

THE CAREER OF JOHN HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK,

1420 - 1485

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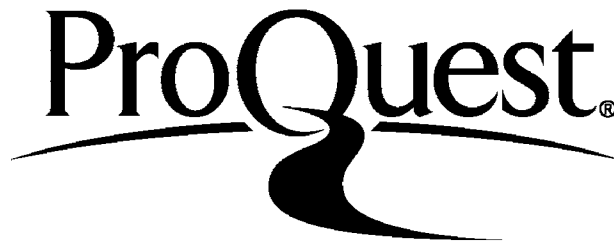
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## THE CAREER OF JOHN HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK, 1420 - 1485

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### ABSTRACT

John Howard, c.1420<sup>3</sup> - 1485, baron Howard and first duke of Norfolk, was one of the most important men of the Yorkist period and this is an attempt to place his career within the political, economic and social framework of his time. He was a consistently loyal supporter of the Yorkists from the late 1450s until his death at Bosworth and an indefatigable royal servant, active in the military field, as an agent of the crown at home in East Anglia, as a councillor at Westminster and as an ambassador who became England's leading envoy to France. In return for this service he received grants of both offices and lands, culminating in the dukedom of Norfolk (to whose lands he was co-heir through his mother), given him by Richard III as a bid for his support following the usurpation; a bargain Howard accepted and honoured. Coming from substantial Suffolk gentry, he remained essentially a local man rather than a courtier, unlike most of his influential contemporaries who were all either related to, or close personal friends of, the king. Howard's own affinity, as far as may be judged, were either relations by blood or marriage or local Suffolk men. He was an extremely capable business man, with many contacts among the merchant class and besides building up his estates, much augmented by the crown, he became one of the largest shipowners in the country and consequently a very rich man. Several volumes of his financial memoranda survive for the years 1461 - 1471 and 1481 - 1483, and illustrate almost every aspect of his full life as one of the most diligent and versatile royal servants of the period.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes. A full Bibliography is at the end of the thesis.

- P.R.O. Public Record Office.
- G.E.C. G.E. Cokayne, Complete Peerage.
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography.
- O.E.D. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.
- C.P.R. Calendar of Patent Rolls.
- C.C.R. Calendar of Close Rolls.
- E.H.R. English Historical Review.
- Ec.H.R. Economic History Review.
- B.I.H.R. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
- T.R.H.S. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- 
- H.B.I. Household Book I : Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (Household Expenses of Sir John Howard, 1462 - 1471), ed. T.H. Turner, Roxburghe Club (1841).
- H.B.II. Household Book II : Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481 - 1490, ed. J. Payne Collier, Roxburghe Club (1844).

HOWARD PEDIGREE

II

THOMAS HOWBRAY = (2) ELIZABETH, D. OF RICHARD  
1ST DUKE OF NORFOLK EARL OF ARUNDEL  
d. 1399

THOMAS EX. 1406 DUKE OF NORFOLK  
d. 1432

JOHN I = CATHERINE, D. OF RALPH, EARL OF WESTMORLAND,  
d. 1483

ISABEL = JAMES LORD BERKELEY

MARGARET = ROBERT

MARY = HENRY  
D. OF SIR WM HUSSEY

MARGARET

ALICE, D. + H. OF SIR (2) = SIR JOHN HOWARD = (1) MARGARET, D. + H. OF JOHN  
WILLIAM TENDRING, LORD PLAIZ, d. 1391  
d. 1426

JOHN = JOAN, D. + H. OF SIR RICHARD WATSON,  
= (2) SIR THOMAS ERYNGHAM

JOHN II = ELEANOR, D. OF WILLIAM  
DUKE OF NORFOLK COUNT OF EU  
d. 1461

WILLIAM OR. EARL OF NOTTING-  
HAM, 1483

HENRY = ELIZABETH  
NENTWORTH

JOHN, EARL OF OXFORD  
EX. 1462

JOHN III = ELIZABETH, D. OF JOHN,  
DUKE OF NORFOLK EARL OF SHREWSBURY  
d. 1476

MARGARET = THOMAS DANIEL  
d. 1480

CATHERINE = EDWARD, LORD ABERCAYVENNY  
d. 1476

AUBREY EX. 1462 = MARGARET, D. OF RICHARD, EARL OF SALISBURY

GEORGE THOMAS

RICHARD OF YORK, = ANNE  
SON OF EDWARD IV, d. 1481  
d. c. 1483

THOMAS EDMUND GEORGE

RALPH EDWARD MARGARET =  
JOHN BROOKE,  
LORD COBHAM

CATHERINE, D. OF (1) = JOHN HOWARD = (2) MARGARET, D. OF SIR = (2) JOHN NORRIS  
WILLIAM, LORD MOLEYNS, c. 1420 - 1485  
d. 1465

ISABEL = LETTICE = WILLIAM  
SIR HENRY MARNEY WILLIAM RADNYLD

SIR HUMPHREY (1) = ELIZABETH = (2) THOMAS  
BOURCHIER D. OF SIR FRED. TYLNEY  
d. 1471

NICHOLAS ISABEL = ANNE = MARGARET = JANE =  
d. c. 1470 SIR ROBERT SIR EDMUND SIR JOHN JOHN  
MORTIMER GORGES NYNDHAM TYMERLEY

CATHERINE = JOHN, LORD BERNERS  
(SEE ABOVE)

JOHN, LORD BERNERS (SEE ABOVE)

I

## JOHN HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK

### INTRODUCTION.

This work is divided into two sections, the first dealing with John Howard's private position, his family life, his estates, his business interests and his influence in local East Anglian affairs, the second section with his public career as a servant of the crown. It therefore seems desirable to give here a brief outline of the main features of his life and career as a framework for the details given in the following chapters.

Until the accession of Edward IV, Howard led the typical life of a member of the East Anglian gentry. He married Catherine, daughter of William, lord Moleyns, and raised a family, managed his estates, became involved in business activities and for the most part got on with his neighbours. Because his lord and patron was his cousin, John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, who was generally regarded as a supporter of Richard, duke of York, Howard served in local offices less than a man of his standing might have expected to do, being appointed to the bench and other commissions <sup>mainly</sup> ~~only~~ during periods when York controlled the government. Having joined Edward before Towton, however, he reaped political reward immediately afterwards in the form of a knighthood, a minor household post, a grant of manors and the constableness of Colchester and Norwich castles. From then on, his career was assured. He served on various campaigns against the Lancastrians in the north and Wales in the first few years of the reign, while at home he built up his estates and his shipping interests on the East Coast. His wife died in 1465 and two years later he married Margaret Chedworth, a widow with strong merchant connections in London. In 1468 he was made Treasurer of the Household and early in 1470 was created a baron. During the Readeption he remained at home rather than going into exile, but was the first man in East Anglia to proclaim Edward king again. He was then sent as lord Hastings's deputy-lieutenant to Calais, where he began to serve on a series of embassies to France, becoming his country's chief envoy to Louis XI and a principal

negotiator on the 1475 expedition. While not abroad or serving as a councillor in London, he retreated to Suffolk rather than become a courtier, preferring to spend his time with his family. His position as one of the greatest shipowners in the country meant that in 1481, when he commanded a fleet to attack Scotland, he was able to sell the crown a ship to augment its burgeoning navy. At Edward's death, he supported Hastings' endeavours to ensure that the duke of Gloucester became Protector, but he does not seem to have been involved in the plot, real or otherwise, that cost Hastings his life. Richard had ensured his support for the usurpation by granting him the half of the Mowbray lands to which he was heir through his mother and which Edward had prevented him inheriting ; in addition Richard granted him the dukedom of Norfolk itself. In return for this Howard remained loyal to him, defending London during Buckingham's rebellion and bringing a large force of men to Bosworth, where he was killed some time before the king himself fell.





## CHAPTER 1

### FAMILY AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

To begin a biographical study with an admission that the precise date of the central figure's birth is unknown, is inauspicious, but it is not unusual in the case of people born before 1558, when only the heirs to landed property or children born into the most prominent families had note taken of their birth<sup>(1)</sup>. In the case of John Howard, the date of his birth can be given only approximately as 1420<sup>3</sup>. Of his parentage, however, there can be no doubt. He was the only son of Robert Howard, elder son of Sir John Howard and his second wife, Alice Tendring, and of Margaret Mowbray, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, first duke of Norfolk. Family relationships are immensely important to the understanding of any prominent layman in the Middle Ages. They determine his position in society, and more particularly, they are likely to explain his political attachments and subsequent actions. Of no class is this more true than that into which John Howard was born. These richer gentry would, on the bench, in parliament, and as crown officials wield great influence locally, and might hope, with the right connections and some ambition, to make their mark in the national field. John Howard was a man of strong family ties and his family background therefore takes on a further significance. He also remained an intensely local man despite his rise to prominence at court, and his absences from home were never longer than necessary. Although he eventually held manors throughout East Anglia and in various other counties, and owned houses in London, Ipswich and Harwich, he spent most of his time in the place where he grew up. This was the village of Stoke-by-Nayland, about fifteen miles from Ipswich and just inside Suffolk, near the Essex border<sup>(2)</sup>. The Howard family had settled there about

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1. Inquisitions post mortem give the approximate age of the heir and are usually accepted as correct, largely through lack of any alternative. Howard was not an heir ; see below, pages 7
  2. Strictly speaking, Tendring Hall manor in the parish of Stoke-by-Nayland ; there were eight other manors in the parish, not all held by the Howards, but Tendring seems to have been the main one. See C.M. Torlesse, Some Account of Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk (1877), p. 18-23

1395, having come originally from East Winch, near King's Lynn in Norfolk. If one discounts the later dubious claims that the family might be traced back to Hereward the Wake, then the first known Howard was William, who was knighted and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas by Edward I. To support this new station, Sir William purchased the manor of East Winch in 1298 and then arranged a very advantageous marriage for his son and heir, John, with Joan, a grand-daughter of Richard, earl of Cornwall and great grand-daughter of King John. Their son was brought up with Edward II, who made him Admiral of the North Seas. This is apparently the beginning of the Howard family's long connection with the sea. The family continued to prosper during the fourteenth century : its heirs for the most part married into the lower ranks of the peerage, were knighted and continued to build up their estates, thus consolidating their position in the region<sup>(1)</sup>.

The man who probably dominated John Howard's youth in the 1420s and early 1430s was his grandfather, Sir John Howard. Born about 1360, he was the son of Sir Robert Howard and Margery, daughter and eventual coheir of Robert, third baron Scales. He succeeded to the family estates in 1388 and proceeded to augment them by marrying Margaret, daughter and eventual heiress of John, 4th baron Plaiz. That two of their wives should finally have inherited their fathers' lands after the deaths of other heirs was a stroke of particularly good fortune for the Howards. Margaret brought to her husband the manors of Stansted Mountfichet and Plaistow in Essex and the manor of Toft, near Lowestoft in Suffolk, but for the rest, her estates lay outside East Anglia and Sir John left the family home and went to live on her lands in Essex and Cambridgeshire. His connection with the Scales family coupled with his own position as a substantial landowner made it virtually inevitable that he would enter political life. He was elected knight of the shire for Essex in 1397, for Cambridgeshire in 1407 and for Suffolk in 1422. By this time Sir John was an extremely wealthy man for one of his rank ; his Essex and Cambridge estates alone were worth over £400 p.a. at a time when the average baronial income was between £500-£1000, and his connections caused him to be described as the Privy Council as 'wel ykynde and of gret allyaunce'<sup>(2)</sup>. He was made a knight of the royal chamber and standard bearer to Richard II and was retained at a fee of £40 p.a. for life<sup>(3)</sup>. He accompanied the king on his two expeditions to Ireland in 1394 and 1399, but managed to survive

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1. For a general account of the earlier Howards, see G. Brennan and E.P. Statham, The House of Howard (1907), vol.i, and H. Howard, Indications of Memorials of the Howard Family etc. (1834-6).
  2. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. N.H. Nicolas (1834-7), vol.i, p.272-4.
  3. C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.381

the king's deposition in the latter year, though he lost his annuity. He continued to sit on commissions of the peace and served as sheriff for the joint shrievalty of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1400-1401, for that of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1401-1403, and for Essex and Herts again in 1415-1416 and 1418-1419. As these offices show, he adapted himself like many another to the Lancastrian usurpation and avoided involving himself in any of the seditious activities that disturbed Essex between 1403 and 1405. This was despite his connection with one of the causes of disaffection, the dowager countess of Oxford, mother of Robert de Vere, who appointed Howard to be overseer of her will<sup>(1)</sup>.

By his first marriage to Margaret Plaiz, Sir John had two children, John and Margaret. Young John was married to Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Walton, and the manors of Wigenhall and Clenchwarton were settled on her and their heirs by Sir John, while she brought to her husband the manors of Oldhall in East Bergholt and Overall in Stratford, Suffolk<sup>(2)</sup>. Young John died in 1410 on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving an infant daughter and only child, Elizabeth, who became her grandfather's heir and thus one of the greatest heiresses of her day in East Anglia. On her grandfather's death she stood to inherit her grandmother's Plaiz estates together with the barony of Plaiz, an estate from her mother's family, the Waltons, which included a fine mansion at Wivenhoe, the port for Colchester, and all the Howard family estates which her grandfather had not settled on any other member of his family. However, in 1391 Margaret Plaiz had died and Sir John had married a second, though a much lesser, heiress in 1398<sup>(3)</sup>. She was Alice Tendring, the only child of Sir William Tendring and she brought him an estate in the Stour valley in Suffolk, centred on the village of Stoke-by-Nayland, where he took up residence (though possibly not before 1408, when his father-in-law, Sir William, died). By this marriage he had two more sons, Robert and Henry. Henry Howard remains an obscure figure, he made no impact on national politics, was never knighted and little mention is ever made of him. He married Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Hussey, and his father settled on them the Howard manors of East Walton and Tirington in Norfolk, which had previously been settled on his mother. In addition, Alice Howard left her son her lands in Polsted, near Stoke-by-Nayland, in her will<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. Register of Archbishop Arundel, pt.2, f.161, Lambeth Palace. Generally for this paragraph, J.B. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422 (1954), p.191-3.
  2. C.C.R. 1422-1429, p.172
  3. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, ed. J. Bayley and J. Cayley, Record Commission (1828), vol.iii, 15 Richard II no.31, not 1383 as stated by Brennan and Statham.
  4. N.H. Nicolas, Testamenta Vestusta (1826), vol.i, p.211

There is one interesting footnote to the obscurity of his life ; in July 1446, John, son and heir of lord Scrope, and others were pardoned after having been impeached of malice by Mary, the late wife of Henry Howard of Boxsted, for having accused her of murdering her husband<sup>(1)</sup>.

Of Henry's elder brother little more is known. Robert was a soldier and is generally supposed to have served Henry V in the French campaigns. He was not at Agincourt<sup>(2)</sup>, though one source states that he commanded a fleet that sailed with 3,000 men from Lowestoft to ravage the French coast below Calais<sup>(3)</sup>. It is possible, though there is little proof, that he was a member of the household of John Mowbray, later second duke of Norfolk. According to William Worcestre, he was aboard the duke's barge when it crashed into London Bridge, drowning many of its passengers, but not the duke or Howard<sup>(4)</sup>. The two were much of an age and it is quite likely that a younger son like Robert would attach himself to the service of a local lord. John Mowbray was not at Agincourt either, although in his case the reason is known, so if Robert was in his train, this would account for his absence also. The most cogent reason for believing that Robert Howard may have been in the Mowbray household, is his spectacular marriage to Mowbray's sister, Margaret. The Howards had married into the peerage before, of course, but only into its lower ranks, and never to benefit any but the family heir. Margaret was not only the daughter of a duke, she was a direct descendant of both Thomas of Brotherton, younger son of Edward I, and of Edward's brother, Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and to gain her for a younger son was a considerable achievement, even for a man of Sir John Howard's standing. To some extent, this may be explained by the comparatively low ebb of the Mowbray fortunes at the time. Her father, Thomas, the first duke, had been banished for life by Richard II after the famous duel with Henry Bolingbroke in 1399, and he died of the plague in Venice the following year after his return from a visit to the Holy Sepulchre<sup>(5)</sup>. His dignities had not been forfeit, but the creation of his dukedom was annulled soon after Henry IV's succession to the throne, leaving his son

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1. C.P.R. 1446-1452, p.62 ; see *KB 27/745 rex rot. 27 for the indictment for his murder.*
  2. N.H. Nicolas, The Battle of Agincourt (1827), transcribes a B.M. roll of those present.
  3. Brennan and Statham quote this without reference; the source cannot be traced.
  4. W. Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. J. Harvey (1969), p.361.
  5. The Venetians were still pressing for the payments of his debts in 1408, Calendar of State Papers : Venice (H.M.S.O., 1865), vol.i, p.47.

Thomas the earldoms of Norfolk and Nottingham only. Thomas, although barely twenty, was involved in the Scrope conspiracy of 1405 and was executed. Once again the Mowbrays were lucky, for he was not attainted and his honours devolved upon his brother John, who, in 1426, was himself created duke of Norfolk. The date of his sister Margaret's marriage to Sir Robert Howard is not known, and nor is that of her birth. It is unlikely that they were married before 1415 and it is probable that Sir John arranged the match while his grand-daughter and heir, Elizabeth, was still very young and, given the rate of infant mortality, it was reasonable to suppose that Robert might become his father's heir. The manors of Kenton in Warwickshire and Hynton in Cambridgeshire were settled on Margaret by her brother<sup>(1)</sup>.

The birthdates of Robert and Margaret's three children are not known. John, the object of this study, is generally supposed to have been born in 1420,<sup>but more probably about 1423</sup> and since his eldest son, Thomas, is known to have been born in 1443, this seems a likely date. Margaret, probably the elder of his two sisters, married Thomas Daniel of Frodsham in Cheshire<sup>c. 1451-2</sup>, a supporter of the duke of Suffolk in East Anglia, where he became sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1446-1447 and Constable of Castle Rising in Norfolk. After 1461 when Daniel was attainted and on the run, Howard took his sister's sons into his household, where they continued until his death. The younger sister, Catherine, made a more impressive match, but in dubious circumstances. She married Edward, youngest son of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland and his wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. Edward's parents had pursued a vigorous policy of marrying their numerous children in the most advantageous way possible. Their eldest daughter, Catherine, was married to John Mowbray while he was Westmorland's ward, and Edward was married while still very young to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, and, in her own right, baroness Abergavenny. Her husband held the title of Abergavenny by courtesy until his death and their son's inheritance. Elizabeth herself died on 18 June 1448 and Edward almost immediately married Catherine Howard. The couple were ex-communicated on the grounds that they had had illicit relations during the lifetime of Edward's first wife, and that, being within the third degree of consanguinity, had failed to obtain a dispensation. Pope Nicholas V, however, was

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1. Margaret's sister, Isabel, married Henry, son and heir of lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1416; on his death she married James, lord Berkeley. The sisters eventually became the Mowbray co-heiresses to the benefit of their sons. Isabel also had two manors settled on her, see G.E.C. sub Ferrers of Groby. H.B.I., pp.178,186.

*It seems likely that the marriage took place in the early 1420s. Margaret seems to have still been single when she was in the Queen's household in France in 1420/1. Arundel A 1642 R1, box 1, Earl Marshal's Rec. Gen. Accts. 1420/1*

persuaded to grant the dispensation and the couple remained married<sup>(1)</sup>. The charge against Catherine does not seem to have been common in the Middle Ages among unmarried girls, though no doubt it was more frequent among widows. It does not reflect well upon those in charge of her, for her portion must have been small and if Abergavenny had not chosen to regularise the union, her only other course would have been to a convent. It is not at all unlikely that she was a member of the duchess of Norfolk's household, and that it was at his sister's that Abergavenny had access to her. Whatever the circumstances of the affair, it forms an interesting preview to the lives of Howard daughters of the Tudor period. There are a number of references to his Neville nephews in John Howard's household accounts, and it is clear that he remained in close contact with them. Their father's ward, John Brooke, lord Cobham, who married their sister Margaret, became one of Howard's most trusted supporters.

Sir Robert Howard died in 1436, and in the following year his father, Sir John, at the age of nearly eighty, set off on the greatest pilgrimage a man could make, the journey to the Holy City. He reached his goal and died in Jerusalem as his eldest son, John, had done nearly twenty-five years before. Although the young John Howard was his grandfather's male heir, it was his cousin Elizabeth, who inherited the bulk of the Howard lands as the only child of Sir John's eldest son. In June 1424, at the time of her mother's death, Elizabeth was aged fourteen or more, and in the following May she was granted seisin of the manors her mother had held<sup>(2)</sup>. Between that date and the end of August she made a match worthy of her Plaiz, Walton and Howard inheritance. Her husband was John de Vere, twelfth earl of Oxford, himself only seventeen and still in the ward of John Holland, duke of Exeter. Oxford is said to have claimed he married on the advice of his guardian, but advice or no, as a royal ward he had failed to first obtain royal consent, and in doing so, incurred a fine of £2000, which he did not finally pay off until 1439<sup>(3)</sup>. Despite this heavy imposition, it may safely be assumed that the match was financially worth his while. A number of sources say that Elizabeth's inheritance of the Howard estates began feud between her husband's family and John Howard which ended only with Howard's death at her son's hand at Bosworth. With two branches of a family on opposing sides in a civil

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1. W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England (1675), vol.i, p.309; the dispensation is dated 15 October 1448. I have been unable to trace the consanguinity unless it be so far removed as their common ancestor, Edward I, or the fact that his sister had married her uncle Norfolk, see pedigree.
  2. Cal. of I.P.M., vol.iv, p.83, for Joan, wife of Sir Thomas Erpyngham ; C.C.R. 1422-1429, p.172
  3. G.E.C. Sub Oxford ; C.P.R. 1422-1429, p.543.

war and a possible grievance between them, it is not difficult to see how the idea of a feud arose. Certainly family disputes over the inheritance of land could be virulent at this period, but it does not seem as if one of any severity ever existed between the de Veres and the Howards<sup>(1)</sup>. Some point is given to the argument by the fact that Howard received a grant of a number of Oxford manors, including some former Howard ones, after the attainder and forfeiture of the thirteenth earl, Elizabeth's son John, just as he was granted some of Howard's estates at the time of the latter's death and attainder. On both sides, however, this seems more an attempt to keep the land in the family than a desire to deprive the rightful owner<sup>(2)</sup>. Since Elizabeth was married and the mother of sons before John Howard was adult, he can hardly have expected ever to have inherited his grandfather's estates, for the laws of inheritance were quite specific on the point. The idea of a feud is to a large extent denied by the evidence in his accounts of the frequent hunting trips Howard made with John de Vere before his attainder, and by his daughter Jane's position in the countess of Oxford's household.

