barnstaple and Orlegh (Dev.).[104] In 1499, Dinham, with Derby and Daubeney, made an arbitration award in a dispute concerning Devon lands involving the royal retainer Sir John Halliwell and Devon's son, William.[105] Evidently, Dinham was not completely uninvolved in local matters, but his removal from the county bench and nomination as treasurer implies that he was likely to be more active in central, rather than shire, government affairs. Indeed, the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection endured but – lacking Dinham's leadership – coalesced around the prominent figure of Lord Willoughby.

Sir Robert Willoughby acted as sheriff in 1487–8, and as a JP from 1487. He was a knight of the body from 1485, one of the king's councillors from 1486, and lord steward (above, pp. 323–4, 331–2). Willoughby was a beneficiary of Henry's settlement of the Stafford of Southwick inheritance: under Richard III, Humphrey Stafford of Grafton had taken over lands once belonging to his distant cousin Lord Stafford of Southwick (above, p. 296), to the detriment of Stafford's heirs-general, the most prominent being Willoughby. Stafford rebelled in 1486, and in 1489, Henry settled the estates on the heirs-general; although he was not the sole recipient, Willoughby gained a substantial portion of these estates.[106] Willoughby's landed and political interests therefore extended from Cornwall to Wiltshire, but it seems that it was intended for his sphere of influence to lie mainly in Cornwall and Devon. He was also awarded a number of wardships, such as those of Edmund Liversegge, in 1486, and of John Copplestone (being also John Bonville's heir) in 1493.[107] He was raised to the peerage as Lord Willoughby de Broke in 1489 and, although never amongst

[102] Mainpernor 1496: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 972; *ODNB*: 'Carew, Sir Edmund'.

[103] JP from 1480; Dinham chief steward 1489–90, and land transaction 1494: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881, AR1/632; Kleineke (1998), 148.

[104] JP from 1484; pension 1489–90: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR2/881.

[105] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 1096, 1114.

[106] *CPR 1485–94*, 267–8, 381. For Stafford's regional hegemony: above, ch. 6.

[107] *CPR 1485–94*, 65, 428, 457.

Henry's closest advisers and only an infrequent attender of the king's council, he was utilised as a military commander – hence his involvement in array commissions and as an Admiral of the Fleet.[108]

One of Lord Willoughby's feoffees was Hugh Oldham, as mentioned, who served as a JP from 1495 and was awarded joint custody of the Devon lands of John Taverner in 1499.[109] Another Willoughby protégé was the royal servant Sir Richard Edgcumbe of Cotehele (Cor.) and Meavy (Dev.) who was elected sheriff in 1486–7, and may have been returned as burgess in parliament for Tavistock in 1485–6 and 1487.[110] He participated in the 1483 rebellion, joined Henry's court-in-exile, fought at Bosworth, and was knighted for his efforts. He became a knight of the body, comptroller of the household, and a royal councillor. In September 1485, Edgcumbe was chosen as a chamberlain of the exchequer – though this appointment was revoked within a few days. In June 1486, 'for services done beyond the seas and in England', Edgcumbe was granted Totnes Castle and three further Devon manors and lands forfeited by Zouche and Sir Henry Bodrugan. In 1487, he fought at Stoke, and was also employed in Ireland and on diplomatic missions to Scotland and Brittany.[111] His son, Sir Piers Edgcumbe (*c.*1477–1539), was also both a royal servant and a Willoughby client, being sheriff in 1494–5 and 1497–8 and a JP from 1501. He became an esquire of the body in 1489, gaining special livery of his lands in 1497; his marriage to Charles Dinham's widow further enhanced his landed interests in Devon and Cornwall.[112]

It is evident that Willoughby's landed interests, local and national offices, and associations made him *the* most powerful figure in Devon. His affiliation with the prominent Dinham-FitzWaryn clientele, as detailed, was the first of the building

[108] *CPR 1485–94*, 411.

[109] *CPR 1494–1509*, 171; above, pp. 322, 324.

[110] Land transactions 1487–8: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME523, 524, 622.

[111] *CPR 1485–94*, 7, 93; *HPB*, 291–2; *ODNB*: 'Edgcumbe, Sir Richard'.

[112] Bond, and land transaction 1494–8: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 753; NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME526/1; *CPR 1494–1509*, 116; *ODNB*: 'Edgcumbe, Sir Richard'.

blocks of his local and regional power. In addition to this clientele, Willoughby may have cultivated an alliance with the shire's second most notable magnate, the earl of Devon (above, pp. 324, 332). The Lancastrian Edward Courtenay of Boconnoc (Cor.) had been involved in the 1483 Rebellion, and fled to Brittany. He fought on Henry's side at Bosworth and, in reward, his family's attainder of 1461 was reversed, gaining the earldom of Devon and its estates in October 1485. These lands included eight hundreds, and eighteen manors in Devon, with other substantial Cornish holdings. Henry appears to have intended that the earl's sphere of interest should be concentrated in Devon (with limited interests in Cornwall): he was a JP from 1487.[113] His eldest son, William (*c.*1475–1511), was created a knight of the Bath at the queen's coronation in 1487, and the earl himself fought for Henry at Stoke later that year. Moreover, Devon and his son both served on the Breton campaign of 1492. In March 1494, the earl was bound, with Piers Edgcumbe and Willoughby, to the king in a bond, which was to be cancelled if the earl retained no-one apart from his own tenants, in Cornwall and Devon. The fact that this contract was later cancelled indicates that the earl did not violate its conditions.[114]

In 1495, Devon's eldest son, married the queen's sister, Katherine (1479–1527) – a royal alliance placing the Courtenays at the heart of the royal family. It appears that at the time of the revolt of June 1497, the earl did little to restrain the march of the Cornish rebels to Blackheath; however, during the September insurgence, he and his son successfully arrayed Devon and Cornish gentry against Warbeck and his forces. Perhaps in recognition of the earl's loyalty, in 1498, he and several others were given licence to work a lead and silver mine at Brushford (Dev.).[115] Though William Courtenay was granted an annuity for his daily attendance on the king in 1501, he was imprisoned, in April 1502, for treasonable dealings with the Yorkist royal claimant Edmund, Earl of Suffolk.[116] One of the earl's clients was

[113] *PR*, xv, 152–5; *CPR 1485–94*, 28–9, 81; *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Edward'.
[114] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 753. Retaining: Cameron (1974).
[115] *CPR 1494–1509*, 135.
[116] *CPR 1494–1509*, 223; *ODNB*: 'Courtenay, Edward'.

Thomas Cotterell (*c.*1450–1519) of Washbourne (Dev.), nominated to the bench from 1487, and perhaps returned as knight of the shire in 1491–2.[117] The association of Willoughby with Devon is also confirmed in the overlap between some clients, such as Sir Piers Edgcumbe of Cotehele (above, p. 337). Willoughby's probable alliance with Devon was therefore a second building block of his local influence. The peer's association with the two most important Devon magnates and their affinities, combined with his own land-holding and office-holding, confirmed his local dominance. His role as lord steward – personifying a direct connection between polity and locality – naturally ensured that Willoughby's authority in the shire was supreme.

In summary, it seems that Willoughby was the most prominent Devon magnate even though another substantial county landowner – as a result of his wife's inheritance – was Thomas, Marquess of Dorset (above, pp. 325, 332, with regard to Somerset and Dorset). However, Henry's mistrust of Dorset led him to secure the peer's loyalty by having him heavily bound in recognisances. The fact that the marquess did not enjoy the king's favour meant that he exerted little local influence, being employed as only a JP from 1495. In contrast, Willoughby, as the most important figure in the county, seems to have been able to depend not only on the support of those directly linked with himself, but also on the support of others indirectly through secondary patrons – Dinham and Devon. Of the sheriffs returned between 1485 and 1500, three terms were undertaken by Willoughby clients, with one also a Devon affiliate.[118] Of the members of parliament returned, only two were magnate clients: the Willoughby associate and royal retainer Richard Edgcumbe in 1485–6, and the Devon client Thomas Cotterell in 1491–2. In total, Willoughby clients (including Dinham and Devon dependants) accounted for around one-fifth of Devon JPs on each commission ranging from over one-quarter in 1491, to over one-tenth in 1494 and 1495.

The commissions of array also reveal the prominence of Willoughby and his

[117] Feoffee 1492: *HPB*, 225–6.

[118] Richard Edgcumbe 1486–7; and Piers Edgcumbe 1494–5 and 1497–8 (also Devon associate).

associates: in December 1488, eight commissioners included Devon, his son William Courtenay, Willoughby, three royal retainers, and two Dinham affiliates (one of whom was a crown servant).[119] In June 1490, nine commissioners included Devon, William Courtenay, Willoughby, two Dinham associates, and three household men.[120] In August 1490, sixteen commissioners included Devon, Courtenay, Willoughby, one Devon client, two Dinham associates, and four members of the king's household.[121] In July 1491, seven commissioners in Devon and Cornwall were selected to prepare to defend the realm from French invasion by invading Brittany to prevent the duchy from falling into French hands, including Devon, Courtenay, Willoughby, one Dinham client, one Arundell associate, and three household servants (with some overlap between them).[122] Collectively, these commissions testify to the dominance of Willoughby clients in local government.

It is likely that, as the crown's principal representative, Willoughby would be associated locally with royal household members, as confirmed in the examples of the Willoughby clients and royal retainers Richard and Piers Edgcumbe. Of the sheriffs of Devon between 1485 and 1500, half of terms were undertaken by the king's men.[123] Arguably, Henry VII needed to employ household sheriffs, since Devon had few crown lands through which royal authority might be exercised. In Devon, five crown servants may have been returned to parliament on eight occasions in all. In addition, crown servants accounted for around just over one-fifth of Devon JPs on each commission, with the peak being over one-quarter in 1487, and the nadir being under one-fifth in May 1494.

The crown retainers Sir Richard Edgcumbe, Sir Piers Edgcumbe, and Sir John Sapcotes of Bampton (Dev.) and Elton (Hants.) have been mentioned (above, pp. 335,

[119] *CPR 1485–94*, 279–80.

[120] *CPR 1485–94*, 322.

[121] *CPR 1485–94*, 348.

[122] *CPR 1485–94*, 355.

[123] Four household retainers served 8 of 16 terms: John Halliwell 1485–6 and 1489–90; Richard Edgcumbe 1486–7; Roger Holland 1488–9, 1493–4, and 1498–9; and Piers Edgcumbe 1494–5 and 1497–8.

337), and their roles in Cornish politics are discussed later (below, pp. 347–8, 351–2). Another household sheriff was Sir John Halliwell (*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode and Bigbury (Dev.), sheriff in 1485–6 and 1489–90, and JP from 1487. In October 1485 Halliwell was granted the keepership of a Devon park and stewardship of five Devon manors. He was employed as a knight of the body from 1490, and elevated to Admiral of the Fleet a year later, when, leading a force of 2000 men, he sailed for Brittany.[124] Another member of the royal household was Roger Holland (*c.*1450–1506) of Cowick-in-Exeter, sheriff in 1488–9, 1493–4, and 1498–9; he was a justice of the peace from 1491, and may have been burgess in parliament for Totnes in 1491–2, 1495, and 1497. He became the king's butler, joint-feodary of the duchy of Lancaster in Devon, and, in 1487, feodary-general of the duchy of Exeter's Devon estates. In April 1492, he was nominated as feodary of the earldom of Salisbury in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. Furthermore, Holland was granted the wardships of the Devon landowners Francis Harrys of Radford (1486), William Dennis of Orlegh (1491), and joint custody of Elizabeth Knollys of Bradford (1498).[125]

Other household servants included Sir Walter Courtenay (*c.*1440–1504) of Exeter who was knight of the shire in 1495,[126] and Avery Cornburgh of Bere Ferrers (Dev.) and Dovers (Essex) who may have been Plymouth's burgess in parliament in 1485–6.[127] Another Devon MP was Sir John Crocker (*c.*1445–1508) of Lineham (Dev.) who was knight of the shire in 1491–2, and was nominated to the bench from 1487. Crocker was an esquire of the body from 1486, and was granted two annuities and the moiety of a Somerset manor in 1488.[128] He may have been implicated in the

[124] *CPR 1485–94*, 42, 344; *HPB*, 406–7; Geare (1953), 195–201; Arthurson (1994), 15.

[125] *CPR 1485–94*, 80, 145, 368, 378, 379, 460; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 1075; *CPR 1494–1509*, 178; *HPB*, 461–2.

[126] Master forester of Dartmoor, steward of the duchy's Devon estates, and warden of the stannaries from 1485: *CPR 1485–94*, 21, 65; *HPB*, 231.

[127] Under-treasurer of England, and keeper of the great wardrobe from 1486: *CPR 1485–94*, 141; *HPB*, 223–4.

[128] *CPR 1485–94*, 74, 228, 236, 237, 254.

rebellions since, in February 1498, he was put under a bond for his allegiance to, and his appearance before, the king.[129]

* * *

While the June Rebellion of 1497 had included Devon, it seems that there it had been largely an uprising of lesser landowners – in contrast to Somerset's greater gentry rebels. The only Devon insurgents seem to have been, possibly, John Crocker and Devon's steward Sir John Speke of White Lackington (Som.) and Haywood and East Dawlish (Dev.). Speke was denied any genuine opportunity for involvement in shire government in either Somerset or Devon, which therefore may have provided his reason for participation in revolt, as mentioned (above, p. 330). Later, it was Dinham and others who were commissioned to carry out the office of constable and marshal of England at the trial, in June 1497, of Audley and the other rebel leaders.[130]

Among those who raised banners at Penzance in September 1497, when Warbeck set foot on Cornish soil, were Thomas Gale and John Taylor. Thomas Gale of Dartmouth had been a customs official in Exeter and Dartmouth during Henry VI's later years and Edward IV's first reign, as well as mayor and bailiff of, and burgess in parliament for, Dartmouth; by 1485 he had become clerk of the king's ships. However, Henry VII removed Gale from this post, perhaps explaining why he welcomed Warbeck. Gale may have been associated with his fellow customs officer John Taylor, who also lost office under Henry and was one of Warbeck's adherents.[131]

While Cornish participation in the September uprising seems to have been largely inspired by tin-mining matters (below, pp. 353–4), Warbeck hoped to take advantage of this dissent. Mindful of the general unpopularity of taxation, Warbeck denounced Henry VII as 'a false usurper of the crown of England' who

> hath trodden under foot the honour of this nation, selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandise of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his

[129] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 1019.

[130] *CPR 1494–1509*, 115.

[131] Arthurson (1994), 15–16, 18, 182, 186.

coffers.[132]

Undoubtedly in order to capitalise on the political, fiscal, and economic concerns of the local gentry and peerage, Warbeck emphasised Henry's 'hateful misgovernment and evil deportments', and his lowborn councillors (such as Reginald Bray, Thomas Lovell, Oliver King, John Turberville, and others) were condemned as 'the principal finders, occasioners, and councillors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England'.[133] Yet, despite aiming to make fiscal grievances a springboard for his dynastic challenge, the pretender's appeals seem to have fallen on deaf ears in the south-west, apart, that is, from those of the already-aggravated Cornishmen. The earl of Devon attempted to halt the rebels' advance to Exeter but proved unsuccessful. The insurgents laid siege to the city, with the earl, William Courtenay, Sir Walter Courtenay, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Piers Edgcumbe, and Sir Humphrey Fulford successfully defending Exeter; after which, the rebels and their leader were soon captured.[134]

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CORNWALL

Henry's accession affected the Cornish county bench: JPs who served on Richard's last commission and those appointed to Henry's first commission indicate little continuity (33 per cent) as a result of the exclusion of Ricardians such as Tyrell and his affiliates, and the removal of Richard's northern retainers.[135] Richard's stalwart supporter the duke of Norfolk had been rewarded with extensive Cornish lands. After the duke's death, his son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was imprisoned and was only ever partially restored to his father's lands.[136] Lord Scrope of Bolton briefly supported Lambert Simnel's conspiracy, but was later pardoned (above, p. 317). Huntingdon also made his peace with Henry's government, even though his south-western estates

[132] Arthurson (1994), 146.
[133] Arthurson (1994), 146.
[134] Arthurson (1994), 185–6, 189–201.
[135] Below, Appendix IV.
[136] *CP*, ix, 610–12; *HPB*, 473–4; *ODNB*: 'Howard, John'.

were restored to the duchy of Cornwall in 1495.[137] Tudor supporters such as Richard Edgcumbe, Thomas Arundell, Devon, and others were also assigned to the bench. The period from 1488 to 1492 was also one of relatively low continuity in the commissions of the peace (42 per cent), as a result of the death of Edgcumbe, and the addition of the Prince of Wales, the duke of Bedford, John Arundell, and others.[138] The addition of the prince and Bedford underlines the fact that the principal force in Cornish affairs was the duchy of Cornwall.

Henry VII's eldest son, Arthur (1486–1502), was created Prince of Wales in November 1489, and the child-prince's household began to be established from this time. Although Arthur did not immediately move to Ludlow, the prince's council was functioning there by March 1490. In March 1493, the prince was granted various powers, including the right to appoint justices of oyer and terminer and, later that year, was granted further lands in Wales, including the earldom of March. Arthur was also invested with the office of warden of the Scots Marches in 1490, and was keeper of England during his father's absence in Brittany in 1492.[139] At first, because of the prince's youth, the council operated under the supervision of the king's uncle, Jasper, Duke of Bedford (*c.*1430–95). He had been named chief justice of South Wales in December 1485, and lieutenant of Ireland in March 1486; as well as his dukedom, Bedford was also granted lands forfeited by Francis, Viscount Lovell and Sir William Berkeley in Wales, Wiltshire, Somerset, and other counties. It also seems likely that, owing to his supervision of the prince's council, Bedford would have been involved with duchy of Cornwall administration until his gradual retirement from public life after 1492.[140]

The former Stourton-Hungerford (now Hastings-Cheyne) connection's chief focus may have been the knight of the body and councillor Lord Cheyne although, as

[137] Haslam (1987), 30–1.

[138] Below, Appendix IV.

[139] *CPR 1485–94*, 486–7; *ODNB*: 'Arthur, Prince of Wales'.

[140] *CChR 1427–1516*, 267; *CPR 1485–94*, 47, 64–5, 84, 252, 376; '*ODNB*: Tudor, Jasper, Duke of Bedford'.

mentioned, the connection may have drifted towards Daubeney's service (above, pp. 319–20). One possible former Hungerford dependant (therefore a possible Hastings-Cheyne client) was John Glyn (*c.*1448–1512) of Morval (Cor.) who served on the bench in 1492–5 and again from 1496, and may have been returned as burgess in parliament for Launceston in 1491–2.[141] In addition to Cheyne, although the earl of Ormonde held only minor Cornish estates and his principal region of influence was in Somerset and Dorset, the earl's position as the queen's chamberlain would have enhanced his local and regional stature. One Ormonde client was the royal servant Sir Henry Vernon (*c.*1445–1515) of Haddon (Derbs.), who was a JP in 1494–5.[142] However, despite their high status, both Ormonde and Cheyne could exert only minor influence in Cornish politics: an indisputably more influential figure in county affairs was Lord Willoughby.

As one of Henry VII's most prominent councillors as well as lord steward, Robert Willoughby, was a leading figure in Cornwall – and was added as a JP from 1486. In addition to his military activities, Willoughby was endowed with local offices: in September 1485, he was designated steward of the king's gold and silver mines in Cornwall and Devon, as receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall (a post that he held until his death), and as steward of the duchy's Cornish estates (a position he retained until replaced by Sir John Halliwell in October 1486).[143] A few months later, at Christmas 1485, he was granted a lease of two parts of a Cornish manor during Edward, Duke of Buckingham's nonage.[144] These offices and lands greatly enhanced Willoughby's local influence. One of his feoffees, active in Somerset and Dorset, was Hugh Oldham who also served on the Cornish bench from 1494 (above, pp. 322, 324, 331–2). Peter Beville (fl.1488–1509), sheriff in 1494–5 and JP from 1488 to 1495 and again from 1496, was an executor of Willoughby's will in 1502.[145]

[141] Land transaction 1470: *CCR 1468–76*, no. 552; *HPB*, 380–1.

[142] Ormonde feoffee, and land transaction 1481–96: *DCAD*, ii, C2550; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 948; *HPB*, 907–8; *ODNB*: 'Vernon Family'.

[143] *CPR 1485–94*, 13, 20, 116; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 121; DCO212, m. 1; DCO213, m. 1.

[144] *CPR 1485–94*, 47.

[145] PRO, PROB11/13, ff. 163v–164v.

Another Willoughby associate was Sir John Treffry (d.1500) of Fowey (Cor.) who was sheriff in 1489–90 and 1499–1500, and a JP from 1486.[146] His brother, William Treffry (d.1504) would also have been acquainted with Willoughby, for he was controller of the stannaries in Devon and Cornwall and keeper of Lostwithiel Gaol from October 1486 as well as, from March 1490, parker of the duchy park of Kerrybullock.[147] Two more Willoughby clients were Sir Richard Edgcumbe and his son Sir Piers who, as Cornish gentry of major significance, are discussed later.

It is probable that with Lord Dinham increasingly concerned with state business, as outlined, the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection may have sought Willoughby's patronage. In addition to his association with the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus, Willoughby may have cultivated an alliance with Edward, Earl of Devon (above, pp. 337–9). Devon's estates were principally focussed on Devon, but also included two boroughs and thirteen manors in Cornwall. The earl was a JP from 1485 and, in February 1486, was designated as steward, constable, and captain of Restormel Castle and custodian of the park there.[148] One of Devon's feoffees was William Carnesew (fl.1483–1502) of Bokelly (Cor.), a JP from 1486 until 1495, and again from 1497.[149] In addition, Carnesew was also associated with Willoughby: in May 1499, he and others were put under a bond to ensure that Willoughby and others (including Sir Reynold Bray) who were under a bond to ensure the loyalty of Thomas Polgreve paid the king a fine, since Polgreve had been disloyal.[150] One other protégé of the earl was another Willoughby client, Sir Piers Edgcumbe.[151] These examples therefore suggest the possibility of a Willoughby-Devon alliance.

The Edgcumbes of Cotehele, Devon's clients, were associated directly with Willoughby and were also members of the king's household. Sir Richard Edgcumbe

[146] Lord Willoughby was executor of his will 1500: PRO, PROB11/12, f. 154r.

[147] DCO212, m. 8; DCO213, mm. 3, 4; DCO214, mm. 3, 4; DCO211, m. 3; *CPR 1485–94*, 36.

[148] *PR*, xv, 152–5; *CPR 1485–94*, 28–9, 81; DCO213, m. 3; DCO214, m. 4; DCO211, m. 3.

[149] Feoffees 1492: *CPR 1485–94*, 406.

[150] *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 1090.

[151] Recognisance 1494: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 753.

was employed as a knight of the body, as comptroller of the household, and as a royal councillor (above, p. 337). He acted as a justice of the peace from 1485, and also became feodary of the duchy of Cornwall and constable of Launceston Castle from September 1485, as well as steward of the earldom of March. Richard was later appointed steward of the earldom of Salisbury and Warwick's estates in Cornwall and Devon. Furthermore, in June 1486, Edgcumbe was selected as keeper of the duchy park of Kerrybullock, and controller of the king's silver mines in Cornwall and Devon.[152] This impressive list of offices clearly placed Edgcumbe at the forefront of Cornish politics.

After Richard's death, his son, Sir Piers Edgcumbe, followed his father's example by also entering royal household service, and also associating with Willoughby (above, p. 337). He became an esquire of the body in 1489 and, in November 1489, was assigned to his father's offices of duchy feodary and constable of Launceston Castle.[153] Piers Edgcumbe gained special livery of his lands in 1497, and married Charles Dinham's widow, thereby improving his landed assets in Devon and Cornwall.[154] His career in local government not only matched but surpassed his father's career, for Piers was pricked as sheriff in 1498–9, as well as sitting on the bench from 1498. The connection with Willoughby did not apply only to Piers and his father, but also other Willoughby affiliates who were connected with the Edgcumbe affinity, Peter Beville;[155] and Sir John Treffry.[156] In general, further to these examples, other Edgcumbe protégés included John Tremayne (*c.*1452–1504) of Collacombe (Dev.),[157] William Trevanyon (d.1518) of Carhayes (Cor.),[158] Thomas Kellygrew

[152] *CPR 1485–94*, 7, 17, 93; DCO212, m. 8.

[153] DCO213, mm. 1, 4; DCO214, mm. 1, 4; *CPR 1485–94*, 293.

[154] *CPR 1494–1509*, 116.

[155] Land transactions 1496–1500: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME486; NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/368.

[156] Land transactions 1488–1500: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME623, 486; NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/368.

[157] Sheriff 1486–7; brother-in-law of Richard Edgcumbe (Edgcumbe's wife's brother): *Visitations of Cornwall*.

[158] Sheriff 1497–8, and JP from 1497; son-in-law of Richard Edgcumbe: *Visitations of Cornwall*.

(*c.*1446–1500) of Arwenack (Cor.),[159] Alexander Carew (d.1493) of Antony (Cor.) and Shogbroke (Dev.),[160]and Roger Holland (*c.*1450–1506) of Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.).[161] Further possible Edgcumbe clients were John Carminow (fl.1474–92) of Carminow (Cor.),[162] and Sir John Sapcotes,[163] perhaps the most significant Edgcumbe associate seems to have been Sir John Arundell of Lanherne.[164]

Willoughby, clearly, cultivated connections with the Dinham-FitzWaryn affinity and Devon's circle: both these clienteles were crucial to influencing Devon politics and government and also extended, to some degree, into Cornish affairs; moreover, in Cornwall, Devon's clients – the Edgcumbes – were directly affiliated with Willoughby. Plainly, through all these affiliations, Willoughby was in a position of great authority in Devon and Cornwall, the wider region, and, consequently, at a national level. In addition to his alliances with Dinham, Devon, and Edgcumbe, Willoughby may have also been able to gain the support of the important leading Cornish family, the Arundells.

The head of the family since his father's death in 1473, Sir Thomas Arundell, had rebelled against Richard III, but died shortly after Bosworth, leaving a young son, John Arundell II (*c.*1474–1545). This John fought for Henry VII at Stoke, was dubbed as a knight banneret on the battlefield, and had become a knight of the body by 1490.[165] In February 1490, he was appointed chancellor and keeper of the great seal of the duchy of Cornwall – a post that he may have retained until 1502.[166] Arundell led troops against the Cornish insurgents in 1497, and was rewarded with the grant of a Somerset manor forfeited by the rebel leader, Audley, and was nominated to the

[159] JP 1485, 1488–95, and from 1496; attorney, and land transactions 1487–8: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME523, 524, 622.

[160] Sheriff 1487–8, and JP from 1486; land transactions 1487–8: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME523, 524, 622.

[161] JP from 1494; land transactions 1487–98: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME523, 524, 486, 526/1; *HPB*, 461–2.

[162] JP from 1483; land transaction 1488: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME622.

[163] Land transaction 1498: NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), ME526/1.