John Howard's inheritance on the death of his grandfather at Jerusalem in 1437, when he was about <sup>fifteen</sup> ~~seventeen~~, consisted mainly of his grandmother's estates, Alice Tendring having predeceased her husband in 1426<sup>(3)</sup>, and his mother's two manors of Kenton and Hynton. His grandfather does not seem to have settled any land on his son Robert at the time of his marriage to Margaret Mowbray, as he had done on the marriages of his other two sons. Even the manors of Fersfield and Beokes, which were settled on his wife Alice and her heirs, and which were confirmed to her in 1409, do not seem to have descended to her grandson as they should have done<sup>(4)</sup>. At least, they never appear to have been in John Howard's possession, and they presumably passed to Elizabeth with the rest of the estates. The ~~comp~~ holdings of his grandmother's at Stoke-by-Nayland became the nucleus of all Howard's possessions, but in 1437 they must have looked somewhat meagre compared with the wealth and estates of his grandfather. Howard did not, however, follow

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1. One of the most notable feuds of the time was between Margaret, countess of Shrewsbury and Howard's Berkeley cousins; the countess was generally held responsible for the death of Howard's aunt Isabel in Gloucester castle. See J. Blow, 'Nibley Green', in English Society and Government in the Fifteenth Century, ed. C.M.D. Crowder (1967).
  2. For details, see Chapter 2.
  3. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, vol.i, p.211.
  4. C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.501.



the latter's example and marry an heiress. Sir John probably arranged a match for his grandson before he left for the Holy Land, and he selected Catherine, daughter of William, styled lord Moleyns, and his wife, Margery Whalesborough. The bride's parents were married about 1402 and her brother John was born in 1405, so it is highly likely that Catherine was older than her new husband<sup>(1)</sup>. When they married is unknown, but Thomas, apparently their eldest child as well as their eldest son, was born in 1443. His brother, Nicholas, was close to him in age, about two years younger, and their four sisters, Isabel, Anne, Margaret and Jane were all born in the following few years.

No mention of John Howard exists in the surviving records of his time prior to 1449, when he was elected to parliament as a knight of the shire for Suffolk.<sup>1A</sup> The details of his life before this are only open to speculation in the light of his later activities. When he began to play a part in local affairs in the late 1440s, it is clear that he did so under the auspices of his cousin, the third duke of Norfolk<sup>(2)</sup>, and there is plenty of evidence in the Paston Letters that he was long regarded as a Mowbray man<sup>(3)</sup>. It would certainly have been very natural for Howard's parents to have sent him as a boy to his uncle's household, and although he would have left in 1437 to take up his inheritance, it is clear that his loyalties were always firmly with the Mowbrays. Initially this was purely a local and family matter, but it had the effect of largely determining Howard's political affiliations in a wider sphere when civil war broke out in England. John Mowbray, third duke of Norfolk, was never totally committed to the cause of Richard, duke of York, but he generally inclined in that direction, especially when he felt it would benefit him in his struggle for local influence against the duke of Suffolk and his court party. Howard's own ties to the Yorkists were strengthened by his siter's marriage to Edward Neville, for although Abergavenny was probably the least politically active of all the Nevilles, he was nevertheless a brother of Salisbury and a brother-in-law of York. Family ties of this sort were rarely all-compelling in politics, but they did exert a certain influence. Like many others, Howard had a foot in the other camp as well. His sister Margaret's husband was notorious in East Anglia as a courtier and a supporter of the duke of Suffolk, and his cousin Elizabeth's

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1. John Moleyns left an heiress who married Robert Hungerford, styled lord Moleyns, de iure uxoris ; any further reference to lord Moleyns will be to him.
  2. R. Virgoe, 'Three Suffolk elections of the mid-fifteenth century', B.I.H.R., XXXIX (1966), p.187.
  3. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters (1904), vol.iii, pp.34-38.

1A. He is also named in a list of squires of the king's hall and chamber, 1448-50, though no great political significance need be attached to this.  
E101/570/29, 410/6

husband, John, earl of Oxford, and his sons were among the most loyal Lancastrians. Indeed, the hypothesis is worth making that if Howard's ties to the Mowbrays had not been so strong, he would have harnessed his fortunes to those of the de Veres, and his life would have been radically different.

The details of John Howard's inheritance have been examined at some length in the previous chapter, and a brief reference will help to make sense of a discussion of his estates. His grandfather, Sir John Howard, was on the side of the death in 1471 one of the greatest landowners in East Anglia. He had married two heiresses, the first was Margaret Flaic, whose granddaughter Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford (only child of whose first husband had died in 1460) became the heir of both her grandfather and his first wife. The second heiress was Alice Verdrey, and her grandson John Howard, although he was his grandfather's heir male, succeeded only to her estates, together with the two shares settled on his mother, Margaret Flaic, by her husband John, Duke of Norfolk. Thus he did not inherit his grandfather's lands, as mentioned in the previous chapter in which it is stated that he had inherited his lands from his grandfather, Countess of Oxford.<sup>11</sup> Alice Verdrey (née Verdrey) died in 1469 leaving her lands in Suffolk to her husband and Henry and his heirs, and her lands in Essex to her husband and her remainder to Robert, her eldest son and heir. Robert predeceased his father dying in 1470 and his only son, John, the younger, succeeded directly from his grandfather in the latter's lands. The latter's lands included the manor of Westley Hall in Essex and several other manors in Essex-by-Deed. The situation of Essex's lands is of some importance, it was just over the Essex border into Suffolk, but the Essex lands of Westley Hall is only approximately ten miles away to the north of Ipswich. The manor of Westley Hall was one of the largest manors in Suffolk and was an important part of the county's economy. Thus Essex was within easy reach of West-Suffolk manors and the administrative

<sup>11</sup> See also, *Howard's History*, II, 127-128, where it is stated that John Howard was the heir of his wife Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, by her first husband, John, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1460.

## CHAPTER 2

### LANDED ESTATES

The details of John Howard's inheritance have been examined at some length in the previous chapter, but a brief rehearsal here will help to make sense of a discussion of his estates. His grandfather, Sir John Howard, was at the time of his death in 1437 one of the greatest landowners in East Anglia. He had married two heiresses, the first was Margaret Plaiz, whose granddaughter Elizabeth, countess of Oxford (only child of their son John who had died in 1410) became the heir of both her grandfather and his first wife. The second heiress was Alice Tendring, and her grandson John Howard, although he was his grandfather's heir male, succeeded only to her estates, together with the two manors settled on his mother, Margaret Mowbray, by her brother John, duke of Norfolk. Since he did not inherit his grandfather's lands, no mention of John Howard is made in the former's inquisition post mortem, which declares his legal heir to be Elizabeth, countess of Oxford<sup>(1)</sup>. Alice Howard (née Tendring) died in 1426, leaving her lands in Polstead to her younger son Henry and his heirs, and her lands in Stoke-by-Nayland to her husband with remainder to Robert, her elder son and heir<sup>(2)</sup>. Robert predeceased his father, dying in 1436 and his only son, John, the subject of this study, inherited directly from his grandfather in the following year. His inheritance consisted of the manor of Tendring Hall or Stoke Hall and several sub-manors in Stoke-by-Nayland. The situation of Howard's home is of some importance. It lies just over the Essex border into Suffolk, but the Essex town of Colchester is only approximately ten miles away to the south; Ipswich, the major town in Suffolk lies about fifteen miles north-east of Stoke-by-Nayland and Harwich, an important port, about the same distance due east. Thus Howard was within easy reach of three commercial centres and two administrative ones.

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1. P.R.O. C139/88 no 56 ; it excludes those lands held in right of his wife Alice.

2. For her will, see N.H. Nicola<sup>s</sup>, Testamenta Vetusta (1826), vol.i, p.211.

In addition to her own lands in and around Stoke-by-Nayland, two Howard manors were settled on Alice Tendring and their heirs by her husband, those of Fersfield in Norfolk and Beokes in Suffolk<sup>(1)</sup>. Contrary to what might have been expected, neither seem to have descended to her grandson and heir, John Howard. Although Fersfield was in his possession by 1463, it seems to have been one of several Oxford manors that Howard was administering at this date ; certainly it was one of those with which Elizabeth, countess of Oxford, enfeoffed the duke of Gloucester in 1473<sup>(2)</sup>. It presumably, therefore, passed to Elizabeth with the rest of her Howard inheritance. It is even harder to ascertain what became of the manor of Beokes since it never appears to have been in the possession of either Howard or Elizabeth ; it was probably a small manor (it is not listed in W.H. Coppinger, History of the Manors of Suffolk, 1905) and may perhaps have passed to Alice's second son, Henry. On the death of his mother, Margaret Mowbray, Howard inherited her two manors of Kenton in Warwickshire and Hynton in Cambridgeshire<sup>(3)</sup>. It is not quite clear when she died, she is referred to as dead in 1463 with the implication that she had been dead several years<sup>(4)</sup>. On 18 October 1459 a writ of diem clausit extremum was issued to the escheator of Suffolk on the death of Margaret, late the wife of Sir John Howard, knight<sup>(5)</sup>. There is obviously some mistake here, for the ~~last~~ Margaret, wife of a Sir John, was Margaret Plaiz, who died in 1391, and this cannot really be anyone except Margaret Mowbray, the wife of Sir Robert Howard. Although she lived in Suffolk, the only lands she could have held there were dower lands and there appears to be no similar writ to the escheators of Warwick or Cambridge, where her own land lay. His mother's two manors and his grandmother's lands at Stoke-by-Nayland are all that it is certain Howard inherited. This inheritance provided the main source for his livelihood until the accession of Edward IV, for he received no office or grant under Henry VI, being a supporter of Norfolk and York, nor does his wife seem to have brought him manors. According to his inquisition post mortem, William, lord Moleyns, who died before his daughter Catherine's marriage, held no land in East Anglia and there is no evidence that, apart

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1. C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.501; confirmation of demise and quitclaim made by John Howard the younger to his father, Sir John Howard and Alice his wife and the heirs of their bodies.
  2. C.C.R. 1468-1476, p.334; see below page 20.
  3. When the Mowbray estates were divided between the co-heirs in 1483, Howard surrendered these two to his cousin. See Rotuli Parliamentorum, Record Commission (1767-1777) vol.vi, p.206.
  4. H.B.I., p.178
  5. C.F.R., 1452-1461, p.245.

from his mother's lands, Howard held anything outside the region prior to 1461<sup>(1)</sup>.

The accession of the Yorkist dynasty changed this state of affairs radically. Early in 1462, Howard was granted the manors of Leyham alias Overburyhall and Wherstede in Suffolk, Smethon Hall in Essex, Dontish and Dewlish in Dorset and Hereford and Merton Hall in Norfolk, together with two houses in Crooked Lane, London<sup>(2)</sup>. What was politically more important, he was appointed to the constablership of Colchester castle, having been appointed to that of Norwich six months previously. His estates and influence were thus dramatically extended, and by making him constable, the king had raised him to be one of the main upholders of the Yorkist crown in East Anglia. By 1462, therefore, it would appear that Howard held ten manors, three he had inherited and seven he had received from the crown. In 1464 he arranged to sell the two Dorset manors back to their original owner, Sir Nicholas Latimer, who had forfeited them in 1461<sup>(3)</sup>. Sir Nicholas had been renting the manors from Howard since 1462<sup>(4)</sup>.

There exists among the duke of Norfolk's records at Arundel a valor of the manors, lands and rents of Sir John Howard for the year September 1463 to September 1464<sup>(5)</sup>. This lists twenty-two manors, far more than have just been accounted for, and it does not include the Mowbray manor of Hynton in Cambridgeshire. The manor of Tendring Hall itself seems to be identified by the name of Stoke Hall, which heads the valor, followed by the other Stoke-by-Nayland manors, Netherhall, Wethermarsh and sub-manors called Georges, Bachones and Pownses, not listed by Torlesse but noted by Howard himself to be in Stoke<sup>(6)</sup>. For some reason Wethermarsh is listed by the name of Wetyng, which is also the name of one of the old Howard family manors in Norfolk, and was only identified here by the names of some tenements for which separate rents were paid and known to be in Stoke. Included is the Howard manor of East Winch, which was legally the property of Elizabeth, countess of Oxford, and which Howard had entered in 1462<sup>(7)</sup>. It was not among

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1. Cal. of I.P.M., vol. iv, p.85
  2. C.P.R., 1461-1467, pp.10, 111
  3. H.B.I., pp.176-7
  4. H.B.I., p.176
  5. Arundel MS G1/3
  6. C.M. Torlesse, Some Account of Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk, (1877) pp.18-23 H.B.I., p.558, in a letter to John Braham appointing him receiver of these and a number of the other manors ; these five sub-manors have been previously referred to simply as the Stoke-by-Nayland manor.
  7. See below, pages 26-29

those of her manors for which the king appointed a receiver in May 1462, but was one of those with which she enfeoffed the duke of Gloucester in 1473<sup>(1)</sup>. It can be assumed, therefore, that although Howard administered the manor and presumably retained some, if not all, of the profits, he at no time obtained the legal title to it. The manor of Brooks Hall listed in the valor is another Oxford manor enfeoffed to Gloucester in 1473, and lacking further evidence, must be assumed to have entered Howard's hands together with East Winch. This leaves five manors unaccounted for among those listed in the valor, manors which Howard acquired between 1437 and 1463 in a way now impossible to ascertain. The five are those of Bowerhouse in the parish of Boxford, Sprottes in the parish of Polstead, Stanstrete in the parish of Brettenham, Leffey in the parish of Snape and Ladyhall in the parish of Morton, Essex. Of these, the last Howard notes to be held in fee from Norfolk and worth £13 6s. 8d. per annum ; he makes no mention of when he acquired it<sup>(2)</sup>. The other four manors he owned as early as 1446, when he levied a fine on the manors of Stranstrete Hall, Leffey, Wethermarsh, Tendring Hall, Netherhall, Calcers, Sprottesland, Bowerhouse, Constables and Pownses (Calcers and Constables, according to the valor were tenements in Wethermarsh referred to above<sup>(3)</sup>). His trustees were Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, Sir John Fortescue, John Yerman, John Notbem and Thomas Luty, and this legal fiction confirmed the said manors in his possession, but it does not make clear whether they were all, like Tendring Hall, part of his inheritance, or whether he had just purchased some of them and was confirming his title to the rest for good measure. Bowerhouse and Sprottes were both in parishes where the Tendring family held land and may indeed have come with his inheritance<sup>(4)</sup>; however, Dame Alice, when willing her lands in Polsted to her son Henry, makes no mention of the manor of Sprottes<sup>(5)</sup>. The fact that Adam Moleyns was a trustee, however, suggests that perhaps Howard purchased the manors with money brought him by his wife at their marriage. The bishop is not generally supposed to have been related to the baronial family, but Howard certainly had no other connection with him, indeed Molyms was a member

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1. C.C.R., 1468-1476, pp.334-5.

2. H.B.I., p.456.

3. W.Rye, Feet of Fines for Suffolk, (1900), p. 302

4. W.H. Coppinger, History of the Manors of Suffolk, (1905), vol. i, pp. 29-30, 181-2

5. N.H. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, vol. i, p.211.

of the court Party, and a pure coincidence at this period of his marriage is not very likely.

The valor is, in effect, a summary of the potential income from Howard's estates and not an account of what he received from them in the year 1463-1464. It is a summary of the accounts of each individual manor to show what cash surplus the bailiff or farmer was liable to pay over into Howard's hands. It therefore lists the manors in his possession, gives the name of the bailiff or farmer responsible for payment and the sum he was liable for, without indicating how much of the sum was the current year's charge and how much was arrears. To use a valor to deduce the lord's income, it is necessary to have not only a series of valors to arrive at some sort of average, but also a parallel series of arrears accounts that was generally compiled at the same time. These were compiled by the same manorial officials, giving the date the arrears commence and the total they had reached. Without having both types of record surviving for a number of years, no attempts can be made to assess the actual, as opposed to the potential, income<sup>(1)</sup>. For Howard's estates, only this single valor is known to exist, and therefore only general deductions can be made from it. It may be assumed with some degree of safety that the gap between potential and actual yield on Howard's estates was not due in any great extent to the inefficiency or dishonesty of his officials, as was the case on a number of estates. Howard's holdings were small enough to ensure close personal attention on his part, and it seems unlikely that a man who kept such meticulous personal accounts, checking and annotating them with his own hand, would tolerate officials less efficient than himself. Arrears were a normal feature of the manorial economy, but the policy towards them obviously varied from estate to estate. It is not possible, lacking arrears accounts, to assess what Howard's policy was, but within the household accounts there are some indications that each case was treated on its merits. Sir Nicholas Latimer, who owed £40 in arrears at the time he purchased back his Devon manors, was pardoned £20 of them but given a set time in which to pay off the rest<sup>(2)</sup>. Forthe of Hadleigh paid off the arrears of rent on his mill at Leyham in instalments<sup>(3)</sup>, while an unsatisfactory tenant was bound in an obligation of 30 marks to pay his arrears and compensation for a wood he had sold illegally and Howard gave the obligation to the undersheriff to keep for him. Whether the bond was forfeit

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1. R.R. Davies, 'Baronial accounts, incomes and arrears in the later Middle Ages, Ec. H.R., 2nd Series, vol. xxi, (1968), p.218.
  2. H.B.I., pp.176-7.
  3. H.B.I., p.400.

is not known, but by the following year he had been replaced as tenant<sup>(1)</sup>. Judging by the care with which Howard notes the arrears owed to him by farmers, probably few were not eventually collected or remitted, and the same is likely to be true for lesser tenants and bailiffs. This does not make any assessment of income for a given year easier, but it does mean that the gap between potential and actual income over a period of time was not likely to be very high, certainly not the twenty per cent suggested for the estates of Richard, duke of York<sup>(2)</sup>.

Bearing all these reservations in mind, it is still of some value to calculate Howard's potential income from the valor, and use it to obtain some idea of how he managed his estates. The group of manors in Stoke-by-Nayland Howard retained in his own hands, although the payment of rents for various tenements and parcels of land suggest that he was not farming very much of it himself. The rents and profits from these were collected by Thomas Lyndesey, his bailiff, and for the year 1463-1464 he was liable for the payment of £133 11s. 11d. The manor of Bowerhouse, of which he was also bailiff, is included, and more than half the sum, £68 16s. 5d., was due from the manor of Wethermarsh ; none of the other manors, including Tendring Hall itself, is rated at more than £16. It seems possible that this might be one of the traps apparent in using a valor, and that this was a year in which large arrears were either liable or paid off in Wethermarsh. However, it appears that this is not so, for a large number of its fields were being rented out and the tenements of Calcers and Constables alone were assessed (for a rent of £21, and the manor was liable for similar sums for the years 1465-1469, in a completely different series of accounts<sup>(3)</sup>). All the other manors were farmed, the valor giving the name of the farmer and the rent for which he was liable ; in some cases only the latter information is given. The most lucrative was East Winch, the Oxford manor, assessed at £45, the least lucrative was Sprottes, at £6 13s. 4d. It is worth noting that the two Devon manors are assessed at £80, but that this is the year in which they were sold back to Sir Nicholas Latimer, who owed £40 in arrears of which £20 was forgiven, and there is no means of knowing whether the £80 includes the current charge plus all the arrears, or the current charge plus the arrears that were to be paid. The size of the sum indicates the former

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1. H.B.I., pp.472, 475.

2. J.T. Rosenthal, 'Fifteenth century baronial incomes and Richard, Duke of York', B.I.H.R., XXXVII, (1964)p.238

3. Arundel MS G1/3 ; see below page 31 and Table.



and that Sir Nicholas was therefore paying a rent of £20 per annum for each manor. The valor suggests that Howard's potential income from his lands for the year 1463-1464 was in the region of £425, of which it is likely that £20 was remitted. Lacking further evidence, it would be useless to speculate how much of that total he actually received during the year<sup>(1)</sup>. There is no indication that Howard was building up his estates in any administrative sense. Landed property at this date established a man's position in his county, but he did not expect to be able to make it yield more ; relatively small gains might be made from letting at increased rents or charging a larger entry fine, but improved estate administration did not make any substantial difference, What had hitherto been one of the most profitable aspects of land ownership, the administration of justice and the control of trade seem generally to have been falling in the fifteenth century. It was perhaps to offset this that Howard petitioned for, and was granted, a weekly market at Stoke-by-Nayland, with a bi-annual fair, from which he would receive the profits<sup>(2)</sup>. Real increases in income came only from marriage, inheritance or the fruits of office.

It has been noted that Catherine Moleyns was not an heiress and does not seem to have brought her husband lands, unless Howard was able to purchase some with her marriage portion, so that in order to increase his income, he had to look for offices or to his own commercial enterprise. His activities in the latter field will dealt with in a later chapter, but as a small reflection of them, the valor notes the income from the two houses in London granted him by Edward, who was certainly aware of his business interests, and from a 'great hospicium' in London. This latter was not a royal grant and was presumably purchased by Howard as an investment. It was the White Hart at Stepney, close enough to his London house conveniently to accomodate an overflow of men and horses from it. The income from these three properties was £10 16s. 8d. to which the valor adds the returns from the hundred of Tendring and the lordship of Colchester, both granted in 1462, being £11 6s. 9d. and £30 16s. 4½d. respectively, and bringing his potential income to about £480. Appended to the valor of lands and property is a list of Howard's offices. It is headed by his royal offices. First, that of king's carver, for which he received £20 annually

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1. The valor itself gives no total.
  2. Calendar of Charter Rolls 1427-1516, (H.M.S.O.,1927), p.250 ; A.J. Pollard, 'Estate management in the later Middle Ages : the Talbots and Whitchurch, 1383-1525', Ec. H.R. 2nd Series, vol.xxv (1972), p.558.

from the income of the shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk and £20 from the fee-farm of Ipswich, and then that of constable of Norwich castle, for which he was paid a further £20. These are followed by a number of offices he held from private persons, that is stewardships from large landowners not normally resident in East Anglia. Unfortunately, the dates at which these appointments were made is not known and this means it is impossible to assess whether reliance was placed on his honesty and abilities prior to 1461, or whether after that date the landowners were following where the king had first placed his trust. To some extent, his appointment by the duchess of York as steward of her honour of Clare lands in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, for which his annual fee was £17, may be seen as a royal appointment ; that granted by the duke of Suffolk for his manor of Dedham at a fee of £10 may also perhaps be traced to royal influence. His appointment by the dowager duchess of Norfolk as steward of her dower lands at Harwich for £2 13s. 4d. is not surprising in view of his close connections with the family, but the other appointments are by people and institutions with no obvious connections with Howard. Lady Scrope made him steward for her lands in Nayland, Boxstead and Horkelesley, Essex for a fee of £2, the Prior of Canterbury of the manor of Hadleigh at a fee of £1 13s. 4d., the Abbot of St. Osyth for all the abbey lands in Norfolk and Suffolk for<sup>a</sup> fee of £5 and the college of Canterbury likewise for a fee of £2. The duke of Norfolk paid him £20 in fee for the castle of the Holt, of which he had previously made Howard constable, and the young duke of Gloucester paid him an unspecified sum to perform the office of sub-Admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk, presumably on the instructions of his royal brother. Howard's offices, therefore, brought him a further income of £120 6s.8d. bringing his potential annual sum to approximately £600 ; this was not up to his grandfather's level, but it does not take into account any of his commercial enterprises.

The extent of Howard's estates did not remain static in the two decades following the valor and preceding his elevation to the dukedom. According to evidence in the household accounts, he may have purchased more manors quite soon after the valor was made or during its accounting period. The first new manor referred to is that of the Howe in 1464, for which the farmer, Dounam, owed a sum for timber he had sold<sup>(1)</sup>. It was apparently situated

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1. Timber was a valuable asset on an estate and more than one tenant was tempted to dispose of it and pocket the profit. In the following year, Howard was told that Sir Edmund Fysshe, the farmer of his manor of Merton Hall had sold a wood there worth ten marks. H.B.I., pp.176, 472.

near Thetford, because Howard ordered a building he owned there to be taken down and moved to the Howe. He was certainly dissatisfied with Dounam as a tenant and by the following year Walter Gorges was installed in his place<sup>(1)</sup>. The second manor was that of Deton at Walden Abbey, for which the only evidence of ownership is a note by Howard in September 1467 that it was then worth 40 shillings more than originally assessed, that is for the farm of a mill at 13s. 4d. annually and for certain land let to Hartor Greyson for 26s. 8d. per year<sup>(2)</sup>. Lacking evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that Howard purchased these manors, but his next acquisitions were royal grants.

One of the main problems in analysing Howard's landed estates is the question of the Oxford manors. All the documentary evidence, that is, her grandfather's inquisition post mortem and her own enfeoffment to Gloucester in 1473, indicate quite plainly that Elizabeth, countess of Oxford, inherited all the Howard estates on the death of Sir John Howard in 1437. Yet in the valor of 1463-1464, John Howard appears to be drawing a substantial income from former Howard manors, namely, East Winch, Fersfield and Brooks Hall, the first two being in Norfolk and the latter in Suffolk. He certainly did not hold them in 1455, when the proposal that he should stand as a knight of the shire for the former county was strongly opposed on the grounds that he had no land in that county<sup>(3)</sup>. The presumption must therefore be that he acquired them in 1462 when misfortune struck the de Vere family. Yet he appears to have had his eye on East Winch earlier than that. At the end of May, 1461, soon after Howard had returned home to Stoke-by-Nayland from the Towton campaign, the earl of Oxford wrote to John Paston (like himself a supporter of the Lancastrians) asking that if he or any of his men should hear that Howard :

'purposeth him to make any array at our manor of Winch, that you will let John Keche, our keeper therof, have knowledge betimes, for and he have warning he will keep it to the time we come thither' (4).

There is no other evidence that casts light on Oxford's apprehensions and none that suggests that Howard had been responsible for similar depredations in the past. That is not to say that he had not, but merely that if he had,

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1. See page 22, it was Dounam's bond that Howard gave to the undersheriff.

2. H.B.I., p.424

3. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.38

4. ibid., vol.iii, p.275

it neither reached a court of law, nor the attentions of the Paston family. Although Oxford was a supporter of Henry VI, he had not been at Towton and had been excused from attending the last parliament called by that king, on account of his age and infirmities ; he was likewise excused from attending Edward's first parliament, though he received a summons. A man in his position ought not to have been in fear of an attack by one of Howard's standing, despite his new appointment as Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. That the manor concerned is East Winch may be of significance, for it was the old family home of the Howards, and it may be that Howard resented the fact that it had passed with his cousin out of the family and had expressed himself strongly on the subject in the hearing of others. Possibly Oxford's fears were the natural ones of a Lancastrian, who saw the power structure in his area suddenly reversed, with no guarantee that the sheriff would uphold rather than use the law.

Since Howard was in possession not only of East Winch but two other of his cousin's manors within two years, the earl's apprehensions seem to have been justified. If his instincts proved sound, Oxford's political acumen was less so, for in February 1462, he and his eldest son were executed for plotting to restore Henry. It is surely at this point that Howard obtained the manors. The countess of Oxford, too, fell under suspicion and was kept in close watch, if not actual custody, until the end of May 1462, when in consideration of her 'humble, good and faithful disposition' and of her age and infirmity of body (she was 52), she was set at liberty and granted the right to enjoy all her lands. This suggests that Howard had been granted the right, or had seized the opportunity to, administer some of her estates. In a letter to John Paston written on 4 May, his correspondent had heard that the king had appointed a receiver named Keche (surely the man Oxford has named as his keeper of Winch) for all the lands both of Oxford and his widow 'except those that Howard had entered and Lanham and another granted to Wykes', from which the king was to receive all save 500 marks per annum, which was to go to the countess<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus whatever action Howard had taken, the king saw fit not to interfere with it. The lands he had entered are not named, but were surely East Winch, Fersfield and Brooks Hall, which would account for their appearance in the valor. There is no mention of the latter two manors in the household accounts, but references to Winch imply that Howard was

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iv, p.39

treating it as one of his own, indeed it seems to have been the only manor, other than Tendring Hall of course, at which his whole family took up residence<sup>(1)</sup>. He never appears to have obtained any legal title to it, and whether the right to administer it and the others was freely granted by Elizabeth or acquired under pressure is impossible to ascertain. However, his relations with his cousin and her young son John, the thirteenth earl, seem to have been friendly throughout the 1460s ; he made several hunting trips with John which lasted for days and in 1466 his daughter Jane was sent to join the widowed countess's household<sup>(2)</sup>.

With the readeption of Henry VI, old loyalties proved too strong, and the young earl fought for the Lancastrians at Barnet. Having fled from that field to Scotland and thence to France, he took to privateering. With the 'grete good and rychesse' he thus amassed, he launched his attack on St. Michael's Mount in 1473, in company with his brothers, George and Thomas. They held the Mount for several months before being obliged to surrender and for this foolish escapade they were all three imprisoned in Hammes castle, near Calais, and attainted a year later, early in 1475<sup>(3)</sup>. Once again Elizabeth did not escape royal notice, for in March 1473, before her son's attempted invasion, she was bound in the sum of £3,000 to appear before the king in council after Easter. The earl of Essex and Sir John Howard stood surety for her in the sums of £2,000 each. She duly appeared and was discharged on 9 July<sup>(4)</sup>. Exactly what matters were pending against her is in doubt ; Edward did not usually hold women responsible for the treasonable actions of their menfolk and the treatment of the countess suggests that there was some reason to believe her guilty of complicity. She had not only been summoned before the council some time before her sons' invasion and but also, prior to her summons, in January 1473, she had enfeoffed the duke of Gloucester with some of her own manors. In June of that year, she enfeoffed him with the rest<sup>(5)</sup>. In a petition to parliament in 1486, her restored son claimed that she was imprisoned and put in fear of her life by Gloucester and that

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1. H.B.I., pp.274-5, 474, 543.

2. ibid., pp.176, 300, 338-9, 385, 509.

3. John Warkworth, A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, ed. J.O. Halliwell, Camden Society (1839), p 26 ; Warkworth was a trustee of the Countess in 1473 and was obviously in a position to know.

4. C.C.R.1468-1476, pp.302-3.

5. ibid., pp.334-5

while in prison she was forced to hand over her lands to him, thus disinheriting her son<sup>(1)</sup>. This is obviously a heavily biased source and the fact that Essex and Howard stood surety for her argues that she was not in prison then at least. Since it does seem likely that the council considered her to be involved in her sons' activities, possibly Edward chose to make her give up her own lands as a form of punishment preferable to letting loose the full rigours of law upon her. She seems to have retired to Stratford nunnery almost at once, and died there about Christmas 1475, leaving Gloucester in full, and undisputed, possession of her lands.

Howard's attitude to this family disaster cannot be easily ascertained. He could hardly fail to deplore the folly of the earl and his brothers, but in standing surety for his cousin he seems to have done his best to help her were he could - £2,000 was a great deal of money. What cannot be denied is that Howard benefited greatly from the Oxford downfall. Following the earl's attainder in June 1475 he was granted from his forfeited estates the manors of Preston, Cokefield, Adam and Mendam in Suffolk, Dolingham and Earl Swaffham in Cambridgeshire and the stewardship of Hedingham Castle, the town of Lavenham and all other lands and manors in Suffolk and Essex formerly held by John de Vere<sup>(2)</sup>. In the following November he surrendered this stewardship in return for that of the manors of Hethingham at the Castle Bentley, Earl's Colne, Stansted Mountfichet and Canfield in Essex and that of Lavenham in Suffolk for an annual fee of £10<sup>(3)</sup>. In 1478 he surrendered the manor of Dolingham that he had been granted in 1475 and received in return those of Whympole in Devon and Downham Hall in Whestle, Suffolk, both of which had formerly belonged to the king's attainted brother, Clarence<sup>(4)</sup>. Unfortunately, these grants were made during a period for which household accounts do not survive, and no financial or administrative details exist for them, save one possible exception. In the account book which covers the period 1462-1471, there are several drafts of letters in Howard's own hand ; one is addressed to John Braham, appointing him receiver of the group of manors round Stoke-by-Nayland, together with those of Aldam, Cokefield and Preston<sup>(5)</sup>. The letter is not dated and nothing in its contents makes dating it possible ; it may be that Howard was using up spare pages at the end of

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1. Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol.vi, pp.282, 473.

2. C.P.R., 1467-1477, pp.538, 545.

3. ibid., p.547.

4. C.P.R., 1476-1485, p.120.

5. H.B.I., pp.558-9.

a completed account book to draft his letters, or what is equally possible, he was administering the Oxford estates, or rather some of them, before the earl's attainder and that the grants merely confirmed the status quo. Even supposing that the larger percentage of the profits accrued to the crown, Howard's own share from the Oxford manors must have made a considerable difference to his income. The last new manor Howard acquired before the great grant with his dukedom, is the only one for which positive evidence of purchase exists. It was the manor of Wivenhoe, which it may be remembered, was part of the countess of Oxford's inheritance from her mother, Joan Walton, and had passed with the rest of her lands to Gloucester. In 1480 the duke sold it to Howard for 1,100 marks, to be paid in two instalments, 'besides all other costs and charges, writing of the evidences thereto'<sup>(1)</sup>. Wivenhoe, being the port for Colchester, was a shrewd buy, which it must be assumed Howard initiated, but it was a costly one, since the price was higher than that paid by Sir Nicholas Latimer for both his Dorset manors.

Assessing the difference all these new manors made to Howard's income is not really feasible, for there is no evidence, not even such as the unsatisfactory valor, upon which to base a calculation. However, the roughest estimate is better than none at all, so based upon the evidence of the older manors, the following may perhaps be deduced. Each of the original manors, though individually differing widely, brought in an average potential income of £20 p.a. If this figure is used as a guide for the two new manors of the Howe and Deton, together with the seven Oxford and Clarence manors, then their potential profit would be in the region of £180, exclusive of the £10 steward's fee. The wealthy manor of Wivenhoe, supposing the purchase price to be twenty times the annual value, may have brought in about £40 p.a. By this rough calculation, Howard's potential income from lands and offices prior to his elevation to the dukedom was about £830 a year. This, of course, excludes the substantial profits from his ships and business ventures and any benefits from his embassies, but nevertheless is enough to place Howard among the richer men of his day. The income tax of 1436 is notoriously unreliable for assessing baronial incomes, particularly as annuities were excluded from the sum on which the donor was assessed and in the larger households this made a considerable difference. Even allowing for this, only ten peers had taxable incomes above £1,000 in 1436 and it is

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1. H.B.II, p.18.

likely that there was a similar number forty years later ; Howard was almost certainly one of them<sup>(1)</sup>.

The problems of assessing Howard's likely income are equalled by the difficulty of ascertaining the quality of administration on his estates. The evidence lies scattered among entries in his household accounts, but there are among the Arundel records some accounts of his bailiff, Thomas Lyndesey. These should be considered first because they form a natural appendix to the valor with which they have been preserved. They consist of a group of returns for each manor within the Stoke-by-Nayland complex, for which Lyndesey was responsible, and cover the years 1463-1469<sup>(2)</sup>. They are compiled on loose sheets of paper similar to those on which the household accounts are written and probably come from an estate account book ; there are several references in the household accounts to other account books e.g. the cator's (the man in charge of household provisions), the steward's etc. which have since been lost. They are referred to as Lyndesey's because he supplied the information they contain, but there is no reason to suppose he wrote them himself. The handwriting is an even, clerkly one, similar to that of the valor and the household accounts and they were presumably all compiled in one office. That these are final, rather than draft accounts, is clear from the word quietus written in a box at the bottom left hand corner of each page.

Lyndesey was Howard's bailiff for the manors of Tendring Hall, Netherhall, Wethermarsh and other sub-manors and lands in Stoke-by-Nayland, and the manor of Overburyhall nearby. He was also responsible for the collection of rents and issues from the other Suffolk manors, for which he received 33s. 4d. per annum, together with 6s. 8d. for a gown. Most of the lands of the home manors were leased out and the accounts contain long lists of fields and tenements, with rents ranging from a few shillings to the £21 p.a. paid by John Barker for the two tenements of Calcers and Constables. All the accounts follow the same form, consisting of a list of receipts, a list of payments and other outgoings, fees, together with a list of payments already made to Howard and the sum still owing to him. There are only minor fluctuations in the totals over the years for most of the manors, indicating that there were no large arrears being paid off. For Overburyhall, however,

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1. T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509, ed. S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (1972) pp.102-103.
  2. Arundel MS GI/3 ; all documents relating to Howard carry this reference, there are no sub-numbers.



the returns are more spectacular, from £29 11s. 10d. in 1464 the total jumps to £43 1s. 11d. in 1465 and £48 7s. 3d. in 1466<sup>(1)</sup>. This is reflected in the household accounts where there are two notes that the farmer, Robert Thorpe, owed Howard money, though not sums as indicated here<sup>(2)</sup>. The income from the manors outside the home group was obviously more static ; the accounts give the name of the farmer and the sum due. There is only one instance in the household accounts when a note is made of a change of tenant, but sometimes the manor passes from father to son. For instance, at the time of the valor, the manor of Stanstrete Hall was held by Thomas Davy at a rent of £10 p.a. and in April 1465 Howard leased it to his son John for a term of seven years at the same rent<sup>(3)</sup>. Lyndesey's accounts, however, raise further problems relating to Howard's holdings, for they list two manors not included in the valor and for which no other evidence of ownership exists. They are the manors of Framlingham Parva and Oldhall in East Dereham. Both were farmed out, the former to John Banke and Oldhall to John Copyn. Lyndesey gives only the total income from each for the period 1466-1469, that is £48 for Framlingham Parva and £40 for Oldhall. Framlingham Parva belonged to the duke of Norfolk, whose chief seat was Framlingham Castle and presumably Duke John IV had either granted or leased it to his cousin. For Oldhall there is no information at all. Since the income from these manors is not great and it is not known how or when Howard acquired them, it has not been added to the estimates of his total income. The man in Howard's household responsible for overseeing all the administration of the estates as opposed to the bailiff's day-to-day running of them, was his steward. Nobody is given this title in the first volume of household accounts (1462-1471), though it is clear that John Braham was discharging the steward's duties and in the second John Bliant is described as holding the position. His name occurs in the first volume in a similar capacity and it may be that he began as Braham's assistant. He was, by virtue of his office, responsible for the financial administration of the estates and as such, a man of considerable standing with his own servants<sup>(4)</sup>. Although he accompanied his lord on the expedition to Scotland in 1481, he usually remained at Stoke in Howard's absences, sharing the running of affairs with Lady Howard. As indicated

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1. See Table, p. 33.

2. H.B.I., pp. 282, 465.

3. ibid., p.566.

4. H.B.II., p.115.

TABLE SHOWING KNOWN ANNUAL INCOME FROM HOWARD'S MANORS

	VALOR	ACCOUNTS					
	1463-1464	1464-1465	1465-1466	1466-1467	1467-1468	1468-1469	
Stoke-by-Nayland	Stokehall	£14. 4. 1½	-----	£15. 3. 1	£15. 5. 7	-----	-----
	Wethermarsh	£68.16. 5	-----	£60. 7. 6	£66.12. 6	-----	-----
	Netherhall	£ 3. 9. 5	} No detailed later accounts exist for these manors.				
	Georges	£ 6.13. 4					
	Bachouse	£ 9. 1. 1½					
	Pownes	£16. 0.10					
	Bowerhouse	£ 7. 0. 0					
	Sprottes	£ 6.13. 4	-----	-----	-----	(total of £17.14.10)	
	Stanstrete	£10. 0. 0	£13.13.11	£19. 0. 0	£12. 0. 0	£14.13. 8	£10. 0. 0
	Leffey	£10. 0. 0	£10. 0. 0	£10. 0. 0	£10. 0. 0	£10. 0. 0	£10. 3. 4
	Overburyhall	£27.11. 7½	£43. 1.11	£48. 7. 3	-----	-----	-----
	Smeton	£13.16. 8	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	Whersted	£ 9. 0. 0	-----	-----	-----	(total of £19. 0. 6)	
Oxford manors	Merton Hall	£12. 0. 0	} No detailed later accounts exist for these manors.				
	Fersfield	£26.13. 4					
	East Winch	£45. 0. 0					
	Brookshall	£14.13. 4					
Held in fee from Norfolk	Herford	£ 5. 0. 0					
	Ladyhall	£16. 0. 0					
	Kenton	£16.10. 0					
	Dontish	£40. 0. 0					
	Dawlish	£40. 0. 0					

N.B. The figures from the valor are of potential rather than actual income for the year 1463-1464, while those from Lyndsey's accounts must be presumed to be actual receipts.

in the household accounts, his main tasks were the hiring and payment of seasonal labourers, the purchase of stock and the upkeep of buildings. He was also responsible for the holding of manor courts, but virtually no court rolls for any Howard manors have survived for this period<sup>(1)</sup>.

The land in the part of Suffolk in which Stoke-by-Nayland is situated is rich farming land now and must presumably have been so five hundred years ago<sup>(2)</sup>. Howard's farming economy was designed mainly to support his growing household ; he kept large numbers of cattle and sheep and even after providing the household with wool, he still had enough left over to sell. In August 1467, he noted that Throsten Pare owed him £5 for last year's wool and having made arrangements for this to be paid by means of several assignments, he then arranged to sell Pare eighteen stones of the current year's wool, a note of which he says occurs in Braham's account book<sup>(3)</sup>. With a household at this time numbering over a hundred persons, some of the annual yield of wool was consumed at home, and not only for clothes, for an undated memorandum states that Alice Havering had spun, carded and twisted 20lbs of yarn for the 'aras man' and was owed 2d. for every 11b<sup>(4)</sup>. In 1467 Howard noted that he owned more than a thousand sheep of which more than half were wethers<sup>(5)</sup>. Although this was modest in comparison with the great seignorial flocks, - for instance in 1376 twenty-six manors of the Winchester estates had carried 20,355 head of sheep - it was quite substantial in view of the relatively few manors that Howard was farming himself. In the autumn of 1465 there occurs a detailed account of the cattle and sheep at Stoke itself, possibly listed as a preparation for the Martinmas slaughter<sup>(6)</sup>. This is a good illustration of the care and detailed attention which went into the accounts. The compiler notes that the dairy at Georges and at Pownses (two of the Stoke sub-manors) there were :

"23 kine, 11 great oxen, 5 bulls old and young, 10 yearlings, 9 heifers and one great steer of northern ware (in this context, ware seems to indicate place of origin or purchase), 20 great steers of northern ware that my master (i.e. Howard) bought at Ely fair, 2 great oxen he had of Tylle"

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1. None, at least, can be traced at the P.R.O. or any of the relevant county record offices, though rolls for earlier periods for one or two of the manors have been deposited in the latter. The Arundel records include a few but it seems likely that most were lost or destroyed in one of the Howard upheavals of the sixteenth century.
  2. Now famed as Constable country.
  3. H.B.I., pp.421-422
  4. ibid., p.551
  5. ibid., p.555
  6. R. Trow-Smith, English Husbandry (1951), pp. 66, 79

and on the same sub-manors were :

"43 ewes and wethers, 3 rams, 20 ewes my master bought of Turner, 20 ewes of Norfolk ware that Moleyns (Tomas Moleyns, Howard's squire) bought him, 10 ewes bought of the farmer of Whersted (Thomas Payne), 2 wethers and 8 ewes that Braham bought".

On 26 October was added to this total :

"31 ewes, 2 wethers and 1 ram bought of Watkin, butcher, 20 ewes and wethers bought of Grene and 18 from Nicholas Smith of Brettnam (Brettenham), 2 sheep that Bet bought".(1)

This number of sheep and cattle is the sort of total that might be expected to be slaughtered to keep a household of the size of Howard's through the winter and there seems little doubt that the memorandum was compiled for this purpose. Not all the autumn buying was done in such a piecemeal fashion, at least in the later period. In 1481 Howard gave John Bliant, his steward, £20 to buy cattle at Wolpet fair in the September and there he bought '26 of the greatest steers at £14 16s. 0d. and 8 steers of lean ware at 46s. 7d.<sup>(2)</sup> To balance the great slaughter of stock in the autumn, there had to be much replenishing in the spring, and in the following March Bliant bought 100 sheep for £11 13s. 4d. and paid 12s. 0d. to have them driven to Stoke<sup>(3)</sup>. These sums represent considerable capital outlay if it is remembered that the annual profits from the manor of Tendring Hall were only in the region of £15-20.