[164] Land transaction 1500: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/368; *ODNB*: 'Arundell family'.

[165] Bennett (1987), 129, 136; *CPR 1485–94*, 332.

[166] DCO213, m. 3; DCO214, m. 3.

Cornish bench from 1498.[167]

The Arundells' importance in Cornish affairs – and John Arundell's status as a member of the royal household – meant that he and his affinity became associated with a number of peers. In 1496, it was arranged for Arundell to marry Eleanor, daughter of Thomas, Marquess of Dorset; he was already one of Arundell's tenants.[168] Another of the family's tenants was Edward, Lord Hastings, and this connection hints at the possible continuance, or renaissance, of the old association between Hungerford and Arundell clients during the 1450s and 1460s.[169] John Arundell was also connected with his uncle (husband of his paternal aunt), Daubeney;[170] and was also involved with his maternal uncle, Dinham.[171] Thomas Arundell had been closely allied with the Dinham-FitzWaryn nexus during the 1470s, and had named Charles Dinham and Sir John Sapcotes as executors and feoffees of his will.[172] It seems most likely that the Arundells were primarily connected to the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection. So, the likely shift of this nexus's focus towards Willoughby's patronage makes it probable that the Arundells would have become attached to him, which is substantiated by Arundell's involvement as Willoughby's feoffee.[173]

Arundell and the Edgcumbes, evidently, appear to have been Willoughby associates and, consequently, there was also some overlap between their clienteles: besides John Arundell himself, the Arundell affinity included the Willoughby protégés Peter Beville,[174] and Sir John Treffry,[175] as well as Sir Piers Edgcumbe,[176] the

[167] *CPR 1494–1509*, 107.

[168] Mainpernor 1496: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 945, 972; tenant 1480–99: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 88, 132.

[169] Tenant 1499: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 130.

[170] Feoffee, and land transaction 1496–1500: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 945; NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/365.

[171] Land transaction 1500: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/365.

[172] *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7.

[173] Feoffee 1486: *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 83.

[174] Tenant and land transactions 1498–1500: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR4/1043, 1387; AR1/368; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 102, 139.

[175] Tenant and land transaction 1480–1500: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/368; AR20/34; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 97, 114; *HPB*, 461–2.

[176] Tenant 1499: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 117.

Edgcumbe client Thomas Kellygrew,[177] along with the possible Edgcumbe dependant John Carminow.[178] Other Arundell clients included their cousin and tenant Edmund Arundell (d.1503/4) of Tremodret (Cor.), under-sheriff in 1494–5 and JP from 1498 as well as, from 1501, keeper of the duchy parks of Hellesbury and Lenteglos;[179] and the Cornish JPs William Carnesew (fl.1483–1502) of Bokelly,[180] Thomas Limbury (*c.*1425–92) of Launceston,[181] Thomas St Aubyn (d.1512) of Clowance,[182] and John Trenowith (*c.*1427–97) of Bodmin and Fentengollan.[183] Lastly, there is also the prospect that the possible Hastings-Cheyne associate John Glyn of Morval (Cor.) may have also been connected to the Arundells.[184] The alliances of the two most influential Cornish families during this period, the Edgcumbes and the Arundells, with Willoughby emphasises the peer's importance in the governance of Devon and Cornwall. Willoughby's connection with such prominent families illustrates his high standing and political influence not only in Cornwall but in the south-west, and in the realm in general.

In summary, it seems that, as in Devon, the chief magnate in Cornwall was Willoughby. He could not rely on the support only of those associated directly with him, but on the aid of other local figures through his secondary patrons, Dinham, Devon, Arundell, and the Edgcumbes. Of the sheriffs of Cornwall returned between 1485 and 1500, seven terms were undertaken by Willoughby clients (almost the same six were also Arundell and Edgcumbe affiliates).[185] Of the members of parliament

[177] Tenant and land transaction 1480–1500: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR20/34; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 67, 123.

[178] Land transactions 1466–77: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/361; AR20/28, 29.

[179] Tenant 1499: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 102, 106, 131. Duchy office: DCO211, m. 3.

[180] JP 1486–95, 1497–1502; tenant 1499: *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 138.

[181] JP from 1486; attorney, and land transactions 1458–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/177, 268, 48, 89, 90, 45, 105/1, 270, 362, 363, 389, 710; AR4/184, 185, 186, 877, 528, 726, 1259, 1472; AR20/28; AR1/390; *HPB*, 544.

[182] JP from 1492; land transactions 1470–7: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/105/1; AR20/28.

[183] JP from 1492; tenant and land transactions 1460–80: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR20/24, 25, 26; AR1/361; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 61, 93; *HPB*, 869.

[184] JP, and burgess in parliament for Launceston 1491–2; land transaction 1498: NRA22502 (Arundell), AR1/364; *HPB*, 380–1.

[185] The Willoughby clients were Peter Beville 1494–5, John Treffry 1489–90 and 1499–1500, and Piers Edgcumbe 1498–9; the Arundell clients were Edmund Arundell 1494–5, Beville, Treffry, and

returned, only one – John Glyn in 1491–2 – was associated with Arundell, and also possibly with the Hastings-Cheyne grouping. In total, Willoughby clients (including Arundell, Edgcumbe, and Devon dependants) accounted for around one-quarter of JPs on each commission: ranging from over one-tenth in 1485, to almost one-third in 1488, then to almost one-fifth from 1495.

Commissions of array also reveal the overwhelming influence of the Willoughby, Devon, Arundell, and Edgcumbe connections: in December 1488, eight commissioners included Devon, Willoughby, the Willoughby associate and royal retainer Sir Richard Edgcumbe, and his client John Moyle, along with one Arundell client and two crown servants.[186] In June 1490, fourteen commissioners included Devon, Willoughby, one affiliate of both Devon and Willoughby, five Arundell affiliates, four Edgcumbe clients (with some overlap), and one royal servant.[187] In July 1491, seven commissioners in Devon and Cornwall, included Devon, his son William, Willoughby, one Dinham associate, one Arundell affiliate, and three household servants (with some overlap amongst them all).[188] This illustrates the sway that Willoughby may have had over local government – his prime post in Henry's household embodied a distinct relationship with the monarchy, a direct link between crown and county, between royalty and region.

As a result of his prominent local position, Willoughby's clients might have included Cornish members of Henry's household, and this is demonstrated in the examples of Richard and Piers Edgcumbe. Of the sheriffs of Cornwall returned between 1485 and 1500, almost one-fifth (19 per cent) of terms were fulfilled by household servants.[189] This figure mirrors that for Somerset and Dorset. Two royal servants were returned on seven occasions to parliament; and the proportion of crown

Edgcumbe; the Edgcumbe clients were Beville, Treffry, John Tremayne 1486–7, Alexander Carew 1487–8, and William Trevanyon 1497–8.

[186] *CPR 1485–94*, 279–80.

[187] *CPR 1485–94*, 322.

[188] *CPR 1485–94*, 355.

[189] Three household retainers served 3 of 16 terms: Richard Nanfan 1488–9; Piers Edgcumbe 1498–9; and William Treffry 1500–1.

retainers as justices averaged under one-fifth on each commission of the peace: varying from over one-tenth in 1486 (declining to under one-tenth in 1488 and 1493), then almost one-fifth in 1494, rising to over one-fifth in 1498. In addition to the Edgcumbes (Richard was a knight of the body, and Piers was an esquire of the body), a number of other prominent Cornish gentry were royal household servants – such as the knight of the body, John Arundell. The royal servant Roger Holland of Cowick-in-Exeter, a JP from 1494, was the king's butler and joint-feodary of the duchy of Lancaster in Devon from 1487 (above, p. 341). Another knight of the body, Sir John Halliwell (*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode (Cor.) and Bigbury (Dev.), a JP in 1486–8 and again from 1492, may have represented Cornwall at the parliaments between 1487 and 1495 as knight of the shire. He was raised to the rank of admiral from 1491, and became steward of the duchy of Cornwall's estates in Cornwall from October 1486 (above, p. 341).[190]

Another crown servant was Sir William Uvedale (*c.*1454–1524) of Wickham (Hants.), a JP from 1494, and an esquire of the body from 1485. His involvement in Cornish affairs arose from his appointments to numerous commissions against the rebels in 1497, and from his role as comptroller and member of the Prince of Wales's Council.[191] The king's retainer, Sir Henry Vernon of Haddon, briefly acted as a JP in 1494–5. He had been employed in Richard III's household, and continued as Henry's esquire of the body, being promoted to knight of the body by 1500. He had fought for Henry at Stoke and, in 1492, became the Prince of Wales's governor and comptroller of his household. He may have been associated with the queen's chamberlain, the earl of Ormonde (above, p. 345).[192] Another crown servant, Sir Richard Nanfan (*c.*1445–1507) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.) and Trethewell (Cor.), had been involved in the 1483 Rebellion. His involvement in Worcestershire affairs brought him under the jurisdiction of the prince's council, which he had joined by 1493. Nanfan was elected

[190] DCO212, m. 8; DCO213, m. 3; *CPR 1485–94*, 35.
[191] *HPB*, 901; *ODNB*: 'Uvedale, Sir William'.
[192] *HPB*, 907–8; *ODNB*: 'Vernon family'.

sheriff in 1488–9, was a JP from 1485, and may have been returned as MP in 1491–2, 1495, and 1497. He was an esquire of the body from 1485, being promoted to knight of the body in 1492. Nanfan was also granted three Cornish manors (formerly belonging to the earldom of Warwick) in 1488 and, after the Breton campaign of 1492, he was nominated as Daubeney's deputy as lieutenant of Calais.[193] He also became the duchy of Cornwall's receiver-general after Willoughby's death in 1502.[194] These household figures indicate how royal authority was strongly represented in Cornwall. Furthermore, combined with Willoughby's connections with Dinham, Devon, Edgcumbe, and Arundell clienteles in Devon and Cornwall, the king enjoyed effective control of those two counties.

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The involvement of the Cornish in the June and September Revolts of 1497 is often attributed to the introspection, isolation, and intense provincialism of the region; but this argument – along with one that suggests a racial motivation (the passionate defence of conquered Cornish culture) – can easily be exaggerated, just as with the idea that the risings were a purely Cornish phenomena which, as demonstrated (above, pp. 328–30, 333–4, 342–3), was not the case.[195] Vergil believed that it was the weight of taxation imposed for the Scottish war that raised the Cornish into revolt; however, while this may have been a contributory factor, it may have been Henry VII's new laws for the stannaries and suspension of their privileges in 1496 that provoked a hostile reaction and inspired many Cornishmen into rebellion.[196] Henry suspended the stannaries' operation because new regulations concerning smelting houses and annual re-registration of tin bounds had been ignored, and this may have inspired some miners to revolt. Their protest did not go unheeded and led to Henry's granting of the 1508 Charter, sanctioning pardons to the miners and providing for a measure of self-

[193] *CPR 1485–94*, 232, 378; *HPB*, 623; *ODNB*: 'Nanfan, Sir Richard'.

[194] DCO214, mm. 1, 3.

[195] *Anglica Historia*, 90; Rowse (1941), 121–40; Fletcher, and MacCulloch (1997), 15–17; Cooper (2003), 8–9, 52–8. For arguments of ethnic embitterment: Payton (1993); Stoyle (1999), 435–6.

[196] *Anglica Historia*, 91–5; Payton (1993), 4–5, 8, 12; Cooper (2003), 55, 192–4, 258.

government to the extent that future statutes affecting miners' interests were to be approved by the Cornish miners' convocations.[197]

The principal figures in the June Uprising had been Cornish, but it appears that few greater gentry were involved. Audley was a minor landowner in the shire, and the only other rebel with Cornish interests appears to have been Devon's steward, Sir John Speke, married to Alice, sister of John Arundell. Speke's motivation to join the rising may have been his exclusion from county government, as mentioned (above, p. 330). The Bere family may have also been involved in the insurgency – while the brothers Thomas and William Bere, former Arundell associates, had been prominent during earlier reigns, it may have been their heirs' exclusion from local government that motivated some family members to rebel.[198] The revised tin-mining legislation may have remained an acute issue and protests accordingly resurfaced in the form of further insurgency in September 1497: most of the September rebels were from the western-most hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier, areas strongly dependent on the tin industry both directly in terms of mining, and indirectly in terms of agriculture.[199]

OVERVIEW: THE ROLES OF DAUBENEY AND WILLOUGHBY

Henry VII seems to have attempted to conduct his government in an impartial manner: he settled disputes – such as those concerning the de Brian and Stafford of Southwick inheritances – in ways that represented clear attempts at compromise. Henry satisfied, to some degree, all parties through his firm and even-handed arbitration – often championing the opponents of the salient magnates in such disputes. Henry's councillors were chosen from a cross-section of society – his reign inaugurated an era in which court service was an honour, not an entitlement. Moreover, Henry's central government reforms and conciliar restructurings enabled his council to intervene directly in local affairs. On the whole, Henry's system of compelled cooperation –

[197] Pennington (1973), 80–90; Rowse (1941), 65; Arthurson (1987), 1–18.
[198] Arthurson (1987), 6; Arthurson (1998), 17–23.
[199] Arthurson (1994), 182–8.

through bonds and recognisances – subjected peerage and gentry to the same policy, and proved an especially effective medium of central-local interaction by which royal authority permeated the localities. After the series of depositions of the previous fifty years, Henry understandably wished to guarantee his magnates' loyalties.[200]

A common feature amongst the western counties was the appointment of Henry's household retainers to local offices. In previous reigns, in all the south-western shires, between one-quarter and one-half of sheriffs would be the king's retainers. Henry's system of bonds and recognisances – combined with the greater powers of the commissions of the peace from 1485, may have meant that the shrievalty declined in importance; therefore the nomination of household sheriffs was not a key priority *per se*. However, this does not mean that Henry's use of the royal affinity was negligible; on the contrary, it was sophisticated and effective. Devon lacked crown landholding more than any other shire, hence the king was usually reliant on resident magnates to preserve law and order, but Henry employed a large number of crown servants in county administration, not only as sheriff but in other capacities.[201] Henry also showed a preference for employing household men as escheators. The escheatry became central to Henry's governance and, in the later 1490s, he was able to increase revenues by maximising the use of this office, thereby enabling him to bequeath a considerable fortune to Henry VIII.[202]

Henry's distribution of patronage has been characterised in different ways in different regions: it is claimed that, in the Midlands, he denied overall control to any single magnate, leading to grave instability.[203] In contrast, in the south-west, it has been suggested that his endowment of Lord Daubeney created a mighty regional governor in parallel with William, Lord Hastings, which was a primary cause of the 1497 Rebellion (above, pp. 320–1, 328). The reality of the situation seems to have been between these extremes – perhaps exactly where it should have been in order to

[200] Cunningham (1995), 52–98, 99–128.

[201] Cunningham (1995), 14–51; Luckett (1992), 171–228.

[202] Luckett (1992), 300–8; Luckett (1995b), 54–64.

[203] Carpenter (1992), 560–96; Carpenter (1995a).

achieve good governance. In his distribution of patronage, Henry's overt favour of peers of his own creation was identical to Edward IV's policy, and new peers under both kings undoubtedly attracted to their service existing clients and connections in local society. However, the key difference between the two sovereigns was in the intensity of the patronage that they distributed. Edward IV's policy concentrated almost all a region's patronage on only one figure – such as Humphrey, Lord Stafford, and potentially Thomas, Marquess of Dorset; whereas Henry VII distributed the region's patronage widely – concentrating it in the hands of royal household retainers, and at least two or more key nobles. If no single magnate was able to dominate a shire, then he would have to forge alliances with other peers and gentry – this situation, by its very nature, would broaden the magnate's local support thereby dissipating potential tensions.[204] From our south-western shire surveys it appears that there was not one magnate who provided a 'political centre' for the region during Henry's reign: no leading peer seems to have had the requisite combination of landholding, office-holding, and associations spread throughout all counties. Rather, it seems that two south-western meso-regional magnates might be discerned: Daubeney and Willoughby.

Daubeney's region of influence appears to have been focused on Somerset and Dorset. He already possessed estates in these counties, and his endowment with local lands and crown offices, as well as appointment as councillor and lord chamberlain, enhanced his local position and standing. Moreover, Daubeney's associations were all concentrated in Somerset and Dorset, perhaps further confirming this as the real sphere of his influence. The chamberlain was undoubtedly the principal magnate in these two counties, but there were others, such as Cheyne and Willoughby, whose influence also touched on these shires. The old Stourton-Hungerford nexus may have continued – to a limited extent – under the leadership of Hastings and Cheyne: the latter (as a member of the royal household and later royal councillor) was undoubtedly

[204] Cf. Henry's support of the Stanleys' political rivals in south Lancashire: Cunningham (2000), 220–41.

influential in affairs in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire, but it seems probable that Hastings-Cheyne clients may have drifted towards the more powerful Daubeney. While Willoughby may have had some interests in Somerset and Dorset, these were subordinate to Daubeney's interests. It is unsurprising to discover that Daubeney, as a meso-regional figure and as chamberlain, included a crown retainer in his affinity – William Case – hinting at the peer's role as an agent of royal power. The fact that the Somerset/Dorset-orientated Daubeney was not awarded duchy of Cornwall offices is understandable given that Henry recovered those Somerset and Dorset duchy manors alienated by Edward IV only during the later 1490s.

The second meso-regional magnate appears to have been Lord Willoughby. In terms of landholding, his estates were concentrated in Cornwall and Somerset (and Wiltshire), but his intended region of influence seems to have been predominantly in Devon and Cornwall. He was awarded minor duchy of Cornwall office in Cornwall, but his appointment as lord steward of the household was, of course, of far greater import. It is with regard to his affinity that Willoughby's local influence can be discerned: it was the Dinham-FitzWaryn phalanx – led by Dinham – that had been influential in Devon. Henry's conferment of certain national offices required Dinham's increasing participation in national – rather than local – affairs. It seems likely that the Dinham-Willoughby alliance (symbolised by Dinham's new wife's being Willoughby's sister) further enhanced Willoughby's local influence in Devon, and may have meant that the Dinham-FitzWaryn party came to coalesce around him. In addition, it appears that there may have been a Devon-Willoughby association so, as a result of a tripartite alliance, Willoughby may have been able to wield significant influence in Devon and Cornwall. Moreover, Dinham's affiliation with the Arundells might also have transferred to Willoughby, thereby ensuring that he was a primary figure in Cornish society too.

The Arundell and Edgcumbe connections seem to have been crucial keystones in Lord Willoughby's arch of authority in Cornwall. Their leaders – the royal household servants John Arundell and Richard and Piers Edgcumbe – were focal

figures in county affairs. Such intermingling between Willoughby's clients and the king's servants indicates that he may have been a sub-core of crown power in the two counties. Willoughby also enjoyed duchy of Cornwall offices, as mentioned, as receiver-general, and this hints that duchy authority may have supplemented Willoughby's local influence. In general, however, the duchy was again more attached to the Prince of Wales's administration than to south-western regional politics; and it is most likely that the sapient and vigilant Henry VII did not wish to endow his peers with too much local power (perhaps illustrated in Willoughby's replacement as steward of duchy estates in Cornwall after one year). Evidently, Daubeney in Somerset and Dorset, and Willoughby in Devon and Cornwall, appear to have been the pre-eminent magnates in those shires. But, even as occupants of the great offices of chamberlain and steward, neither was able to dominate local government as completely as one of Edward IV's regional 'governors', such as Humphrey, Lord Stafford, might have done.

It has been claimed that Daubeney's ascendancy supplanted 'the established aristocracy with another of Henry's own making', and that the creation and empowerment of Cheyne and Willoughby 'of necessity marginalised the region's older baronial families'.[205] However, this view of Daubeney as an over-mighty magnate is surely exaggerated: his rewards from Henry were not extensive in comparison to those that Edward IV had given to his regional 'governors'. Daubeney is often compared to Edward's chamberlain; however, although both peers held the same post, the role of chamberlain was much diminished after Henry's creation of a privy chamber in the mid-1490s. Consequently, the argument that Daubeney was as powerful as Hastings had been can be advanced only unconvincingly. It has been suggested that Daubeney's endowment with south-western lands and offices provoked the Western Rebellions of 1497; but, as seen, Daubeney's affiliates did not at all *dominate* Somerset and Dorset (his followers were focused in these shires, but were

[205] Luckett (1992), 154; Luckett (1995a), 594.

not overwhelming in number). The fact that Audley and Stourton and some Somerset and Dorset gentry protested at their lack of inclusion in shire government is quite different from suggesting that they rebelled because of Daubeney's oppressive local domination.[206] Most of the gentry rebels were connected with either Audley or Stourton, and these peers may have had good reason to protest at their exclusion from local affairs. Henry's restrained distribution of patronage meant that it was inevitable that some figures might protest at their lack of reward and exclusion from local influence. The fact that such protests were not more extensive – but merely part of a broader anti-taxation uprising – illustrates that such discontent amongst the county elites was not widespread, so did not embrace the whole of the 'political nation of the west'.

Henry's restoration of attainted Lancastrians to their forfeited south-western estates, and the subsequent settlements negotiated between the parties, might have produced a difficult situation – creating an incentive for some Yorkists to rebel, but, instead, the rehabilitation was achieved peaceably. Humphrey Stafford of Grafton's unsuccessful Midland rebellion derived few participants from Somerset and Dorset. Similarly, the Lambert Simnel conspiracy drew few south-western supporters, and the region's magnates all fought for Henry at Stoke.[207] While the June Uprising of 1497 did involve south-western gentry, this was largely a revolt of lesser landowners – those major gentry or peers involved were the exceptions. The integration of exiled Lancastrian families into south-western political societies inevitably led to an increase in the number of magnates in general – with each eager to participate in, and influence, local affairs. Henry had to accommodate and retain the support of both exiled Lancastrians and expectant Yorkists; so the fact that he achieved an effective irenic settlement should not be underrated.

The intermediate focus of royal authority between county and centre in Henry VI's later years and under Edward IV had been the regional governor. The conciliar

[206] Cf. *Anglica Historia*, 67; Luckett (1992), 61–5, 103; Luckett (1995a), 580–1, 583–5, 589.
[207] *Anglica Historia*, 12–27; Bennett (1987), 129, 136.

governance of Richard III's Council of the North was continued by the Tudors who reinstituted this council, and the prince's council in Wales and the Marches, while also creating a regional council in the Midlands focussed on Henry's mother. However, in the south-west no single magnate or council was given such regional power, which may have been because Henry's chief magnates were his loyal household officers, his steward and chamberlain. On the whole, it seems that by 1500 Henry VII had, by 'breathing life and effectiveness into the old forms' of government,[208] largely achieved his aim of reasserting royal authority. Henry VII's governance – as chiefly restorative rather than innovatory – might therefore be described as a renewed monarchy, which, it could be said, by revitalising political structures, finally managed to hoist the ensign of settlement above the battlefields of the Wars of the Roses.[209]

[208] Quoting Harriss's description of Henry V: Harriss (1985a), 27.

[209] As implied in Watts (1995b); Grummitt (1999).

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The principal themes of this study have been the interplay of the contemporaneous politics of the south-western elites, and long-term shire and regional identities. My aim was to examine the relevance of regions and shires in late medieval English governance, and therefore explore the viability of a regional approach to fifteenth-century politics with regard to south-west England during the period from 1450 to 1500. One of this study's initial aims was to test D.A.L. Morgan's widely-accepted theory that Edward IV pursued a conscious regional policy by means of a detailed case-study of the supposed gubernatorial region of south-western England which, in Morgan's analysis, was put under the oversight of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset during much of the 1470s and early 1480s, and earlier in the 1460s (as argued above) under that of Humphrey, Lord Stafford.

Now, this concluding chapter aims to extract and elaborate on certain themes that are too pertinent to be overlooked, yet too bulky to be treated fully amidst the business of the preceding chapters. It is necessary to begin by discussing the south-west as a discrete region. After that, the issue of how regional governance linked with the employment of the royal household in local administration and how both policies may have combined in a twofold approach will be examined. Then, it is necessary to look at the directions in which regional studies might further proceed in the future.

ELITES AND IDENTITIES

The 'regional elite', as seen, appears to have consisted mostly of only a small number of peers and the greatest gentry who cannot be regarded as a purely 'regional' elite because of their possession of wide-ranging estates on a trans-regional or national scale. My surveys of landowning and office-holding showed that, amongst the

political elites, there tended to be some emphasis on the county unit; yet, while there were distinct county elites, there were also extra-county elements to their identities – a significant emphasis seems to have been on the meso-regional communities of Somerset/Dorset and Devon/Cornwall, corroborating my survey of the region's geography, economy, and culture (above, pp. 29–63). My surveys of south-western landed society, administrative society, and marriage alliances emphasised the importance of the shires and coupled-county configurations of Somerset/Dorset and Devon/Cornwall to the elites' interactions and identities, suggesting that only to a limited extent was there any sense of regional identity amongst the political elites.

These double-shire societies seem to have been discernible in local and regional politics and government from the reign of Henry VI to that of Henry VII. The perennially pronounced inter-related nature of the Somerset and Dorset elites appears to have been the most marked of all; similarly, the Devon and Cornwall elites exhibited some persistent overlap, although to a lesser degree than the other two counties. Both sets of political elites became more entwined over the period, and there was a growing region-wide dimension, so the meso-regions do not, in themselves, represent a full and complete portrait of the south-west.

The concurrent theme of the chronological chapters has been that of the overlap between the south-western elites: the shires' political societies appear to have been closely inter-related, and to have been locked into national political allegiances. In general, increasing overlap of county and meso-scale societies over the period may have been a consequence of the presence of region-wide political foci during the late fifteenth century. The duchy of Cornwall's regalities, estates, and political hinterland extended across the region – encompassing all western shires – so the duchy's influence, as a regional centre of power, may have had a unifying effect. Moreover, from 1457 to 1483, successive regional 'governors' provided further political centres for the western counties – promoting regional interaction and enhancing the elites' sense of regional identity – even though their ascendancies were only relatively ephemeral.

In summary, it seems understandable that, because of the longevity of the shires as administrative units, local elites would be inclined to identify strongly with them. Yet, meso-scale regions were also of some significance, as were macro-scale regions. Even though, at different times and in different circumstances, local elites might vary in their attachment to micro-, meso-, and macro-regions, arguably, these levels of community interaction (and their inter-relationship) are all worthy of study; meaning that a regional approach to late medieval English governance is a valuable undertaking.

* * *

In general, during the period, the peerage were forced to choose their political allegiances and therefore stood to lose their estates and titles; on the other hand, the gentry attempted to remain uncommitted. The gentry were constantly engaged in a process of alteration, manifested in moving between groupings, and the exceptionally volatile nature of politics during the later fifteenth century forced families into even more intensive and recurrent political readjustments; that said, as a result of the complex interwoven nature of local societies, such adjustments would have been minor – it was usually possible merely to shift the emphasis of a network in order to realign the focus to an individual who enjoyed royal patronage, such was the homogeneity of political elites. In Somerset and Dorset, the principal force in local affairs was the Stourton-Hungerford nexus, which later became the Cheyne-Hastings nexus, then, under Henry VII, became attached to Giles, Lord Daubeney. In Devon, the Bonville-FitzWaryn nexus was a predominant influence until the later 1460s, after which it became the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection and survived until Henry VII's reign, when it attached itself to the patronage of Robert, Lord Willoughby. In Cornwall, the Arundell nexus appears to have been allied with a succession of Devon figures, Lords Bonville, Stafford, Dinham, and Willoughby. These affinities seem to have been at the heart of the western shires' affairs, and continued to be so throughout the period providing a basis on which the crown could build networks of patronage.

This continuity of connections indicates how alignments continually changed

and altered, were recreated and reshaped. While the politics and alignments of one decade or series of years might appear evanescent, in reality, beneath the tumultuous surface of the manoeuvrings of local politics, affinities proved to be a durable foundation. This might also be related to the inter-connected nature of political elites at local and national levels. The social homogeneity of the national political elite, and the fact that parliamentary membership was confined to leading families, may have enabled a unity of interest to develop, providing an effectual counterbalance to some monarchs' propensity to move towards absolutism.[1] The centrifugal force provided by the homogeneous governing caste may have also, on a smaller scale, proved a useful check on the local or regional rule of one of the sovereign's favoured courtiers. But, the homogeneity of local elites could not, in itself, entirely rectify or guard against ineffectual or inadequate lordship by a regional or even a national figure.

REGIONAL AND HOUSEHOLD GOVERNANCE

Henry VI's inadequate kingship had momentous consequences for kingship and the governance of the realm. His lack of application to affairs of state presumably meant that his inner council became more prominent in affairs of state – which probably stimulated factionalism. And the prevailing faction's need to maintain royal confidence meant that its members needed to exert greater and greater influence in government and in the realm as a whole – resulting in the perception of partiality. Henry's generosity in distributing patronage may have also enabled certain peers to expand their local regions of influence, perhaps provoking local tensions. Court factionalism percolated into the localities, while Henry's inability to settle local disputes meant that disorder escalated, resulting in civil war. The primary consequence of these factors was the complete collapse of the crown's authority during the 1450s.

Queen Margaret apparently recognised that there was a fundamental need to

[1] Koenigsberger (1986a), 10–11.

restore royal authority, and consequently attempted to re-create a 'real royal centre' – based around herself, the king, and her son. As a means of re-establishing this central royal authority across the kingdom as a whole, she appears to have developed two policies towards the localities: the political exploitation of the crown's landed assets (the royal estates, the duchy of Lancaster, and the Prince of Wales's heritage in Wales and the south-west), and the creation of regional spheres of influence for some of her most trusted favourites. From 1457, it is possible to discern the implementation of the queen's regional policy in the south-west: Margaret's favour fell on her loyal supporter, James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire. The earl's potential region-wide influence in the south-west, as a sub-core of royal power, intended to bolster regal influence in the localities, thereby restoring the crown's ability to govern nationally. Regional governance therefore might be judged to have been one of the Lancastrians' own solutions to the corrosion of crown authority.

Even though regional hegemonies were conceived as a solution to weak royal authority, it did have negative implications. One obvious characteristic, yet also an inherent flaw, was that it required the endowment of a small number of magnates with great regional power. The reservation of royal favour to a clique of courtiers might stir antipathy, and the scheme also gave regional figures the wherewithal, potentially, to defy and damage the crown. With regional governors as royal representatives, if his behaviour was objectionable, then the king's intervention in order to rectify local tensions would implicitly undercut his representative's regional power, hence the sovereign would be unwilling to interfere, which would make the restoration of local order and redress of grievances intensely difficult. Since the regional governor symbolised the monarchy, should his actions prove deleterious then the monarchy might easily become tainted by the perception of partiality, with its repercussions concerning sovereign authority.

The regional governors were an additional tier of high nobles imposed above the local peerage. However, as mentioned (above, p. 81), the greater the resources and local status of a secondary patron (as a lesser peer), then the less need he would have

had for the benefaction of his patron (the regional magnate). Thus, in times of crisis, local peers may have been less inclined to be loyal to regional patrons, meaning that this scheme of governance was prone to chronic instability. So, although regional governance may have been intended to strengthen royal authority by representing the monarchy in the localities, it might also, equally, have proven to weaken it; hence, realistically, regional governance could be – at the very most – only a short-term solution. Despite all these weaknesses, regional governance was continued over several years; hence it may have not been a solution to civil conflict but, rather, a factor serving to prolong the Wars of the Roses.

The wider contexts of Edward IV's south-west regional hegemony – its origins and its aftermath – have been examined, and his governance seems to have been not particularly innovative, purely repetitive. Forced by lack of support and a need to maintain his supporters' loyalty, Edward continued and elaborated the Lancastrian's regional policy as a means of ensuring the effectiveness of his government and the restoration of royal authority. Humphrey, Lord Stafford's ascendancy in the south-west during the 1460s shows how this gubernatorial system was amplified. By endowing regional favourites with even greater influence than before, Edward may have exacerbated previous problems inherent in the scheme, and these factors may have resulted in Warwick's rebellion and the Readeption. During his second reign, Edward again continued to pursue this regional scheme, first perhaps with George, Duke of Clarence (for a short time) and later with Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. Again, Edward's persistence with this regional policy seems to have produced the same problems, perhaps resulting in his son's deposition in 1483.

Also forced by a lack of support and a need to ensure the loyalty of his supporters, Richard III continued regional governance to some extent during his brief reign, most notably in Wales with the duke of Buckingham, and in the North with the origins of the Council of the North; but not in the south-west. Rather, after the rebellion, Richard's south-western settlement included a number of his trusted adherents and northern retainers. Notably, Henry VII did not resort to delineating

macro-scale gubernatorial regions on the scale of his Lancastrian and Yorkist predecessors, but, on a smaller scale, he was not averse to awarding meso-regional influence to his trusted advisers, Lord Daubeney in Somerset/Dorset and Lord Willoughby de Broke in Devon/Cornwall. Henry VII's approach to governance appears to have marked a significant change in direction from that of the prevailing orthodoxy of governments since the 1450s. With a change in approach to local governance after 1485, there seems to have been some semblance of continuity in policy – a continued regional trend – from the later 1450s to the later 1480s. How did the crown estates and royal household fit into this policy?

* * *

The duchy of Cornwall was of central importance to Cornish and broader south-western affairs, its regalities and landholdings had an impact on local societies because of their geographical concentration in the region, and also through appointments to administrative offices. It was through such patronage that south-western magnates' positions could be supplemented: for instance, Lord Bonville's appointment to duchy stewardships cemented his Devon influence and augmented his authority in Cornwall during the 1450s. Similarly, Lord Stafford's exceptional regional influence was bolstered by such offices during the 1460s, and Thomas, Marquess of Dorset was awarded office during the 1470s. Duchy offices were used by Richard III to win Lord Dinham's support and later to expand Sir James Tyrell's influence. Under Henry VII, such offices also added to Lord Willoughby's local standing in Devon and Cornwall. Often, duchy officials were able to continue service unaffected by the Lancastrian-Yorkist transitions, although significant changes were made during the 1470s with the appointment of numerous Woodville associates and others connected with the Prince of Wales. Duchy of Cornwall offices were, of course, only one component of the monarch's pool of patronage, and duchy patronage was clearly used to endorse local influence and encourage specific political alignments.

With a regional governor as a royal agent, there would be integration between the governor's clients and the sovereign's clients. The regional magnate became a

regional commander of the king's household – making his local and regional power quasi-regal. If a governor also enjoyed duchy offices, then his regional retinue might include members of the duchy's affinity thus, simultaneously, his clients would become further enmeshed with those of the royal household. Membership of the regional governor's affinity would be a stepping stone to further duchy and royal service, with duchy service itself retaining its appeal as the first stage in a career aimed at prospective service in the king's household.

Duchy offices were used to augment the authority of regional magnates, and were used to both recruit new, and reward existing, royal servants. Naturally, a county with extensive crown estates would include a large number of royal officers amongst its political elite, thus would also be expected to have a high proportion of royal servants employed in shire administration. This appears to have been the case in the south-west, with a high proportion of duchy officers in Cornwall. Royal properties and their officers formed a basis upon which monarchs could expand their use of royal retainers in county government; the instance of 'local government by royal servants' may, then, have been extended on a county or regional basis.

* * *

The employment of royal servants in provincial affairs became an increasingly important method of governance during the fifteenth century. This tendency also needs to be related to an account of trends in local government over the period to show its significance within the broader administrative context. As shown, the king needed a body of controllable agents reliant upon his favour for their position and staunchly loyal. Richard II had begun the practice of employing his household servants in the localities, with the intention for the king's affinity to become the greatest of all affinities.

The policy of appointing household servants to county offices – in particular the shrievalty – emerged under the direction of Cardinal Beaufort and reached its apogee in 1441. This policy seems to have continued under the duke of Suffolk, and

Table 5: Members of the Royal Household as Sheriffs 1450–1500				
Period	*Shrievalty*	*Household Terms*	*Total Terms*	*Percentage*
1437–50	*Cornwall*	3	14	21%
	Devon	–	13	–
	Som. & Dor.	5	13	38%
	SW Total	8	40	20%
1450–61	*Cornwall*	5	12	42%
	Devon	3	11	27%
	Som. & Dor.	4	11	36%
	SW Total	12	34	35%
1461–71	*Cornwall*	3	10	30%
	Devon	2	10	20%
	Som. & Dor.	5	10	50%
	SW Total	10	30	33%
1471–83	*Cornwall*	6	12	50%
	Devon	3	12	25%
	Som. & Dor.	4	12	33%
	SW Total	13	36	36%
1483–5	*Cornwall*	2	2	100%
	Devon	2	2	100%
	Som. & Dor.	1	2	50%
	SW Total	5	6	83%
1485–1500	*Cornwall*	3	16	19%
	Devon	8	16	50%
	Som. & Dor.	2	17	12%
	SW Total	13	49	27%
1450–1500	*Total*	60	192	31%

peaked again in 1448.[2] Between 1437 and 1461, over the whole country, just over one fifth (21 per cent) of the sheriffs appointed were royal retainers.[3] The sheriff was responsible for arraying the *posse comitatus* and so, in times of uncertainty, the office was of central importance in local affairs.[4] The incidence of household sheriffs in the four western shires throughout the period is summarised in Table 5 (although these figures are not comprehensive, they nevertheless give some indication of the policy's significance).

Queen Margaret's direction of government from 1457, led to a concentration in household sheriffs' appointments. This policy appears to have been continued by

[2] Jeffs (1960), 56; Griffiths (1981), 336–7.

[3] A total of 63 household retainers served as sheriffs, undertaking 121 terms of office (out of 575 yearly terms in 23 bailiwicks where the king had the appointment of sheriffs): Jeffs (1960), 166.

[4] Jeffs (1960), 25–8, 146–8.

the insecure Edward IV who likewise wished also to command the counties' arrayed forces. Edward's household sheriffs were numerous during the early years of his reign – but not as intensive as during the later 1450s; even when Edward was secure, during his second reign, this policy seems to have continued, to some extent. High numbers of household sheriffs during Richard III's reign symbolise his insecurity, and how it was imperative for him to maintain his grasp on county administration in the face of insurgency in the region (although the brevity and chronic instability of the reign makes evaluation problematic). After 1485, the role of the sheriff may have gradually declined as the justices of the peace increased their powers; but it would still be important for peerage and crown to ensure the election of their clients as sheriff. That said, it seems that Henry VII placed little emphasis on household sheriffs in Somerset/Dorset and Cornwall, instead, concentrating on Devon – with half of the shire's sheriffs being household retainers. Henry recognised the strengths and weaknesses of the practice: that Somerset, Dorset and Cornwall were already influenced by duchy of Cornwall estates, while Devon had the fewest crown lands.

Household retainers were not only elected sheriff, but were utilised in other capacities in county administration. The escheatry attracted little attention from the crown with regard to ensuring the appointment of its loyal retainers: only two household escheators were returned between 1450 and 1461; but, other than these instances, household appointments do not seem to have been of particular consequence, as summarised in Table 6. Edward IV's household escheators are also negligible in number, but under Richard III, half of Somerset/Dorset escheators were household retainers, though this figure is an aberration because of the brevity of the reign. Under Henry VII, with the resurgence of interest in the king's feudal dues and prerogative rights, the escheatry came to be of more pertinence to the crown, so, within this context, the figure of one-quarter of escheators being crown retainers in Somerset/Dorset seems understandable.[5]

[5] Luckett (1995b), 54–64.

Table 6: Members of the Royal Household as Escheators 1450–1500				
Period	*Escheatry*	*Household Terms*	*Total Terms*	*Percentage*
1450–61	*Cor. & Dev.*	–	11	–
	Som. & Dor.	2	11	18%
1461–71	*Cor. & Dev.*	–	8	–
	Som. & Dor.	1	9	11%
1471–83	*Cor. & Dev.*	1	12	8%
	Som. & Dor.	–	12	–
1483–5	*Cor. & Dev.*	–	2	–
	Som. & Dor.	1	2	50%
1485–1500	*Cor. & Dev.*	–	12	–
	Som. & Dor.	3	12	25%
1450–1500	*SW Total*	8	91	9%

The return of household men to parliament does not seem to have been a high priority: the highest incidence of the practice in Cornwall was in the Parliament of 1453–4, when three household servants were returned.[6] In Devon, the highest number was four household MPs in the 1472–5 Parliament, and three in 1478.[7] Dorset and Somerset managed only single royal retainers to some parliaments.[8] The highest incidence of household MPs from all the shires was in the 1472–5 Parliament when the region returned six of a total of fifty-eight MPs, which is not a great number but it may have been the quality of the candidate rather than the quantity that was of consequence.

The commissions of the peace expanded both in importance and in number during the period. They were increasingly granted further powers, especially after 1485, and therefore came close to superseding the sheriff in status. Numerically, JPs increased during the half-century and this was particularly marked under Henry VII

[6] Cornwall returned 14 MPs, the Parliament of 1449–50 had 1 household retainer; 1453–4: 3 (21%); 1455–6, 1463–5 (no returns (NR) but suggested in *HPB*), 1467–8, 1472–5 (NR), 1478 (NR), 1483 (NR), 1484 (NR), 1487 (NR), 1489–90 (NR): 1 each; 1491–2 (NR): 2; 1495 (NR): 2; 1497 (NR): 1.

[7] Devon returned 16 MPs, the Parliament of 1450–1 had 1 household retainer; 1455–6, 1467–8, 1470–1 (NR): 1 each; 1472–5: 4 (25%); 1478: 3 (19%); 1483 (NR): 3; 1484 (NR): 2; 1485–6 (NR): 2; 1487 (NR), 1491–2 (NR), 1495 (NR), 1497 (NR): 1 each.

[8] Dorset returned 18 MPs, the Parliament of 1453–4 had 1 household retainer; 1460–1, 1467–8, 1470–1 (NR), 1472–5, 1491–2 (NR), 1495 (NR): 1 each. Somerset returned 10 MPs, the 1449–50 Parliament had 1 household retainer; 1460–1, 1472–5, 1478: 1 each; 1483 (NR): 3; 1485–6 (NR): 1; 1491–2 (NR): 2.

who included a large number of lawyers from the mid-1490s.[9] Members of the royal household who served as JPs are summarised in Table 7.

Table 7: Members of the Royal Household as JPs 1450–1500

Period	*County*	*Household Terms*	*Total Terms*	*Percentage*
1450–61	*Cornwall*	29	112	26%
	Devon	15	187	8%
	Dorset	1	82	12%
	Somerset	24	179	13%
	SW Total	69	560	12%
1461–71	*Cornwall*	26	173	15%
	Devon	1	302	–
	Dorset	10	134	7%
	Somerset	12	172	7%
	SW Total	49	781	6%
1471–83	*Cornwall*	3	148	2%
	Devon	16	306	5%
	Dorset	27	240	11%
	Somerset	46	306	15%
	SW Total	92	1000	9%
1483–5	*Cornwall*	7	83	8%
	Devon	35	161	22%
	Dorset	3	43	7%
	Somerset	8	113	7%
	SW Total	53	400	13%
1485–1500	*Cornwall*	48	348	14%
	Devon	42	206	20%
	Dorset	24	168	14%
	Somerset	30	249	12%
	SW Total	144	971	15%
1450–1500	*Total*	407	3712	11%

The appointment of household JPs does not seem to have been of particular value to Henry VI, and the figure of over one-quarter in Cornwall may have been the result of the duchy's influence. Further low figures appear to show that Edward IV was not over-concerned with such appointments. The fact that almost a quarter of JPs were household servants in Devon during Richard III's reign probably resulted from his reliance on the support of the Dinham-FitzWaryn connection, which included a number of royal retainers. Again, under Henry VII, the figure of one-fifth of

[9] Lander (1989), 108–55, 156–82; below, Appendix IV.

household JPs in Devon was probably the result of his specific emphasis on employing royal household servants in that county, in order to remedy its deficiency of crown estates (pp. 340, 355).

While accepting that the monarch's intervention in local affairs was increasing, R.E. Horrox suggested that the crown's use of the royal household in local government was purely an 'accidental' development.[10] Similarly, J.L. Watts proposed that this was 'not a matter of royal policy'.[11] However, these figures suggest otherwise – the number and frequency in appointments of household sheriffs seem too significant to have been unintentional. Although it appears that the policy was largely indeterminate and random, this does not detract from the likelihood that it arose from a deliberate policy.[12] Figures of one-half and one-third of sheriffs do not arise by accident; and it seems reasonable to assume that the crown would wish to employ its trusted retainers in prominent positions in county government, especially during times of crisis or instability. H.R. Castor argued that although the increasing use of the household was not part of an evolutionary 'bastard feudal policy' it may have resulted from the prolonged period of political crisis, realigning the relationship between crown and localities.[13] Although the policy had already been established under Henry VI – before the eruption of civil war – political instability may have been a factor in encouraging the longevity of the practice during the period.[14]

In summary, from the totality of the evidence, it appears that during the second half of the fifteenth century, the crown became increasingly active in employing its loyal agents in local government offices. Except for the large numbers of Henry VI's reign, there was also a corresponding rise in household servants' numbers over the fifty-year period: in 1438–9, the servants of the sovereign's entire household numbered 523, but by 1448–9, this number had risen to 875. The central corps of the

[10] Horrox (1989), 228; Horrox (1995), 12–13.
[11] Watts (1996), 95.
[12] Jeffs (1960), 52–7, 157–60, 213, 218.
[13] Castor (2000), 7–8, 311–12; Carpenter (1992), 609–10, 634–7.
[14] Jeffs (1960), Appendix VI.

royal household included the knights and esquires of the body and the yeomen, grooms, and pages of the chamber: between 1438–9 and 1448–9 the number of esquires of the household rose from 128 to 316, and the number of yeomen of the chamber rose from 28 to 71.[15] In 1463–4, the servants of the entire household numbered 550. By 1468, there were ten knights of the body, rising to *c*.20 by 1471. By 1483 there were *c*.30 knights and 30–40 esquires of the body.[16] During his reign, Richard III had a total of 50 knights of the body, four king's knights, and 50 esquires of the household. In 1509, Henry VII had 94 knights and 96 esquires of the body.[17]

The overall increase in household servants during the later fifteenth century may have meant more opportunity for employing crown servants in the localities; accordingly, this trend – once established – may have led to recruitment of further retainers specifically in order to employ them in local government. This policy originated with Henry VI's household sheriffs but apart from a small number of escheators and Devon sheriffs, Henry VII was not as concerned with such a policy as Edward IV had been. Although the royal household was undoubtedly important to Henry VII's rule, its members appear to have been employed in county offices on fewer occasions than in earlier reigns. As outlined, Henry's other measures designed to ensure his security, such as bonds and recognisances, may have meant that he had less need to exert royal authority so explicitly through selection of household figures as county officials. With the effective policing of legislation that prohibited retaining, Henry also ensured that it was his affinity that was the greatest in the realm. Moreover, Henry also took measures to enhance his personal security by surrounding himself with his most trusted retainers and removing himself from the wider court, having the effect of developing the aura and status of monarchy by reducing the number of channels through which it was possible to gain access to the king.

That the employment of royal retainers in local government was an important

[15] Morgan (1973), 1–25, esp. 3; Morgan (1987), 25–70, esp. 41; Griffiths (2000); Griffiths (1991); also Starkey (1991), 175–203.

[16] Morgan (1973), 4, 13.

[17] Horrox (1989), 227–8, 232; Luckett (1995c), 225.

development in fifteenth-century government seems evident, but how does this fit in with the broader perspective of governance? The fact that household retainers were utilised extensively under the Lancastrians and Yorkists but not by Henry VII is noteworthy, since this indicates a distinct change in approach to government – perhaps not a 'new' but a 'renewed monarchy'. This change in policy after 1485 also reflects the change in regional policy. The fact that both Lancastrian and Yorkist regimes resorted to regional governance and indulged in employing considerable numbers of retainers in county affairs is clear, and these two approaches are further emphasised by Henry VII's abandonment of both policies.

The two-fold approach of regional hegemonies and 'household governance' in the provinces provided the crown with immense influence in local affairs: crown authority filtered directly through household retainers and regional magnates, percolating indirectly through the governor's affinity thereby ensuring almost complete domination of provincial affairs. Involvement of a regional magnate with crown estates ensured overlap between the governor's and the crown's clients, as well as integration between crown estates' officers and the royal household. Ultimately, because of their inherent problems, both these policies could be useful only in the short-term. The problems of regional hegemonies have been outlined, in addition, there were also limitations to the uses of 'household local government'. Each retainer employed in local government required financing and, since the crown's monetary resources were finite, there was a limit to the extent to which royal domination was possible. Both aspects would therefore prove constricting and unsustainable in the long-term, and these difficulties appear to have been anticipated by Henry VII.

* * *

The fashioning of regional hegemonies, combined with utilisation of royal household servants in local administration, should also be considered within the broader context of fifteenth-century government and politics. In the aftermath of serious political upheaval in the 1450s, the natural reaction of the political community was to attempt to identify and correct the problems that had led to contention, and to develop

strategies to prevent a recurrence. Inevitably, this led to an increasing consciousness of the constitution, its operation, and its processes, and the new forms of governance that arose from the later 1450s onwards might be regarded as one response to crisis and as an attempt to address the causes of the civil war. The precipitants of civil war were correctly identified as the deficient personality of the king and the vast power of the peerage: the solutions were intended to circumvent these two factors to facilitate the restoration of royal authority.[18]

In order to guard against the potential problems created by the character of the sovereign, in the light of Henry VI's inadequacies, it was necessary to develop and introduce to the processes of government particular regulative, preventative, and prophylactic mechanisms, which would guard against any tendency towards a recapitulation of the maladministration of Henry's majority. This would be achieved by emphasising the king's need for counsel: the monarch would merely support parliamentary advice, and accept the council's recommendations, which would play a greater role in administering government business. This institutionalisation of governance was intended to guide, constrain, and correct the royal will. The partial conciliarism of the regional schemes of Queen Margaret and Edward IV can be regarded as resulting only from their sons' minorities. The actual origins of the institutionalisation of regional governance may be found in the example of Richard III's Council of the North established from 1484. This limited regional conciliarisation potentially eliminated the problems and tensions arising from the personal inadequacies of regional governors and the concentration of power on a single individual. This baton of regional institutionalisation was picked up by Henry VII who ran with it further than his predecessors by continuing and ameliorating the Councils of Wales and of the North. Later, it was Henry VIII who would apply conciliarism to the south-west in the form of the short-lived Council of the West in 1539–40; but this was only a temporary tier of government created to bolster royal authority in the

[18] Watts (1996), 50; Watts (1995b).

region in the face of the threat of invasion, hence its dissolution within fifteen months.[19]

The depersonalisation and institutionalisation of the exercise of power occurs within a political system as a result of society's increasing complexity and specialisation, but the purpose of the institutionalisation of governance during the later fifteenth century appears to have been rooted in the need to revitalise royal authority after its disintegration during the 1450s. The authoritarian approach of the 'new' or 'renewed' monarchy was also related to this requirement to reinvigorate monarchical power.[20] The crown's ability to be independent of magnate influence also had to be ensured, therefore the restoration of squandered crown estates and the maintenance and increase of the king's fiscal resources was progressively sought by the Yorkists and Tudors.[21] Acute awareness and exploitation of the crown's landed and feudal interests comprised only one part of the restoration of royal authority, and an additional aspect that had to be addressed was the power of the peerage. The principal policy of enforcing bonds and recognisances in order to ensure the loyalty of the peerage and gentry can be traced to earlier reigns but it was Henry VII who concentrated intensively on this policy. Henry's methods of government were rather different from those of his immediate antecedents: how had the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings intended to tackle the power of the peerage and to restore royal authority?

The exercise of regional governance was intended to rebuild and supplement the king's power in the localities, and would also have some implications for the peerage's local influence. Edward IV's scheme was compared with the French gubernatorial system (above, p. 10), so, what were the consequences of regional hegemonies in France? With respect to French regional governors, Sharon Kettering recognised that this form of governance created royal administrative networks in the

[19] Youings (1960); Robertson (1989); Speight (1994).

[20] Koenigsberger (1986a), 8, 22; Elias (1982).

[21] Fortescue (1885), 120–1, 124–6, 131–4; Watts (1996), 47; Wolffe (1956); Wolffe (1970), 1–88; Wolffe (1971).

provinces, which might then be used to gain the support of the localities directly.[22] French kings, such as Louis XIV, were able to reduce the amount of royal patronage awarded to the nobility, thereby reducing their importance as brokers of royal patronage and undermining the strength of their clienteles. In the same way, it might be argued that English regional governance established alternative foci for monarchical patronage in the form of governors, thereby emasculating other peers' roles as brokers of royal favour and weakening their retinues. The attenuation of the peerage both in numbers and in local influence was accompanied by an augmentation of the crown estates and royal affinity. The king's officers in the provinces diverted loyalties away from local lords, meaning that the crown would be in control of all avenues of advancement.[23] In combination, these factors strengthened royal government – enabling the monarch to intervene more frequently and more directly into local affairs. This resurgence of royal power meant that the peerage retained a diminished role in local affairs that could, increasingly, be salvaged only by participation in court politics. The ultimate aim and effect of this was that the monarch and his court became the sole foci for patronage and advancement. So, the origins of the court-centred polity – one of the characteristics of the post-medieval nation state – can be traced to the late fifteenth century, rather than to just the 1530s as G.R. Elton claimed.[24]

How do regional and household governance fit into the *longue durée* of political dynamics, government, and state formation? According to Kettering, regional governance in France during the late-medieval and early-modern period, as a new pattern of regional-national integration, was one of the components of state formation.[25] Similarly, in England, late fifteenth-century regional governance might be viewed as a new pattern of regional-national interaction and integration. The attainment of stability after decades of civil war appears, largely, to have occurred by

[22] Kettering (1986).
[23] Fortescue (1885), 152, 157; Watts (1996), 48–9.
[24] Elton (1976), 212.
[25] Kettering (1986), 236.