Fish was another highly important item in the household's economy, particularly during the winter months. Stoke was not far from the coast and Howard had many connections with the sea, but fresh salt-water fish do not figure largely in the accounts. Two cases of red herring were transported to Stoke in December 1481 and a similar amount the following March. Howard himself seems to have been partial to Colchester oysters, but there is little sign of large scale purchasing<sup>(4)</sup>. Generally speaking, most of the fish consumed was from his own ponds. Howard seems to have taken a personal interest in his ponds in a way he did not in his cattle and sheep. There is a series of entries relating to the ponds for the years 1462-1468, a great many of which are in his own hand<sup>(5)</sup>. On 28 January 1468 he wrote :

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1. H.B.I., p.554
  2. H.B.II., p.107
  3. ibid., p.172
  4. ibid., pp.106, 140, 169.
  5. H.B.I., pp.560-3.

"I break (took the stock from) my greatest pond in the park and out of it I took in great breams, 65, and put them into the mill pond, the which is new made, and the same day I put in 6 great carp and 12 score little carps, 43 great tench, 20 small tench, 66 small breams".

There were a great many ponds in the home manors, this series of entries alone refers to 'the greatest pond in the park', 'the mill pond', 'the furthest pond at Sprottes', 'the long moat beside the highway at Overburyhall', 'the moat in the close garden', and 'Janen's pond'. Even these were not sufficient, for on 6 October 1465, he agreed with Snelle of Overburyhall 'to have his mother's pond and his, and to store it and break it when it pleaseth my master, paying to the said Snelle 4d. yearly'<sup>(1)</sup>. Three months earlier, Snelle had agreed to make there at :

"my master's great pond, a dyke which shall avoid the revere from the pond and that the said dyke shall be made along beside the pond and Snelle shall take heed and amend the head of the pond where it is faulty and shall be paid for his labours 33s. 4d." (2)

As a landowner, Howard was responsible for the upkeep and repair of his property but there are few details on this subject in the accounts. There are references to repairs being made on his London houses in Crooked Lane and in Suffolk to the mill at Overburyhall ; in July 1482 the steward paid Donning, the local smith 7s. 10d. for the cost of minor repairs to the mill<sup>(3)</sup>. There are many details of the building that Howard had done at Tendring Hall itself, which is discussed in Chapter 5, but this was a project in which he was personally involved, whereas the upkeep of his other property was more properly a job for his steward to supervise, and the accounts were presumably entered in his books. Odd items only seem to have found their way into the household accounts. There are also one or two indications that Howard was buying and selling small pieces of land as well as the manors and the properties he bought in London, Ipswich and Colchester in connection with his business activities. In 1464 Fesbey the cordwainer still owed him for a property bought in Stoke for the sizeable sum of £66 13s. 4d. which probably including a house and shop and a close or two of land<sup>(4)</sup>. In 1465

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1. H.B.I., p.564.
  2. ibid., pp.592-3.
  3. ibid., p.323 ; H.B.II., p.211.
  4. H.B.I., p.176.

Howard paid 20s. for a fine together with 16s. 8d. for the writing and enrolling of it. This indicates a desire for a confirmed title to some substantial piece of property, perhaps either the manor of the Howe or that of Deton, both acquired at about this date. In July 1482 he bought from Richard Taylor of Polsted  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of meadow lying in two parts of Store meadow (presumably in Polsted) for which he paid £4, adding an extra noble (6s. 8d.) for good measure<sup>(1)</sup>. In February 1466 he sold to a man named Fernfold 'the place in Sussex' for £20. This is the only indication in the accounts that Howard owned property in that county as early as this, and no further information is given ; it is just one of numerous tantalizing snippets in the accounts, which it is impossible to follow further<sup>(2)</sup>.

There is also little evidence for Howard's relations with his tenants, except for the odd scattered entry in the accounts. A number of the more important tenants were, not unnaturally, members of the household. Robert Thorpe, who held some land at Overburyhall was probably the Norwich alderman of that name with whom Howard had frequent business dealings, his brother Thomas was one of the senior men in the household. Another such was John Davy, who took over the lease of the manor of Stranstrete from his father, after he had been in the household for at least a year ; there is no evidence, however, as to whether he joined it after his father became a tenant, or before. Walter Gorges, who followed the unsatisfactory Dounam at the manor of the Howe, was a man of some standing, whose father, Sir Theobald Gorges, came from Wraxall in Somerset. On Walter's death, Howard acted as executor and acquired the wardship of his two young sons for £200 in 1466<sup>(3)</sup>. The elder, Edmund, who was his grandfather's heir, later married Howard's daughter Anne, and both boys remained in Howard's service until his death. His mother's manor of Kenton in Warwickshire was rented by Sir Richard Verney in 1465 for £16 10s. p.a. Perhaps because he kept a close check on rents, Howard seems not to have had any serious trouble with his tenants, certainly he avoided the tedious and expensive processes of litigation with both them and his neighbours<sup>(4)</sup>. He also kept an eye on his lesser dues as a landowner ; he noted in 1467 that at Stanstrete his copyhold tenants owed him for harvest

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1. H.B.II., p.212.

2. H.B.I., p.327.

3. H.B.I., p.466 ; C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.527.

4. There are no references at all to Howard in the Early Chancery Proceedings, though there are to many of his associates. He was, however, indicted with other Howbray servants in 1453 for a series of crimes and he was later engaged in litigation with the Duchess of Suffolk over claims to the barony of Kerdistok. G.F.C.

dues which had not been paid for five years<sup>(1)</sup>, and in 1465 there is an interesting note to the effect that the farmer of East Winch had found a coffer full of plate and that the king had not yet received a penny of his rightful due for such treasure trove ; apparently Howard was not making any claims on his own behalf<sup>(2)</sup>.

In June 1483, John Howard and William Berkeley were granted the right to enjoy the Mowbray lands to which they had become co-heirs on the death of Anne Mowbray, the last duke's only child, in 1481. Since the numbers of manors involved are large, it is not proposed to catalogue them in detail. In 1489 Thomas Howard's petition for the reversal of his attainder lists the estates his father had enjoyed, which may be summed up as follows<sup>(3)</sup>. John Howard received all the property in Norfolk and Suffolk and the bulk of those in Sussex together with a single manor in each of the counties of Bedford, Northampton and Essex, a total of 40 manors,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hundreds and the forest of St. Leonards. William Berkeley received all the more scattered estates, with a concentration in Yorkshire, Derby and Leicester, and rather surprisingly, the manors of Harwich and Dovercourt in Essex, which seem on the face of it as if they ought to have gone to Howard. Berkeley's total was 58 manors, 1 hundred and the castle and lordship of Bedford. Doubtless Howard felt that the territorial unity of his moiety more than compensated for the fact that it was the smaller. He was created duke of Norfolk and earl marshal, while Berkeley received the earldom of Nottingham, the older Mowbray title. Thomas Howard was created earl of Surrey, a new title<sup>(4)</sup>. The seniority of the co-heirs is not now known for certain, and descendants of both families have claimed it. Since his share of the lands embodied the old Mowbray estates and he received the older title, it suggests that Berkeley might have been the senior, as does his complaint that he had received 'too much land and too little honour'<sup>(5)</sup>. Be that as it may, kings

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1. H.B.I., p.396.

2. ibid., p.474.

3. Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol.vi, p.206.

4. Howard's elevation from a simple barony to a dukedom was unprecedented save for the case of George Neville in 1470. Normally there would be the intermediate step of an earldom, which would later be borne as a courtesy title by the duke's eldest son. Thomas had to have an earldom created for himself and succeeding Howard heirs, and he was also granted an annuity of £1,100 from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during his father's lifetime in order to support the earldom of Surrey. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.479.

5. J. Smyth, The Lives of the Berkeleys, ed. Sir John Maclean (1883-1885), vol.ii, p.126. For the political implications of the grant, see pages 167-171.

are permitted the prerogative of showing favour to their loyal supporters and Howard's record of service to the house of York shows why it was considered that he deserved the title with which he had been associated for so long, even if he were the junior heir.

Half of a Mowbray inheritance already depleted by the dower interests of two duchesses was not sufficient to support a dukedom, if it be remembered that John Mowbray found himself impoverished with all of it. The estate to support a title was important ; although political motives had been paramount, George Neville, duke of Bedford, had been deprived of his dukedom in 1478 on the technical grounds that he lacked the estate to support it. Richard III, therefore, granted Howard 46 manors, mainly in Cornwall and Wiltshire but also including Lavenham and the other Essex and Suffolk manors, originally belonging to the earl of Oxford, of which Howard had been made steward in 1475. Also included were the lordship of Hungerford and the castle and lordship of Farleigh<sup>(1)</sup>. On the same day he was granted the issues, but not the manors themselves, of some twenty of Earl Rivers' forfeited manors during the king's pleasure<sup>(2)</sup>. The new duke's holdings, therefore, paralleled those of John Mowbray in 1475. Howard was, of course, much wealthier than his erstwhile lord had been, since he had all his other resources to draw upon. On the same day that he received his grants of land, Howard was made Admiral of England, a fitting office for the leading seaman of his day. The grant of a house in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle (Southwark), calle The Tower, on 23 December of the same year, that of 12 manors, mainly in Dorset and Somerset, together with the full title to those manors from which he had been receiving the issues since July 1483, and the reversion of five more manors and the toll of Bishops Lynn in February 1485 make up the total landed grants Howard received from Richard III<sup>(3)</sup>.

Because the existing household accounts cease very soon after Howard's elevation to the dukedom, there are few details as to the administration of the new estates. However, the accounts show that his first action on returning to Stoke after Richard's coronation was to set out on a progress of his new estates in East Anglia. He journeyed via Ipswich and Framlingham,

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1. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.359 ; B.M. Harl. 433, f.24d.

2. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.365.

3. ibid., pp. 363, 411, 497 ; B.M. Harl. 433, ff. 161d, 186.



whose castle was to be his main seat in the future, Norwich, Walsingham, Thetford, Bury St. Edmunds, where he stayed with the Abbot, and on to Lavenham<sup>(1)</sup>. He presumably visited almost all of his new manors, numbering 58 in the two counties. He was, of course, known on most of them from his long association with the former dukes, but those which had been Rivers' can hardly have seen him before. Throughout the progress, local people not unnaturally hastened to display their goodwill to the man who was now supremely important in their part of the country. Sometimes the accounts mention gifts : Lady Chamberlan sent wine, Fastolf a gerflacon, the parker of Lavenham a buck, sometimes payments to servants indicate that they had been sent by their masters to convey messages of congratulation : Sir Gilbert Debenham's man received 12d<sup>(2)</sup>. That they were anxious to pay these little attentions is not surprising when it is borne in mind that the new duke's good word might make all the difference in securing them an office, an advantageous marriage or the successful outcome of a law-suit. Given Howard's previous attitude to those dependant on him, there seems little doubt that had he lived longer, the cloak of paternalism with which he had sheltered his family and household in the past, would soon have extended to cover almost everyone in two shires. Howard's interests could, however, no longer be confined to East Anglia and after his progress there he returned to London prior to making a similar visit to his estates in Surrey and Sussex, stopping first at Reigate and then Horsham, both towns where the Norfolk interest was paramount<sup>(3)</sup>.

The only administrative record for the estates which survives for the two years in which Howard was duke of Norfolk is an account roll compiled for his East Anglian estates for the year Michaelmas 1483 to Michaelmas 1484 by his receiver, John Penley<sup>(4)</sup>. The roll groups the manors into three sections, those which had formerly belonged to earl Rivers, those which had formerly belonged to the earl of Oxford and those hereditarily belonging to the dukes of Norfolk. For each manor or lordship, the roll lists the name of the farmer or bailiff, or in the case of the old ducal manors, the reeve or hayward, and the sum received. For two of the Rivers manors there no receipts and the entry states that Rivers had granted the manor of

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1. H.B.II., pp.432-434.

2. ibid., p.450.

3. ibid., pp. 453-462.

4. B.M. Add. Ch. 16559 ; there is also a summary of this account roll in the handwriting of the antiquarian, Peter le Neve, among the Arundel records.

Stowbedon to Lord Willoughby and that of Scroteby to Lord Lovell. In addition, the Oxford manor of Vance had been granted to Sir Thomas Montgomery, and for some unexplained reason there is nothing entered for the manors of Stansted Montfichet and Battlesmere. The total receipts are given as £1013 16s. 8½d. for 58 manors and hundreds, which do not include those Howard owned before 1483, nor, of course, the Surrey and Sussex estates or those in the south-west of England. Again the receipts from the various manors differ widely, ranging from £1 3s. 5d. for the manor of Islington Hall to £60 12s. 2d. for that of Kelshale. About 20 of the manors each brought in less than £10, while 11 brought in more than £35, and 5 more than £50. On average it appears that the ducal manors yielded most highly, while the Rivers manors brought in least, but no firm conclusions can be drawn from this, for Rivers' inquisition post mortem gives markedly different totals for some of the manors<sup>(1)</sup>; for instance, the account roll gives £45 6s. 8d., for the manor of Middleton, while the inquisition gives the sum of £15. Alternatively, the manor of Hickling brought in receipts of £6 for 1483, while the inquisition assesses it at £40; Islington, which yielded the lowest profits in 1483 is assessed at £12. Similar sorts of fluctuation are to be expected for the other manors.

The account roll goes on to list fees that the receiver paid out in salaries to some of his fellow officers, £5 to James Hobart, long an agent and legal adviser to Howard, whom the latter had made steward of his Suffolk estates; £6 13s. 4d. to John Knight, the new duke's auditor, £5 to Richard Southwell, steward of the Norfolk estates, who had not, according to the household accounts, been a member of Howard's household previously, but who had served the former dukes. £2 each was paid to the keepers of the parks of Lopham and Framlingham and £3 6s. 8d. to Thomas Hill, another ducal servant, who was bailiff of Framlingham castle and paid at a rate of 2d a day. Penley himself was paid the substantial salary of £13 6s. 8d., plus £2 5s. 11½d. in expenses, which he notes were checked in the presence of Howard himself. Despite his new position, it is clear that Howard had no intention of relinquishing his close supervision of affairs. Framlingham itself had obviously been somewhat neglected since 1475 and Penley paid out £152 11s. 10½d. to various workmen for repairs and improvements. A recently built manor house like Tendring Hall was likely to be considerably

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1. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1-2 Henry VII, (H.M.S.O., 1898), p.14, sub Anthony, Earl Rivers.

more comfortable, if owned by a man of wealth and taste like Howard, than a castle, and doubtless the new duke and duchess wished Framlingham to be brought up to the standards of comfort to which they were accustomed.

Penley goes on to list various household expenses, £12 19s. 8d. paid out in wages to household servants, £61 7s. 1½d. spent on food and other provisions for the household at the castle, together with £13 12s. 0d. spent on special victuals by Howard's own order. £239 0s. 6½d. was laid out on oxen, cattle, sheep, malt, oats and wine for the household and a further £5 19s. 0½d. on fuel, cartage etc. Also included in this section is the money paid out in charity by the duke, who seems to have been conventionally pious and quite generous in his gifts to charity and deserving causes. A further £31 10s. 8½d. he spent in rewards, that is, payments to people who had done him particular service. Penley gives the total expenditure for this class as £388 17s. 9d. Details are then given of the money that the duke and duchess had received for their personal expenses. It is listed in individual parcels, showing whether it was paid directly to them from one of the manors or whether the receiver had given it to one of the senior household men on their behalf ; Edmund Daniel, John Bliant and John Braham are named in this context, all of whom had been with Howard since the early fourteen sixties. All in all, Howard and his duchess had received £431 13s. 10½d. This and the other payments accounted for all the income Penley had received from the estates, and he goes on to add on the debit side of the account, £12 10s. 0d. for the wages of the working men and labourers at the castle, and 40s. for as many sheep the cator had purchased. Throughout the list of household payments, Penley refers to five other account books, presumably those of the steward, cator and other head of household departments, and similar to those books referred to in the household accounts. One the most interesting features of the account roll is that it is a parchment roll and written in Latin ; all Howard's other accounts are in English and written in book form on paper, which suggests that at Framlingham he took over a more formal and old-fashioned accounting department.

A picture of Howard as a landowner emerges somewhat scrappily from the accounts. Apart from royal grants, he seems to have pursued a policy of purchasing manors at a time when very little land was coming on to the market, since the vast majority of secular estates descended by inheritance or will without ever being sold ; the exception to this was land sold for

obits or to endow chantries. Often men wishing to buy manors had to take what was on offer in other counties in the hope that they could later exchange it for lands nearer their own holdings<sup>(1)</sup>. That Howard was able to purchase not one but several manors in the area of his own estates suggests both skill and determination in the land market, and probably an ability to pay more than the usual purchasing rate, which was generally twenty times the annual net profit of the land<sup>(2)</sup>. He was a careful and efficient administrator, a man who went through his personal accounts every week, checking and annotating, and who was therefore very unlikely to let estate accounts escape his vigilance. Although at this date few peers were really poor estate managers, Howard shows himself to be very much more interested in the day to day management of his affairs than the majority of his fellows. McFarlane found no example earlier than Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, in the early sixteenth century, of a lord who kept detailed records of his financial position in his own hand, but Howard certainly did so, both before and after he became a peer, and he continued to do so as duke<sup>(3)</sup>.

The most revealing sources for estate policy are registers of estate letters. None such exists for such a relatively small estate-owner as Howard was for most of his life, but among the draft letters that survive at the end of the first volume of accounts is one to John Braham<sup>with</sup> his lord's detailed instructions for the running down of the establishment on one of his manors<sup>(4)</sup>. It is written entirely in Howard's handwriting, and the reference to the departure of his children make it likely that the manor is East Winch. The number of servants is too small for it to be Tendring and there is no evidence that the family lived on any of the other manors except Winch. As the old family home it would be commodious enough for them all and payments in the accounts show that the family was there for quite a long spell in the late summer and autumn of 1464, although not apparently at any other time. It is possible that the letter was written much later, after Howard had been officially granted the Oxford manors, but for the present purpose the date is not important. It seems appropriate to end a chapter on Howard's estates with an indication of his attitude to them expressed in his own words :

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1. K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England, (Oxford, 1973), pp.53-6.
  2. ibid., p.57.
  3. ibid., p.50 ; H.B.I., p.456, H.B.II., pp.138, 443 ; the entries by Howard are less frequent in the set of accounts which begin in 1481.
  4. H.B.I., pp.558-9.

"Braham, I pray you, take a pain upon you to see my profit in those parts, I shall so reward you for your labours as you shall be pleased. First you shall know, I will, as soon as my children be come thence, have no household there, but such as shall deserve their meat and drink ; as for the horse-keepers, as soon as I have word from you how many there be, I will send you word how many I will have hither, and the remnant I will avoid(remove,) and will keep nobody there but Margery and her husband, and the ploughmen I trust to you shall be set well to work. Also I would my pastures were well stored with cattle, and a man that should keep them might at other whiles help to drive the cart, and so with the help of children, the fewer men might serve. Also Jode, or such as one as you think good to keep the warren and park under you. And to all this small number Margery might be cook and with the help of her husband, both bake and brew for them. And I think it were best and most surest for my profit and avail, that Margery and they all dwelled in the manor, and most surety for the place. Also I pray you, let all my timber that is in the woods, and also in the park and at home be kared (cut?) when you think it time and laid at home and covered that it may lie safe, for I trust in God to build there before long, more than I did before and often to come thither. Wherefore I pray you see all things be well gyde (organised ? done ?) and also my ponds both there and in the country..."

There is not much delegation of authority there, even to a servant as senior and as trusted as Braham. Howard had obviously worked out to the last detail how he wished the manor to be run in his absence, and all Braham was expected to do was carry out his instructions. Apart from the occasional 'I pray you', the tone is business-like and to the point, not to say peremptory. The suggestion of rather hard efficiency seems to have been common among the landowners of the day, according to McFarlane, who cites numerous cases of lordly high-handedness and extortion as well as mere efficiency<sup>(1)</sup>. In this, Howard was typical of his fellows, but the care and attention which he devoted to the administration of his estates sets him apart from most of his contemporaries.

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1. McFarlane, Nobility, pp.49-53.

## CHAPTER 3

### BUSINESS INTERESTS

As a member of the landed classes, Howard, though better documented than most, was not remarkable in his attitude to his estates, his individuality only apparent in the degree of interest he took in the day to day administration and the close supervision he brought to bear upon it<sup>(1)</sup>. His significance in the mid-fifteenth century lies in the extent of his business activities, and of these by far the most important was his shipowning. This, in the later Middle Ages as in more recent centuries, was generally a matter for the Crown and the mercantile classes and it is rare to find participation by gentry or the aristocracy. Yet it is not unprecedented; among his fellow peers, the earls of Warwick<sup>and</sup> Rivers engaged in trading activities, and lords Herbert, Duras, Cobham and Fauconberg each owned one or more ships and the earl of Warwick, when Captain of Calais, built up a whole fleet of his own to dominate the Channel and keep open lines of communication. Warwick's ends were political and personal and although used commercially his ships were the nucleus of a royal fleet until his disagreement with the king and then they were used to oppose the Crown. Despite Warwick's example, there is no evidence that Howard ever used his ships for purposes other than commerce, except when directly called upon by the Crown.

Despite the assumed importance of Howard's business and marine activities, far less is known about them than the way he handles his estates. The methods of accounting profits from land were well-established and formal, as may be seen from surviving valors, account rolls and other fragments, but the opposite is true for profits any lord might make from other sources. These went, not into the hands of his receiver-general, but straight into

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1. It may, of course, be that if documentation for his fellows was available, many would emerge as equally interested.

his own coffers or privy purse. Although a cofferer would have kept accounts, none for this period have survived except for the king<sup>(1)</sup>. Details of Howard's business ventures and their profits have to be gleaned from entries in his general household accounts or from completely different sources.