1500, and the growth of central government bureaucracy can be traced in this, earlier, as well as in later, periods. Of course, these factors do not entirely explain the complex and lengthy process of state creation – so perhaps it is preferable to 'think of "state formation" ', as Steve Hindle suggested, 'as an incremental process in which cumulative tides of historical change, some of them rising higher, some lower, have reshaped the contours of English governance'.[26]

State-formation could be described as more sedimentary than it was sequential: regional and household governance might be viewed as one tide of historical change which attained a high water mark that was sustained for a few decades, before it ebbed away. Instead of viewing regional hegemonies and household governance as aberrations from the prevailing direction of advance, they might be perceived as one of the numerous fluctuations in the relationship between monarchy and political community.[27] English regional governance, as an issue of constitutional import, re-emerged and was realised for a time during the Cromwellian Protectorate in the form of the 'rule of the major-generals' during the late 1650s.

The oscillation of power between monarchy (whether absolute or limited) and the community of the realm (perhaps embodied in representative institutions) is one thread woven through the tapestry of European nations' histories. Naturally, there was a tendency for sovereigns to extend their powers at the expense of parliaments and estates, but no alteration in the delicate equilibrium of power could be achieved without the other's consent; thus monarchs and the political community were locked in an incessant struggle for supremacy and for the re-distribution of power – a constant conflict between monarchy and oligarchy.[28] If a ruler could balance the nation's conflicting interest groups against one another and gain increasing control over them, then he or she would augment royal power and absorb further functions and powers within a set of prerogative rights. But, if a sovereign and the high nobility

[26] Hindle (2002), 65.

[27] G.L. Harriss has argued that in terms of administration, the 'household system' was a detour from the prevailing direction of governmental advance: Harriss (1963), 8–39.

[28] Koenigsberger (1986a), 3, 4, 23.

endeavoured to construct a coalition, operating at the expense of the remainder of the realm, such an alliance would eventually collapse since it did not resolve the issue of supremacy and the struggle for power would continue.[29] Within this context, regional hegemonies, as alliances between the monarch and his favoured nobility, were bound to fail because the real location of power remained undecided; hence, the instability generated by regional governance may have extended the duration of civil conflict in late medieval England.

REGIONAL STUDIES

What do these conclusions concerning south-western England and fifteenth-century government mean for future research on the period, and on late-medieval governance and politics? Would it be possible to apply my approach to other regions? Perhaps it would be a constructive exercise to highlight some of the avenues along which, I think it would be profitable for further research to proceed.

Regional governance appears to have been a significant aspect of later fifteenth-century politics and government. Just as a monarch's impact upon political structures might be studied, kingship itself might be studied within the context of these structures. But, simultaneously, any study of regional governance also needs to be contextualised in relation to previous and subsequent trends in local government and politics. Evidently, a regional approach seems to be one of the most promising routes by which to examine the politics of the period. Studies of other gubernatorial regions that formed elements of Edward IV's scheme would be of some benefit: each regional study would greatly enhance our knowledge and understanding of Edward IV's reign, as well as that of earlier and later monarchs, and also explore the relative significance of regions and shires. Even if further regional research were to challenge the validity of my present conclusions at least by learning much more about individual counties' elites, politics, and administration we would have profited from the process.

[29] Koenigsberger (1986a), 16–17.

Studies of roughly-hewn gubernatorial regions, or parts of them, would enable us to understand if some of our assumptions concerning whether certain counties were aligned with particular regional blocs are correct: for instance, Wiltshire and Hampshire require some further research in order to determine where they fit within the overall picture.

In Wiltshire, the duchy of Cornwall held estates at Mere, so the county may have been influenced by concerns from further west, and a cursory glance at the justices of the peace during this period indicates a good deal of overlap in personnel between Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire – the shire's peerage families included the Stourtons and Hungerfords amongst others – so it seems most likely that Wiltshire's political alignments may have followed those of Somerset and Dorset. However, Wiltshire also included some duchy of Lancaster estates, such as Aldbourne and Braden, meaning that the county looked to the Midlands.[30] In Hampshire, the duchy of Lancaster possessed minor landed interests, but whether the county may have been tied into some Dorset alignments or whether it was predominantly focused on its connections with Surrey and Sussex is unclear.

After advocating regional studies, almost at once, the perennial question of how regions are defined reappears. Were Edward IV's gubernatorial regions based on pre-existing regions? Making my conclusions regarding the south-west into a nationwide generalisation I might hazard to answer, yes. Furthermore, my research suggests that other districts of Edward's scheme may have been based on hinterlands of influence exuded by certain crown estates and liberties, such as the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster. Without launching into further extensive research, a cursory examination of likely regions of influence of the major duchy of Cornwall and Lancaster estates throughout the country might be illuminating, despite being, of course, only approximate and certainly in no way a definitive survey.

Apart from lands located in the south-west, the duchy of Cornwall also held

[30] Somerville (1953), 631–4.

further estates in the Midlands and the south-east. In the Midlands, the duchy property of Rockingham was a centre of royal authority in Northamptonshire, and the great duchy landholdings in Lincolnshire included the Soke of Kirton in Lindsay. In the south-east, the Honour of Berkhamsted (Herts.) may have provided another hinterland of royal authority affecting that shire and perhaps neighbouring Essex, while the duchy Honour of Wallingford (Oxon.) was a major arsenal of royal power in that county.[31] These regions of duchy influence might prove worthy of investigation, but perhaps it would be preferable to examine these regions within the context of studies of these shires.

The duchy of Lancaster possessed properties throughout northern England, the Midlands, East Anglia and also some in the south-east. In the North, the duchy held estates and forests across Lancashire, and further lands in Cheshire. In the East Riding of Yorkshire, the duchy estate of Tickhill was an important property whose region of influence extended into Nottinghamshire. The Honour of Pontefract in the West Riding was also a centre of duchy power, and further honours at Knaresborough and Pickering in the North Riding meant that duchy influence extended into most of Yorkshire. In addition, the duchy possessed Dunstanburgh in Northumberland.[32] Duchy of Lancaster lands appear to have been scattered throughout most of the north, except for Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham (which was itself, of course, a semi-autonomous episcopal palatinate). This region of duchy of Lancaster influence, ranging from Cheshire to Northumberland, seems to fit the intended gubernatorial region of Richard, Duke of Gloucester during the 1470s; and the duke was granted the stewardships of a number of these properties.[33] In Cumberland and Northumberland, the Wardenries of the East, Middle, and West Marches were offices of some significance within these border societies, and served to augment a magnate's local standing. Despite already being the focus of such magisterial scholarship (above, p. 3),

[31] Haslam (1987), 24–6, 29.

[32] My analysis is based on the duchy of Lancaster's principal officers: Somerville (1953), 388–654; for duchy officers in the North: 418–27, 461–539.

[33] *CPR 1467–77*, 338, 485, 507, 549, 556; *CPR 1476–85*, 90; Somerville (1953), i, 422.

a study of the whole of the north would illustrate the extent and nature of Richard's northern influence. This objective has already been achieved by A.J. Pollard for the north-east, but what about the other side of the Pennines? A study of the north-west (comprising Lancashire, Cheshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland), beginning with the Neville ascendancy and moving through to Henry VII would be illuminating by examining the extent of Stanley power and judging the extent to which Richard's influence permeated north-western society.

In the Midlands, the duchy of Lancaster held important Staffordshire estates centred on the Honour of Tutbury, which was close to the border with Derbyshire; consequently, the honour's hinterland flowed into Derbyshire, where the duchy owned further properties. The Shropshire-Staffordshire joint-shrievalty meant that, during the 1470s, Staffordshire became divided between the influences of the Council of Wales on the one hand, and the duchy of Lancaster on the other. The duchy's Derbyshire focus was the High Peak, and this centre may have also influenced Nottinghamshire to some extent, perhaps especially so since the two counties enjoyed a joint-shrievalty. Likewise, duchy lands around Kenilworth (Warks.), and the Honour of Leicester and estates at Castle Donington (Leics.) radiated duchy authority throughout those two counties, whose political elites were closely intertwined because of these shires' joint-sheriff. Northamptonshire appears to have also been influenced by duchy of Lancaster lands focused around Higham Ferrers. In Lincolnshire, the duchy of Lancaster held the Honour of Bolingbroke, which may have proved a strong force in local affairs, although the southern parts of the county may have been affected by East Anglian politics.[34]

The duchy of Lancaster's greatest region of influence was across all the Midlands, and this coincides with Lord Hastings's intended regional hegemony during Edward IV's reign: several offices concerning these duchy estates were conferred on Hastings during the 1460s and 1470s.[35] A regional study of the whole of this Midland

[34] For duchy officers in the Midlands: Somerville (1953), 427–33, 539–91.

[35] *CPR 1461–7*, 13, 103–4, 353; *CPR 1467–77*, 154, 310–11, 460, 488; *CPR 1476−85*, 120−1, 139,

region might prove immensely difficult because of the scale of research required. Some studies have already examined aspects of the Midland counties, but in order to evaluate Hastings's local influence it is necessary to undertake studies of these counties' political elites so that it is possible to understand the local contexts and connections of Hastings's clients.[36]

In East Anglia, duchy of Lancaster estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire were placed under a single stewardship. In addition, the duchy of Cornwall property of Castle Rising (Norf.) was also important locally, and may have enhanced crown influence in the area. The elites of Norfolk and Suffolk were also intimately related politically because of the joint-shirevalty, and Cambridgeshire affairs will have also affected Huntingdonshire through their joint-shrievalty. A single duchy of Lancaster stewardship also covered its properties in Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, and politics in Essex filtered into Hertfordshire because of the counties' joint-shrievalty.[37] The duchy of Lancaster influence across these counties seems to fit the intended region of rule of Edward IV's second son, Richard, Duke of York. The duke's estates were put into the hands of feoffees connected with the duchy of Lancaster who have been equated with the duke of York's council, and the duke was awarded the stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster Honours of Bolingbroke (Lincs.) and Higham Ferrers (Northants.).[38] Although, the duke's council may have been established for only five years, did its establishment have any significant role in aiding the Howards to establish their dominance over the region under the Tudor kings?

Even from this cursory glance at the duchy of Lancaster's regions of influence, there seems to have been some correlation between hinterlands of royal

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268, 275−6; Somerville (1953), i, 564.

[36] Castor has already pointed the way in her study of the duchy of Lancaster's Derbyshire and Staffordshire estates: Castor (2000).

[37] For duchy officers in East Anglia: Somerville (1953), 427–33, 594–615; for a study of duchy of Lancaster influence in Norfolk and Suffolk: Castor (2000).

[38] *CPR 1467−77*, 508; *CPR 1476−85*, 15, 75, 77; *CCR 1476−85*, 30−1; Somerville (1953), i, 239; Hicks (1991b), 224–5; Lowe (1980–2), 565−7

authority radiated by duchy properties and Edward IV's gubernatorial regions, or to phrase it more accurately, Edward IV appears to have based his scheme of regional governance upon the regions of influence of crown estates in the North, the Midlands, and East Anglia. This, of course, is only a hypothesis, yet it might also be proposed as a profitable starting point for further research on the period.

South-east England (Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire) seems to have been intended primarily as a 'royal' region, from which the king would recruit his household men – though this hypothesis requires confirmation. There were certainly some duchy of Lancaster lands in Sussex, and both Surrey and Sussex were likely to share close links because of their joint shrievalty. Further north, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire also had a joint sheriff, as did Oxfordshire and Berkshire. So, in order to prove or disprove the notion of the south-east as an intended stronghold of royal power – a recruiting ground for the royal affinity – then a study of these shires' elites seems necessary.[39]

Cheshire was included within the sphere of the Council of Wales because of the Prince of Wales's subsidiary title and responsibilities as earl of Chester. Despite this affinity with Wales, Cheshire also seems likely to have been partly influenced by Lancashire politics, through duchy of Lancaster properties in the county (such as Congleton).[40] During the 1470s, the Crown devolved its responsibility as sovereign in Wales and the borders to the prince's council, and this body gained further jurisdiction over the counties of the Welsh Marches.[41] Shropshire enjoyed a joint sheriff with Staffordshire, which may have meant that Staffordshire became divided between the influences of the prince's council and Hastings's Midland power base. Herefordshire and Worcestershire (each with separate shire administrations) also came under the supervisory jurisdiction of the Council of Wales, and Gloucestershire was also subject to the council's authority – although parts of the county may have looked, to some

[39] For a study of Kent: Mercer (1995).

[40] Somerville (1953), 513.

[41] *CPR 1467–77*, 429, 574, 605; *CPR 1476–85*, 5, 59–60, 94, 339; Griffiths (1972), 159–61; Lowe (1980–2), 547–8, 562–4; Lowe (1977), 290–1; Williams (1987), 52–3.

extent, to neighbouring Wiltshire and Somerset. Were these shires, in reality, strongly influenced by the Council of Wales during the 1470s? If so, were these shires also subject to Welsh influence a decade earlier during the ascendancy of William Herbert (later earl of Pembroke)? Thus, since none of the Marcher shires during this period has been studied, it is necessary to assess the impact that councillors' appointments may have had upon the Marches' political alignments?

Studies of macro-scale regions (such as the North, the Midlands, and East Anglia) or just of meso-scale regions (such as twinned or single counties) within broader gubernatorial regions would be of great worth in answering many of the questions concerning later fifteenth-century regional and household governance. Generalisations drawn from single-county studies can be liable to inexactness since different counties were often subject to dissimilar influences – such as variations in peers' local strength and crown landholding – therefore affecting royal retainers' involvement in local government. Within a regional study, evaluation and comparison of constituent county societies means that generalisations generated can be more illustrative of a broader picture and therefore able to take account of individual counties' differences. Perhaps it is only in a regional context that it is possible to appreciate fully the importance of the county as a unit of local administration, whilst also attempting to bridge the gulf between exclusively county and completely constitutional histories.

Whatever their spatial context, studies of the processes of governance, of the constitution, and of polity–locality interactions undoubtedly expand our general understanding of late medieval English political history. The doyen of fifteenth-century studies, K.B. McFarlane, suggested that 'it is only by undertaking a large number of local surveys that a just understanding of political history can be obtained'.[42] Perhaps it might be possible to redefine and re-interpret 'local surveys' as meaning not merely the counties but also the regions – and, by doing so, gain further

[42] McFarlane (1973c), 296.

insights into the politics, governance, and political elites of England during the Wars of the Roses.

A P P E N D I X I

LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING 1450–1500

TABLE I: THE LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING OF THE SOUTH-WEST PEERAGE

Table I: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Peerage

Key: L = Lands; G = County Government Office

Family	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Arundel, Earls of	G	G			
Audley, Lords	L & G	G	G		
Bath and Wells, Bishops of	G				
Bedford, Duke of	L & G	G	G	G	G
Bonville, Lords	L & G	L	L & G	L & G	L
Botreaux, Lords	L & G	L	L	L & G	L
Buckingham, Dukes of	L & G	L & G	G	G	G
Canterbury, Archbishops of	G	G	G	G	G
Cheyne, Lord	G	G			
Clarence, Duke of	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G
Cobham, Lords	L & G	L & G	L & G		
Coventry and Lichfield, Bishops of				G	
Daubeney, Lords	L & G	L & G	G	L & G	G
Devon, Earls of	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G
Dinham, Lord	L & G		L & G	L	
Dorset, Marquess of	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G
Dudley, Lord	L & G	L	G		
Exeter, Bishops of			G	G	
Exeter, Duke of	L		L & G	L & G	
Ferrers of Chartley, Lords	L & G		G		
FitzHugh, Lords	L & G	L & G			
FitzWaryn, Lords	L & G	L & G	L & G	L	L
Gloucester, Duke of	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G

Table I: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Peerage (cont.)

Family	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Hastings, Lords	G		L & G		
Hungerford, Lords	L & G	G	L	L	
Huntingdon, Earl of (Pembroke)	L & G	L & G	L	L	L
Lisle, Lords	L & G	L	L & G	L	L
Mountjoy, Lords			L & G	L	
Norfolk, Duke of	L & G	L & G	G	L & G	G
Ormonde, Earl of (including James, Earl of Wiltshire)	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G
Oxford, Earls of	L			L & G	
Salisbury, Bishops of	G	G			
Salisbury, Earl of	L & G	L		G	
Scrope of Bolton, Lords	L & G		L & G	L & G	
Scrope of Masham and Upsall, Lords	G				
Somerset, Dukes of	L & G	L & G		L	
Stafford of Southwick, Lord	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G	L & G
Stanley, Lord (later Earl of Derby)	L & G	G	L & G		
Stourton, Lords	L & G	L & G	L		
Warwick, Earl of	G	G	G	G	G
Welles, Lord	G		G		
Willoughby de Broke, Lord	L & G	G	G	L & G	G
Wiltshire, Earl of (John Stafford)			G	G	
Winchester, Bishops of	G		G		
Worcester, Earl of	L & G	L & G			
York, Duke of	G	G	G	G	G
Zouche, Lords	L & G	L & G	L & G		

TABLE II: THE LANDHOLDING AND OFFICE-HOLDING OF THE SOUTH-WEST GENTRY

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry

Key: L = Lands; G = County Government Office

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Arundell of Lanherne (Cor.)	L	L & G	L & G	L & G	L
Arundell of Tremodret (Cor.)				L & G	
Ashton of Callington (Cor.)	G	G	G	L & G	G
Attwyll of Exeter (Dev.)			L & G		
Austell of Churchill (Som.)	L & G	G	L & G	G	G
Baskerville, H., of Dor.		G			
Basset of Umberley, Tehidy (Dev.)			L &G	G	
Beaumont of Gittisham, Heanton (Dev.)	L		L & G	L & G	
Bere of Lankynhorne (Cor.)			G	L & G	
Bere of Pengelly (Cor.)				L & G	
Berkeley of Beverstone (Glos.); Christchurch (Hants.)	G	G			
Beville, P., of Cor.				G	
Biconyll of South Perrott (Som.)	L & G	L & G	L & G	G	G
Bodrugan of Bodrigan (Cor.)				L & G	
Bodulgate of Trencreek (Cor.)				L & G	
Boef, W., of Dev.	G	G	G		
Bonville of Newton Ferrers (Dev.)		L	L & G	L & G	
Bowering, T., of Dev.			G		
Bracher, W.	G	G			
Bridges of Cubberley (Glos.); Fownhope (Heref.)	G	G	G	G	G
Broughton, T., of Cumb.			G		
Browning of Melbury Sampford (Dor.)	G	L & G			
Buckley, N., of Cor.			G	G	
Burgh of Lyme Regis (Dor.)	G	L & G			
Burnant, R., of Dev.			G	G	
Burnell of Bere with Oathill-in-Wayford (Dor.)	L & G	L & G	L		
Burton, R., of Dev.			G		
Butler of Coventry (Warks.)	G		G		

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Buttockside of Plympton (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Calverley of Calverley (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Caraunt of Toomer (Som.)	L & G	L & G	G		
Carew of Shogbroke (Dev.); Antony (Cor.)			L	L & G	
Carew of Beddington (Surr.); Mohun's Ottery (Dev.)	G	G	L & G		
Carminow of Caminow (Cor.)				L & G	
Carnesew of Bokelly (Cor.)				L & G	
Case of South Petherton, Norton (Som.)	L & G	G			
Catesby of Whiston (Northants.); Houbelne (Beds.)	G	G	G	G	G
Cayleway of Shirbourne (Dor.)		L & G			
Champernoun of Ennyswork (Cor.)			L & G	L & G	
Champernoun, R., of Cor.			G	G	
Champneys, H., of Som.	L & G				
Champneys of Frome Salwood (Som.)	L & G				
Cheverell of Chantmarle, Upper Stirthill (Dor.)		L & G			
Cheyne of Pinhoe (Dev.); Pynne (Dor.)	G	L & G	L & G		
Chichester, R., of Dev.			L & G		
Chidleigh, J., of Dev.			L & G		
Choke of Long Ashton, Stanton Drew (Som.)	L & G	L & G	L & G	G	G
Clay, R., of Cor.			G	L & G	
Clemens of Liskeard (Cor.)			G	L & G	
Clerk of Exeter (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Coleshill of Tremethart, Binhammy (Cor.)	L		L	L & G	
Collow of Sydling (Dor.)	G	L & G	G		
Collow, W.	G	G	G	G	G
Cook of Thorne (Dev.)		G	L & G		
Copplestone of Colbrook (Dev.)			L & G	L & G	
Cornburgh of Bere Ferrers (Dev.); Dover's (Ess.)			L & G	G	
Cotterell of Washbourne (Dor.)		L	L & G		
Courtenay, E.			G	G	
Courtenay of Exminster, Kenn (Dev.)			L & G		
Courtenay of Boconnoc, Haccombe (Dev.)			L & G	L & G	

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Courtenay of Powderham (Dev.)	L & G	L	L & G	L	L
Courtenay of Kingston, Molland (Dev.)	L		L & G		
Courtenay of Exeter (Dev.)	G	G	L & G	G	G
Crocker of Lineham (Dev.)			L & G		
Daubeney of Wayford (Som.)	G	G			
Dennis of Barnstaple, Orlegh (Dev.)			L & G		
Dennis of Combe Raleigh (Dev.)		G	L & G		
Dinham of Nutwell (Dev.)			L & G		
Dinham of Hartland (Dev.)	L		L & G	L & G	
Dinham, R.	G				
Dodge of Wareham (Dor.)	G	L & G			
Dourish of Piddesley, Dourish (Dev.)			L & G		
Driffield of Windsor (Berks.)	G	G			
Duke of Exeter (Dev.)			L & G		
Edgcumbe of Cotehele, Mount Edgcumbe (Cor.); Meavy (Dev.)			L & G	L & G	
Elliott, T.			G	G	
Enderby, W.	G	G	G	G	G
Fiennes of Hurstmonceaux (Suss.)	G			G	
Fillol of Woodlands (Dev.)		L & G	L		
FitzJames of Redlynch (Som.)	L & G				
Fortescue of Modbury, Holbeton (Dev.)	G		L	G	
Fortescue of Ponsbourne (Herts.)			L & G	G	
Fortescue, H., of Dev.			G		
Fowell of Ugborough (Dev.)			L & G		
Frampton of Morton (Dor.)		L & G			
Fulford of Fulford (Dev.)	L & G	G	L & G	L & G	G
Gale of Dartmouth (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Georges of Wraxall (Som.)	L & G	L & G			
Gifford, J., of Dev.			L & G		
Gilbert of Whitcombe-in-Corton (Som.)	L	G	G		
Gilbert of Broadwood (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Gill of Dartmouth, Hatch Arundell (Dev.)	G	G	L & G	G	G
Glyn of Morval (Cor.)				L & G	
Grenville of Stowe, Kirkhampton (Cor.)			G	L & G	
Grey, R., of Dor.		L & G			

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Halliwell of Trenode (Cor.); Bigbury (Dev.)			L & G	L & G	
Hals of Keynedon-in-Sherford (Dev.)			L & G		
Hardgill of Mere (Wilts.)	G	G			
Hatfield of Adbeer (Som.)	L	G			
Henston of Wonwell-in-Kingston (Dev.)			L & G		
Hervey of Bristol (Glos.)	G				
Hext, T., of Dev.			G		
Hill of Bridport (Dor.); Marchington (Staffs.)	L & G	L & G	L		
Hody of Gothelney, West Bower (Som.)	L & G	L & G	G		
Holland of Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Houghton of Birtsmorton (Worcs.)				G	
Huddlesfield of Dittisham, Shillingford (Dev.)			L & G		
Huggins of Whitstaunton (Som.)	L & G	G			
Hull of Enmore (Som.)	L & G		G		
Hull of Exeter (Dev.); Ashill (Som.)	L & G	G	L & G		
Hungerford of Down Ampney (Glos.)	G				
Hussey of Witchampton, Shapwick (Dor.)		L & G			
Hymerford of East Coker (Som.)	L & G	G			
Joyce of Padstow (Cor.)				L & G	
Kellygrew of Arwenack (Cor.)				L & G	
Kidwelly, M.	L & G	L & G			
Knoyle of Sandford Orcas (Som.)	G	G			
Latimer of Duntish (Dor.)	G	L & G			
Latimer, N., of Dor.	G	G			
Limbury of Launceston (Cor.)				L & G	
Littleton of Frankley (Worcs.)	G		G		
Luccombe of Bodmin (Cor.)				L & G	
Luttrell of Dunster (Som.)	L & G	L & G	L		
Lynde, T., of Dor.		G			
Markenfield of Markenfield (Yorks.)	G				
Martyn of Athelhampton (Dor.)	L & G	L & G			
Mauleverer of Ashwater (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.)			G	G	
Menwyneck of Menwyneck (Cor.)			G	L & G	

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Middleton, G.	G	G			
Milford of Sevenhampton Denys (Som.); South Tawton (Dev.)	L	G	L & G	G	
Mohun of Salisbury, Wolveston (Som.)	L	L & G			
Mordaunt of Turvey (Beds.)	G	G	G	G	G
More, J.		G			
More, J.			G	G	
Morton, R.	G	G			
Moyle of Eastwell (Kent); Stevenston (Dev.);	L & G	G	L & G	G	G
Nanfan of Birtsmorton (Worcs.); Trethewell (Cor.)			G	L & G	
Neville of Raskelf (Yorks.)		G			
Newburgh of East Lulworth, Turner's Puddle (Dor.)	L & G	L & G			
Newton of Wyke-in-Yatton, Ubley (Som.)	L & G				
Newton of Swell (Som.)	L & G	G		G	
Norris of Bray (Berks.)	G	G		G	
Norton, T.	G				
Nottingham of Gloucester (Glos.)	G	G	G		
Oldham, H.	G	G	G	G	G
Orchard, J.			L & G		
Page of Launceston (Cor.)				L & G	
Palmer, R.	G	G	G		
Paulet of Hinton St George (Dor.)	L & G	L & G	L & G		
Penfoun of Penfoun (Cor.)				L & G	
Penlyn, J., of Cor.				L & G	
Penpons, J.			G	G	
Penpons of Treswithian (Cor.)			G	L & G	
Petit, J., of Cor.				G	
Pittlesden of Plymouth (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Pollard of Gilderton (Dev.)			L & G		
Pomeroy of Tregony (Cor.); Bury (Dev.)			L & G		
Porter of Portbury (Som.)	G				
Portman of Orchard Portman (Som.)	L & G				
Preston of Catherton, Silton (Dor.)	L & G	L & G			
Pudsey of Pinhoe (Wilts.)	G	G			