Howard's interest in the sea and shipping seems to have been an early development ; despite the fact that his great-great-grandfather had been made Admiral of the North Seas by Edward III, there is no reason to suppose the interest was hereditary. He is mentioned by Power and Postan as one of those individually named by Parliament in 1442 to provide ships for a fleet for the protection of English ships at sea. If this were correct, it would show him as a major shipowner at the surprisingly early age of 22, but, in fact, the Rolls of Parliament while naming Sir William Bonville, Sir Philip Courtenay, Lord Powys and others, do not name Howard, so it must be supposed that the authors were anticipating Howard's eminence in the field<sup>(2)</sup>. The men who were included, however, are of interest, for they are men of his own class rather than merchants who would suffer commercially from lending their ships to the king. The first documentary evidence that Howard had an interest in ships is his appointment to a commission in December 1455, together with the earl of Oxford and Humphrey and John Bouchier, to enquire into which of the king's subjects had seized ships and goods belonging to merchants of Genoa and Portugal contrary to the friendship between England and those countries<sup>(3)</sup>. Four years later, in February 1459, he was, with Norfolk and Oxford, on a commission to arrest certain pirates in three English balingers or barges who had taken goods and merchandise from Venetian merchants in the Thames near Queenborough, transferred the goods to other boats at Sandwich and taken them to Harwich<sup>(4)</sup>. The appointment of Norfolk to this commission indicates the attitude of the Crown to this piece of bare-faced piracy in the Thames itself.

These two commissions suggest that Howard had some sort of position among those concerned with east coast shipping, but before the household

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1. Macfarlane, Nobility, p.129 ; the earliest cofferer's accounts Macfarlane found were the early sixteenth-century ones of the third duke of Buckingham.
  2. E. Power and M.M. Postan, Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century (1933), p.126 ; Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol.v, p.59.
  3. C.P.R. 1452-1461, p.301. Howard was too small a landowner to warrant inclusion solely as a representative of local gentry.
  4. ibid., p.494.

accounts begin, there is nothing to confirm the suggestion. Early actions of the Crown under the new Yorkist dynasty, however, help to strengthen the impression. In May 1462, he and Sir Thomas Waldegrave were commissioned to take the ships called the 'Marie Talbot' and the 'Marie Thomson', both of Lynn, and any other vessels within the ports of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, together with their masters and mariners, to form part of a royal fleet<sup>(1)</sup>. Six days before, an order had been made for the arrest of the 'Mary of Lynn', possibly one of these two ships, for shipping wool illegally<sup>(2)</sup>. If she was indeed one of the sequestered ships, it meant that two birds might be conveniently killed with one stone; the ship might be detained pending enquiries into her illegal activities, and at the same time be fitted out for royal service. In August the following year, the household accounts note that Howard paid the master of the 'Mary Talbot', Richard Outlaw, £11 for a hundred men pressed into royal service; that is, each of them received a small sum in compensation<sup>(3)</sup>. At Ipswich, Howard's agent, Richard Felaw spent about £60 buying corn and other supplies for this ship and others in the fleet<sup>(4)</sup>. This defensive move was a consequence of the Northumberland castles falling into Lancastrian hands in the spring and early summer of 1463.

In the following summer 1464, Howard was back in his peace-time occupation of arresting pirates. On 4 May he was appointed to head a commission to enquire into the complaints of certain Venetian merchants that a ship they had freighted at Sandwich to carry sweet wine, dates and other goods to London had been attacked and despoiled in the Thames by pirates. For once the pirates were identified and the commission was empowered to arrest and imprison Little Peryn of Sandwich, Pratt of Winchelsea, Fagge of Whitby and others, and make restitution to the Venetians<sup>(5)</sup>. The frequency of commissions against pirates, and the widely differing ports from which the members of this particular group sprang show just how serious

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1. C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.203.
  2. P.R.O. Privy Council Warrants, E28/89. Presumably either avoiding customs duties or not shipping through the only permitted channel of the Staple at Calais.
  3. H.B.I., p.189; for Outlaw, see below page 60
  4. ibid., pp.188, 192-3.
  5. C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.347; the use of imprisonment presumably refers to pre-trial custody rather than punishment.



a problem piracy was. Howard had a particular responsibility for the peace of the eastern coast and the provision of ships for the use of the Crown, for the list of his fees given in the valor of 1464 includes that paid him by the youthful duke of Gloucester to act as deputy Admiral for Norfolk and Suffolk.

The employment of Howard on similar commissions continued steadily throughout Edward's reign. In December he was appointed to one to enquire into offences against Henry VI's statute requiring all exports of wool, hides, lead and tin to be made only through the Staple at Calais<sup>(1)</sup>; in October 1466 to another to seize the ship 'Valentine' of Newcastle-on-Tyne and her goods and arrest her crew for unspecified offences<sup>(2)</sup>; to one in March 1476 to arrest pirates who attacked a ship chartered by Hanse merchants from Lübeck off the coast of Suffolk<sup>(3)</sup>. All these appointments, however, while indicating the Crown's reliance on him in the field of shipping, give no indication that he was a ship-owner himself. For the earliest evidence of this it is necessary to turn, as for other things, to his own accounts. William Canynge of Bristol is generally supposed to have been the greatest shipowner of the Yorkist period. Of the seventeen sea-going ships registered in the port of Bristol, he owned ten, including the second largest ship in the country, the 'Mary and John' of 900 tons burthen. The largest, the legendary 'Grace Dieu', formerly Warwick's and then belonging to the Crown, was built by John Taverner of Hull for Henry VI and was 'as large as a carrack or larger'. Warwick's fleet consisted of at least eight ships of which he was the owner and when not using them for military purposes, they were a profitable merchantile sideline, but the largest, the 'Great Mary', was only 500 tons<sup>(4)</sup>. It is not possible to assess exactly how many ships Howard owned at any one time, or indeed the total number. Sometimes it is not clear whether he is victualling a particular ship and paying the sailors on royal business or whether he in fact owned it himself. For example, this difficulty arises over the 'Trinity' of Saint Osyth whose sailors he paid in May 1481<sup>(5)</sup>. This ship has therefore been omitted from any tentative

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1. C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.390.

2. ibid., p.553.

3. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.605.

4. P.R.O. Warrants under Signet, C/81/1378.

5. H.B.II., p.72.

total and only those vessels for which there is record of purchase, a clear possessive pronoun, e.g. 'my little ship of Mantyre', or name, e.g. the 'George Howard', are included.

The first volume of accounts is dominated by payments made for a ship Howard was building at Dunwich. He seems to have received some financial backing for this project from the king, 'the king owes me £30 for money laid down for the carvel of Dunwich'<sup>(1)</sup>, which suggests either it may have been a royal ship whose construction Howard was overseeing for Edward, or that the king owned a part share in one of Howard's ships<sup>(2)</sup>. Among the drafts of letters in his own handwriting in the accounts are several referring to two ships the king had desired him to build as quickly as possible. One is a draft in the king's own name desiring someone unspecified to let Howard have oaks at a favourable price ; the warrant was actually issued in October 1467. One is addressed to the king himself and carries Howard's apologies for not being able to answer the king's summons to a Council at Coventry (thus clearly setting the date at 1468), partly because he was visiting the shipyard daily and did not like to leave until the work was finished and partly because, while descending from a carvel into the ship's boat, he had injured his leg so that he could neither walk nor travel easily. What is not clear is whether the ships were to belong to the crown or whether they were to be paid for by Howard and used by him until such time as the crown had need of them. There is virtually no detail in the accounts about these ships, for the chronological entries cease at the end of 1467. Possibly much the same arrangement existed for the carvel at Dunwich, which was begun in 1463 and was not completed until early in 1466. Although the building was begun at Dunwich, as soon as the main body of the ship was complete she was brought down to Harwich via Orwell Haven, being caught by a storm on the way and requiring help from other seamen who were rewarded when she reached Harwich safely<sup>(3)</sup>. There, in October 1465, Howard spent two days going over her, and he continued to visit the shipyard regularly throughout the winter.

The ship was a carvel, that is, she was built in the Mediterranean style with her planks edge to edge rather than in the customary north European

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1. H.B.II., p.186, H.B.I., p.592.
  2. It has been estimated that the carvel was of about 80 tons and cost £170 to build. G.R. Scammell, 'Shipowing in England c1450-1550', T.R.H.S., 5th, series, XII, p.112.
  3. H.B.I., p.200.



clinker fashion, with each plank overlapping the one below ; the chief characteristic of carvels was their speed, an attribute naturally desirable in both trading and fighting vessels<sup>(1)</sup>. 80 tons has been estimated as the size of the carvel; by and large ships throughout Europe were decreasing in size and there was little on the east coast at this date over 150 tons and most ships were between 50 and 100 tons burthen<sup>(2)</sup>. The popularity of smaller ships is not difficult to explain, much of the long distance foreign trade was in alien hands, and small English ships could enter any harbour, load and unload quickly, needed only a small crew and were not such a heavy loss if they sank. The new carvel, however, was probably bigger than the average east merchant ship, since she made trips to Spain and Prussia and was used to convey a state visitor, the Bastard of Burgundy, home to Flanders in 1467<sup>(3)</sup>. She also had three masts, an innovation that reached northern Europe during the fifteenth century<sup>(4)</sup>, for besides the main mast, Howard purchased a mast for the 'musyn' and two sail yards for it and the 'fuk' or fore mast<sup>(5)</sup>. In March 1466 he bought 200 ells of canvas from Thomas Breten of London and paid Harry and Persone 16d for sewing the sails<sup>(6)</sup>. Within the ship was a brick oven that required 800 bricks, 250 housetiles and 13 paving tiles and took six days to build ; the man who was to benefit was a ship's cook named Blowebelle<sup>(7)</sup>. This is an extremely interesting illustration showing that 15th century mariners did receive hot food and fresh bread, but the dangers of such a big oven in a small, wooden ship must have been considerable. She was decorated with painted 'pavyses' or large shields which used up 2lbs of ordinary paint, 1 lb of white lead paint and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb of red ; at the prow was an image of 'Our Lady'<sup>(8)</sup>. Her cables and rigging were made by Nicholas Chateryse, the duke of Norfolk's ropemaker at Framlingham, and the spread of her sails contained another innovation, square sails under the bowsprit, for there is reference to the carvel's 'sprete sail'<sup>(9)</sup>. With the carvel was built a 'spynas' or pinnace, the ship's boat ; she was a decked

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1. D. Burwash, English Merchant Shipping, 1460-1540 (1947), p.128.
  2. G.R. Scammel, 'English merchant shipping - some east coast evidence', Ec. H.R., Second series, xiii (1961), p.332.
  3. H.B.I., pp.332, 418, 408.
  4. Burwash op. cit., p.82.
  5. H.B.I., p. 333.
  6. ibid., pp.203, 334.
  7. ibid., pp.210, 207.
  8. H.B.I., pp.350, 347.
  9. ibid., pp.332, 344.

boat, clear from the footage of board bought, with at least eight oars and a sail measuring in breadth 14 cloths and in depth 8 yards, but Howard's economy was evident even in this great enterprise, for he bought the sail second-hand from Perse, a Harwich beer-brewer<sup>(1)</sup>. In 1481, during the preparations for a naval expedition to Scotland, he sold the boat for 53s 4d. No reason is given for the sale, but the carvel did not apparently go on the expedition and presumably the boat was replaced by a new one<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Laws of Oleron, originating in the Biscay area and first appearing in written form in the twelfth century, formed the basis of maritime custom in northern Europe, including England, from at least the fourteenth century. The Laws specified only three ranks of seamen, master, lodesman or navigator, and mariner<sup>(3)</sup>. By the fifteenth century, however, other specialised ranks had developed, and the carvel, like most large merchant ships carried a master, purser, lodesman, boatswain, cook and ship's boy, and one of Howard's ships, the large 'Mary Howard', also had a quartermaster<sup>(4)</sup>. The master of the carvel, named the 'Edward', in honour, no doubt, of the king, was William Parker, promoted from one of Howard's smaller ships, the 'Trygo'; her purser was Thomas à Chambre, who, according to a memorandum of Howard's, was a captured Scot and could therefore be used to exchange a young Suffolk man called Heyward the Scots were holding prisoner. Heyward, however, must have had to find some other means of exchange, for Thomas à Chambre remained in Howard's service<sup>(5)</sup>. The lodesman was John Young of Deptford, hired specifically for a voyage to Prussia, but in fact retained as a permanent crew member<sup>(6)</sup>. The ship's cook has already been noticed and the boy was called Roger; the boatswain is the only one not named anywhere in the accounts. Crew members might be paid in any of three ways, by a share in the profits of a trading voyage, by the right to ship goods themselves, or by payment either by time or for a given voyage. The first two were not widespread and were generally reserved for senior crew members; William Parker certainly had goods on board ship<sup>(7)</sup>. The seamen were usually paid by voyage, half when the ship loaded at its destination so that they could buy portage and the rest at the journey's end. Howard frequently presented

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1. H.B.I., p.331.
  2. H.B.II., p.23.
  3. Burwash op. cit.
  4. H.B.II., p.243.
  5. H.B.I., p.473.
  6. ibid., p.332.
  7. H.B.II., p.112.

his sailors with coats, gowns and other clothing, this may have represented an advance on their wages or some sort of livery. The accounts clearly indicate the nature of the ship's diet while at sea, salt beef, salt fish, bread and beer were the staples, with occasional luxuries like bacon, cheese or oatmeal<sup>(1)</sup>.

None of Howard's other ships are as fully documented as the carvel, and there are no entries in the accounts referring to ships earlier than 1465. In that year, however, there are mentions of both sales and purchases. Howard paid the bailiffs of Yarmouth 33s. 4d., that must have been the last payment on a carvel, for it then became his property<sup>(2)</sup>. There is nothing to indicate the size or name of the carvel, either at this point or later in the accounts. In the same memorandum is a note that he had a balinger (or barge) at Harwich and that Thomas à Chambre had sold another balinger for him at a price of 8 marks 6s. 8d., that is, for considerably more than the 'Edward's' boat fetched in 1481. He sold, or contemplated selling other ships at about this date. In an undated letter to John Norris he requested him to take good care of his (Howard's) mast at Deptford since he had a prospective purchaser for it, and reminding Norris that he had previously asked him to sell his hulk at Deptford and the boat that went with it and now adding that if he can find a purchaser for the 'Michael of Barnstaple' he is to sell that, too, on Howard's behalf<sup>(3)</sup>. There is no record of the sale of either ship, but they do not occur again in the accounts. This activity in the mid 1460s, although hardly conclusive evidence, certainly indicates that Howard was already firmly established in the shipping business and may well have been so prior to Edward IV's accession to the throne. In addition to this, in the summer of 1462 when Howard was commissioned to take ships for a royal fleet intended to prevent Margaret of Anjou crossing with a French army, he sailed with the fleet himself under the command of the earl of Kent. Out of ten ships which formed the fleet, four at least were owned by Warwick, but two were possibly Howard's, the 'Christopher' and the 'George'. There is no evidence to show they were in his possession as early as this, but ships bearing these names were owned by him a few years later and his connection with the fleet makes it likely that any suitable ships he did own then would have been used.

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1. H.B.I., pp.201, 344.

2. ibid., p.478.

3. ibid., p.560 ; John Norris was a younger son of John Norris of Bray and thus a stepson of Howard's second wife, he acted as Howard's agent in London. A hulk usually meant at this period a carrack or transport ship, O.E.D.

In the letter to Norris referred to above, Howard mentions money received by him for freight of a ship of his called the 'Margaret'. In August 1466 while at Calais he bought a cable and a 'stey' weighing three hundredweight for his 'little ship of Mantyre (Manningtree)', which, although called little, was probably a coastal trading vessel since it was a ship and not a balinger or ketch. It may, perhaps, have been that described as 'my ship called the 'Katherine', which in March 1469 sailed for an unnamed destination with a cargo of lead weighing more than four tons and worth £22 2s. Od. The 'Margaret' helped the new carvel out of a creek on her half-finished trip to Harwich in 1466, for which her master received 20d., and in 1472 she and the 'George' were concerned in a dispute Howard had with the Mercer's Company<sup>(1)</sup>. There are no references to the 'George' in the accounts, but since the dispute concerned a voyage to Zeeland, neither vessel was merely a coastal ship. In 1475, the masters of the 'Margaret', the 'George' and the 'Thomas Howard' were commissioned to take mariners for a royal fleet. This is the only mention of the 'Thomas', but the identification of it as Howard's is quite clear<sup>(2)</sup>.

Only brief references indicate that these ships belonged to Howard. This is not so for four bigger ships, the 'Mary Howard', the 'Trygo Howard', the 'Paker Howard' and the 'Barbara'. No mention is made of the 'Mary' in the first set of accounts, so it may be assumed that she was built or purchased after 1470, but in 1481 she was sold to no lesser person than the king himself to form part of the royal fleet sailing to Scotland. Howard, as Admiral, retained the use of her as his flagship, and she carried a complement of four hundred mariners and soldiers<sup>(3)</sup>. The great 'Grace Dieu', which was left guarding the Channel carried only one hundred men more, so it may perhaps be assumed that the 'Mary' was over 500 tons burthen. The king bought her for 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.), and he appears to have got her at a bargain price, for he had to pay £600 for the 'Holy Ghost', a Portuguese ship he got from two Genoese merchants, which held only the same complement as the 'Mary' and was therefore probably much the same size<sup>(4)</sup>. The latter's captain was Roberth Michelson, probably the same man who was lodesman on the

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1. See below, pages 62-64

2. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.525.

3. H.B.II, p.3.

4. P.R.O., Privy Council Records E28/92 ; C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth (1923), vol.ii, p.414 ; the 500 marks were paid by the hands of Thomas Leyham, a servant of Gloucester's.

'Anthony', the Burgundian ship which brought Edward IV home from exile in 1471, but who was a native of Hull. Her purser, Thomson, was paid goods worth £14 on the journey to Scotland by Howard in lieu of money he owed him while the 'Mary' was still owned by him<sup>(1)</sup>. As a fighting ship she had a quarter-master, John Pitman. The mariners on this expedition were paid on a share system, and Pitman was given £9 10s. Od. for the crews wages for a month, he and the master receiving two shares each and thirty-four other seamen, one share<sup>(2)</sup>. This was not, however, the whole crew, since at the beginning of the voyage Howard noted that the 'Mary' had a hundred and sixty mariners in her complement of four hundred men<sup>(3)</sup>.

A second of Howard's ships, the 'Paker', served on the Scottish expedition of 1481. She was a much smaller ship, with a full complement of only forty men, the smallest of the ships, in fact, on the expedition<sup>(4)</sup>. She was nevertheless, an ocean-going ship, not a mere coastal vessel, for on her return from Scotland, she set off for a trip to Bordeaux<sup>(5)</sup>. Her master, Simond Read, was probably fairly new to Howard's employ, for there is no reference to him earlier in the accounts, but her purser, John Hobbes, had worked his way up since the time, in 1466, when he had been in charge of the 'Edward's' pinnace<sup>(6)</sup>. The 'Trygo' was not a member of the expedition, possibly because she was smaller than the 'Paker', or because she was away on a mercantile voyage. She was one of the earliest ships known to be in Howard's possession, perhaps as early as 1462, when as the 'Mary Trego' of Harwich, master, William Parker, she entered Ipswich harbour with a cargo of wool<sup>(7)</sup>. Parker's subsequent mastership of the 'Edward' in 1466, suggests that he had been a trusted captain of Howard's for some time. There appears to be no obvious explanation for the unusual names 'Paker' and 'Trygo'; most medieval ships had given names of people, with a few well-known exceptions like 'Turtle' and 'Grace Dieu', but since the number of Christian names in current use was small this led to confusion and the name of the owner was

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1. H.B.II, p.116.
  2. ibid., p.243.
  3. ibid., p.243.
  4. ibid., p.3.
  5. ibid., p.112.
  6. H.B.I., pp.333, 342 ; H.B.II., p.74.
  7. P.R.O. Customs Accounts E/122/52/44.

often added, or the ship's home port. Howard's last ship was the 'Barbara', built at Ipswich under the supervision of a man name Buriff of Bryklesey<sup>(1)</sup>. Since she sailed in convoy to Bordeaux with the 'Paker', she could not have been a particularly small ship. Cargoes from Gascony were almost certain to be wine and in March 1482 her purser was rewarded for bringing wine to Stoke-by-Nayland<sup>(2)</sup>.

There remain two ships which cannot positively be identified as belonging to Howard, but the frequency with which they appear in the accounts suggest a strong likelihood. The 'Christopher' was a fair-sized ship, whose crew was used to supplement that of the 'Edward' for the voyage in 1467, which conveyed the Bastard of Burgundy home. Twenty-eight of her crew, which may well not have been the total, since a skeleton crew must have been left aboard the 'Christopher', were packed into the 'Edward', supplementing the thirty-seven which belonged to her, in what must surely have been an attempt to impress the Burgundians with the speed and efficiency of English ships<sup>(3)</sup>. A month earlier the two ships had sailed from the east coast to London together<sup>(4)</sup>. The 'Christopher's' master, William Bere, lodesman, John Hammond, and the twenty-six other seamen were all paid prest money, an extra sum paid by way of compensation when men were ordered into royal service. The 'Christopher' was also supplied with provisions for, and therefore presumably sailed with, Lord Scales' fleet in 1468, and is included in the list of ships presumed to compose Howard's own fleet in 1470<sup>(5)</sup>. Like the 'Christopher', the 'Margery of Sandwich' is noted in the accounts when Howard arranged for her captain, William Marsh, and eleven other seamen to be transferred to the 'Trygo' for a voyage, probably in 1464, since Parker was still master of the latter. For this, Marsh and his men were provided with jackets and given 2s. Od. each for prest.<sup>(6)</sup> That, however, is the only reference to the 'Margery'.

This, then, gives a total of ten ships positively identified as Howard's; the 'Edward', the 'Mary Howard', the 'Paker', the 'Trygo', the 'Margaret', the 'George', the 'Thomas', the 'Barbara', the 'Michael of Barnstaple' and the 'Katherine', with the strong likelihood that the 'Christopher' and the 'Margery of Sandwich' were his also. The total does not include the hulk at Deptford, presumably a sea-going ship originally, the carvel purchased at

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1. H.B.II., pp.66-7.

2. ibid., p.167.

3. H.B.I., p.410.

4. ibid., p.405.

5. ibid., pp.524, 489 ; for details of this fleet of Howard's see pages 133-134.

6. ibid., p.449.



Yarmouth, which may well have been one of those name above, or his 'little ship of Mantyre', for which no other details exist. Not all of these, of course, were in his possession at any one time, but although his ships cannot quite be compared with Canynge's fleet of ten, or the royal fleet which by the end of Edward's reign may have numbered as many as eighteen ships<sup>(1)</sup>, Howard was without doubt one of the largest ship-owners in the country.