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Radford of Upcott (Dev.)			L & G		
Raleigh of Fardel (Dev.)			L & G		
Redmayne of Harewood (Yorks.)	G	G			
Reed of Norwich (Norf.); Chiddingstone (Kent)	G	G	G	G	G
Rendel of Malston-in-Sherford (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Reskymmer, R., of Cor.				L & G	
Reigny, J.			G	G	
Rodney of Rodney Stoke (Som.)	L & G	G			
Rogers, H., of Dor.		G			
Sage of Grampound (Cor.)				L & G	
St Aubyn of Clowance (Cor.)				G	
St Barbe of South Brent (Som.)	L & G	G			
St Loe of Keynesham (Som.)	L & G	G	L		
Sapcotes of Bampton (Dev.); Elton (Hants.)			L & G		
Say of Spaxton (Som.); Broxbourne (Herts.)	L & G	G	G		
Seymour, T. of Som.	L & G	L	L		
Smith of Chalmington (Dev.); Maiden Newton (Dor.)		L & G	L		
Speke of White Lackington, Milton (Som.); Haywood, East Dawlish (Dev.)	L & G		L		
Spencer of Frampton (Dor.)	G	L & G			
Stafford of Stinsford (Dor.); Southwick (Wilts.)	G	L & G			
Stapenhill of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness (Dev.)		L	L & G	L & G	
Stork, J., of Dor.	L	L & G			
Stourton, J., of Dor.		G			
Stourton of West Bower (Som.)	L & G	G			
Stowell of Cothelstone (Som.)	L & G	G	L		
Sturgeon of Gatesbury (Herts.)		G		G	
Sydenham of Brimpton Devery (Som.)	L & G	G	L		
Thornbury, J.	G	G	G	G	G
Tredinnick of Tredinnick (Cor.)				L & G	
Treffry of Fowey (Cor.)				L & G	
Tregarthyn of Tregarthyn (Cor.)				L & G	
Tregose, P., of Cor.				G	

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Trelawney of Menheniot (Cor.)				L & G	
Tremayle of Cannington (Som.)	L & G	G			
Tremayne of Collacombe (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Trenowith of Bodmin, Fentengollan (Cor.)				L & G	
Tressawell, T.			G	G	
Trethewy of Reskymmer, St Stephen-in-Brannel (Cor.)				L & G	
Trevanyon of Carhayes (Cor.)				G	
Trevelyan of Nettlecombe (Som.)	L & G	G	G	L & G	G
Trevelyan, R.	G	G	G	G	G
Tunstall of Bentham (Yorks.); Thurland (Lancs.)	G	G			
Turberville of Friar Mayne (Dor.); Bradford (Wilts.)	G	L & G			
Twynho of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.)	L & G	G	G		
Twynho of Moore Critchell (Dor.); Shipton Solers (Glos.)	L	L & G			
Tyrell of Gipping (Suff.)				L & G	
Uvedale of Corfe, Moore Critchell (Dor.); Barford St Martin (Wilts.)	G	L & G			
Uvedale of Wickham (Wilts.)			G	G	
Vere, de, of Haccombe, Colebrooke (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Verney of Fairfield (Som.); Claydon, Salden (Bucks.)	L & G	G			
Vernon of Haddon (Derbs.)			G	G	
Vivian of Trevidren (Cor.)				G	
Vowell of Wells (Som.)	L & G	G			
Wadham, N.	G	G	G		
Wadham of Catherton, Wootton FitzPaine (Dor.)		L & G	G		
Wake of Clevedon (Som.); Blisworth (Northants.)	L & G				
Ward of Bridgwater (Som.)	L & G	G			
Warre of Hestercombe (Som.)	L & G	L & G	L		
Whalesburgh of Whalesburgh (Cor.)	L			L & G	
Whittocksmead of Benacre-by-Melksham (Wilts.)	G				
Willoughby of Broke (Wilts.)	G	G	G	G	G

Table II: The Landholding and Office-holding of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Family and Residence	*Som.*	*Dor.*	*Dev.*	*Cor.*	*SW*
Willoughby of Bere (Dor.)	G	L			
Wise of Sydenham-in-Marystow (Dev.)			L & G	G	
Wolfe of Kentisbury (Dev.)	G		L & G	G	
Wood of Balterley (Ches.); Childrey (Berks.)	G	G	G	G	G
Worsley of Shute (Dev.)	G	L	L & G		
Wydeslade, R., of Dev.			G		
Wykes of Bindon-in-Axmouth (Dev.)		G	L		
Young of Easton (Som.); Shirehampton-by-Bristol (Glos.)	L & G	G	G	G	G

APPENDIX II

DIRECTORY OF POLITICAL ELITES 1450–1500

TABLE I: DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH-WEST PEERAGE

Table I: Directory of the South-West Peerage

Key: Those highlighted in **bold** constitute members of the political elites of South-west England and are the focus of study. Sher.=Sheriff; Esc.=Escheator; Arr.=Array.

Name	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Arundel, Earl of, William FitzAlan (c.1417–87)				**x**	**x**
Arundel, Earl of, Thomas FitzAlan (c.1450–1524)				**x**	**x**
Audley, Baron, John Tuchet (c.1425–90)				**x**	**x**
Audley, Baron, James Tuchet (c.1463–97)				**x**	
Bath, Prior of, John (fl.1474–82)				x	
Bath, Prior of, Peter (fl.1482–3)				x	
Bath and Wells, Bishop of (1443–65), Thomas Beckington (d.1465)				**x**	
Bath and Wells, Bishop of (1465–91), Robert Stillington (d.1491)				**x**	
Bath and Wells, Bishop of (1492–4), Richard Fox (c.1447/8–1528); Exeter, Bishop of (1487–92)				**x**	**x**
Bath and Wells, Bishop of (1495–1503), Oliver King (d.1503); Exeter, Bishop of (1492–5)				**x**	
Bedford, Duke of, Jasper Tudor (c.1430–95)				**x**	
Bonville, Baron, William (c.1393–1461)				**x**	**x**
Botreaux, Baron, William (c.1389–1462)				**x**	**x**
Buckingham, Duke of, Humphrey Stafford (c.1402–60)				**x**	**x**
Buckingham, Duke of, Henry Stafford (c.1455–83)				**x**	
Canterbury, Archbishop of (1443–52), John Stafford (d.1452)				**x**	
Canterbury, Archbishop of (1452–4), John Kemp (c.1380/1–1454)				**x**	
Canterbury, Archbishop of (1486–1500), John Morton (d.1500); Ely, Bishop of (1478–86)				**x**	
Cheyne, Baron, John (c.1445–99)				**x**	**x**

Table I: Directory of the South-West Peerage (cont.)

Name	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Clarence, Duke of, George (1449–78)				x	x
Cobham, Baron, Edward Brooke (c.1412–64)				x	
Cobham, Baron, John Brooke (d.1512)				x	
Coventry and Lichfield, Bishop of (1492–6), William Smith (d.1514)				x	
Coventry and Lichfield, Bishop of (1496–1502), John Arundell (c.1475–1504); Exeter, Dean of (1492–1501)				x	
Daubeney, Baron, Giles (c.1451–1508)	x		x	x	x
Devon, Earl of, Thomas Courtenay (c.1414–58)				x	
Devon, Earl of, Thomas Courtenay (c.1432–61)				x	x
Devon, Earl of, John Courtenay (c.1435–71)				x	
Devon, Earl of, Edward Courtenay (d.1509)				x	x
Dinham, Baron, John (c.1433–1501)	x			x	x
Dorset, Marquess of, Thomas Grey (c.1451–1501)				x	
Dudley, Baron, John Sutton (c.1400–87)				x	
Exeter, Bishop of (1420–55), Edmund Lacy (c.1370–1455)				x	
Exeter, Bishop of (1456–65), George Neville (1432–76)				x	
Exeter, Bishop of (1465–78), John Booth (d.1478)				x	
Exeter, Bishop of (1478–87), Peter Courtenay (c.1432–92); Exeter, Dean of (1478–9)				x	
Exeter, Bishop of (1495–1501), Richard Redman (d.1505)				x	
Exeter, Dean of, Henry Webber (fl.1464–71)				x	
Exeter, Duke of, John Holland (c.1396–1447)				x	
Exeter, Duke of, Henry Holland (c.1430–75)				x	x
Ferrers of Chartley, Baron, Walter Devereux (c.1432–85)				x	
FitzHugh, Baron, Richard (c.1458–87)				x	x
FitzWaryn, Baron, William Bourchier (d.1469)				x	x
FitzWaryn, Baron, Fulk Bourchier (c.1445–79)				x	x
FitzWaryn, Baron, John Bourchier (c.1470–1539)				x	
Gloucester, Duke of, Richard (c.1452–85)				x	x
Hastings, Baron, William (c.1430–83)				x	
Hungerford, Baron, Walter (c.1378–1449)				x	
Hungerford, Baron, Robert (c.1400–59)				x	x

Table I: Directory of the South-West Peerage (cont.)

Name	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Hungerford and Moleyns, Baron, Robert (c.1429–64)				x	
Huntingdon/Pembroke, Earl of, William Herbert (c.1455–91)				x	
Lisle, Viscount, Thomas Talbot (c.1448–70)				x	x
Lisle, Viscount, Edward Grey (d.1492)				x	
Mountjoy, Baron, Walter Blount (c.1420–74)				x	x
Norfolk, Duke of, John Howard (c.1430–85)				x	
Ormonde, Earl of, Thomas Butler (d.1515)				x	x
Oxford, Earl of, John de Vere (c.1442–1513)				x	
Salisbury, Bishop of (1450–81), Richard Beauchamp (d.1481)				x	
Salisbury, Bishop of (1482–4), Lionel Woodville (c.1454–84)				x	
Salisbury, Bishop of (1492–9), John Blyth (c.1450–99)				x	
Salisbury, Bishop of (1500–1), Henry Deane (c.1440–1503)				x	
Salisbury, Earl of, Richard Neville (c.1400–60)				x	
Scrope of Bolton, Baron, John (c.1437–98)				x	x
Scrope of Masham & Upsall, Baron, Thomas (c.1459–93)				x	
Somerset, Duke of, Edmund Beaufort (c.1406–55)				x	
Somerset, Duke of, Henry Beaufort (c.1436–63)				x	x
Stafford of Southwick, Baron, Humphrey (c.1439–69)	x		x	x	x
Stanley, Baron, Thomas (c.1435–1504), later created Earl of Derby				x	
Stourton, Baron, John (c.1399–1462)				x	x
Stourton, Baron, William (c.1430–78)			x	x	x
Stourton, Baron, John (c.1454–85)				x	x
Stourton, Baron, William (c.1457–1524)				x	
Suffolk, Duke of, William de la Pole (c.1394–1450)				x	
Tavistock, Abbot of, John (fl.1463–83)				x	x
Tavistock, Abbot of, Richard (fl.1494–1504)				x	
Wales, Prince of, Arthur (1486–1502)				x	
Warwick, Earl of, Richard Neville (c.1428–71)				x	x
Welles, Baron, Richard Hastings (d.1503)				x	

Table I: Directory of the South-West Peerage (cont.)

Name	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Willoughby de Broke, Baron, Robert (c.1452–1502)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Willoughby de Broke, Baron, Robert (c.1472–1521)				**x**	
Wiltshire, Earl of, James Butler (c.1420–61)				**x**	**x**
Wiltshire, Earl of, John Stafford (c.1440–73)				**x**	**x**
Winchester, Bishop of (1404–47), Henry Beaufort (c.1375–1447)				**x**	
Winchester, Bishop of (1447–86), William Waynflete (c.1400–86)				**x**	
Worcester, Earl of, John Tiptoft (c.1427–70)				**x**	**x**
York, Duke of, Richard (c.1411–60)				**x**	
Zouche, Baron, John (c.1459–1526)				**x**	**x**

TABLE II: DIRECTORY OF THE SOUTH-WEST GENTRY

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry

Key: Those highlighted in **bold** constitute members of the political elites of South-West England and are the focus of study.

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Allington, Sir William (*c.*1430–79) of Bottisham (Camb.)			x		
Anketill, Robert (c.1425–80) of Hants.			x		
Anlaby, John, Esq. (fl.1458–60)		x			
Antron, William Esq. (*c.*1440–97) of Sithney (Cor.)			x		
Aprice, John (*c.*1440–1500) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Archer, John (*c.*1420–60) of Tanworth (Warks.)			x		
Arthur, Richard (fl.1469–71) of Som.					x
Arundell, Sir Edmund (d.1503/4) of Tremodret (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	
Arundell, Sir John I (*c.*1421–73) of Lanherne (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Arundell, Sir John II (*c.*1474–1545) of Lanherne (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Arundell, Sir Renfrew (*c.*1425–68) of Tremodret (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Arundell, Sir Thomas (d.1445) of Tolverne (Cor.)				x	
Arundell, Sir Thomas (*c.*1452–85) of Lanherne (Cor.)				**x**	
Ash, John (*c.*1430–82) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Ash, Robert (*c.*1420–85) of Dorchester (Dor.)			x		
Ashby, John (fl.1475–6)		x			
Ashton, Edward (*c.*1430–82) of Callington (Cor.)			**x**	x	x
Ashton, Nicholas (*c.*1395–1466) of Callington (Cor.)			*x*	**x**	
Ashton, Sir Ralph (*c.*1420–87) of Fritton-in-Redesdale (Yorks.); Middleton (Lancs.)			x		
Attwater, John (*c.*1425–1500) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Attwyll, John (*c.*1440–1500) of Exeter (Dev.)			**x**		
Attwyll, William (*c.*1415–70) of Exeter, Dartmouth (Dev.)			x		
Aubrey, William (*c.*1440–97) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Austell, John (*c.*1405–63) of Churchill (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Baker, John (*c.*1450–1505) of Langport (Som.)			x		
Bamme, John (*c.*1425–88) of Dartford, Gillingham (Kent)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Baron, John (*c.*1415–85) of Dorchester (Dor.)			x		
Baron, Thomas (*c.*1420–70), of Bodnan (Cor.)			x		
Barton, Thomas (*c.*1415–65) of Holderness (Yorks.)			x		
Baskerville, Humphrey (fl.1483–5) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Basket, John (fl.1488–9)		x			
Basset, John (fl.1445–51) of Cor.				x	
Basset, Sir John (*c.*1462–1529) of Umberley. Tehidy (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	
Batten, Robert (*c.*1445–1504) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Baumfford, Walter (fl.1453–4) of Dor.			x		
Baunfield, Peter, Esq. (fl.1459–60)		x			
Bayen, Thomas (*c.*1430–96)			x		
Baynton, Sir John (fl.1457)					x
Baynton, John (*c.*1440–1500) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Beaumont, John, Esq. (*c.*1450–87) of Bodrigan (Cor.)			x	x	x
Beaumont, Philip, Esq. (*c.*1432–73) of Gittisham, Heanton (Dev.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Beaumont, Thomas (fl.1484) of Dev.					x
Bedford, Andrew (*c.*1430–80) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Bedstone, William (*c.*1425–85) of Heythrop (Oxon.)			x		
Bell, Robert (fl.1478–80)			x		
Bere, Thomas (fl.1451–85) of Lankynhorne (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Bere, William (*c.*1410–69) of Pengelly (Cor.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Berkeley, Sir William (*c.*1450–85) of Beverstone (Glos.); Christchurch (Hants.)	**x**			**x**	
Beville, Peter (fl.1488–1509) of Cor.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Biconyll, John (*c.*1425–1501) of South Perrott (Dor.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Biconyll, Thomas (fl.1472) of Som.					x
Bishop, John (*c.*1410–77) of Taunton (Som.)			x		
Bisley, William (fl.1499–1509)		x			
Bodrugan, Sir Henry (d.1503) of Bodrigan (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Bodulgate, Thomas (*c.*1410–71) of Trencreek (Cor.)			x	x	x
Boef, William (*c.*1405–60/1) of Dev.			**x**	**x**	
Bolde, William (fl.1491–2) of Dor.			x		
Boller, John (fl.1470) of Som.					x

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Bonham, John (fl.1475–6)		x			
Bonville, John (fl.1474) of Dev.				x	
Bonville, Thomas (*c.*1395–1467) of Newton Ferrers (Dev.)			x	**x**	x
Borelase, Thomas (d.1484/5) Borlas Burgess or Middle Borlas (Cor.)			x		
Botreaux, Thomas, Esq. (fl.1456–7)		x			
Boughton, Robert (*c.*1425–90) of Great Totnes (Dev.)			x		
Bovy, Nicholas (fl.1451–4) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Bowering, Robert (fl.1494–1509) of Dev.				x	
Bowering, Thomas (fl.1482–1504) of Dev.				**x**	**x**
Bowley, William (*c.*1435–85/6) of Bridport (Dor.)			x		
Bracher, William (fl.1484–5)		**x**			**x**
Bray, Michael (c.1465–1515) of Tremure (Cor.)			x		
Bree, William (c.1460–1515) of Berypper, Treswithian (Cor.)			x		
Bridges, Thomas (c.1426–93) of Cubberley (Gloucs.); Fownhope (Heref.)				**x**	
Brokeman, John (c.1430–1500) of Witham (Ess.)			x		
Brook, John (fl.1494–1509) of Som.				x	
Broughton, Sir Thomas (fl.1459–89) of Cumb.				**x**	**x**
Brown, Anthony (fl.1482–3)		x			
Brown, Sampson (c.1415–70) of Dor.			x		
Brown, Thomas, Esq. (fl.1480–1)		x			
Browning, Alexander (c.1434–90) of Melbury (Dor.); Reading (Berks.)			x		
Browning, John (fl.1471) of Dor.					x
Browning, Robert (c.1410–68) of Winterbourne Stapleton (Dor.)			x		
Browning, William I, Esq. (*c.*1405–72) of Melbury Sampford (Dor.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Browning, William II (*c.*1432–93) of Melbury Sampford (Dor.)			x		
Brushford, John (*c.*1410–68) of Dartmouth (Dev.)			x		
Buckley, Nicholas (*c.*1420–80) of Cor.		**x**	**x**		
Bulman, William (*c.*1420–80) of Dor.			x		
Burgess, John (*c.*1400–55) of Bridport (Dor.)			x		
Burgh, John (*c.*1450–1500) of Lyme Regis (Dor.)		**x**	**x**		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Burgoyne, William (fl.1494–1501) of Dev.				x	
Burleigh, John (*c.*1410–70)			x		
Burleigh, Robert (fl.1467–8) of Dor.			x		
Burnant, Robert (fl.1483–7) of Dev.		**x**		**x**	**x**
Burneby, Thomas (fl.1461–2 of Cor.			x		
Burnell, Henry (d.1491) of Bere with Oathill-in-Wayford (Dor.)	**x**			**x**	
Burnell, Richard (*c.*1445–1508) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Burton, Robert (d.1475/6) of Dev.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Butcher, Roger (fl.1491–2) of Som.			x		
Butler, Henry (*c.*1415–90) of Coventry (Warks.)				**x**	
Buttockside, Thomas (*c.*1445–97) of Plympton (Dev.)	**x**		**x**		
Cadrall, Thomas (fl.1453–4) of Dor.			x		
Caleys, Henry (fl.1492–3)		x			
Calmady, Stephen (fl.1485–92) of Cor.				x	
Calverley, Thomas I, Esq. (*c.*1420–92) of Calverley (Dev.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Calverley, Thomas II (*c.*1445–82) of Calverley (Dev.)			x		
Caraunt, John I (d.1478) of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Caraunt, John II, Esq. (*c.*1425–83) of Ash-in-Stour-Payne (Dor.); Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Caraunt, William Esq. (*c.*1395–1476) of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Caraunt, William (fl.1487–1509) of Toomer-in-Henstridge (Som.)				x	
Carew, Alexander, Esq. (d.1493) of Antony (Cor.); Shogbroke (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Carew, Sir Edmund (*c.*1464–1513) of Mohun's Ottery (Dev.)				**x**	**x**
Carew, Sir Edward (fl.1493–4)	x				
Carew, Nicholas, Esq. (*c.*1423–70) of Beddington (Surr.); Mohun's Ottery (Dev.)	**x**				**x**
Carew, Sir William (fl.1496–7) of Dev.	x				
Carew, William (fl.1470–1)		x			
Carminow, John (fl.1474–92) of Carminow (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Carnesew, William (fl.1483–1502) of Bokelly (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Case, William (*c.*1450–94) of South Petherton, Norton (Som.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	
Catesby, Sir John (*c.*1428–86) of Whiston (Northants.); Houbelne (Beds.)				**x**	
Cayleway, William (d.1469) of Shirbourne (Dor.)				**x**	**x**
Cayleway, William (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Chalcote, Richard Esq. (*c.*1420–57) of Dor.			x		
Champernoun, John (d.1476) of Ennyswork (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Champernoun, Roger Esq. (fl.1452–61) of Cor.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Champernoun, William (fl.1461) of Dev.					x
Champneys, Henry (fl.1451–9) of Som.				**x**	**x**
Champneys, Thomas (d.1506) of Frome Salwood (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Chancellor, Thomas (*c.*1450–97/8) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Cheke, William (*c.*1420–80) of Wareham (Dor.)			x		
Cheverell, John, Esq. (*c.*1441–85) of Chantmarle, Upper Stirthill (Dor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Cheverell, Walter (*c.*1415–81) of Chantmarle, Upper Stirthill (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Cheyne, John (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Dev.); Pynne (Dor.)	x			x	x
Chicheley, Henry, Esq. (fl.1478) of Wimpole (Camb.)			x		
Chicheley, James (fl.1454) of Dev.					x
Chichester, Richard, Esq. (d.1499) of Dev.	**x**				**x**
Chideock, Sir John (d.1447) of Chideock (Som.)				x	
Chidleigh, Sir James (fl.1490–1509) of Dev.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Choke, John (d.1488) of Long Ashton, Stanton Drew (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Choke, Sir Richard (*c.*1410–83) of Long Ashton, Stanton Drew (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Chyvals, William (fl.1495–9)		x			
Cinte, Robert (fl.1478) of Cor.			x		
Clavell, John (*c.*1460–1515) of Stoborough-in-Wareham (Dor.)			x		
Clay, Robert (*c.*1405–70) of Cor.			x		
Clayton, William (fl.1487–8)		x			
Clemens, Thomas (*c.*1420–73) of Liskeard (Cor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Clerk, John (*c.*1415–70) of Weymouth (Dor.); Dartmouth (Dev.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Clerk, Richard (*c.*1430–95) of Exeter (Dev.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	
Cliff, John (*c.*1415–80) of Scoble (Dev.)			x		
Cock, John (*c.*1410–75) of Bodmin (Cor.)			x		
Cock, John (fl.1483–5) of Som.				x	
Cocker, Robert (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Cockworthy, John (fl.1455–6) of Cor.	x				
Code, Walter (fl.1461) of Cor.					x
Coffin, William (fl.1484) of Dev.					x
Coleshill, Sir John (*c.*1420–84) of Tremethart, Binhammy (Cor.)	x		x	x	x
Colin, John (*c.*1445–1505) of Nether Hamett (Cor.)			x		
Collingbourne, William, Esq. (d.1484) of Lydiard Millicent (Wilts.)	x				
Collow, John (*c.*1435–95) of Sydling (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Collow, William (fl.1483–8)				**x**	
Colome, Hugh (fl.1499–1503)		x			
Combes, William (*c.*1435–95) of Tavistock (Dev.)			x		
Cook, Christopher (*c.*1430–81) of Thorne (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Copplestone, John (*c.*1395–1458) of Colbrook (Dev.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Copplestone, Philip, Esq. (d.1473) of Dev.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Corington, John (fl.1484) of Cor.					x
Cork, Thomas (*c.*1430–90) of Launceston (Cor.)			x		
Cornburgh, Avery, Esq. (*c.*1430–87) of Bere Ferrers (Dev.); Dover's (Ess.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Cornish, John (*c.*1425–75) of Lifton (Dev.)			x		
Cotterell, Thomas (*c.*1450–1519) of Washbourne (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Courtenay, Edward (fl.1478–92)	**x**			**x**	
Courtenay, John (*c.*1445–1509) of Exminster, Kenn (Dev.)			**x**		**x**
Courtenay, Sir Hugh (*c.*1420–71) of Haccombe, Boconnoc (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Courtenay, Sir Philip II (*c.*1430–89) of Kingston, Molland (Dev.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Courtenay, Sir Philip I (*c.*1404–63) of Powderham (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Courtenay, Sir Thomas (fl.1455) of Dev.				x	

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Courtenay, Sir Walter (*c.*1440–1504) of Exeter (Dev.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	
Courtenay, Sir William (*c.*1428–85) of East Coker (Som.); Yelton, Powderham (Dev.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Courtenay, William (later Earl of Devon), (*c.*1475–1511)					x
Crocker, Sir John (*c.*1445–1508) of Lineham (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Croppe, John (*c.*1425–85) of Bridgwater (Som.); Southampton (Hants.)			x		
Cross, Thomas (*c.*1420–85) of Porchester (Hants.)			x		
Crossman, William (fl.1467–8) of Cor.			x		
Crouch, Thomas (*c.*1425–80) of Kent			x		
Crowmer, Nicholas, Esq. (fl.1482–3) of Great Torrington (Dev.); London (Mid.)	x				
Culme, John (*c.*1440–84) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Cutler, John (fl.1421–62) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Dacre, Giles (*c.*1420–80)			x		
Danester, John (*c.*1455–1504) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Daniel, William (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Danvers, Sir William (*c.*1428–1504) of Thatcham (Berks.)			x		
Darell, Sir George (d.1474)	x				
Daubeney, James (fl.1487–1528) of Wayford (Som.)	**x**				**x**
Daubeney, William, Esq. (fl.1452–3) of South Petherton (Som.)	x				
Davy/atte Lake, William (*c.*1415–80) of Totnes (Dev.)			x		
Dawnay, William (*c.*1400–60) of Dev.			x		
Denham, Richard (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Dennis, John (*c.*1425–91) of Barnstaple, Orlegh (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Dennis, William, Esq. (*c.*1420–79) of Combe Raleigh (Dev.)	**x**		**x**		**x**
Derlond, Thomas (fl.1453–4) of Dor.			x		
Devyok, John (*c.*1440–1500) of Ethy (Cor.)			x		
Dinham, Charles, Esq. (*c.*1434–91) of Nutwell (Dev.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Dinham, John, Esq. (*c.*1406–58) of Hartland (Dev.)				**x**	**x**
Dinham, Roger (d.1490)				**x**	**x**
Dinham, Sir William (fl.1455) of Cor.				x	

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Dive, John (*c.*1420–74) of Harleston (Dor.)			x		
Dodge, Thomas (*c.*1405–60) of Wareham (Dor.)		**x**	**x**		
Dourish, Thomas II (*c.*1420–83) of Piddesley, Dourish (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Downe, A, Richard (fl.1497) of Cor.			x		
Downing, John (*c.*1400–60) of Plymouth (Dev.)			x		
Dowstow, William (fl.1491–2) of Dor.			x		
Drayton, William (*c.*1415–70) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Drew, John (*c.*1445–1504) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Driffield, Thomas (*c.*1420–80) of Windsor (Berks.)			**x**		
Duke, William (*c.*1410–75) of Exeter (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Dukmanton, Thomas (*c.*1430–85) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Durant, Edward (*c.*1425–80) of Bredon Cross (Warks.)			x		
Dyneley, Ralph (fl.1494–5)		x			
Edgcumbe, Sir Piers (*c.*1477–1539) of Cotehele, Mount Edgcombe (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	
Edgcumbe, Sir Richard (*c.*1443–89) of Cotehele (Cor.); Meavy (Dev.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Edmund, William (*c.*1420–80) of Wells (Som.); Reading (Berks.)			x		
Elliott, Thomas (fl.1494–1504)				**x**	
Enderby, Walter, Esq. (fl.1484–95)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Farringdon, John, Esq. (fl.1489–90)		x			
Ferriby, John (*c.*1425–70) of Thorne-by-Haytfield (Yorks.)			x		
Fiennes, Sir Roger (*c.*1384–1450) of Hurstmonceaux (Suss.)				**x**	
Fillol, John, Esq. (*c.*1408–67) of Woodlands (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Fillol, Sir William (*c.*1451–1508) of Dor.				x	
Fillongley, Henry (*c.*1415–71) of Fillongley (Warks.)			x		
Fineux, Sir John (*c.*1441–1527) of Faversham, Herne (Kent)			x		
Fitz, John (fl.1486–7)		x			
Fitz, Roger (*c.*1465–1504) of Pylle (Hants.); Southwark			x		
FitzJames, James (*c.*1420–70) of Bridgwater, Rolston (Som.)			x		
FitzJames, John I (d.1476) of Redlynch (Som.)				**x**	**x**

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
FitzJames, John II (*c.*1436–1510) of Redlynch (Som.)				**x**	**x**
FitzWilliam, Sir Thomas (*c.*1427–97) of Boscarne (Cor.)			x		
Flamank, Thomas (fl.1491–2) of Cor.			x		
Flaxby, Henry (fl.1457–8)		x			
Fleming, William, Esq. (fl.1466–7)		x			
Flexby, John (d.1493) of Dor.			x		
Fogge, Sir John II (*c.*1455–1525) of Ashford (Kent)			x		
Fokeray, William (*c.*1450–93) of Dartmouth (Dev.)			x		
Ford, John (*c.*1420–85) of Dorchester (Dor.)			x		
Fortescue, Sir John (*c.*1394–1476) of Modbury, Holbeton (Dev.)				**x**	**x**
Fortescue, Sir John (*c.*1440–1500) of Ponsbourne (Herts.)	**x**	**x**			**x**
Fortescue, John (fl.1495–1507)	x				
Fortescue, Henry (fl.1451–8) of Dev.	**x**			**x**	**x**
Fortescue, Richard (*c.*1425–80) of Hollacombe (Dev.)			x		
Fortescue, William (fl.1478–9)		x			
Fowell, William (*c.*1435–97) of Ugborough (Dev.)			**x**		**x**
Fowkey, John (fl.1478) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Frampton, James (fl.1499–1509) of Dor.				x	
Frampton, John (fl.1498–1506) of Dor.				x	
Frampton, William (*c.*1410–74) of Moreton (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Freshpond, William (*c.*1410–65) of Tavistock (Dev.)			x		
Frost, Robert (fl.1494–1504) of Cor.				x	
Frowick, Sir Henry (*c.*1430–1506) of South Mimms (Mid.)			x		
Froxmere, Thomas (*c.*1435–97) of Droitwich (Worcs.)			x		
Fulford, Sir Baldwin (d.1461) of Fulford (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Fulford, Thomas (d.1490) of Fulford (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Gale, Thomas (*c.*1430–96) of Dartmouth (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		
Gargrave, John (*c.*1410–70) of Wakefield (Yorks.)			x		
Gaynecote, Walter (*c.*1420–75) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Georges, Edmund (d.1512) of Wraxall (Som.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Georges, Theobald (d.1470) of Wraxall (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Gerard, John (fl.1484) of Purbeck (Dor.)					x

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Gibbs, John Esq. (*c.*1420–87) of Fenton (Dev.)			x		
Gifford, John (fl.1444–1504) of Dev.				**x**	**x**
Gifford, Robert (fl.1461–2) of Dev.			x		
Gilbert, John, Esq. (*c.*1435–99) of Whitcombe-in-Corton (Som.)			**x**	**x**	
Gilbert, Otto (d.1493) of Broadwood (Dev.)	**x**	**x**		**x**	**x**
Gill, Thomas I (*c.*1400–66) of Dartmouth, Hatch Arundell (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		**x**
Gill, Thomas II, Esq. (*c.*1425–85) of Hatch Arundell (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		
Gloucester, John (*c.*1415–80) of Southwark			x		
Glyn, John (*c.*1448–1512) of Morval (Cor.)			**x**	x	
Golding, Hugh (*c.*1420–80) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Goodwin, John (*c.*1385–1457) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Gosse, William (*c.*1420–75) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Gower, Edward Esq. (*c.*1435–90) of Beverley (Yorks.)			x		
Grantham, Edward (fl.1472–5) of Dor.			x		
Grayson, Thomas (*c.*1435–95) of Dartmouth, Kennford (Dev.)			x		
Green, John I (*c.*1410–70) of Melcombe (Dor.)			x		
Green, John II (*c.*1435–90) of Melcombe (Dor.)			x		
Greenfield/Coke, John (*c.*1420–61)			x		
Grenville, Sir Thomas (*c.*1450–1513) of Stowe, Kirkhampton (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Grey, Robert (d.1475/6) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Grype, John (*c.*1425–70) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Gunthorpe, John (d.1498)				x	
Haggerston, Henry (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Halliwell, Sir John (*c.*1450–1500) of Trenode (Cor.); Bigbury (Dev.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Hall, Thomas (*c.*1400–57) of Wells, Freshford (Som.)			x		
Hall, William (*c.*1395–1460) of Slindon (Suss.)			x		
Hals, Richard I, Esq. (d.1480) of Keynedon-in-Sherford (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Hals, Richard II, (*c.*1435–90) of Keynedon-in-Sherford (Dev.)			**x**		**x**
Hamblin, Adam (*c.*1430–93) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Hammond, John (*c.*1420–80) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Hardgill, Edward (*c.*1435–87) of Mere (Wilts.)	**x**		**x**		
Hardgill, Thomas Esq. (*c.*1415–70) of Stourton, Shaftesbury (Wilts.)			x		
Hart, William (*c.*1435–89) of Totnes (Dev.)			x		
Hatfield, Richard (*c.*1450–90) of Adbeer (Som.)			**x**		**x**
Hatfield, Stephen (*c.*1425–92) of Stourton (Wilts.); Holderness (Yorks.)			x		
Hawthorne, Nicholas (fl.1491–2) of Dor.			x		
Haynes, Richard (*c.*1420–80) of Salisbury, Newton Westgate (Wilts.)			x		
Haynes/Stanburgh, William (*c.*1430–94) of Bath (Som.); Swindon (Wilts.)			x		
Helbourne, Thomas (fl.1484) of Cor.					x
Henscote, Nicholas (*c.*1430–93) of Plymouth (Dev.)			x		
Henston, William (*c.*1405–58) of Wonwell-in-Kingston (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Herbert, Thomas Esq. (*c.*1430–69) of Little Troye (Heref.)	x				
Heron, John (d.1501) of Langport (Som.)				x	
Hervey, Humphrey (*c.*1455–1516) of Bristol (Gloucs.)			**x**	**x**	
Hervey, Sir Nicholas (*c.*1425–71) of Eastbury-in-Godalming (Surr.)			x		
Hext, Thomas (fl.1472–1501) of Dev.				**x**	**x**
Hill, John (*c.*1405–57/61) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Hill, Robert (*c.*1425–93) of Bridport (Dor.); Marchington (Staffs.)		**x**	**x**		
Hillary, Robert (fl.1446–58) of Dor.				x	
Hillersdon, Andrew, Esq. (fl.1455–6) of Dev.	x				
Hillersdon, Robert (*c.*1442–1500) of Hillersdon, Chittlehampton, Honeychurch (Dev.)			x		
Hilling, Robert (*c.*1415–75) of Langage-by-Plympton (Dev.)			x		
Hobbes, John (fl.1449–51) of Tiverton (Dev.)			x		
Hodgkins, William (*c.*1395–1461) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Hody, Sir Alexander (*c.*1405–61) of West Bower, Gothelney (Som.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Hody, William (*c.*1434–1524) of Gothelney (Som.)			**x**	**x**	
Hogan, Henry (fl.1485–1502) of Som.				x	
Hogges, Peter (fl.1484) of Dor.					x

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Holbeme, John (fl.1458–9)		x			
Holland, Roger, Esq. (*c.*1450–1506) of Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Holland, Thomas Esq. (*c.*1420–72) of Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Honychurch, John (*c.*1420–90) of Tavistock (Dev.)			x		
Hooker, John (*c.*1440–93) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Horne, Gervase (*c.*1445–93) of Appledore (Kent)			x		
Houghton, Sir John (fl.1495–6) of Cor.				x	
Houghton, Sir William (d.1508) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Howell, William (*c.*1415–65) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Huddlesfield, Sir William (*c.*1435–99) of Dittisham, Shillingford (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Huggins, John (*c.*1430–1500) of Whitstaunton (Som.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	
Hull, Sir Edward (*c.*1410–53) of Enmore (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	
Hull, Henry, Esq. (*c.*1410–85) of Exeter (Dev.); Ashill (Som.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Humphrey, Thomas (*c.*1420–69/70) of Great Waltham (Ess.); London (Mid.)			x		
Hungerford, Sir Edmund (fl.1452–70) of Down Ampney (Gloucs.)				**x**	**x**
Hussey, Thomas, Esq. (*c.*1440–1503) of Witchampton, Shapwick (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Hymerford, John (*c.*1425–1501) of East Coker (Som.)		**x**	**x**		
Ingram, John (*c.*1420–80) of Aylesbury (Bucks.); London (Mid.)			x		
Jenney, Thomas (*c.*1445–93/6) of Intwood (Norf.)			x		
Jewe, John (*c.*1405–70) of Whitefield-in-Wiveliscombe (Som.)			x		
John, David (*c.*1420–80) of Exeter, Dartington (Dev.)			x		
Joyce, Richard (*c.*1425–77) of Padstow (Cor.)	x		x	x	
Joyce, William (*c.*1430–85) of Barnstaple (Dev.); Bristol (Glos.)			x		
Keble, Andrew (*c.*1405–56/60) of Gravesend, London (Mid.)			x		
Keble, Thomas (*c.*1433–1500) of Humberstone (Leics.)			x		
Kelly, William I (fl.1485–6)		x			

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Kellygrew, John (fl.1461) of Cor.					x
Kellygrew, Thomas (*c.*1446–1500) of Arwenack (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Kelsey, William (fl.1467–8) of Dor.			x		
Kemmes, John (fl.1450) of Som.					x
Kemp, John (fl.1491–2) of Cor.			x		
Kemys, Arthur (fl.1494–1509) of Som.				x	
Kendale, John (*c.*1430–89) of Bridgwater (Som.)			x		
Kendale, Richard (*c.*1415–70) of Lostwithiel (Cor.)			*x*		
Kenne, John (fl.1483)		x			
Keyle, John (*c.*1430–95) of Sherborne (Dor.)			x		
Kidwelly, Sir Morgan (*c.*1445–1506)				**x**	**x**
Kighley, John (*c.*1420–65) of London (Mid.)			x		
Kingdon, Edward (*c.*1425–85) of Tremunsey (Cor.)			x		
Kingdon, William (*c.*1425–60) of Cor.			x		
Kingston, William (*c.*1410–60) of Tavistock (Dev.)			x		
Kirkby, Thomas (fl.1491–2) of Dor.			x		
Kirkham, Nicholas (fl.1491–2)		x			
Knoll, John (*c.*1400–60) of Denbury (Dev.)			x		
Knoyle, William, Esq. (d.1502) of Sandford Orcas (Som.)	**x**	**x**		**x**	**x**
Knyvet, Sir William (*c.*1440–1515) of Buckenham, Wymondham (Norf.)			x		
Langford, Edward (fl.1456–7) of Dev.	x				x
Langford, Thomas (fl.1465–6) of Teffount (Wilts.)		x			
Langton, Robert (*c.*1420–85)			x		
Lanoy, Thomas (*c.*1410–60) of Launceston (Cor.)			x		
Latimer, Sir John (*c.*1450–99) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Latimer, Nicholas (fl.1471–83) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Latimer, Sir Nicholas (*c.*1429–1505) of Duntish-in-Buckland (Dor.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Ledicote, William (fl.1453–4) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Legh, John (*c.*1450–1503) of Addington (Surr.)			x		
Legh, Ralph a (*c.*1415–71) of Stockwell (Surr.)			x		
Levelord, Robert (*c.*1430–85) of Southwark			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Lewkenor, Thomas (*c.*1425–98) of Goring, East Grinstead (Suss.)			x		
Ley, Henry (fl.1487–8)		x			
Limbury, Thomas (*c.*1425–92) of Launceston (Cor.)			x	x	
Littleton, Thomas (*c.*1415–81) of Frankley (Worcs.)				**x**	
Lodge, Thomas (fl.1498–9)		x			
Long, Henry (fl.1457–62)					x
Longville, George (*c.*1440–99) of Wolverton, Shoreditch (Bucks.)			x		
Luccombe, Thomas (*c.*1415–88) of Bodmin (Cor.)			x	x	x
Luttrell, Sir Hugh (fl.1487–1509) of Dunster (Som.)	**x**			**x**	
Luttrell, James (*c.*1427–61) of Dunster (Som.)					**x**
Lynde, Sir Thomas (fl.1485–1509) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Mallet, Thomas (fl.1491–1502) of Som.				x	
Malory, Sir Thomas (*c.*1410–71) of Newbold Revel, Monk's Kirby (Warks.)			x		
Mansell, John (*c.*1420–72) of Mansell, North Petherton (Som.)			x		
Mansell, Thomas Esq. (*c.*1430–80) of Bristol (Glos.); London (Mid.)		x			
Markenfield, Thomas (d.1497) of Markenfield (Yorks.)				**x**	**x**
Martyn/Dirrycole/Hunt, John (*c.*1395–1465) of Dorchester (Dor.)			x		
Martyn, Henry (*c.*1450–1504/9) of Dor.			x		
Martyn, Thomas, Esq. (*c.*1420–85) of Athelhampton (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Martyn, William, Esq. (*c.*1445–1504) of Athelhampton (Dor.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Mattock, Nicholas (*c.*1450–1521) of Hitchen, London (Mid.)			x		
Mauleverer, George (fl.1490)					x
Mauleverer, Halnath, Esq. (d.1502) of Ashwater (Devon.); Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas (fl.1483–7) of Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Mayo, John (*c.*1430–1516) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Mayo, William (*c.*1415–60) of Launceston (Cor.)			x		
Menwyneck, William (*c.*1420–78) of Menwyneck (Cor.)		*x*	*x*	*x*	

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Metcalfe, Miles (*c.*1435–86) of York (Yorks.)			x		
Middleton, David (*c.*1430–80) of Denbigh			x		
Middleton, George (*c.*1425–79)		**x**	**x**		
Milford, William (*c.*1420–80) of Sevenhampton Denys (Som.); South Tawton (Dev.)		*x*	**x**		
Mitchell, Walter (d.1487)		x			
Mohun, John (*c.*1405–79) of Salisbury, Wolveston (Dor.)				**x**	**x**
Mohun, William (fl.1486–92) of Cor.				x	
Mordaunt, John (*c.*1455–1504) of Turvey (Beds.)				**x**	
More, Geoffrey (fl.1468–9)		x			
More, John (d.1480/1)				**x**	**x**
More, John (fl.1484–1509)				**x**	**x**
Morton, Richard, Esq. (fl.1477–88)	**x**	**x**		**x**	
Morton, Robert (*c.*1440–90)			x		
Moyle, John (*c.*1435–1500) of Eastwell (Kent)			x	x	x
Moyle, Thomas (fl.1495–1504) of Bake (Cor.)				x	
Moyle, Walter (*c.*1405–71) of Stevenston (Dev.); Eastwell (Kent.)			**x**	**x**	
Mullins, Thomas (*c.*1445–1510) of Bridport, Whitchurch (Dor.)			x		
Nanfan, John, Esq. (*c.*1400–59) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.); Trethewell (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Nanfan, Sir Richard (*c.*1445–1507) of Birtsmorton (Worcs.); Trethewell (Cor.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	
Netherton, John (*c.*1425–85) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Neville, George (fl.1483–94) of Raskelf (Yorks.)				**x**	**x**
Newburgh, John I, Esq. (*c.*1405–84) of East Lulworth (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Newburgh, John II (*c.*1440–97) of Turner's Puddle (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Newburgh, Sir Roger (*c.*1457–1515) of East Lulworth (Dor.)	**x**			**x**	
Newburgh, Thomas (*c.*1445–1513) of Marnhull (Dor.)			x		
Newburgh, Sir William (*c.*1435–71) of East Lulworth (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Newham, James (fl.1466–7)		x			
Newton, Sir John (*c.*1425–88) of Wyke-in-Yatton, Ubley (Som.)			**x**	**x**	**x**

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Newton, Sir Richard (*c.*1370–1448)				x	
Newton, Robert (*c.*1445–1504) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Newton, William (*c.*1405–53) of Swell (Som.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Nimbury, John (fl.1469–70) of Cor.				x	
Norris, John (*c.*1405–66) of Bray (Berks.)	**x**		x		
Norton, Sir Sampson (*c.*1450–1517) of Southampton (Hants.); Fulham (Mid.)	x				
Norton, Thomas, Esq. (fl.1475–7)	**x**			**x**	
Nottingham, William (*c.*1415–83) of Gloucester (Gloucs.)				**x**	
Oby, John (fl.1496–7) of Cor.				x	
Oddingley, Henry (fl.1453–4) of Dor.			x		
Ogden, William (*c.*1420–61) of Eton (Bucks.)			x		
Oldham, Hugh (fl.1494–1507)				**x**	
Oliver, William (*c.*1410–75/6) of Bridport (Dor.)			x		
Opy, Nicholas (*c.*1445–1510) of Bodmin (Cor.)			x		
Orchard, John (d.1481) of Dev.				**x**	**x**
Orenge, John (*c.*1430–90/1) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Page, John (*c.*1435–78/9) of Launceston (Cor.)			**x**	**x**	
Page, Richard (*c.*1430–93) of Horton (Kent)			x		
Palmer, Robert, Esq. (fl.1473–80)	**x**			**x**	
Paris, Walter (*c.*1420–80) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Paston, Sir John (*c.*1442–79) of Paston, Caistor (Norf.)			*x*		
Paulet, Sir Amias (*c.*1457–1538) of Hinton St George (Dor.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	
Paulet, William (*c.*1404–88) of Hinton St George (Dor.)				**x**	**x**
Paulet, William (d.1483/4) of Goathurst (Som.)				x	
Payne, Hugh (*c.*1400–61) of Dev.			x		
Payne, John (fl.1453–4) of South Bodiniell (Cor.)			x		
Peake, John Esq. (*c.*1430–1506)		x			
Penfoun, John (fl.1483–4) of Penfoun (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Penfoun, William (fl.1461) of Cor.					x
Penlyn, John (*c.*1430–85) of Cor.			x	x	
Penny, Thomas (fl.1453–4) of Totnes (Dev.)			x		
Penpons, John (fl.1471–7)		**x**		**x**	**x**

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Penpons, Richard (*c.*1405–65/6) of Treswithian (Cor.)			*x*	*x*	*x*
Penros, Richard (*c.*1470–1540) of Methley Penros (Cor.)			x		
Percy, John (*c.*1450–1500) of Shaftesbury (Dor.); Widdecombe (Dev.)			x		
Percy, Richard (fl.1450–1) of Shaftesbury (Dor.)			x		
Perham, Robert (fl.1478) of Great Childerley (Camb.)			x		
Petit, John (fl.1451–5) of Cor.	**x**				**x**
Petite, Michael (fl.1478–85) of Cor.				x	
Petyt, John, Esq. (fl.1454–5) of Cor.	x				
Philip, Thomas (fl.1471–9)		x			
Philpot, John (*c.*1420–85) of Compton Waslyn (Hants.)			x		
Pittlesden, Vincent (*c.*1415–80) of Plymouth (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		
Plush, William (*c.*1415–61) of Cannington (Som.)			x		
Pole, John (*c.*1420–80) of Shaftesbury (Dor.); Wilton (Wilts.)			x		
Pole, John (fl.1461–2) of Som.			x		
Pole, Thomas (*c.*1420–) of Hooke (Dor.)			x		
Pollard, Sir Lewis (*c.*1465–1526) of Gilderton (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Pomeroy, Henry (*c.*1416–81) of Tregony (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Pomeroy, Sir Richard (*c.*1441–97) of Tregony (Cor.); Bury (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Porter, John (fl.1459–83) of Portbury (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Portman, John (d.1487) of Orchard Portman (Som.)				**x**	**x**
Portman, Walter (fl.1444–53) of Orchard Portman (Som.)				x	
Poutrell, Thomas (*c.*1435–92) of Braideston (Derbs.)			x		
Poyntz, Humphrey, Esq. (fl.1460–1)		x			
Preston, Stephen (*c.*1425–74) of Catherston, Silton (Dor.)		**x**	**x**		
Prideaux, William (fl.1461–2)		x			
Pudsey, Sir Richard (*c.*1455–99) of Pinhoe (Wilts.)	**x**	**x**			
Pury, John (*c.*1415–80) of Chamberhouse-in-Thatcham (Berks.)			x		
Pyne, Thomas (fl.1482–3) of Exeter (Dev.)		x			
Radford, John II (*c.*1430–78) of Poughill (Dev.)			x		
Radford, John I (*c.*1400–60) of Oakford (Dev.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Radford, Nicholas (*c.*1390–1455) of Upcott (Dev.)				**x**	**x**
Raleigh, Walter, Esq. (*c.*1410–64) of Fardel (Dev.)			x	x	x
Redmayne, Edward (*c.*1455–1510) of Harewood (Yorks.)	**x**				**x**
Redmayne, James (fl.1470)		x			
Redwyn, Henry (*c.*1425–90) of Barnstaple (Dev.)			x		
Reed, Robert (*c.*1455–1518) of Norwich (Norf.); Chiddingstone (Kent)				**x**	
Rendel, Walter (*c.*1405–75) of Malston-in-Sherford (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		**x**
Rescarrek, John (fl.1490–1) of Cor.	x				
Reskymmer, Ralph (d.1465/6) of Cor.				**x**	**x**
Reigny, John (fl.1470–4)		**x**			**x**
Ritte, John (*c.*1425–80) of Ugborough, Wembury (Dev.)			x		
Rodney, Sir John (fl.1498–1509) of Som.				x	
Rodney, Sir Walter (*c.*1410–67) of Rodney Stoke (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Roger, John (d.1450) of Bryanston (Dor.)				x	
Rogers, Henry (fl.1469–1509) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Rogers, Robert (*c.*1440–95) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Rokes, John II (*c.*1430–90) of Sherborne (Dor.)			x		
Rokley, Robert, Esq. (fl.1465–6)		x			
Rosemodres, William (fl.1461) of Cor.					x
Rowell, Thomas (fl.1473–84) of Cor.				x	
Rowland, John (*c.*1425–85) of Plymouth (Dev.); Norton (Cor.)			x		
Russe, William (fl.1491–2) of Dor.			x		
Russell, John Esq. (*c.*1431/2–1505) of Berwick-on-Swyre (Dor.)			x		
Sackville, John (*c.*1423–73) of Buckton (Dev.)			x		
Sadler/Davy, John, (*c.*1420–85) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Sage, Thomas (*c.*1415–61) of Grampound (Cor.)			x	x	x
St Aubyn, Thomas (d.1512) of Clowance (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
St Barbe, John II, Esq. (fl.1458–9) of South Brent (Som.)	**x**				**x**
St Leger, Sir Thomas (*c.*1440–83) of Guildford (Surr.)				x	