Having ascertained the probable number of Howard's ships, the next problem is to discover what use he made of them. Canynge built ships for his own trading business with Iceland, where he had almost a monopoly among west coast merchants. The king obviously wanted a fleet of his own ships capable of fighting when and where he wanted, but which could also be used in peacetime for shipping wool, the profits of which were a useful addition to the Crown income. The obvious answer, is that Howard also wanted ships to import and export goods, in fact, to run a mercantile business. A study of the particular customs accounts reveal that this is not so.

The accounts for the royal customs fall into two classes, particular and enrolled. The latter are short summaries compiled by royal officials in each port, giving the total quantities of goods shipped in the cases of merchandise such as wool and cloth on which specific customs were paid and giving total values for miscellaneous goods on which duties were paid proportionately. These summary accounts from each port were sent annually to the exchequer and are unrivalled throughout Europe for their comprehensiveness. Unfortunately there are of no use in tracing individual ships or merchants ; for this the particular accounts provide the necessary information. These were entries made at each port by the royal customs officials on every ship entering or leaving for foreign ports, noting the name of the ship, her master and her home port, the cargo and the names of the merchants who owned it, together with the duty payable. Large numbers of these accounts survive, but only a fraction of the whole, so that generalisations can be drawn from them only with some difficulty. It seems unlikely that the customs are fictitious like certain other medieval accounts ; the names of the merchants, of ships and their tonnage can and have been checked from other sources and found accurate<sup>(2)</sup>.

A study of the particular accounts for Ipswich, which include those for the subsidiary ports of Colchester, Dunwich and Harwich, and selected accounts for London and King's Lynn for a period covering the last decade

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1. Scofield, op. cit., vol.ii, pp.412-415.

2. See E. Carus Wilson and O. Coleman, The English Export Trade, 1275-1547 (1963), pp.26-7.

of the reign of Henry VI and the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III, reveal very few payments of customs duties on goods shipped by Howard. The first, on 24 April 1467, was on 30 woollen cloths 'sine grano', i.e. not dyed with the finest and most expensive scarlet dye called grain, but with cheaper dyes and thus paying a lower rate of duty<sup>(1)</sup>. On 15 March 1482 he shipped seven tuns of Gascon wine into Ipswich; in 1464, after the king had issued a proclamation banning the import of wine from Gascony and Guienne, he granted Howard permission to import ten tuns for the use of his household, though no trace of his doing so exists among surviving customs accounts<sup>(2)</sup>. Both these cargoes were shipped on vessels of which William Parker was master and form only a small proportion of the goods on board. On another occasion he shipped hides<sup>(3)</sup>, but it is clear from the existing accounts that Howard was not using his ships to carry his own cargo. He must, therefore, have been using them for the carrying trade, finding it more lucrative and more straightforward<sup>(4)</sup>. There is very little in the household accounts relating to Howard's business activities. These were presumably entered into separate accounts, although there are numerous references to monetary transactions with merchants, being debts, assignments and similar arrangements. There is, however, one record of his chartering ships and since this is the only positive evidence it is worth giving in detail. On 19 September 1481, he freighted the 'Paker' and the 'Barbara' (for which this was possibly a maiden voyage) to Bordeaux by a charter party consisting of William Shore, citizen and mercer of London (and also husband of the king's favourite mistress, Jane Shore), Thomas Caldwell, John Martin, John Dexter, William Parker, master at this date of the 'Paker', and his son John, and Howard himself. The cargo was divided in the 'Barbara' between all except Dexter, Shore having 15 tons, Martin and the Parkers 10 tons, Caldwell 15 tons and Howard 2 tons. In the 'Paker', a slightly smaller ship, Howard again had 2 tons, Shore and Caldwell 5 tons and Dexter 10 tons<sup>(5)</sup>. This was almost certainly the voyage on which Howard paid duty on seven tuns of Gascon wine the following March.

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1. P.R.O. Particular Customs Accounts, E122/52/49, Ipswich.
  2. H.B.I., p.187; the wine could be Gascon, but it had to be imported via the Low Countries.
  3. E122/194/21, Divers Ports.
  4. Power and Postan, English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, p.242, suggest, for instance, that if Canynges employed all ten of his ships in a normal year he might enjoy a gross return of £10,000, but in his case this would include profits on his own goods shipped.
  5. H.B.II., p.112.

Plotting the voyages of Howard's various ships is not an easy task, for the customs officials did not always note all the information about each ship that they were supposed to. Quite often a ship is identified only by its master's name, seldom by the name of the ship itself, its master and its home port, though quite often the first and last of these. Since most ships bore Christian names of a fairly limited range, without the identifying port, the only means of identification is the master's name. Similarly, if the master's name alone is given, it is almost impossible to tell if he changed ships. For instance, in August 1462, the 'Mary Trego' of Harwich, master, William Parker, left Ipswich with a cargo of wool, so much is clear enough ; in April 1467, when Howard shipped his 30 cloths in Parker's ship, this was presumably the 'Edward', which had not long been completed, but no indication is given in the custom accounts, and in 1482, the ship Parker brought home from Gascony we know only from other evidence to have been either the 'Paker' or the 'Barbara'. Generally speaking, it is the accounts for subsidies of tunnage and poundage which give all the classes of information, while the accounts for petty customs are less detailed. This is illustrated above, since it was for the cargo of wool in 1462. that all the information on Parker's ship is given. Clearly, most of the time, Howard's ships were not engaged, unlike those chartered by the king, in the wool and tin trade. Parker's ships, in whichever he was master, made wide-ranging journeys. When the 'Edward' was built, John Hammond was engaged as lodesman for a voyage to Prussia, and in March 1467, Parker brought her into Ipswich laden with goods belonging to Cologne merchants<sup>(1)</sup>. This seems to have been a regular run, for she went there twice in 1467 and at least three times in 1472 carrying goods as varied as inkhorns, fustian and featherbeds.

None of the other men identified from the household accounts as a master of a Howard ship occurs in the customs accounts, but John Hammond, the lodesman, progressed to the command of a ship, presumably one of Howard's, and took it regularly in and out of London, mainly with cargoes of cloth from 1471 onwards, always providing, of course, that there were not two seafaring men of the same name<sup>(2)</sup>. Throughout the 1470s, in the absence of household accounts, there are no clues as to who was captaining Howard's ships and without this knowledge the customs accounts <sup>cannot</sup> yield much. It seems

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1. P.R.O. Particular Customs Accounts E 122/194/19,20, London.

2. E 122/194/19,20,22, London.

safe to assume that only a few of the larger ships were making trips abroad and were therefore eligible to pay customs. The smaller ones presumably plied up and down the east coast.

The carrying trade was not the only use to which Howard put his ships during peacetime. Among the Arundel papers is a document entitled 'The Debts of the Men of the Coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk' and begins :

'Item where that the Owners of the Caches and Vessels of the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk oughte (owed) my master as good as £120 for waftyng (1) them with his Carvel, so that my master is content and through with them at Dunwich for all the dwellers of that town' (2).

The document, dated 1468, goes on to detail arrangements made at the instigation of certain London merchants for convoying six ships from Crowmere, the 'Blythe', the 'George', the 'Katherine', the 'Christopher', the 'Trinity' and the 'Peter', presumably aboard which the merchants had goods. Similar arrangements were made for seven ships from Walberswick, likewise detailed with their names and those of their owners. For these latter, Howard agreed to payment of £3 6s. 8d. These were probably smaller ships, for further down the page, he is charging William Couper of Easton, and Henry Barber and John Peces of the same port 20s. 0d. for their ships. Sometimes he received payment in kind ; the men of Crowmere paid in salt fish and William Baste of Sizewell with a case of salt herring.

Robert Williams owed him 20s. 0d. for his two ships, the 'George' and the 'Mary', but Howard owed him 16s. 8d. in return, for the carriage of fish, so the debt was reduced to 3s. 4d. On 16 February 1469, Howard agreed to convoy all the ships of Southwold for the round sum of £5 which they paid on the spot. For at least part of the time, therefore, Howard's ships were able to earn their keep twice over, both by carrying goods and by convoying smaller ships.

This need for convoying was due to some extent to the activities of pirates, against whom the Crown issued continuous commissions; their main targets were foreign merchants, but they were certainly not above attacking their own countrymen. The main reason for convoying, however, was to protect small ships from attack by foreign ships, the result of England's political

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1. Waftyng : convoying (1482), Medieval Latin Word List ; this earlier instance of the word may be its first documented use.
  2. Arundel MS G1/3

relations with France and her economic relations with the merchants of the Hanseatic League. In 1469 the Council issued the now notorious verdict against the Hanse over four English ships seized by the king of Denmark on their way to Prussia<sup>(1)</sup>. Despite protests from Denmark that the Hanse were in no way involved, the Council was responsible for reopening the economic war with the Hanse by seizing Hanseatic goods in London. The Hanse claimed that several members of the Council were interested parties and this was apparently a well-founded claim. It could only have been through personal influence in the Council that fifteen Englishmen who had suffered at the hands of the Danes were given preference over the views and desires of the bulk of public opinions, including that of the merchant class. The Hanse records name Warwick, Northumberland, Sir John Fogge and the Archbishop of York as the guilty parties, and Howard with his shippings interests could not have been entirely disinterested. M.M. Postan suggests that he was heavily involved because the 'James' and the 'Mary' of Lynn owned by Richard Outlaw were two of the ships captured and that Outlaw was a close connection of Howard's<sup>(2)</sup>. By this he presumably takes Outlaw to be Richard Felaw, Howard's Ipswich agent, but he is mistaken. The names are sometimes taken to be interchangeable, but never by Howard and on the same page of his accounts in August 1463, Outlaw is described as the master of the 'Mary Talbot' of Lynn (see p.47) and Richard Felaw of Ipswich as the man responsible for victualling the fleet<sup>(3)</sup>. By 1463 Felaw had been both M.P. and bailiff for Ipswich and although closely connected with shipping was certainly not a mariner. Outlaw, the master of the 'Mary' in 1463 may reasonably have owned her then, or purchased both her and the 'James' by 1468 ; there is no further reference to him in the accounts and he had apparently no further connection with Howard. This does not necessarily acquit Howard of being one of those on the Council implicated by the Hanse, but merely that it was not for the reason supposed by Postan.

If Howard had been in part responsible for the decision in the Council to reopen the economic war, he suffered for it a few years later. In June 1473, according to a letter written by William Dengayn to Sir William Calthorp, steward of the duke of Norfolk's household, Howard had encountered three ships of the 'Easterlings' on his way to Calais and in the engagement that followed

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1. For the background to the economic war see Power and Postan, English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, pp.91-155.
  2. ibid., p.378, n.74.
  3. H.B.I., p.188.

sixteen of his men were killed and his ship driven on to the sands, and he himself only escaped capture by taking to a small boat. Dengayn refers to Howard's ship in the singular, so it would appear that on this occasion he was fairly heavily out-numbered<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is clear from the fact that he purchased property in each of the main ports his ships used, that Howard liked to keep a pretty close watch on their comings and goings. His London house was at Stepney, a Middlesex village well beyond the eastern walls of the City and hardly the most convenient place for an ambitious royal servant to live, being so far from Westminster, but for Howard it had advantages. The southern part of the parish contained the hamlet of Ratcliffe, with thriving docks and warehouses lining the river and stretching without a break as far as the Tower of London. Howard's house stood in Bath Row, the position of which is no longer identifiable<sup>(2)</sup>. It seems to have been purchased in the late years of Henry's reign, since there is no mention of its purchase in the early accounts and by the time they begin Howard's use of the house seems to be firmly established. It may have become rather too small as his household grew, for it became regular practice for some of his men and their mounts to be quartered at the White Hart at Ratcliffe together with most of the horses, if the household was in London for any lengthy stay. Howard owned the inn, for the landlord is always referred to as his tenant, and there is every reason to suppose that this was the 'great hospicium' mentioned in the valor of 1464. Since it was in Ratcliffe, it may be presumed that Howard's house was close by, and not out in the fields near the parish church of St. Dunstan's, Stepney. It was not unusual, indeed quite the reverse, for nobles to have homes close to the river, as Lancaster had had at the Savoy, Norfolk at Broken Wharf, York at Baynard's Castle, and many others along the waterfront from London Bridge to the palace of Westminster, but Howard was rare in having one so far from the political centre of affairs. The river was the main highway of the city and whenever Howard was in London, there are frequent entries in the accounts for boat hire up and down the river. It is worth noting that although he bought the Stepney house when he was an obscure gentleman with business interests, Howard did not seek to change it when he became a figure of some standing in the kingdom.

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1. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, vol. vii, Appendix, p.95.
  2. Paston Letters, vol. iv, p.264.

The house was obviously purchased because it gave Howard easy access to the city. It was here that he could find merchants to charter his ships, a factor of greater importance, at least initially, than being near Westminster. In 1467 his ties with the London merchant class became stronger when he married Margaret Chedworth, recently the widow of John Norris of Bray in Berkshire, but previously married to Nicholas Wyfold, a wealthy grocer and Lord Mayor in 1450-51, who had died in 1456. Margaret was closely related to, probably the niece of, William Chedworth, Clerk to the Common Council of the city. Her father is always named as Sir John Chedworth, though no contemporary reference is forthcoming, so she was almost certainly not William's daughter<sup>(1)</sup>. Evidence of the family connection, however, occurs in 1477 when Howard, William Chedworth and John Rogers petitioned the mayor and aldermen on behalf of Chedworth's daughter Isabel, now the wife of Rogers, but formerly the widow of Sir John Crosby, grocer and alderman, to claim the sum of £1000 due to Crosby's son John under his father's will<sup>(2)</sup>. The petition was successful and the executors agreed to pay four instalments of £250 annually to the mayor and commonalty on behalf of John Crosby, orphan of the city, and entered into bonds for such payment<sup>(3)</sup>. Unless Howard's wife had not been closely connected to William Chedworth it is unlikely that he would have been involved in something that was essentially a family matter. In February 1467, a month after his marriage, Howard purchased a commission for 'Chedworth' (Christian name not given) on the Middlesex Bench ; ~~it may have been William or another male relative of Margaret's, but William was at the time M.P. for the county~~<sup>(4)</sup> ; *from another source he is identified as William<sup>4</sup>*

Howard's relations with the City were not, however, all amicable. On 20 November 1472 he threatened to sue the Mercers' Company for £120. According to the account in the Mercers' records, Thomas Ilom, Richard Rawson and other members of the company had arranged to freight two of Howard's ships by charter party, the two being the 'George' and the 'Margaret Howard'. The arrangement was for a voyage to Zeeland and the Mercers agreed that on the return journey Howard's ships should be laden with goods before any of the other ships in the convoy, yielding only to the king's two ships, the 'Trinity'

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1. For example see G.E.C., vol.ix, p.612 ; Dugdale, Baronage of England, vol.ii, p.267.
  2. Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, Ed. P. Jones, (1954) Roll A96, m.4.
  3. Letter Books of the City of London, Ed. R.R. Sharpe (1899-1912), vol. L, pp.156, 173, 179.
  4. H.B.I., p.387 ; C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.567.

and the 'Old Helen'. The substance of Howard's complaint was that although all the other ships returned fully laden, including some extra Burgundian ships, his 'George' came back lacking half her complement of freight and the 'Margaret' lacking twenty-four 'grete pakkes'. The claim he therefore made was for compensation for the loss of half his freight charges. The mercers declared that they had kept their part of the covenant and that the fault lay with the masters and pursers of Howard's ships. The agreement, they maintained, was that the ships should remain in Zeeland for thirty working days after they unloaded, waiting for their return freight. Instead Howard's ships had waited only thirty-two days altogether, which included five Sundays, St. Matthew's and St. Michael's days, these, together with four days for reloading meant that they had left port eleven days sooner than they should have done. Two days after they had left enough goods had come down the Mart to more than fully load all the convoy. The mercers therefore held that it was Howard's captains who had defaulted and any loss incurred was their responsibility.<sup>(1)</sup>

The evidence from the court of the Mercers' Company is likely to be somewhat biased, but the dispute seems to have hinged on the interpretation of the number of days the ships were to remain in harbour and Howard's masters may very well have been the ones at fault. His own attitude suggests that they were, for instead of presenting the rest of his case upon the interpretation of the time to be spent in port, he simply reiterated his intention of having his losses made good. If not, he declared his intention of suing the company, and if he did not win the suit, then of having the company's goods seized in the Thames, at Calais, or wherever he could lay hands on them. Since at the time he was deputy Lieutenant of Calais, the threat was not one the Mercers could take lightly, nor could they afford to offend someone as relatively influential in the country as Howard was by this date. Certainly they were not prepared to call his bluff and let him go to law, so perhaps their position was not as strong as the evidence in their own court records suggest. The significant feature of the issue is that even if they considered their case justified, they accepted that it would be cheaper and simpler to settle out of court and retain Howard's goodwill into the bargain. 'Perceiving his cruel disposition and purpose', they therefore summoned Thomas Chatterley, who enjoyed Howard's favour, and asked him to act as a negotiator and settle

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1. Acts of the Court of the Mercers' Company, Ed. L. Lyall and F. Watney (1936), pp.63-5.



the affair for a reasonable sum. Three weeks later, on 14 December 1472, Chatterley was able to announce success. Unfortunately the sum agreed upon is not mentioned, but in view of the rest of the case, it seems highly likely that it was close to Howard's original demand of £120. Not content with this, the Company requested him to give their opponent a pleasurer or gift of twenty marks to secure his goodwill for the future. Without knowing all the facts of the case, without, indeed, hearing Howard's side, it is a little difficult to pass judgment, but from what is known it does not seem to reflect greatly to Howard's credit. It is clear from other occasions that if his will was thwarted, he could act in a hot-tempered, overbearing manner, and the same thing seems to have occurred here<sup>(1)</sup>. If Howard's sense of justice was overcome, his awareness of social status was well in tune, and he was right in thinking that even the rich and powerful Mercers would hesitate to set themselves against a peer of the realm who enjoyed his king's favour. It may well have been an attitude general among lords, and if so, they were following precedents set by the king who acted towards the Mercers in an equally pre-emptory manner on another occasion<sup>(2)</sup>.

If a major London company thought twice before incurring his displeasure, it is clear that his influence over the merchants of Ipswich, Harwich and Colchester must have been considerable. Since he owned property in each of the main south Suffolk and north Essex ports, he had some stake in the local affairs of each town, and trips to spend two or three days in any of them to keep an eye on his business interests were simplified. In March 1466 he purchased from Dame Ann Morpeth her place in Harwich, with its gardens, for a hundred marks<sup>(3)</sup>. Not content with this, the following month he exchanged a copyhold estate in Dovercourt, which he had just entered, for a house and quay at Harwich. This he immediately arranged to have rebuilt by William Hill of Ipswich<sup>(4)</sup>. The house stood on the quay known as Power's Quay, named after Howard's agent in Harwich, who probably also had a house upon it. Power was repaid in 1481 for repairs to Howard's house which he had attended to, and in the same year he sold Howard canvas and other equipment for the new 'Barbara'. There are a number of other references to his dealings on Howard's behalf.<sup>(5)</sup>

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.39 ; H.B.I., p.170.

2. Lyall & Watney, op. cit., p.118f.

3. H.B.I., p.454.

4. ibid., p.336.

5. H.B.II., pp.294, 65, 201.

At Colchester Howard had the official residence of the castle, of which he was constable, and this meant, of course, that his influence was of paramount importance in the town. That he also owned some property there is clear from a covenant he made with Richard Turner to build a new wall, something that would not have been in his personal accounts if it had anything to do with the castle<sup>(1)</sup>. The only reference to property in Ipswich is the record of £4 paid for some unspecified building, but in view of the small sum, it is probable that it was being added to an existing holding. Ipswich was too important for Howard not to have had property there, almost certainly a house his household could use. He attended sessions at Ipswich, parliamentary elections also, and received £20 p.a. from its fee-farm. His agent there was Richard Felaw, a prominent merchant, who fitted out Howard's ships, collected the money owed by the town bailiffs from the fee-farm and generally acted as his right-hand man. His name occurs in the accounts far more frequently than any other of Howard's business associates<sup>(2)</sup>.

An illustration of the diversity of Howard's commercial interests is shown by a grant made on 20 December 1468 to the earl of Warwick and his brother, John, earl of Northumberland, together with Howard, described as Treasurer of the Household, and George Willerby, of all gold, silver and lead mines north of the Trent, after agreement with the owners of the soil, for the next forty years, with power to dig freely, rendering to the king one twelfth and the owner of the soil one sixteenth of the gold and silver found. Whether or not Howard derived any profit from this concession is not known ; nothing is mentioned in the accounts and the grant appears to have lapsed with the death of the two Nevilles in 1471, since in 1474 the duke of Gloucester headed a commission which did not include Howard, to investigate a report of Willerby's that there were three mines in the north containing considerable silver, and in the following year Gloucester and others were granted rights similar to those formerly held by Howard and his colleagues in four specific mines. Perhaps Howard had derived no profit from his grant and lost interest in mining<sup>(3)</sup>. Like most businessman, Howard dealt in cash as little as he could, and the household accounts, which do not even cover most of his activities in that field, supply numerous examples of the use of

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1. H.B.II., p.200.

2. H.B.I., pp. 337, 188, 350, 396.

3. C.P.R.1467-1477, pp.132, 464, 506.

bills and covenants to replace cash dealings. Most cash deals, where they were made, were settled in instalments. For example, when he sold Joan Byrd and Thursten Pare wool worth £5 in October 1466, they arranged to pay him in cloth worth the same amount the following Easter, and only if he did not like the cloth were they to pay in cash. In the following August, Pare paid him £5 for the previous year's wool, presumably because Howard did not like the cloth, and the latter noted in his own hand that he had assigned Pare to pay a young man named Hervey from whom Howard had purchased two broadcloths worth five marks and to pay wages of 26s. 8d. to a man called Whiting who was owed them by 'my cousin Gorges' (presumably Walter Gorges who had died the previous year and whose young sons were in Howard's wardship), all Pare was expected to pay in cash was 6s. 8d.<sup>(1)</sup>. The following entry by Howard himself witnesses :

'That I reckoned with Chapman of Nayland and I owe him of old to this day, 10 marks, and he shall take this week 4 marks more to Braham (Howard's steward) and Moleyns (his squire) shall take him 40s. Od. The which draweth to them both 17marks, for the which I have assigned them to take of Brook of Dedham at Michaelmas next coming, 5 marks that he owes me for part of a ship and I assigned them to take of the bowyer of Mantyre (Manningtree) £8 that he owes me unpaid and so they shall be all content'<sup>(2)</sup>.