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
St Loe, Sir John (*c.*1446–99) of Keynsham (Som.); Todmarton (Glos.)					x
St Loe, Nicholas, Esq. (d.1486) of Keynsham (Som.); Todmarton (Gloucs.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Sapcotes, Sir John (*c.*1448–1501) of Bampton (Dev.); Elton (Hants.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Say, Sir John (*c.*1420–78) of Spaxton (Som.); Broxbourne (Herts.)			x		
Say, Sir William (*c.*1452–1529) of Spaxton (Som.); Broxbourne (Herts.)	**x**	**x**	**x**		
Sayer, John (*c.*1440–95) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Sergeant, William, Esq. (fl.1450–1)		x			
Seward, John (fl.1483) of Wells, Henton Bluet (Som.)			x		
Seymour, Sir John (fl.1457)					x
Seymour, Sir Thomas (d.1489) of Som.				**x**	**x**
Sheldon, Richard (*c.*1440–94) of Baldock (Herts.)			x		
Sheldwich, John (fl.1478) of Cor.			x		
Shillingford, William (fl.1466–80) of Dev.				x	
Shoyll, John (*c.*1430–95) of Shaftesbury (Dor.)			x		
Skelton, John (*c.*1425–80)			x		
Skeynek, William (*c.*1410–60) of Launceston (Cor.)			x		
Smith, John (*c.*1455–1524) of Chalmington (Dev.); Maiden Newton (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Smith, Thomas (*c.*1430–80) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Snape, John (*c.*1425–89) of Beeson (Dev.)			x		
Snape, Nicholas (*c.*1450–1520) of Plymouth (Dev.)			x		
Snelling, Richard (*c.*1425–80) of Weymouth (Dor.)			x		
Speke, Sir John (*c.*1442–1511) of White Lackington, Milton (Som.); Haywood, East Dawlish (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Spencer, John (*c.*1416–61) of Frampton (Dor.)		**x**	**x**		
Stafford, William (*c.*1407–50) of Stinsford (Dor.); Southwick (Wilts.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Stanborough/Haynes, Roger (*c.*1400–55) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Stanley, John (fl.1458–9) of Cossington (Som.)		x			
Stapenhill, William (*c.*1450–1503) of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		
Staveley, William (*c.*1430–98) of Broughton-by-Aylesbury (Bucks.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Stebbing, Nicholas (*c.*1400–69) of Dartmouth (Dev.)			x		
Steere, John (*c.*1410–70) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Steynour, William (*c.*1425–60) of Riseley (Beds.)			x		
Stone, John (*c.*1430–85) of Poole (Dor.)			x		
Stonor, Sir William (*c.*1449–94) of Stonor (Oxon.)	x				
Stork, John (d.1485) of Dor.				**x**	**x**
Stourton, Sir John (*c.*1437–1501) of Dor.			**x**	**x**	
Stourton, Sir Reginald (d.1489) of West Bower (Som.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Stowell, Robert, Esq. (d.1499) of Cothelstone (Som.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Stowell, Thomas (fl.1470) of Som.					x
Stradling, Edmund (fl.1492–5) of Cor.				x	
Stradling, Sir Edward (fl.1444–51) of Som.				x	
Strangwish, Henry (fl.1498–1505) of Dor.				x	
Stuckley, George (fl.1487–94) of Som.				x	
Sturgeon, John, Esq. (*c.*1430–92) of Gatesbury (Herts.)	**x**				**x**
Sydenham¸ John I, Esq. (*c.*1420–68) of Brimpton Devery (Som.)	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**
Sydenham, John II (d.1521) of Brimpton Devery (Som.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Tailboys, William (*c.*1445–80) of Goltho (Lincs.)			x		
Takyll, John (fl.1493–4)		x			
Tame, Thomas (fl.1451–2)	x				
Tancred, Richard (*c.*1415–75) of Tavistock (Dev.)			x		
Tanfield, Robert (*c.*1440–84) of Cransley, Gayton (Northants.)			x		
Taverner, William (fl.1484) of Cor.					x
Taylor/Gisbourne, Nicholas (*c.*1465–1526) of Eynesford (Kent)			x		
Taylor, William (fl.1447–61) of Dev.			x		
Thickpenny, William (*c.*1455–1512) of Plymouth (Dev.)			x		
Thirlwall, Philip (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Thornbury, John, Esq. (*c.*1415–73)		**x**			
Thorpe, Roger (*c.*1432–90) of Colby (Ess.)			x		
Tichborne, John (*c.*1435–98) of Tichborne (Hants.)			x		
Tinham, John (*c.*1450–1505) of Lyme Regis (Dor.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Tredinnick, Robert (*c.*1455–1514) of Tredinnick (Cor.)			x	x	
Treffry, Sir John (d.1500) of Fowey (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Treffry, Thomas (fl.1461–74) of Cor.				**x**	**x**
Treffry, William (fl.1500–2) of Cor.	x				
Tregarthyn, Thomas Esq. of Tregarthyn (Cor.)			x		
Tregarthyn, Thomas I (*c.*1410–75) of Tregarthyn (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	
Tregarthyn, Thomas II (fl.1485–98) of Tregarthyn (Cor.)				x	
Tregose, Peter (fl.1478–92) of Cor.				**x**	**x**
Trelawney, Roger, Esq. (fl.1490–1)		x			
Trelawney, John I (d.1509) of Menheniot (Cor.)				**x**	**x**
Tremayle, Thomas (*c.*1440–1508) of Cannington (Som.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Tremayne, John (*c.*1452–1504) of Collacombe (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Trenowith, John (*c.*1427–97) of Bodmin, Fentengollan (Cor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Treouran, Roger I (*c.*1405–60) of Dreffveer (Cor.)			x		
Treouran, Roger II (*c.*1430–60) of Dreffveer (Cor.)			x		
Tressawell, Thomas (*c.*1445–1507/9)			**x**	**x**	
Tretherfe, John (fl.1485–92) of Cor.				x	
Trethewy, Robert (*c.*1420–80) of East Looe (Cor.)			x		
Trethewy, Thomas (*c.*1425–85) of Reskymmer, St Stephen-in-Brannel (Cor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Trevanyon, John (fl.1483–5) of Cor.				x	
Trevanyon, William (d.1518) of Carhayes (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	
Trevelyan, John, Esq. (*c.*1415–75/84) of Nettlecombe (Som.); Restormel (Cor.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Trevelyan, Sir John II (fl.1484–1509)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Trevelyan, Richard, Esq. (fl.1488–92)		**x**			
Trevenour, John (fl.1492–1506) of Cor.				x	
Tropenell, Thomas (*c.*1410–88) of Neston, Great Chalfield (Wilts.)			x		
Trott, Bartholomew (*c.*1420–80) of Bodmin (Cor.)			x		
Trott, Thomas (*c.*1460–1530) of Bodmin (Cor.)			x		
Troutbeck, John (*c.*1410–58) of Oxhey (Herts.); Frodham (Ches.)			x		

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Tucker, Walter (fl.1459) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Tuddenham, Henry (*c.*1430–61)			x		
Tunstall, Sir Richard (*c.*1427–92) of Bentham (Yorks.); Thurland (Lancs.)				x	
Turberville, Sir John (*c.*1450–1502) of Friar Mayne (Dor.); Bradford (Wilts.)	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Turberville, Thomas (fl.1493–4)		x			
Turges, Richard (*c.*1433–1504) of Melcombe Bingham (Dor.)			x		
Twynho, John (*c.*1445–75) of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.)		**x**	**x**		
Twynho, Thomas (fl.1469–70) of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.)		x			
Twynho, William I (*c.*1420–72) of Keyford-by-Frome (Som.)			**x**	**x**	
Twynho, William II, Esq. (*c.*1445–97) of Moore Critchell, Shipton Solers (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Tyler, John (*c.*1450–1513) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Tyler, John, Esq. (fl.1469–70)		x			
Tyler, William (*c.*1455–1510) of Bath (Som.)			x		
Tyrell, Sir James (*c.*1445–1502) of Gipping (Suff.)	x		x		x
Tyrell, Sir William (*c.*1420–71) of Beeches-in-Rawreth (Ess.)			x		
Unton, Sir Thomas (*c.*1465–1533) of Wadley-in-Faringdon (Berks.)			x		
Usher, Stephen (*c.*1415–75) of Totnes (Dev.)			x		
Uvedale, Henry (*c.*1460–1516) of Corfe (Dor.); Barford St Martin (Wilts.)	**x**			**x**	
Uvedale, Sir William (*c.*1454–1524) of Wickham (Hants.)				**x**	
Vaughan, Sir Thomas (*c.*1425–83)			x		
Vavasour, Sir John (*c.*1440–1505) of Spaldington (Yorks.)			x		
Vere, de, Sir Robert (*c.*1410–61) of Haccombe, Colebrook (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	**x**
Verney, Sir John (*c.*1449–1505) of Fairfield (Som.); Claydon, Salden (Bucks.)		**x**			**x**
Vernon, Sir Henry (*c.*1445–1515) of Haddon (Derbs.)				**x**	
Vine, Ralph, Esq. (*c.*1467–1535) of Oxon.; Ash (Surr.)			x		
Vivian, Richard (d.1518) of Trevidren (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Vowell, Richard I (*c.*1420–85) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Vowell, Richard II (*c.*1445–98) of Wells (Som.)		**x**	**x**		
Vowell, William (*c.*1410–70) of Wells (Som.)			x		
Wadham, Sir John (fl.1483–1505) of Merrifield (Som.)				x	
Wadham, Nicholas, Esq. (fl.1498–1509)	**x**			**x**	
Wadham, William (*c.*1456–1522) of Catherston, Wootton FitzPaine (Dor.)			**x**	**x**	
Waget, Richard (*c.*1440–94) of Exeter (Dev.)			x		
Wake, Thomas (*c.*1402–58) of Clevedon (Som.); Blisworth (Northants.)				**x**	**x**
Wake, Thomas (d.1476) of Clevedon (Som.); Blisworth (Northants.)				x	
Wall/Hamlyn, John, (*c.*1465–1526) of Yeovil (Som.)			x		
Walrond, Thomas (*c.*1415–80) of Childrey (Berks.)			x		
Ward, William (*c.*1420–90) of Bridgwater (Som.)			**x**		
Warner, Thomas (*c.*1430–78) of London (Mid.)			x		
Warre, Richard Esq. (*c.*1422–82) of Hestercombe (Som.)	**x**				**x**
Warre, Robert, Esq. (d.1465) of Hestercombe (Som.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Watkins, John (*c.*1405–70) of Stoke Hammond (Bucks.)			x		
Welles, John (*c.*1455–1510) of Cor.			x		
West, Thomas (*c.*1405–65) of Cor.			x		
Westbury, William (*c.*1385–1450)				x	
Whalesburgh, Thomas, Esq. (d.1481) of Whalesburgh (Cor.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Wheatley, William (fl.1484) of Dor.					x
Whitfield, William (fl.1458) of Dev.					x
Whiting, Nicholas (*c.*1430–1500) of Gittisham (Dev.)			x		
Whitley, Richard (*c.*1435–71) of Dev.			x		
Whiteley, Richard, Esq. (fl.1500–1) of Dev.	x				
Whittocksmead, John (*c.*1410–82) of Benacre-by-Melksham (Wilts.)			**x**		
Willemer, John (fl.1494–1509) of Dev.				x	
Willoughby, Sir John (*c.*1421–77) of Broke (Wilts.)	**x**		**x**		**x**
Willoughby, Sir William (*c.*1455–1513) of Bere (Dor.)			x	**x**	x

Table II: Directory of the South-West Gentry (cont.)

Name and Residence	*Sher.*	*Esc.*	*MP*	*JP*	*Arr.*
Wilmot, Richard (*c.*1445–99) of Dor.			x		
Winslow, Thomas (*c.*1420–81)			x		
Wise, Thomas, Esq. (*c.*1417–74) of Sydenham-in-Marystow (Dev.)		**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**
Wodell, Thomas, Esq. (fl.1494–5)		x			
Wolfe, John (*c.*1425–83) of Kentisbury (Dev.)		**x**	**x**		
Wood, Christopher (*c.*1435–90) of Dor.			x		
Wood, John (fl.1487–8) of Som.				x	
Wood, Thomas (*c.*1445–1502) of Childrey (Berks); Balterley (Ches.)				**x**	
Worsley, Christopher, Esq. (d.1471) of Shute (Dev.)	**x**			**x**	**x**
Wroth, John (d.1480/1)		x			
Wydeslade, Richard (fl.1470–84) of Dev.				**x**	**x**
Wykes, John (*c.*1420–89) of Bindon-in-Axmouth (Dev.)			**x**	**x**	
Yeo, Nicholas, Esq. (fl.1481–2)		x			
Yeo, Robert (fl.1494–1504) of Dev.			x		
Young, Thomas (*c.*1415–77) of Easton (Som.); Shirehampton-by-Bristol (Gloucs.)				**x**	
Young, William (fl.1491–2) of Lostwithiel (Cor.)			x		

APPENDIX III

HUNGERFORD, ARUNDELL AND EDGCUMBE ASSOCIATES

TABLE I: HUNGERFORD ASSOCIATES 1441–80

Table I: Hungerford Associates 1441–80		
Bold denotes members of the south-west political elites.		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Arundell, Sir John (*c.*1421–73), of Lanherne (Cor.)	**Grantor, recipient, or witness in land transactions 1430s–77 (5)**	***CCR 1429–35*, 345–6; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; NRA17343 (Hungerford), WRO490/1511**
Beauchamp, Richard (d.1481), Bishop of Salisbury 1450–81	Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1463–72 (7)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271, 386; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246, 1078; *HR*, i, 288–9; WRO490/1477, 1478
Beaumont, Viscount, John	Feoffee 1459–60 (4); overseer of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93.
Bere, Thomas (fl.1451–85), of Lankynhorne; Bodmin (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1463 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 271**
Berkeley, Sir Maurice, of Beverstone (Glos.)	Feoffee 1472–3 (2); land transaction 1466 (1)	*HR*, i, 233, 303–4; *HC*, no. 923
Bonville, John	Land transaction 1466–73 (3)	*CCR 1461–8*, 394, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139
Borough, Walter	Feoffee 1459–69 (7); land transactions 1458–69 (12)	*CCR 1454–61*, 402, 439, 440, 441; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246, 248; *HR*, 241, 288–9; WRO490/1481, 1477; *HC*, no. 361, 661, 926
Beynton, Sir John	Feoffee *c.*1449–60 (7); land transactions 1443–60 (5)	*CCR 1468–76*, no. 646; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 224, 241; WRO490/1481, 1483, 1500; *HC*, no. 361, 661
Botreaux, Lord, William (*c.*1389–1462)	**Robert I's father-in-law; feoffee 1460 (2); land transaction 1460 (1)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; WRO490/1476**
Burgh, Sir Thomas	Land transactions 1469 (3)	*HR*, i, 289; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 235, 240
Carpenter, John, Bishop of Worcester 1443–76	Feoffee 1459–60 (2); Land transactions 1458–60 (2)	WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 241
Champneys, Thomas (d.1506), of Frome Salwood (Som.)	**Land transactions 1458–69 (2)**	**WRO490/1476; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230**
Chedworth, John, Bishop of Lincoln 1452–71	Feoffee 1460 (1); land transaction 1458 (1)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 241

Table 1: Hungerford Associates 1441–80 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Cheyne, John (fl.1443–74) of Pinhoe (Dev.); Pynne (Dor.)	**Feoffee *c.*1449–69 (4); land transactions 1462–72 (19); chantry founder**	***HR*, i, 256, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 386, 394, 394–5, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 227, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 646; WRO490/1477, 1478; *CPR 1467–77*, 311**
Choke, Richard (*c.*1410–83), Choke, John (d.1488), and Choke, William, of Long Ashton; Stanton Drew (Som.)	**Feoffee 1460 (1); land transactions 1462–9 (4)**	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *CCR 1461–68*, 144; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230, 231
Clevedon, John	Feoffee 1463–9 (6); land transactions 1459–72 (12)	*CCR 1454–61*, 402; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 394; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 236, 237, 238, 239, 246, 1078; *HR*, i, 288, 288–9; WRO490/1477, 1478; *HC*, no. 925.
Coleshill, Sir John (*c.*1420–84), of Tremethart; Binhammy (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1463–9 (3)**	***HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236**
Copplestone, Philip (d.1473), of Colbrook (Dev.)	**Land transaction 1463 (1)**	***HR*, i, 256**
Cornburgh, Avery (*c.*1430–87), of Bere Ferrers (Dev.); Dover's (Ess.)	**Land transactions 1463–70 (2)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 552**
Courtenay, Henry	Land transactions 1466–8 (3)	*HC*, no. 923, 924, 926
Courtenay, Sir Hugh (*c.*1420–71), of Haccombe; Boconnoc (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1463–7 (2)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246**
Courtenay, Sir Philip (*c.*1404–63) of Powderham (Dev.)	**Son-in-law of Walter; land transaction 1460 (1)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 440**
Courtenay, Sir Philip (*c.*1430–89), of Kingston and Molland (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1467–77 (2)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 246, 1078; WRO490/1511**
De La Warre, Baron, Richard West	Feoffee 1460 (1)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439
Estyngton, Thomas	Feoffee 1459–60 (5)	WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 241
Fortescue, Sir John (*c.*1394–1476) of Modbury; Holbeton (Dev.)	**Feoffee 1459–60 (4); land transactions 1458–60 (2); overseer of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459**	**WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *HR*, i, 241; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93**
Glyn, John (*c.*1448–1512), of Morval (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1470 (1)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 552**
Hastings, Lord, William (*c.*1430–83)	**Land transaction 1472 (1); marriage agreement 1474**	***HR*, i, 303–4; WRO490/1465**
Huggins, John (*c.*1430–1500), of Whitstaunton (Som.)	**Land transactions 1466–73 (2)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139**
Hull, Henry (*c.*1410–85), of Exeter (Dev.) and Ashill (Som.)	**Land transaction 1463–4 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 272**
Hulse, Andrew	Feoffee 1460 (1); land transactions 1458–60 (2)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4
Hungerford, Arnold	Feoffee 1460 (2)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439
Hungerford, Sir Edmund (fl.1452–70) of Down Ampney (Glos.)	**Robert I's brother; feoffee 1460 (3); land transactions 1443–68 (3); beneficiary of will of Robert I, 1459**	***Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93; *CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 224, 241, 253–4; *HC*, no. 661, 926**

Table I: Hungerford Associates 1441–80 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Hungerford, Edward	Land transaction 1468 (1); executor of will of Margaret, Lady Hungerford 1480	*HC*, no. 926; PRO, PROB11/7, ff. 207r–207v.
Hungerford, Leonard	Land transaction 1473 (1)	*CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139
Hungerford, Thomas	Feoffee 1460 (1); land transaction 1460 (1); beneficiary of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 237; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93
Hungerford, Walter	Land transaction 1468 (1)	*HC*, no. 926
Hymerford, John (*c.*1425–1501), of East Coker (Som.)	**Land transaction 1466 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 395**
Kymber, Gilbert, Dean of Salisbury	Feoffee *c.*1449–60 (3); land transactions 1452–8 (2)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 646; *HR*, i, 241; WRO490/1483
Legh, Robert	Land transactions 1452–68 (3)	WRO490/1483; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245; *HC*, no. 926
Long, Henry	Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1458–69 (6)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246; *HR*, i, 288–9; WRO490/1476, 1477
Manningham, Oliver	Husband of Eleanor, Lady Hungerford; land transaction 1472 (1)	*HR*, i, 303–4
Martyn, William (*c.*1445–1504), of Athelhampton (Dor.)	**Attorney 1472 (1)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 1078**
Mervyn, John, of Heytesbury (Wilt.)	Feoffee *c.*1449–71 (17); land transactions 1452–77 (27); foundation 1472; executor and beneficiary of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	*CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440, 441; *CCR 1461–8*, 144, 189, 190, 271, 272, 394, 465; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 227, 236, 237, 238, 239, 246, 250, 552, 646, 657, 1078; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4, 256, 288, 288–9; *HC*, no. 361, 661, 925; WRO490/1483, 1496/1, 3, 1481, 1484, 1477, 1496/4, 1479, 1500; *CPR 1467–77*, 311; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93
Middleton, George (*c.*1425–79)	**Land transaction 1466 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 395**
Milbourne, Simon	Feoffee 1460 (2); land transaction 1459 (1)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241; *HC*, no. 661
Monpesson, John	Feoffee 1460–9 (7); land transactions 1458–77 (13)	WRO490/1477, 1478, 1479; *CCR 1454–61*, 402, 439, 441; *HR*, i, 241; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 245, 246, 248, 250; *HC*, no. 661, 926; *HR*, i, 241, 288–9
Montague, William	Land transactions 1466–73 (4)	*CCR 1461–8*, 394–5; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139
Neville, George, Bishop of Exeter 1456–65; Archbishop of York 1465–76	Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1463–9 (5)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271, 386; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246; WRO490/1477; *HR*, i, 288–9
Newburgh, John (*c.*1405–84) of East Lulworth (Dor.)	**Feoffee 1463–9 (5); land transactions 1462–9 (8)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 246; *HR*, i, 288–9; WRO490/1477**

Table I: Hungerford Associates 1441–80 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Paulet, Sir William (*c.*1404–88), of Hinton St George (Dor.)	**Land transactions 1463–7 (4)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 272, 395; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246**
Peers, John	Feoffee 1459–67 (6); land transactions 1463–72 (3); executor of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	WRO490/1500; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 440; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 246, 1078; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4, 256; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93
Pembroke, Earl of, Jasper Tudor (*c.*1430–95)	**Feoffee 1460 (1)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 439**
Preston, Stephen (*c.*1425–74), of Catherton; Silton (Dor.)	**Land transactions 1466–73 (5)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 394–5; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1139**
Rede, George	Feoffee 1467–8 (2); land transaction 1472 (1)	*CCR 1468–76*, no. 250, 1078; *HR*, i, 288
Rodney, Sir Walter, (*c.*1410–67) of Rodney Stoke (Som.)	**Robert I's brother-in-law; feoffee 1441–8**	***HPB*, 720–1**
Rotherham, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln 1472–80	Feoffee 1472–3 (2)	*HR*, i, 233, 303–4
Sayer, Thomas	Feoffee 1459–64 (3); land transactions 1458–69 (3)	WRO490/1500; *CCR 1461–8*, 272; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 239; *HC*, no. 925
Seymour, Sir Thomas (d.1489)	**Land transactions 1462–9 (3)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 144; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230, 246**
Stafford, Lord, Humphrey (*c.*1439–69), of Hooke (Dor.); Southwick (Wilts.)	**Land transaction 1464 (1)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 245**
Staveley, Walter	Land transactions 1469 (3)	*CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238
Staveley, William	Feoffee 1463–9 (4)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 246; *HR*, i, 288–9
Stillington, Robert (d.1491), Bishop of Bath and Wells 1465–91	Feoffee 1472–3 (2)	*HR*, i, 233, 303–4
Stourton, Lord, John (*c.*1399–1462), and Stourton, Lord, William (*c.*1430–78)	**Feoffee 1460 (1); land transactions 1443–64 (3)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 439; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 245; *HR*, i, 224, 237, 253–4**
Stourton, Sir Reginald (d.1489), of West Bower (Som.)	**Land transaction 1460 (1)**	***HR*, i, 237**
Stowell, Robert (d.1499), of Cothelstone (Som.)	**Land transactions 1463–7 (2)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 272, 394–5**
Sydenham, John I (*c.*1420–68), and Sydenham, John II (d.1521) of Brimpton Devery (Som.)	**Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1459–69 (11)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 440; *HR*, i, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 394; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 227, 236, 239, 240, 246; WRO490/1477**
Tocotes, Sir Roger	Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1459–72 (18)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271, 272, 386; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 245, 246, 250, 1078; WRO490/1477; *HR*, i, 237, 288, 288–9, 289; *HC*, no. 923, 926.
Tregarthyn, Thomas I (*c.*1410–75), of Tregarthyn (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1469–70 (2)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 552.**
Tremayle, Thomas (*c.*1440–1508) of Cannington (Som.)	**Feoffee 1472–3 (2)**	***HR*, i, 233, 303–4**

Table I: Hungerford Associates 1441–80 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Tropenell, Thomas	Agent; executor; feoffee 1460–76 (9); land transactions 1458–77 (11); bequeathed a 'silver cup' in will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	*HPB*, 875–6; *CCR 1454–61*, 439, 441; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4, 288–9; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; WRO490/1477, 1479; *HC*, no. 923, 926; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 245, 246, 250, 552; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, pp.186–93.
Touke, John	Feoffee 1460–9 (9); land transactions 1458–77 (8)	*CCR 1454–61*, 439; *CCR 1461–8*, 271, 465; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246, 250, 1078; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4, 288–9; WRO490/1477, 1478, 1479
Twynho, William I (*c.*1420–72), of Keyford by Frome (Som.)	**Land transaction 1469 (1)**	***CCR 1468–76*, no. 230**
Wadham, William (*c.*1456–1522), of Catherston; Wootton FitzPaine (Dor.)	**Land transaction 1466 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 395**
Walter, John	Feoffee 1463–9 (3); land transactions 1463–9 (5)	*CCR 1461–8*, 271; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236, 237, 238, 246; *HR*, i, 288–9; WRO490/1477
Westby, Gregory, of Fonthill Gifford (Wilt.)	Feoffee 1459–71 (11); land transactions 1459–69 (23); attorney 1460 (2); beneficiary of will of Robert, Lord Hungerford 1459	*CCR 1454–61*, 440; *CCR 1461–8*, 144, 189, 190, 271, 272, 394, 465; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 226, 227, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 245, 246, 248, 250, 657; *HR*, i, 241, 253–4, 256, 288, 288–9, 289; *HC*, no. 361, 661, 925; WRO490/1477, 1481, 1500; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 186–93
Willoughby, Sir John (*c.*1421–77) of Broke (Wilts.)	**Feoffee 1463–9 (4); land transactions 1463–9 (8)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 288–9; WRO490/1477; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 230, 236, 237, 238, 245, 246, 250**
Worsley, Christopher (d.1471), of Shute (Dev.)	**Land transaction 1466 (1)**	***CCR 1461–8*, 395**
Young, Thomas (*c.*1415–77) of Easton (Som.); Shirehampton by Bristol (Glos.)	**Feoffee 1460 (2); land transaction 1460 (1)**	***CCR 1454–61*, 439; *HR*, i, 241**

TABLE II: ARUNDELL ASSOCIATES 1450–1500

Table II: Arundell Associates 1450–1500

Bold denotes members of the south-west political elites.

Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Arundell, John, of Tolverne (Cor.)	Distant cousin; grantor, recipient, or witness in land transaction 1500 (1)	NRA22502 (Arundell), CRO, AR1/368
Arundell, John, of Trerice (Cor.)	Distant cousin; land transaction 1470 (1)	AR1/105/1
Arundell, Sir Renfrew (*c.*1425–68), and Arundell, Edmund (d.1503/4), of Tremodret (Cor.)	**Cousin; tenant 1460, 1499**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 25, 36, 102, 106, 131**
Bere, Thomas (fl.1451–85), of Lankynhorne (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1459–67 (3)**	**AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/362**
Bere, William (*c.*1410–69), of Pengelly (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1458 (1)**	**AR1/266**
Beville, John	Land transactions 1468 (3)	AR1/43, 44, 45
Beville, Peter (fl.1488–1509)	**Land transactions 1498–1500 (3); tenant 1499**	**AR4/1043, 1387; AR1/368; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 102, 139**
Biconyll, John (*c.*1425–1501), of South Perrott (Dor.)	**Feoffee 1479–85 (2); annuity; land transaction 1462 (1); bonds 1483–5 (2); executor of will of Thomas Arundell 1485**	AR21/6, AR20/30; AR1/915; AR7/16, 17; *Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7
Bodrugan, Henry (d.1503), of Bodrigan (Cor.)	**Cousin; feoffee, land transactions 1456–65 (3); tenant 1460–80**	**AR1/270; AR1/265/1, 2; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 17, 29, 50, 81**
Bodulgate, Thomas (*c.*1410–71), of Trencreek (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1451–8 (2)**	**AR19/10; AR1/940**
Botreaux, Lord, William	**Tenant 1463**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 39–40**
Browning, William (*c.*1405–72), of Melbury Sampford (Dor.)	**Land transaction (1); bond 1458**	**AR1/941; AR1/942**
Byan, Robert	Land transactions 1463 (3)	AR24/9, 10, 11
Calmady, Stephen	Land transactions 1498–1500 (3); attorney 1500	AR4/961, 2131; AR1/368; AR20/34
Carminow, John (fl.1474–92), of Carminow (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1466–77 (4)**	**AR1/361; AR20/28, 29; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1384**
Carminow, Nicholas	Land transactions 1458–63 (11)	AR1/177, 48, 268, 940; AR4/1394, 1395; AR20/24, 26; AR24/9, 10, 11
Carnesew, William (fl.1483–1502), of Bokelly (Cor.)	**Tenant 1499**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 138**
Coleshill, Sir John (*c.*1420–84), of Tremethart and Binhammy (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1451–75 (5)**	**AR19/10; AR20/24, 26; AR1/361; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1384**
Courtenay, Sir Hugh (*c.*1420–71), of Haccombe; Boconnoc (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1460–6 (3)**	**AR20/24, 26; AR1/710**
Courtenay, Walter (*c.*1440–1504), of Exeter (Dev.)	**Land transaction 1466 (1)**	**AR1/710**
Cudbert, Robert	Land transactions 1468 (3)	AR1/43, 44, 45

Table II: Arundell Associates 1450–1500 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Dinham, Charles (*c.*1434–91), of Nutwell (Dev.)	**Thomas's brother-in-law; executor, and feoffee 1485**	***Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7**
Dinham, Roger (d.1490)	**Thomas's brother-in-law; feoffee 1485**	***Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7**
Dorset, Marquess of, Thomas Grey	**Tenant 1480–99**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 88, 132**
Edgcumbe, Sir Piers (*c.*1477–1539), of Cotehele; Mount Edgcumbe (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1500 (1); tenant 1499**	**AR1/368; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 117**
Frampton, William (*c.*1410–74), of Moreton (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1458–62 (2)**	**AR1/915, 940**
Glyn, John (*c.*1448–1512), of Morval (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1498 (1)**	**AR1/364**
Grenville, Sir Thomas (*c.*1450–1513), of Kirkhampton; Stowe (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1499 (1)**	**AR4/2131**
Grey, Robert (d.1476), of Dor.	**Land transaction 1458 (1)**	**AR1/940**
Hastings, Lord, Edward	**Tenant 1499**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 130**
Hungerford, Lords	**Land transactions 1430s–77 (5)**	***CCR 1429–35*, 345–6; *CCR 1461–8*, 271; *HR*, i, 258; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 236; WRO490/1511**
Hody, William (*c.*1434–1524), of Gothelney (Som.)	**Feoffee 1479 (1); annuity**	AR21/6; AR20/30
Huddlesfield, William (*c.*1435–99), of Dittisham; Shillingford (Dev.)	**Feoffee 1479 (1); annuity**	AR21/6; AR20/30
Huggins, John (*c.*1430–1500), of Whitstaunton (Som.)	**Feoffee 1479 (1)**	**AR21/6**
Hull, Sir Edward (*c.*1410–54), of Enmore (Som.)	**Land transaction 1451 (1)**	**AR19/10**
Hymerford, John (*c.*1425–1501), of East Coker (Som.)	**Land transaction 1462 (1)**	**AR1/915**
Kellygrew, Thomas (*c.*1446–1500), of Arwenack (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1472–1500 (2); tenant 1480–99**	**AR20/34; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 67, 123**
Kendale, Richard	Land transactions 1459–66 (3)	AR4/1394, 1395; AR1/361
Limbury, Thomas (*c.*1425–92), of Launceston (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1458–80 (23)**	**AR1/177, 268, 48, 89, 90, 45, 105/1, 270, 362, 363, 389, 390, 710; AR4/184, 185, 186, 877, 528, 726, 1259, 1472; AR20/28; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009**
Menwyneck, William (*c.*1420–78), of Menwyneck (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1459–77 (4)**	**AR4/1259; AR20/28; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009, 1384**
Mitchell, John Jr	Land transactions 1453–63 (6); attorney 1451	AR1/924, 268; AR4/12; AR24/9, 10, 11; AR19/10
Mordaunt, John (*c.*1455–1504), of Turvey (Beds.)	**Land transaction 1500 (1)**	AR1/365
Oxford, Earl of, John de Vere (*c.*1442–1513)	**Free tenant 1460**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 29**
Penpons, Richard (*c.*1405–65/6), of Treswithian (Cor.)	**Steward; land transactions 1453–66 (12)**	**AR1/358; AR1/924, 995/1; AR4/12, 526, 528, 726; AR4/163/1, 2; AR24/9, 10, 11**

Table II: Arundell Associates 1450–1500 (cont.)		
Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Porter, John (fl.1459–83)	**Land transaction (1); Bond 1458**	**AR1/941; AR1/942**
Reskymmer, Ralph (d.1465/6)	**Land transactions 1450–8 (4); tenant 1459**	***DCAD*, iv, A8792, 10107; v, A11441; AR1/266; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 13, 17, 21.**
Reynold, Richard	Land transactions 1457–72 (5)	AR1/995/1, 105/1; AR4/528, 726; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009
Roche, Nicholas	Land transactions 1458–60 (5)	AR1/177, 48, 268; AR20/24, 26
Ruthfos, Thomas	Land transactions 1453–66 (7)	AR1/924, 389, 89, 90; AR4/12, 528, 726
Sage, Thomas (*c.*1415–61), of Grampound (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1456–60 (6)**	**AR1/924, 177, 266; AR4/1259; AR20/24, 26**
St Aubyn, Thomas (d.1512), of Clowance (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1470–7 (2)**	**AR1/105/1; AR20/28**
Sapcotes, Sir John (*c.*1448–1501), of Bampton (Dev.)	**Feoffee 1485 (1)**	***Somerset Wills 1383–1500*, 256–7**
Stafford, John, Archbishop of Canterbury 1443–52	Land transaction 1451 (1)	AR19/10
Suffolk, Duchess of, Alice	Land transaction 1471 (1)	*CCR 1468–76*, no. 806
Sydenham, John I (*c.*1420–68), of Brimpton Devery (Som.)	**Land transaction (1); Bond 1458**	**AR1/941; AR1/942**
Tomyow, Richard	Feoffee 1479; land transactions 1457–80 (10)	AR1/995/1; AR4/528, 726, 163/1, 2; AR20/28; AR4/184, 185, 186; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009; AR21/6
Treffry, Sir John (d.1500), of Fowey (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1500 (2); tenant 1480–99**	**AR1/368; AR20/34; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 97, 114**
Treffry, Thomas (fl.1461–74), of Fowey (Cor.)	**Tenant 1463**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 55**
Tregarthyn, Thomas I (*c.*1410–75), of Tregarthyn (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1465–75 (3)**	**AR1/270; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1009, 1384**
Tremayle, Thomas (*c.*1440–1508), of Cannington (Som.)	**Land transaction 1480 (1)**	AR4/184
Trenowith, John (*c.*1427–97), of Fentengollan; Bodmin (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1460–75 (4); tenant 1463–80**	**AR20/24, 26; AR1/361; *CCR 1468–76*, no. 1384; *Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 61, 93**
Tressawell, John	Land transactions 1458–70 (4)	AR1/177, 48, 268, 105/1
Trevelyan, John (fl.1484–1509), of Nettlecombe (Som.)	**Tenant 1499**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 106, 117**
Trewila, William	Land transactions 1480 (4)	AR4/184, 185, 186, 877
Tyrell, Sir James (*c.*1445–1502), of Gipping (Suff.)	**John's son-in-law; marriage agreement 1469**	**AR1/835, 836**
Udy, Robert, clerk	Land transactions 1456–69 (10)	AR1/924, 270, 89, 90, 362, 363, 995/1; AR4/1472, 163/1, 2
Vivian, Richard (d.1518), of Trevidren (Cor.)	**Tenant 1460**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 39**
Whalesburgh, Thomas (d.1481), of Whalesburgh (Cor.)	**Tenant 1480**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 73**
Willoughby de Broke, Lord, Robert (*c.*1452–1502)	**Arundell was Willoughby's feoffee 1486 (1)**	***CCR 1485–1500*, no. 83**
Wydeslade, Richard (fl.1470–84)	**Tenant 1480–99**	***Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, 81, 144**

TABLE III: EDGCUMBE ASSOCIATES 1487–1500

Table III: Edgcumbe Associates 1487–1500

Bold denotes members of the south-west political elites.

Name and Residence	*Connection*	
	Capacity (Frequency)	*References*
Arundell, Sir John (*c.*1474–1545), of Lanherne (Cor.)	**Grantor, recipient, or witness in land transaction 1500 (1)**	**NRA22502 (Arundell), CRO, AR1/368**
Beville, Peter (fl.1488–1509)	**Land transactions 1496–1500 (2)**	**NRA4207 (Edgcumbe), CRO, ME486; AR1/368**
Biconyll, Sir John (*c.*1425–1501), of South Perrott (Dor.)	**Land transaction 1488 (1)**	**ME622**
Buckland, Abbot of, Thomas	Land transaction 1498 (1)	ME1449
Carew, Alexander (d.1493), of Antony (Cor.); Shogbroke (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1487–8 (3)**	**ME523, 524, 622**
Carminow, John (fl.1474–92), of Carminow (Cor.)	**Land transaction 1488 (1)**	**ME622**
Fulford, Sir Thomas (d.1490), of Fulford (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1487 (2)**	**ME523, 524**
Holland, Roger (*c.*1450–1506), of Cowick-in-Exeter (Dev.)	**Land transactions 1487–98 (4)**	**ME523, 524, 486, 526/1**
Huddlesfield, Sir William (*c.*1435–99), of Dittisham and Shillingford (Dev.)	**Land transaction 1488 (1)**	**ME622**
Kellygrew, Thomas (*c.*1446–1500), of Arwenack (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1487–8 (3)**	**ME523, 524, 622**
Sapcotes, Sir John (*c.*1448–1501), of Bampton (Dev.); Elton (Hants.)	**Land transaction 1498 (1)**	**ME526/1**
Treffry, Sir John (d.1500), of Fowey (Cor.)	**Land transactions 1488–1500 (3)**	**ME623, 486; AR1/368**
Tremayne, John	Land transaction 1488 (1)	ME623
Willoughby de Broke, Lord, Robert (*c.*1452–1502)	**Land transactions 1487–98 (4); bond 1494**	**ME526/1, 523, 524, 622; *CCR 1485–1500*, no. 753**

APPENDIX IV

SOUTH-WEST COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1450–1500

TABLE I: CORNWALL COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1445–1502

Table I: Cornwall Commissions of the Peace 1445–1502

Key: Commission: The first date is that of the appointment of the JPs, and the second is that of the date of the next commission issued. Continuity: The number of JPs continuing from one commission to the next (excluding lawyers)

Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1445–51	7	13	57%
1451–3	11	11	100%
1453–5	11	12	92%
Mar–Dec 1455	11	13	85%
10–16 Dec 1455	13	13	100%
1455–8	13	14	93%
1458–9	8	14	57%
1459–60	9	9	100%
Overall 1445–62	*7*	*22*	*32%*
1460–2	7	13	54%
18–24 Feb 1462	8	9	89%
1462–3	8	8	100%
Mar–Jul 1463	9	9	100%
1463–5	10	10	100%
1465–6	12	12	100%
Apr–Aug 1466	13	12	92%
Aug–Nov 1466	13	13	100%
1466–7	13	14	100%
1467–9	11	14	79%
1469–70	9	14	64%
Nov–Dec 1470	11	11	100%

Table I: Cornwall Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1470–1	10	12	83%
Jan–18 Feb 1471	11	11	100%
18–23 Feb 1471	10	12	83%
Overall 1462–71	*3*	*29*	*10%*
1471–2	7	12	58%
1472–3	14	16	88%
1473–4	12	17	71%
1474–5	8	15	53%
1475–6	10	10	100%
Apr–Nov 1476	8	11	73%
1476–7	10	10	100%
1477–8	10	11	91%
Feb–Jun 1478	11	11	100%
Jun–Jul 1478	9	11	82%
1478–9	10	11	91%
1479–80	12	12	100%
Overall 1471–83	*0*	*33*	*0%*
1480–3	6	13	46%
May–24 Jul 1483	8	14	57%
24–26 Jul 1483	16	16	100%
Jul–Dec 1483	9	16	56%
1483–4	16	19	84%
Overall 1483–5	*1*	*34*	*3%*
1484–5	6	18	33%
1485–6	12	14	86%
8–20 Feb 1486	19	19	100%
1486–7	21	23	91%
1487–8	21	24	88%
1488–92	12	25	48%
1492–3	22	22	100%
1493–4	23	24	96%
1494–5	21	30	70%

Table I: Cornwall Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1495–6	25	27	93%
11–16 Mar 1496	26	26	100%
Mar–Nov 1496	25	28	89%
1496–7	26	27	96%
1497–8	25	29	86%
1498–1502	19	29	66%
Overall 1485–1502	*1*	*60*	*2%*

TABLE II: DEVON COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1448–1501

Table II: Devon Commissions of the Peace 1448–1501			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1448–51	10	15	66%
1451–3	10	10	100%
1453–5	12	12	100%
Apr–Dec 1455	9	13	69%
3–16 Dec 1455	10	10	100%
1455–6	9	11	82%
1456–7	9	12	75%
May–Jul 1457	12	12	100%
1457–8	12	14	86%
16–29 Jun 1458	13	14	93%
Jun–Sep 1458	15	15	100%
Sep–Nov 1458	11	16	69%
1458–9	9	12	75%
1459–60	4	11	36%
Overall 1448–61	*2*	*27*	*7%*
1460–1	8	10	80%
6 Jun 1461	3	10	30%
Jun–Jul 1461	3	8	38%
Jul–Nov 1461	9	11	82%
1461–2	11	11	100%
1462–3	11	12	92%

Table II: Devon Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1463–4	12	13	92%
Feb–Oct 1464	13	14	93%
1464–5	13	14	93%
1465–6	13	14	93%
Oct–Nov 1466	16	16	100%
1466–8	15	17	88%
Feb–Jul 1468	20	20	100%
1468–9	19	20	95%
1469–70	18	19	95%
Feb–Apr 1470	18	19	95%
Apr–Nov 1470	9	22	41%
Nov–Dec 1470	11	12	93%
1470–1	11	11	100%
5–20 Feb 1471	12	12	100%
Feb–Mar 1471	13	12	92%
Overall 1461–71	*1*	*43*	*2%*
Mar–Jun 1471	7	14	50%
1471–2	19	19	100%
May–Nov 1472	21	21	100%
1472–4	21	23	91%
Feb–Sep 1474	3	23	13%
1474–5	3	10	30%
1475–6	13	14	93%
1476–7	13	14	93%
Feb–Mar 1477	14	14	100%
1477–8	13	15	87%
1478–9	13	15	87%
1479–80	13	14	93%
Feb–Mar 1480	17	17	100%
Mar–Jun 1480	17	18	94%
Jun–Oct 1480	16	18	89%
1480–1	16	16	100%
Feb–Nov 1481	16	16	100%
1481–2	18	18	100%

Table II: Devon Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Overall 1471–83	*0*	*31*	*0%*
1482–3	13	21	62%
14–24 May 1483	15	15	100%
May–Jun 1483	13	15	87%
Jun–Aug 1483	16	18	89%
Aug–Dec 1483	12	20	60%
1483–4	15	16	94%
Jan–14 Feb 1484	18	18	100%
14–21 Feb 1484	19	19	100%
Feb–Dec 1484	20	20	100%
Overall 1483–5	*5*	*35*	*14%*
1484–7	6	20	30%
1487–91	12	14	86%
1491–2	18	20	90%
1492–4	19	22	86%
May–Nov 1494	27	27	100%
1494–5	29	30	97%
Feb–Jul 1495	30	30	100%
1495–6	31	32	97%
1496–1501	23	31	74%
Overall 1485–1501	*4*	*54*	*7%*

TABLE III: DORSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1447–1500

Table III: Dorset Commissions of the Peace 1447–1500			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1447–51	8	14	57%
1451–3	10	11	91%
1453–5	9	12	75%
1455–6	11	11	100%
1456–8	9	12	75%
15–20 Nov 1458	10	12	83%

Table III: Dorset Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Overall 1447–61	*7*	*18*	*39%*
1458–61	6	10	60%
1461–3	12	12	100%
1463–5	9	12	75%
Apr–May 1465	10	10	100%
May–Jul 1465	11	11	100%
1465–6	11	12	92%
Feb–Jul 1466	13	13	100%
1466–7	12	13	92%
1467–8	13	13	100%
1468–9	13	14	93%
1469–70	7	14	50%
Overall 1461–71	*3*	*25*	*12%*
1470–1	6	10	60%
1471–2	12	13	92%
1472–3	14	14	100%
1473–4	16	16	100%
Feb–Jul 1474	15	17	88%
1474–5	12	15	80%
1475–8	9	16	56%
1478–9	10	11	91%
Jan–May 1479	10	11	91%
May–Sep 1479	11	11	100%
1479–80	12	12	100%
1480–1	13	13	100%
Feb–Dec 1481	12	14	86%
1481–2	13	14	93%
12–26 Feb 1482	14	14	100%
Feb–Nov 1482	15	15	100%
1482–3	16	17	94%
Overall 1471–83	*0*	*37*	*0%*
Mar–Jun 1483	11	17	65%

Table III: Dorset Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
3–26 Jun 1483	11	15	73%
Jun–Dec 1483	8	17	47%
Overall 1483–5	*4*	*28*	*14%*
1483–5	3	11	27%
1485–8	12	13	92%
1488–91	11	13	85%
1491–3	14	14	100%
Feb–May 1493	15	15	100%
1493–4	16	16	100%
1494–6	14	17	82%
1496–7	16	16	100%
1497–8	18	19	95%
1498–9	20	22	91%
1499–1500	22	23	96%
Overall 1458–1500	*2*	*39*	*5%*

TABLE IV: SOMERSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1449–1500

Table IV: Somerset Commissions of the Peace 1449–1500			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1449–51	22	27	81%
Jul–Nov 1451	18	23	78%
1451–3	15	18	83%
1453–4	17	19	89%
May–Jul 1454	19	19	100%
1454–7	17	20	85%
Jun–Oct 1457	19	19	100%
1457–9	14	20	70%
Overall 1449–61	*7*	*30*	*23%*
1459–61	8	14	57%
1461–2	17	17	100%
1462–3	18	18	100%

Table IV: Somerset Commissions of the Peace (cont.)

Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
1463–6	13	18	72%
Feb–Jul 1466	17	17	100%
Jul–Nov 1466	18	19	95%
1466–8	16	18	89%
1468–9	17	18	94%
Jul–Nov 1469	17	18	94%
1469–70	10	18	55%
Overall 1461–72	*1*	*32*	*3%*
1470–2	8	11	73%
1472–3	13	14	93%
17–26 Nov 1473	15	15	100%
1473–4	14	16	88%
Aug–Sep 1474	3	16	19%
Sep–Nov 1474	3	10	30%
Nov–Dec 1474	16	16	100%
1474–5	14	17	82%
1475–6	16	22	73%
Jun–Oct 1476	16	17	94%
Oct–Nov 1476	16	17	94%
1476–9	15	17	88%
Jan–May 1479	16	16	100%
1479–80	17	17	100%
1480–1	19	19	100%
1481–2	19	20	95%
Apr–Oct 1482	20	21	95%
Oct–Nov 1482	21	21	100%
Overall 1472–83	*0*	*45*	*0%*
1482–3	14	22	64%
Apr–Jun 1483	17	17	100%
Jun–Jul 1483	15	18	83%
Jul–Aug 1483	19	20	95%
Aug–Dec 1483	10	19	53%
1483–4	19	19	100%

Table IV: Somerset Commissions of the Peace (cont.)			
Commission	*Continuity*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Overall 1482–5	*6*	*38*	*16%*
1484–5	4	21	19%
Sep–Nov 1485	10	11	91%
20–30 Nov 1485	11	11	100%
1485–6	13	13	100%
1486–7	14	14	100%
May–Aug 1487	16	19	100%
1487–8	14	17	82%
1488–91	16	17	94%
1491–3	20	21	95%
1493–4	20	23	87%
1494–5	22	23	96%
1495–8	20	23	87%
Feb–Dec 1498	23	23	100%
1498–9	24	24	100%
1499–1500	25	25	100%
Overall 1485–1500	*3*	*38*	*8%*

DIAGRAM I: CORNWALL COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1445–98

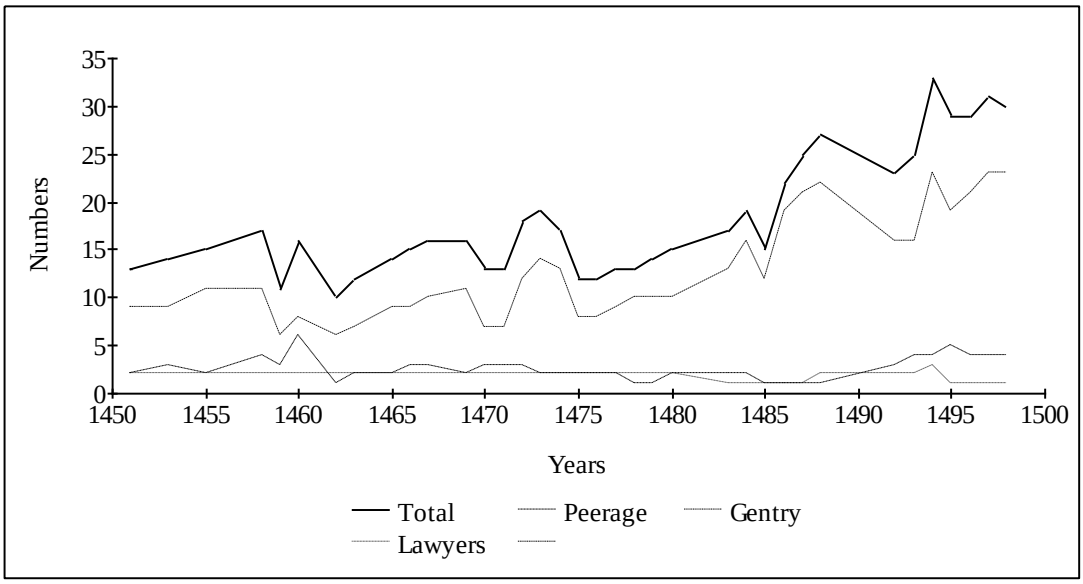


DIAGRAM II: DEVON COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1448–96

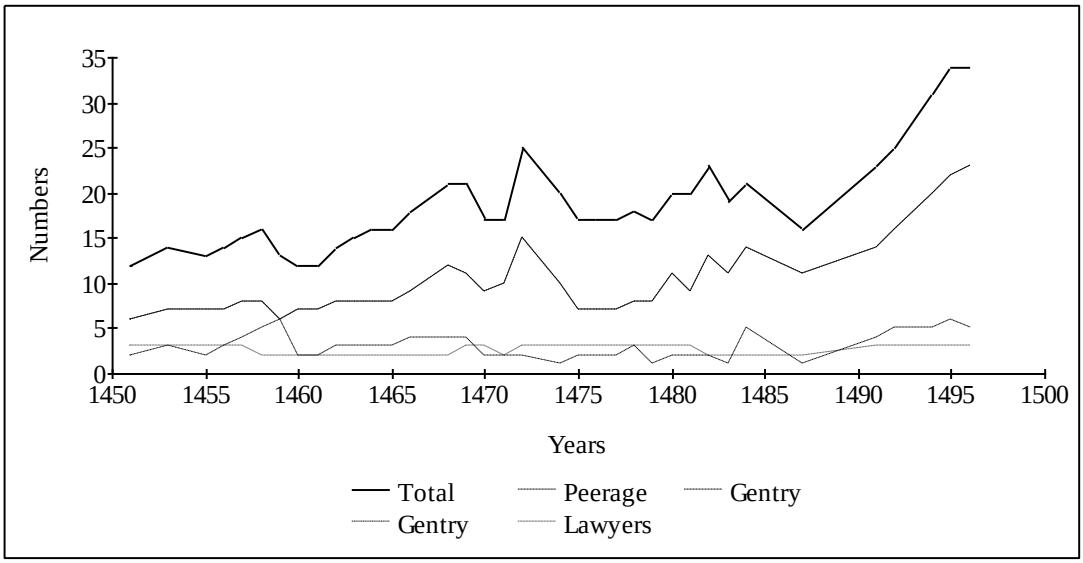


DIAGRAM III: DORSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1447–1500

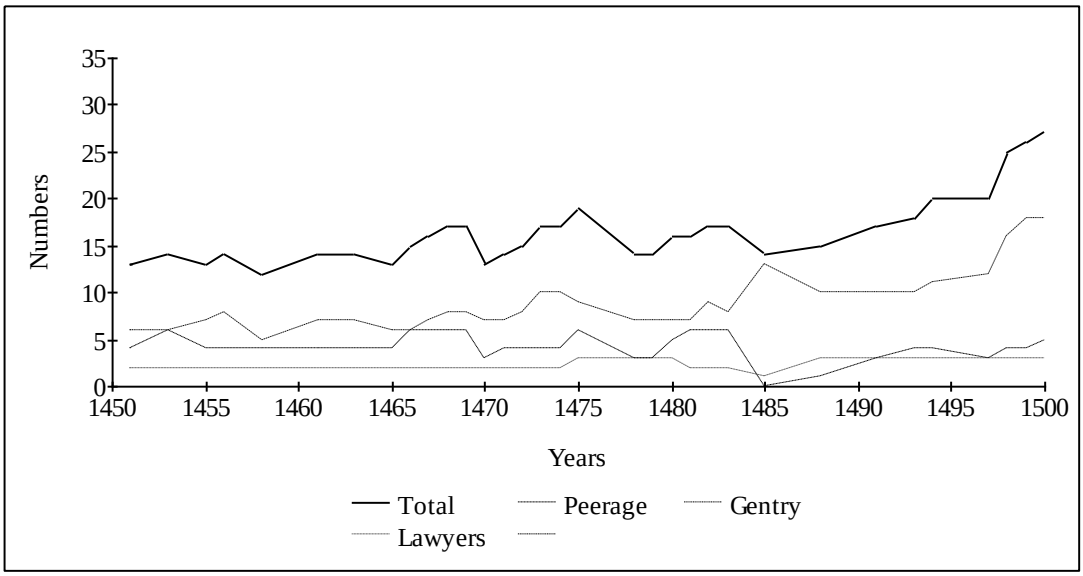
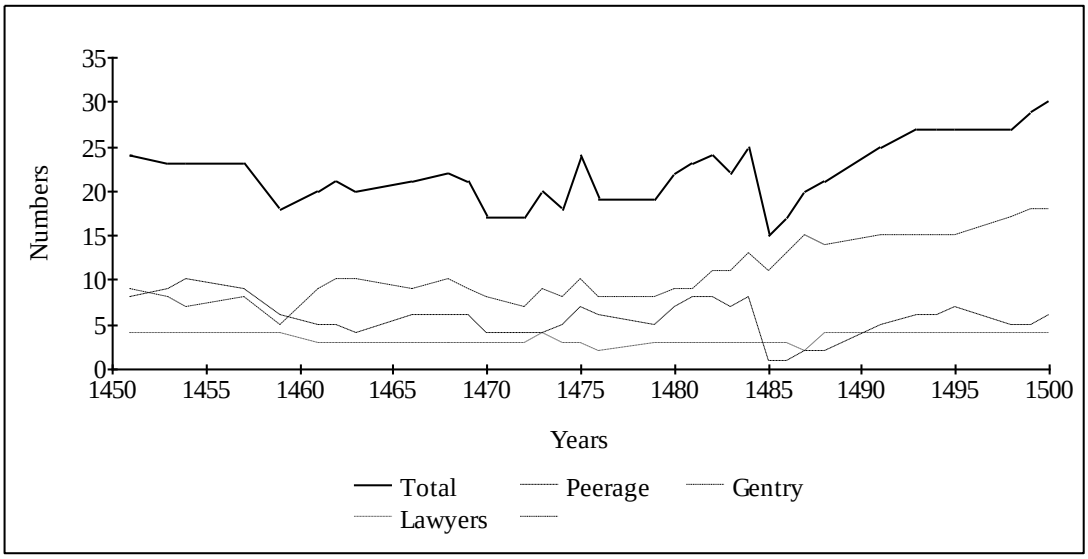


DIAGRAM IV: SOMERSET COMMISSIONS OF THE PEACE 1449–1500



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SC6	Special Collections, Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts

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	ME	Edgcumbe (of Mount Edgcumbe) Manuscripts
NRA6670	Somerset County Record Office, Taunton	
	L	Luttrell (of Dunster) Manuscripts
NRA17343	Wiltshire County Record Office, Trowbridge	
	WRO490	Hungerford Manuscripts
NRA22502	Cornwall County Record Office, Truro	
	AR	Arundell (of Lanherne) Manuscripts
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