That this practice of assignment was common to all social spheres is illustrated by Howard's receipt of 10 marks from Thomas Hoar, in payment for the same sum owed him by Sir William Peche on behalf of the duke of Norfolk in 1464. This was but a drop in the ocean of Norfolk's debts to his cousin, which by 1467 seem to have amounted to about £1000<sup>(3)</sup>. The very fact that Howard was able to lend the duke this sort of sum, not the kind likely to be forthcoming from his landed estates, indicates how successful his business ventures had proved, since £1,000 was greater than the annual income of some peers.

Unlike assessing his income from lands, it is not possible even to attempt to draw a conclusion as to Howard's profits from his ships at any one time. There are no surviving accounts and only a few illustrations from the household accounts, from which certain indications can be drawn. If the sum of £120 he claimed from the Mercers' Company was the actual

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1. H.B.I., pp.371, 421-2.

2. ibid., p.422.

3. ibid., p.467.

loss incurred on the lack of half freight on the 'George' and the 'Margaret' during a short voyage to Zeeland, some idea of what he might expect from a fleet of six or seven ships continually in service can be very roughly speculated upon. If £120 were the sum he did indeed expect to make for each of the two ships on a voyage lasting about two months, including loading and reloading, then if any ship of a similar size were in continuous service during the year, then he may have made in the region of £700 gross profit on her. Obviously expenses would have been heavy, for crews had to be paid and fed and ships refitted, but the profit from convoying in addition to chartering must have offset them to some extent. The loss of ships was a frequent hazard for medieval shipowners, and it would have been the greatest good luck if Howard had escaped, but no record of any such natural losses survive. His ships, however, saw far more frequent and lengthy royal service than any merchant would have accepted with a good grace, considering the consequent loss of income. The only positive statement it seems safe to make in regard to Howard's commercial profits, is that they surely far exceeded the probable £1000 p.a. from his estates, and helped to make him far richer than the majority of his peers.

There, as well as his appointments to the bench, occurred during the period of the duke of York's ascendancy and were used to the utmost extent by the duke of York. In January 1380, however, and again in the following February, he sat on Lancastrian commissions; the first was headed by Lord Fitzwalter and was empowered to arrest and bring before the Council all those in Norfolk and Suffolk who opposed the king's right moving to defend his person according to a recent ordinance, and so well executed, that the lords of those counties who he first called upon and were not ready to do the king's pleasure, the second commission proved almost needless, being charged with arresting and imprisoning all those guilty of offences, and with all voluntary congregations in Suffolk, and all those who opposed the king's right coming to defend King Henry's person. That these commissions were a speculation on the part of the falling Lancastrian government is shown by Edward IV's appointing him to the office of a month later. In 1380, the 100 men raised by the city of Norwich on Henry's behalf prior to the Trowton campaign, were almost certainly among the forces Howard led north to fight for Edward.

1. *W.P.A. 1446-1452*, p. 425; *W.P.A. 1452-1458*, p. 211; *W.P.A. 1458-1464*, p. 107; *W.P.A. 1464-1470*, p. 107.

CHAPTER 4

LOCAL POSITION AND INFLUENCE

The joint shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk to which John Howard was appointed on 6 March 1461 by the new king, Edward IV, was the first major mark of trust shown in him by the crown, but he had been active in local affairs since the late 1440s. He had sat on the Norfolk Bench as a justice of the peace from March 1452 until <sup>Feb. 1453</sup> July 1454 and on the Suffolk Bench from December 1455 until <sup>Jan. 1459; on</sup> Edward's accession, when he was re-appointed to both. In December 1451 he was commissioned to arrest and imprison certain Norfolk men for unspecified crimes and he sat on various other commissions in the 1450s, including those mentioned in the last chapter relating to shipping<sup>(1)</sup>. These, as well as his appointments to the bench, occurred during the periods of the duke of York's ascendancy and were owed to the support given to York by the duke of Norfolk. In January 1460, however, and again in the following February, he sat on Lancastrian commissions; the first was headed by Lord Fitzwalter and was empowered to arrest and bring before the Council all those in Norfolk and Suffolk who impeded the king's lieges coming to defend his person according to a recent ordinance, and to call together all the lieges of those counties able to fight and bring them armed and arrayed to the king's presence. The second commission Howard himself headed, being charged with arresting and imprisoning all those guilty of gatherings, associations and unlawful congregations in Suffolk, and all those who impeded the king's lieges coming to defend King Henry's person<sup>(2)</sup>. That these appointments were a miscalculation on the part of the failing Lancastrian government is shown by Edward IV's appointing him to the shrievalty a month later. In addition, the 120 men raised by the city of Norwich on Henry's behalf prior to the Towton campaign, were almost certainly among the force Howard led north to fight for Edward.

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1. C.P.R. 1446-1452, p.436; C.P.R. 1452-1461, pp.301, 371, 494.

2. ibid., pp.656, 659.

Although the office of justice of the peace was the least important of those offices to which Howard was appointed by the Yorkist kings, its significance in the sphere of local affairs should not be underestimated. He sat on the Norfolk and Suffolk benches for the best part of three decades and this brought him into contact with most of the men who counted in the two shires for the whole of that period. The justices were drawn largely from the knightly and gentry classes, with the addition of a few magnates, lay and clerical, and a sprinkling of lawyers, and these were the same men who were chosen to represent the counties in parliament. Large numbers of records for medieval quarter sessions survive in different classes at the Public Record Office, but unfortunately none for either Norfolk, Suffolk or Essex at the relevant period. One for Norfolk under Edward III, however, shows Howard's great-grandfather, Sir Robert, active on the bench<sup>(1)</sup>.

Although the justices were appointed by the crown, the latter was obviously open to pressure and reflected political interests, so it is not surprising to find Howard on the bench wherever the duke of Norfolk's influence might make itself felt. Before 1461, this was at times when York was in control of the government, and after his son's accession to the throne, Howard was on every Suffolk commission from February 1462 (i.e. after he had ceased to be sheriff) until his elevation to the dukedom, with the single exception of the months of Henry VI's Readeption. From June 1467 until his elevation he also served on the Essex bench and from February 1466 on that for Norfolk, in each case omitting the Readeption<sup>(2)</sup>. Generally speaking the East Anglian benches were stable ones, once a man had been appointed to a commission he continued to serve on it until his death or unless he committed treason. Each justice, according to an act of 1390, was paid four shillings per day up to a maximum of twelve days a year for attending quarter sessions; any other duties he might perform were unpaid. being populous counties, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk all had commissions larger than average, <sup>Norfolk</sup> Essex about 30 members, Suffolk about 40, <sup>and Essex rather less.</sup> Norfolk 45<sup>(3)</sup>. How many of the members were active is a different matter, certainly Norfolk with about eleven lay magnates in the early 1460s had its members severely reduced in terms of active justices. In later centuries most benches had

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1. Proceedings before Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Ed. B.H. Putnam (1938), p.126-8.
  2. C.P.R. 1461-1467, pp.563, 568, 573; C.P.R. 1467-1477, pp.613, 621, 630. C.P.R. 1477-1485, pp.559, 567, 573.
  3. E. Moir, The Justice of the Peace (1969), p.23, says 20 or more in the more populous counties.

a nucleus of members who conscientiously performed their duties and the rest never attended a session. With the lack of sessions rolls to check their attendance, it can only be assumed that fifteenth century justices were active in much the same proportion as their successors.

There is no doubt, however, that when royal business did not take him from home, John Howard fulfilled his duties. There are a number of reference in the accounts to his attendance at sessions ; for example, on 7 July 1464 he 'rode to Ipswich to keep the sessions' and spent 9s. 7d. on food for his men and horses, and on 25 February 1483, when he was one of the most influential men in the country, he still found time to go to Colchester for a like purpose, staying until the following day<sup>(1)</sup>. Sessions were often three day affairs, the first spent gathering together members of the court, reading out recent statutes and the charge to the jurors and on the following days came the hearing of presentments and trials of cases ; a busy man could well omit attendance on the first day. On this particular visit to Colchester Howard gave the clerk of the peace 3s. 4d. and the prisoners 4s. for alms - the latter a popular form of medieval charity. This sessions was followed two weeks later by another, when he again spent two days in Colchester<sup>(2)</sup>. There is no evidence in the accounts that he ever attended the Norfolk sessions, but the possibility should not be dismissed on these grounds alone. In February 1467 he paid 12s. 6d. for the writing of a commission appointing him a justice of the peace for Berkshire and a like sum for William Chedworth to be a justice for Middlesex<sup>(3)</sup>. The previous month he had married Margaret Chedworth, widow of John Norris of Bray in Berkshire, which is sufficient to explain both actions, but again there is no evidence that he attended the Berkshire sessions, although he certainly spent some time at Bray on several occasions.

As constable of Colchester castle, Howard was also responsible for the county gaol there, and in that capacity sat upon the gaol delivery in August 1465, paying the costs of the assize judge as well as his own<sup>(4)</sup>. This office must probably have brought him into greater contact with prisoners before trial than was the experience of most justices. In April 1482, he paid 'Christopher Cresford to lead Chamberlain the thief to Colchester to the goal',

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1. H.B.I., p.273 ; H.B.II., pp.358-9.

2. ibid., p.362.

3. H.B.I., p.387.

4. ibid., p.300.

and in April 1467 gave Geoffrey and his fellowship 3s. 4d. for helping to recapture thieves<sup>(1)</sup>. The keeper of the gaol was a man named William Fynche who evidently made quite a profit from his post since the accounts indicate that he paid Howard handsomely for holding it, to the tune of 26s. 8d. a quarter<sup>(2)</sup>. The job of gaoler had its penalties also, for Foster, the gaoler at Ipswich was fined 20 marks for allowing one of his prisoners to escape, and for some reason the unhappy Foster ended up owing Howard £40 and was 'condemned therefore and lies in the same gaol'<sup>(3)</sup>. Unfortunately the accounts give no indication of how the large debt was incurred, presumably not in fees owed for his post, for Howard held no position in Ipswich to which a gaoler might have owed his job.

In the valor of 1464, one of the fees accounted for was that from the duke of Gloucester, who was Admiral of England, for Howard to act as his sub-admiral in Norfolk and Suffolk ; Gloucester was at this time only twelve years old. There is no formal record of Howard's appointment, or indication of whether he continued to hold the post until 1483 when he was himself made Admiral of England by Gloucester after he assumed the crown. This office of sub-admiral meant that, quite apart from his own pre-eminent position among each coast shipowners, he was the king's representative in all things maritime. His accounts give only one firm reference to the performance of duties, again in 1464, when he spent £6 14s. 6d. in costs for keeping the court of Admiralty<sup>(4)</sup>.

Most gentlemen of any standing expected to serve upon the bench for their county, and if they were ambitious and had the right connections they might also expect to act for the county in other capacities, as a knight of the shire in parliament, as sheriff, escheator or constable of a royal castle. As far as M.P.s and sheriffs were concerned, a man who had served in one capacity was also likely to serve in the other. Howard represented Suffolk in 1449, probably in 1463 (the returns are defective), and in 1467, and Norfolk in 1455; from 1470 he was summoned as a peer, but he served as sheriff only once. This was for the joint shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1461 and was the crucial first appointment made by Edward IV when he assumed the crown and needed men he could trust in key positions in local administration. Both this

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1. H.B.II., p.180 ; HB.I., p.398.
  2. ibid., p.283 and Arundel MS G1/3
  3. H.B.I., pp.285, 471.
  4. ibid., p.282.



appointment and his earlier elections to parliament are illustrative of the faction struggles in East Anglia in the two decades which preceded Edward's accession. A considerable amount is known about these struggles, primarily through the pages of the Paston Letters, but also from detailed research recently done on parliamentary elections. Howard was drawn into them through his close connections with the Mowbray family, and it is possible to trace his part in many incidents, particularly those involving disputed elections.

Generally speaking, elections were not contested (were not, indeed, to be until the nineteenth century), but were managed instead. The expedients of such management are illustrated by the Pastons, and include the recommendation of candidates, the persuasion of rivals to stand down, the consoling of disappointed shire candidates with borough seats, etc.<sup>(1)</sup> A contested election meant that this system had broken down. The persons concerned with the management were the peers whose lands formed part of the county, and the knights and more important gentry resident in the county. In the boroughs the situation was rather different. The degree of aristocratic influence brought to bear before any election, particularly in the shires, is a matter of some disagreement among scholars, but it is generally held that aristocratic control was far from automatic, and that the assent of the electors had to be worked from<sup>(2)</sup>. Influence too arbitrarily imposed or which flouted legal requirements usually resulted in an outcry, as Howard's election for Norfolk in 1455 did<sup>(3)</sup>. The degree of influence varied greatly between counties and seems to have depended to some considerable extent on the political role of each peer<sup>(4)</sup>. East Anglia in the 1440s and 1450s was particularly vulnerable to influence because the political rivalries at court were mirrored there more obviously than in many other areas.

The main protagonists in the feud which split East Anglia in the later years of the Lancastrian era were Howard's cousin, John Mowbray, who inherited

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1. J.G. Edwards, 'The emergence of majority rule in English parliamentary elections', T.R.H.S., 5th series, xiv (1964), p.185.
  2. K.B. Macfarlane, 'Parliament and bastard feudalism', T.R.H.S., 4th series, (1944), p.63 ; J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422, p.21 ; see below, pages 76-77.
  3. For a detailed discussion of the legal requirements for candidates, and the technical forms involved in holding elections see Roskell op.cit., pp.5-10, K.N. Houghton, 'Theory and practice in borough elections during the later fifteenth century', B.I.H.R., xxxix (1966), and A. Rogers, 'The Lincolnshire County Court in the fifteenth century', Lincolnshire History and Archeology, (1966), pp. 64-68
  4. Summarised in P. Jalland, 'The influence of the aristocracy on shire elections in the north of England, 1450-1470', Speculum, xlvii (1972).

his father's dukedom in 1432, and William de la Pole, created duke of Suffolk in 1448<sup>(1)</sup>. In the later 1440s, de la Pole was easily preeminent on account of his position at court. He spent little time himself in East Anglia, but maintained his authority in Norfolk and to a lesser degree in Suffolk through a group of adherents, the best known of whom were Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon. One man who came close to rivalling Suffolk in influence, again because of his position at court, was Thomas Daniel. He acted as a feoffee for the duke of Norfolk in 1448 and after 1450 became quite closely attached to him, by which time he had married Margaret, the elder of Howard's two sisters and thus a cousin of the duke. Norfolk's supporters were in many ways quite as lawless and unruly as those of the duke of Suffolk, ~~but~~ <sup>and</sup> it seems fairly certain that Howard was ~~not~~ one of this element<sup>(2)</sup>. A commission of oyer and terminer in 1448 against the duke of Norfolk and some of his supporters, including such eminent local men as Sir Gilbert Debenham, Edmund Stapildon and Richard Southwell, for an attack on Sir Robert Wingfield's manor of Letheringham (Sir Robert, of course, being a Suffolk supporter) does not include Howard in the list of men indicted<sup>(3)</sup>. Nor does he seem to have been connected with Charles Nowell, another of Norfolk's men, who led a gag which perpetrated a string of outrages in the period 1450-1452. Since these included an attack on John Paston outside Norwich cathedral, they receive much attention in the family correspondence and Howard was too well-known not to have been named if he had been in any way involved.

Between 1439 and 1450, the knights of the shire for Norfolk were almost invariably clients of the duke of Suffolk. In the county of Suffolk the situation was slightly different, and Mowbray usually had at least one follower elected, but even here his influence was much less than it had been in the 1430s. The parliament of 1449 marked a reaction against the duke of Suffolk, and the discontent with the failure in France and his regime at home was reinforced in East Anglia among the gentry by the behaviour of Tuddenham, Heydon *et al.* In the election held that year, one courtier, Thomas Sharneburne, a servant of Queen Margaret, was returned for Norfolk, but his colleague

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1. The duke of York also had considerable lands in the region but he played little part in the day to day struggles there, though his influence was felt in Suffolk at election time.
  2. Worcestre gives an account of Daniel's attempt to gain possession of the valuable manor of Rey, near Castle Rising, to which he pretended a legal claim, with an armed force of Norfolk's men. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p.253.
  3. *C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p.236. *There are, however, many indictments in which he does figure, e.g. K.B. 9/118*

was Sir Robert Conyers, a connection of the duke of York. In Suffolk John Howard was elected, obviously at the behest of the duke of Norfolk, together with Thomas Cornwallis, about whom little is known, but since he farmed one of York's hundreds, he was probably connected with him and Norfolk and not with Suffolk. The unusually large number of witnesses on the schedule may suggest a contested election which the sheriff or his deputy wished to confirm securely ; there is unfortunately no further information<sup>(1)</sup>.

The decade or so following Howard's first election saw at least two seriously disputed elections in Suffolk in which he figured. The fall of the duke of Suffolk brought considerable changes in East Anglian politics, fewer courtiers were elected to parliament or served as sheriffs, and the men chosen in the election of 1450 were agreeable to the dukes of York and Norfolk. By the next election, in 1453, the political climate had changed again and was no longer favourable to York and his adherents. In February 1453 a grand jury sitting at Ipswich in a court of oyer and terminer indicted a number of Norfolk's retainers and servants, and Sir William Oldhall, York's chamberlain, for allegedly organising Cade's rebellion three years earlier. Howard was not among those indicted, but a few days earlier, he and they had been involved in a dispute over the election of Suffolk knights. Thomas Sharneburne, elected for Norfolk in 1449, was in 1453 the sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk and responsible for the choice of the jury that indicted Norfolk's men. The knights he returned for Norfolk were Sir Thomas Tuddenham and Sir Andrew Ogard, a former retainer of York's, but at that time steward of the queen's household. For Suffolk he eventually returned Sir Philip Wentworth and Sir Gilbert Debenham, one of Norfolk's council. The events leading up to the Suffolk election are recounted in two surviving documents, one is a petition to the Privy Council from the duke of Norfolk made in May 1454 (i.e. after York's return to power and when Norfolk was himself a member of the Council), which claimed that many of his servants had been present at a county court held at Ipswich for elections, but that Sharneburne as sheriff, 'imagining and purposing to make knights after his own intent', later returned a 'rescous' [writ against those acting in resistance of lawful authority] against these men in the Court of Common Pleas, alleging that because of threats made by <sup>to his</sup> ~~them~~ under-sheriff, the court could not be held on the appointed day. Norfolk asked that his men be permitted to appear by attorney. Although a copy of Sharneburne's complaint has survived, the original 'rescous' is missing ; the

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1. R. Virgoe, 'Three Suffolk Parliamentary Elections of the mid-fifteenth century', B.I.H.R. xxxix (1966), p.187.

copy, on the King's Bench plea roll for Hilary term 1455<sup>(1)</sup>, states that Sir William Ashton, John Howard, Thomas Daniel and fifty-four other men, knowing an election was to be held at the county court on the Monday after St. Valentine's Day, and determined to return knights of their own choice, had made great threats to the under-sheriff, sheriff's clerk and others, forcibly taking the clerk before the duke of Norfolk. The implication here, as Dr. Virgoe points out, is that Norfolk himself had put pressure on the court officials to return his servants, but even in 1453 Mowbray was too important to be attacked in person<sup>(2)</sup>. Consequently the under-sheriff had been afraid to carry out his duties properly. Ashton, Howard, Daniel and the others named, many of them not holding land in the shire or resident within it (and therefore not qualified to vote) gathered with 600 armed men at Ipswich on the morning of the court. Thomas Sharneburne, having received his writ a few days previously, sent it by the hand of a servant to the under-sheriff. The servant arrived to find that the under-sheriff and the clerk had left, fearing a disturbance from the armed men who had gathered, and so he left himself, taking the writ with him. Nevertheless, Daniel and the others insisted on holding the election and chose Daniel himself and John Wingfield, a servant of York's. Daniel, alleged Sharneburne, held no land in the shire and Wingfield, though holding land, was not resident, and consequently neither were qualified to be knights of the shire.

Ashton and sixteen of the other men named, though not Howard, appeared in King's Bench and claimed that they need not reply to matters with which they were charged in the return because the return itself had not been sent to the Court, but merely its tenor. The Court agreed that they should be released for the present sine die. There the matter seems to have lapsed. Virgoe accepts Sharneburne's account as substantially correct, and this seems reasonable, although the sheriff is obviously <sup>weighting</sup> the case heavily on his own behalf ; for instance, he names Howard among the men he lists as not being resident in the county although holding lands there, and nothing could be further than the truth and Sharneburne must have known it.<sup>3</sup> In fact, as the writ had not been delivered to the under-sheriff, the election of Daniel and Wingfield was clearly invalid. Although Sharneburne named Daniel third in his list of offenders, after William Ashton, who was a knight, and Howard, who as a cousin of the duke of Norfolk was of higher social standing than his

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1. P.R.O. King's Bench, Plea Roll, 33 Henry VI : KB27/775 Rex rol. 20d ; printed in Virgoe, loc. cit. pp.194-6.

2. Virgoe, loc. cit., p.189.

3. He could, perhaps, allege that Howard had not been technically resident on the day the writ was issued if he had been on a visit to London, but there was clearly chicanery on both sides.

brother-in-law, it was clearly Daniel who was the leading force in the invalid election. Norfolk may have wished his supporters elected, but to do so in such a way that it could easily be repudiated seems self-defeating, to say the least. The duke probably did put pressure on the officials and the local gentry, but it seems clear that Sharneburne was equally determined to elect court supporters and when his servant and the under-sheriff saw a large body of Norfolk men at the county court, they held up the writ's delivery in order to allow time for greater court influence to be brought to bear. At a following county court on 12 March, Sharneburne or his deputy returned a new indenture naming Wentworth and Debenham as duly elected ; they did in fact sit. The return includes few, if any, Norfolk supporters as witnesses, and a great many supporters of the late duke of Suffolk. The whole affair illustrates that the final choice was always that favoured by the sheriff, which is underlined by the events of 1461, when Howard was himself sheriff. Before then, he was involved in one other dispute, this time over a Norfolk rather than a Suffolk election. In 1455 the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk was John Wingfield, illegally elected with Thomas Daniel two years before. The recurrence of the same men, Howard, Sharneburne, Wingfield, in these various affairs, indicates something of the essentially small number of politically committed gentry in the area, who held office and sat in parliament. In the weeks following the battle of St. Albans, the court party was in too weak a position for the outcome of an election to be anything other than favourable to York and Norfolk. An insight into the background of elections, however, is given in a letter written by the duchess of Norfolk to John Paston on 8 June, presumably while her husband was in London with the victorious duke of York.

'And for as much', she wrote, 'as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my Lord have at this time in the Parliament such persons as belong unto him, and be of his menial servants [in this sense meaning household], ..... we heartily desire and pray you that at the contemplation of these our letters, as our special trust is in you, you will give and apply your voice unto our right well-beloved cousin and servants, John Howard and Sir Roger Chamberlain, to be knights of the shire.....'(1).

This letter could not have been entirely welcome to its recipient, since he himself hoped to be one of those returned to parliament. One interesting feature, related to Paston by John Jenney, was that while most men were willing to accept Chamberlain, they objected to Howard, not on any personal

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.34 ; both men were members of Norfolk's council and probably not actually in his household as such.

grounds, but because he held no land in Norfolk and had no close connections with the shire, for all his grandfather's estates in Norfolk had descended to the countess of Oxford. It was, Jenney wrote, 'an evil precedent for the shire that a strange man be chosen, and no worship to my Lord of York, nor to my Lord of Norfolk to write for him'. Norfolk, to his credit, accepted the argument and wrote to the under-sheriff, expressing his willingness for there to be a free election, provided, of course, that none of the late duke of Suffolk's supporters were chosen. Howard, Jenney adds, was 'as wood [furious] as a wild bullock, God send him such worship as he deserves'<sup>(1)</sup>.

This is the earliest indication of Howard's character that has survived. According to the Jenney letter, he was apparently in London with Norfolk and either present at the interview when Norfolk agreed to a free election or informed of its outcome immediately afterwards. It is not the only evidence of his quick temper, and the duke's acceptance of the technical objections against him seem to have been taken as a personal affront. His pride must have been soothed by his subsequent election, which raises the point of whether the electors played safe in the end and pleased the duke, or whether the under-sheriff took the responsibility. In any event, the duke had complete revenge for his humiliation in 1453 at the Suffolk election. Howard, in this instance at least, put his own interests, or his lord's, before strict legality. In 1461 the interests at stake were those of the crown and in his first office he was eager to demonstrate that he had them at heart. The story of the 1461 election is long and involved, but is one of the few instances we have where Howard's conduct over any matter is given in detail.

Edward IV's accession to the throne and the favour he showed Howard meant the latter began to be influential in his own right rather than as a retainer of Norfolk. He was with the king in York after Towton, where he was seen in the king's house by Thomas Denys, the Norfolk coroner, who had come to present his side of a dispute to the king and hoped for support from his fellow East Anglian. In the event he received very little sympathy from Howard and some rough treatment from his servants. The letter Denys wrote to his friend John Paston does not make things very clear and gives no reason for this action by Howard's men, except the fact that he was a Lancastrian may in itself be explanation, for Howard was not concerned in the dispute in question. Denys was in fear of his life, and rightly so as it turned out, for he was murdered a few weeks later. Although he had nothing further to do with the quarrel,

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, pp.38-9.

Howard must bear the responsibility for not allowing Denys to state his case to the king<sup>(1)</sup>. Howard attended Edward's coronation on 28 June where he is generally supposed to have been knighted. John Paston too, it was rumoured, was about to be thus honoured, but either rumour was wrong or the king changed his mind, for he was never knighted, although two years later his eldest son was, probably as a substitute for himself<sup>(2)</sup>. He and Howard had had differences in the past and in the trouble that was about to flare up between them perhaps this was an extra grievance. The new king had, of necessity, to call a new parliament, and Howard, whom he had appointed to the joint shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk the previous March immediately on assuming the crown, received his writ to hold elections on 24 May for a parliament to be held on 6 July. The writ was followed by a second dated 13 June announcing the postponement of parliament until 4 November. The outcome of these writs was a disputed election in Norfolk, originally known only through the medium of the Paston Letters, which not unnaturally only reflected the Pastons' point of view. Then a long and circumstantial account of the whole affair by Howard himself was discovered on the Controlment Roll for I Edward IV, rot. 15, as part of the legal action taken against those involved<sup>(3)</sup>.

When Howard received his second writ, he would automatically have informed the municipal officers of the parliamentary boroughs in his shrievalty, and since his home was in Suffolk, he attended the Suffolk election himself, leaving his under-sheriff, William Pryce, to attend to that in Norfolk. It is not easy to piece together exactly what happened at the Norwich shirehouse on this occasion. There are a number of references in the Paston Letters, but none give any actual account, and Howard's own evidence given as part of the legal proceedings must reflect his under-sheriff's view of the affair. According to Pryce, the latter published his writ in the first county court after he had received it, which was held on 15 June. There were two sets of candidates, as might have been expected after such sudden reversals of political power, the first Sir William Chamberlain and Henry Grey, jr., the second John Paston and John Berney. The first two were almost certainly nominees of Norfolk's and the others had <sup>were anti-Mowbray.</sup> ~~Lancastrian connections.~~<sup>4</sup> According to the under-sheriff, Berney had caused an uproar at the county court by questioning the right to

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p. 276.

2. ibid., p.276.

3. C.H. Williams, 'A Norfolk Parliamentary Election, 1461', E.H.R., xl (1925), pp.79-86, transcribing P.R.O. Controlment Roll I Edward IV rot.15.

4. *Probably more anti-Mowbray because of Caisiter, than anti-York or pro Lancastrian.*

restrict the franchise to forty shilling freeholders, declaring it to be the right of all at the court to vote, no matter what their standing. Technically he was right but the act of 1429 had limited the franchise because of the importing of large bodies of men who had no land or interest in the shire to influence the outcome of elections. This was what Berney had apparently done, for Pryce said he was faced with a body of 500 armed men whom Berney and others had been collecting for two weeks previously for this very purpose. They so threatened Pryce that he abandoned the election in the middle and escaped from the shirehouse with the aid of Thomas Wingfield, Richard Southwell and Gilbert Debenham, all Norfolk's men. Deprived of their victim, the troublemakers then threatened to kill Pryce when they got hold of him and thus so frightened him that he did nothing more about holding the election again on the next shire day, 6 July, nor indeed carried out any of his other duties as under-sheriff. However, Pryce wrote to John Paston on 18 June, three days after the events at the shirehouse, telling him :

'My master Berney, my master Grey and ye had greatest voice, and I purpose me, as I will answer God, to return the due election, that is, after the sufficiency, you and master Grey. Nevertheless, I have a master'(1).

If Pryce's account of events, as later related by Howard, is true, then he knew that Paston and Grey were the popular choice, but may well have been persuaded by Norfolk men, fearing that the Yorkist choice would not triumph, to abandon the election half way through, using Berney as an excuse. The master he refers to may have been Howard, or it may have been the duke himself.

John Howard would presumably have been informed by his deputy of what had occurred, but in the preparations for the coming coronation nothing was done. He left for London soon after the Suffolk election, and may have already been in the city when news of the Norfolk debacle reached him, since James Gresham wrote to Paston from there on 21 June saying he had not yet managed to speak with Howard<sup>(2)</sup>. On 2 July Denys, the coroner, was dragged from his house and taken to Walsingham where he was murdered on 4 July. Six days later Berney wrote to Paston saying that Sir Miles Stapleton was falsely accusing him of the murder and of planning further trouble<sup>(3)</sup>. Paston, who was now in London himself, wrote home to his wife, who was Berney's cousin, telling her that

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.36; dated by Gairdner as 1455 and corrected to 1461 by Macfarlane, loc.cit., p.59.
  2. ibid., p.280.
  3. ibid., p.288.



the under-sheriff 'doubteth him of John Berney', and asking her to bring them together and make peace so that Pryce might be assured that Berney meant him no harm<sup>(1)</sup>. This substantiates Pryce's account as told to Howard and appearing on the Controlment roll, of his fear of violence by Berney. However, Pryce's account also indicates that he left the shirehouse before the proceedings were complete, thus rendering them invalid. The letters between Paston and Berney that follow show that they considered the election to have been completed and themselves elected. If one accepts Howard's account as accurate, Paston and Berney continued the election illegally, to their own advantage in exactly the same way as Thomas Daniel and Norfolk's men, Howard among them, had done in 1453. In a letter to his wife dated 12 July, Paston says she is to tell Berney that the sheriff :

'is in a doubt whether he shall make a new election of knights of the shire because of him (Berney) and Grey, wherein it were better for him to have the sheriff's good will. Item, methinketh for the quiet of the country it were most worshipful that as well Berney as Grey should get a record of all such that might spend 40 shillings a year that were at the day of election, which of them that had fewest to give it up as reason would'<sup>(2)</sup>.

Paston's sensible but probably unworkable plan that Grey and Berney should work out which of them had received the least number of votes and stand down, leaving the other and Paston himself as knights, was not adhered to. Margaret Paston wrote in reply that the under-sheriff was away from home, but that she would try and reconcile him and Berney, adding that Berney had told her that after the election he had talked to Pryce at the Grey Friars and told him that he had nothing to fear from him or his men (presumably, that is, if the election were allowed to stand)<sup>(3)</sup>. On 17 July Berney wrote to Paston himself, saying that he had no intention of doing the under-sheriff any harm but that the shire was not pleased with the way he had conducted the election and his only way back into favour was either to give notice that the election was to stand or to hold a new election altogether. He added that Paston should inform Pryce that he was dishonest in declaring so many Norfolk men with Berney as their leader to be rebellious<sup>(4)</sup>.

The apparent willingness of Paston and Berney to accept a new election argues that they considered they had done nothing wrong over the first one and that it was the under-sheriff who had acted discredibly. Howard, quite

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.289.
  2. ibid., p.290.
  3. ibid., p.290.
  4. ibid., p.293.

apart from any differences he might have had with Paston in the past, was more or less bound to support his own official. It may have been he who was responsible for bringing the matter to the king's notice, and Pryce and Paston were both summoned to give an account of themselves. The upshot was that a writ was issued for a new election to be held on St. Lawrence's day, 10 August, thus indicating that royal opinion was prepared to back the county officials. Paston, however, took matters into his own hands, since he apparently distrusted Pryce enough to consider he might change the day of the election to the disadvantage of himself and Berney. In an interview with Pryce he persuaded him to place the writ in his hands, and then he sent it to his wife for safe-keeping until the date of the election, asking her to see that Pryce got it again on the day itself<sup>(1)</sup>. This is the first time that their own evidence shows clearly that one of the parties was acting illegally. Paston's action is hardly defensible, and in fact he had badly miscalculated. There was no longer any question of the under-sheriff holding the election, Howard was going to attend to it in person. There is no indication of what happened when he discovered what Paston had done with the writ, but there was probably a large row when he retrieved it. This would help to explain what followed. The events of 10 August are given in great detail in Howard's account and the gist of them is as follows<sup>(2)</sup>.

The customary time for holding elections was between the hours of eight and ten in the morning, and at that former hour in the Norwich shirehouse, Howard as sheriff read out the writ and proclaimed by its authority that all men there holding a forty shilling freehold should present themselves for the purpose of making a free election of knights of the shire. At this point, John Paston rode right up to the crowd outside the shirehouse, where Howard and the qualified electors were gathered and in the course of nominating Sir William Chamberlain and Henry Grey. Still seated on his horse, Paston announced that any man at the court, irrespective of his 'sufficiency', was entitled to vote. In the crowd, which numbered about a thousand (probably an exaggeration), it was noticed (i.e. by Howard and his supporters) that there were large numbers of men wearing 'jacks and salats' (light helmets and defensive jackets) and carrying swords and other weapons and lacking the appearance of men of substance with the right to vote. This crowd shouted

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.296.
  2. Controlment roll, as above.

that Paston's was a good proclamation and that he and John Berney should be elected. Paston then entered the shirehouse accompanied by about twenty men. Howard immediately demanded why he had made such a statement, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land. Paston shouted that he was going to set aside the proceedings up to that time, and the crowd outside led by a clerk named John Marchaunt, who was not a qualified elector, and by the insigation of Paston and Berney, broke into the shirehouse, brandishing staves and clubs and crying 'Ye shall have none other knights chose here this day but our masters John Paston and John Berney'<sup>(1)</sup>. They then made a great many threats against Howard's life and threw dust in the faces of qualified electors to prevent them speaking.

Since the election could not continue in this uproar, Howard ordered all the electors to follow him to Castle Yard (he was, of course, constable of Norwich castle), <sup>which was next to the shirehouse</sup> where he could question each of them on their qualification, the normal procedure in a contested election. They were followed there by Paston, Berney and a crowd of about a thousand (the names of about two dozen are given with their occupation and place of residence ; they were mostly yeomen, labourers and husbandmen, with the odd small tradesman, the implication being that they were not forty shilling freeholders). They shouted :

'Nay, plainly, sheriff, ye shall try no sufficiency here for every man shall have his election and give his voice as our Master Paston has made his cry and shall ye, sheriff, make your return or else you shall die for it'.

At this, John Worm, Thomas Gould, John Howes and nineteen others (all named) seized a man named Nicholas Broome and forced him to write an indenture specifying the election of Paston and Berney, while they kept Howard under guard, threatening to kill him if he did not seal the indenture. Yielding to the superior force, Howard did as he was bid, whereupon a part of the crowd dispersed. He was then ordered to make a proclamation that Paston and Berney were duly elected. At this Howard seems to have lost his temper completely and regardless of their weapons, shouted that he was going to report the whole disgraceful affair immediately to the king and his council. Paston, 'foaming with anger'<sup>(2)</sup>, shouted 'Sirs, come again, for all is for nought that we have done here this day for the sheriff sayeth he will return a 'rescous' against us all'. This was the same action Sharneburne had taken in 1453 under almost the same circumstances. Worm, Gould and the other

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1. Direct speech in Howard's account is given in English, the rest, of course, is in Latin.
  2. 'Cum spuma furiose'.

trouble-makers turned back to attack Howard and his servants, hurling great stones at them so that the sheriff's party left the scene as quickly as it could. This, wrote Howard, was the reason he had been unable to return knights for the shire of Norfolk as he ought to have done. He went on to add that from then until the next shire day on 10 September Paston and Berney held unlawful assemblies throughout Norfolk and put it about that the sheriff and the other gentlemen had ended the previous court day in agreement with what had been done. On 10 September the court day was held early and quickly on account of these gatherings and rebellions, but the attempt to get the election over before Worm and Gould arrived with their following was foiled, for at ten o'clock they turned up at the shirehouse and with much shouting proclaimed the sheriff and the other gentlemen who did not agree with what they had done last time, to be traitors. A gentleman named Robert Brampton must have made an answer to this charge, for they attacked him and again threatened to kill Howard and any who opposed them. They also promised to attend every shire day until parliament actually sat with a big a crowd as they could muster in order to have matters settled as they wished. Howard finished his narrative with the statement that he was not able to arrest the rebels without risking the lives of a number of the king's officials and he asked for a special commission of oyer and terminer to deal with it.

There is no reason to suppose that Howard's account purveys the complete truth any more than the Paston Letters do. There the only remark about what happened on the first court day states that Paston and Howard fell out and one of Howard's men struck Paston with a dagger, but that luckily Paston was wearing a good, thick doublet and the blows were deflected<sup>(1)</sup>. This is certainly not inconsistent with Howard's story, though it suggests that Howard was not quite as passive as he himself implies. The king summoned both protagonists to London (nothing in the letters indicates that Berney was also summoned), and ordered a commission of oyer and terminer. Presumably Howard went directly to London as ordered, but Paston was held up by a dispute with his co-executors of Sir John Fastolf's will. This was unwise. His brother Clement wrote frantically on 11 October that the king was about to send a third writ of summons and was so angry at Paston's continued disobedience that if he did not come immediately he would die for it as a warning to others not to disobey

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.303.

a royal order. Clement goes on to quote in direct speech what the king had said about the affair :

'A servant of ours (Howard) hath made a complaint of him. I cannot think he has informed us all truly, yet not for that, we will not suffer him (Paston) to disobey our writing ; but since he disobeyeth our writing, we may believe the better his guiding (i.e. Paston's behaviour) is as we be informed'(1).

Paston's actions at the first election, before Howard became involved certainly tell against him, but the personal antagonism between him and Howard probably means that the later blame was not all his. In general their correspondence ensures that more is known about the Paston side of affairs than any other, but in this case Howard's complaint contains the only details, so there is no means of knowing why Edward doubted the entire truth of Howard's story. It indicates that Paston was not without friends at court and that some accounts of the affair were not altogether in Howard's favour. Clement ended his letter by telling his brother that he must have a very good excuse for not coming to the king sooner and that he must bring a strong party of men with him because Howard's wife had boasted that if any <sup>of her</sup> husband's men got near Paston his life would not be worth a penny and that Howard hath with the king a great fellowship'(2). This last comment could indicate either the size of his retinue or the closeness of his relationship with the king ; coming after the remark of his wife, it is more likely to be the former.

Howard was not the only antagonist John Paston had at court, for Clement also told his brother that the duke of Norfolk had laid a great complaint against him to the king. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when the tardy Paston finally arrived in London he was straightway committed to the Fleet prison. He was not there for long, presumably the king meant only to teach him a sharp lesson, for by 2 November his wife had heard that he was out of the Fleet and that Howard had himself been arrested because of the many complaints made against him to the king(3). Unfortunately this is the only reference that exists to Howard's imprisonment, it may even have been wishful thinking on the Paston's behalf. If it were true, perhaps Edward was merely illustrating the impartiality of his justice, showing that he accepted neither Howard's or Paston's account to be completely accurate and was not

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.313.
  2. This is the only indication that exists of the character of Howard's first wife, Catherine Moleyns ; it seems to be a loyal identification with her husband's interest rather than any natural fierceness on her part.
  3. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.314.

going to support Yorkists indiscriminately at the expense of justice. The affair of the election was not, however, over. The king's next appointment as sheriff was in the circumstances a wise choice. Sir Thomas Montgomery was one of his own household knights and as such an impartial observer in the county feuds. Berney must have at some point either been summoned to London or gone of his own accord, for by 29 December, well-wishers of himself and Paston were worried that neither had returned home. At the preceding county court day a great number of people had turned out because of a rumour that the under-sheriff had a writ for a new election. When questioned he denied it, but cries of 'Kill him ! Head him !' sent him into hiding until the mayor of Norwich and the sheriff himself rescued him<sup>(1)</sup>. It is not known who, if anyone, sat as knights for Norfolk in Edward's first parliament or whether the county went unrepresented, but there does not seem to have been a new election. No original sheriff's return survives for Norfolk and Suffolk, but since the Suffolk elections were held this proves nothing and the series of returns has many gaps<sup>(2)</sup>. The commission to seek out the rioters was not very successful ; only five of those named in Howard's account were ever indicted and only two appeared in the court of King's Bench twenty-seven years later when all interest in the events had long since died and their trials were perfunctory. They adopted a standard practice, pleading letters of pardon granted by Edward IV and were acquitted<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Controlment Roll gives one of the best accounts of a disputed election we possess. It is difficult to assess Howard's role in the whole affair because of the lack of unbiased evidence, but he did not apparently act with the impartiality to be expected of a royal servant. His previous quarrels with Paston on similar issues led him to exploit his position as sheriff in a way in which, it must be added in all fairness, sheriffs had been doing consistently over two decades or more. His appointment as the first sheriff under the Yorkist crown indicates a strong belief in his ability to act in accordance with Yorkist interests in an area still torn by faction fighting and with many influential Lancastrian supporters. He would have presumably considered it part of his task to see that known Yorkists were returned as knights for Edward's first parliament rather than men, no matter what their standing in the shire, who were of doubtful loyalty. It was not until his under-sheriff had been intimidated and battle joined that he himself stepped

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iv, p.17.
  2. P.R.O. Sheriffs' Returns, C219/17.
  3. Williams, loc.cit., pp.80-81.

in, and since Howard was not a man of great finesse, the dispute was not settled as it should have been. If Edward did commit him to prison for a brief period, it was probably as an object lesson to all that all personal quarrels which led to open fighting were to cease. The lesson in this case seems to have been taken to heart, for there is no further evidence of quarrels with the Pastons and indeed Howard seems to have been on good terms with Paston's younger son John. When Howard became duke of Norfolk he made a formal release of all claims to Caister castle of which the Pastons had been disseised by the late duke. The castle itself had been returned to them on the duke's death. If royal favour was temporarily withdrawn from Howard at the end of 1461, it was certainly restored by February 1462 when he received a generous grant of manors.

For the next parliamentary elections in 1463, originally summoned for York on 5 February, but postponed until 7 March at Leicester after the surrender of Alnwick, Edward IV took the precaution, as Sir Robert Conyers informed Margaret Paston, to have letters sent to every gentleman in Norfolk requesting them to attend his brother-in-law the duke of Suffolk at Norwich on shire day<sup>(1)</sup>. This expedient seems to have paid off, for there is no report of any trouble at Norwich, though the elections in general were so unruly that it was decided to declare them all invalid and hold them again. It is likely that Howard, in a reversal of roles, was this time elected as a knight of the shire for Norfolk<sup>(2)</sup>. The royal grant of manors in the previous year had included two in that county so that the previous objections no longer held good. The sheriff's returns are missing, but Howard spent three months that spring in London (whence the parliament was eventually summoned). This was for him a very long stay, which might be explained by a seat in parliament. He was certainly elected for the next session in 1467, this time for Suffolk. The Pastons have no comment to make on the election, so it, too, must have been peaceful. On 20 April, Sir John Howard and Master Thomas Brewes were chosen knights of the shire at Ipswich. In his accounts, Howard lists what the two of them spent feasting the electors afterwards. The total amounted to £40 17s. 8d., a very large sum for the period. It went to provide, among other things, eight oxen, twenty-four calves and the same number of sheep, three hundred and forty-eight chickens, one hundred and forty pairs of pigeons and eight hundred eggs with appropriate amounts of bread, butter, milk, sugar and spices, £3 13s. 4d. worth of wine, twenty barrels

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1. Paston Letters, vol. iv, p.66.

2. J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament : Biographies, 1439-1509 (1936), p.473.

of double beer and sixteen of single beer, together with the cost of linen, cups, pewter vessels, the hire of stone pots and the payment of four chief cooks, eighteen labourers hired to help them and four 'washers of vessels',<sup>(1)</sup>. Evidence of this kind is extremely rare. In the fifteenth century much is heard of corruption, intimidation and physical force at elections, but little of the gentler means of persuasion more familiar in an eighteenth century context. Unfortunately, in the absence of comparable evidence, there is no means of knowing whether newly-elected M.P.s were in the habit of rewarding their compliant electors in this way. Generous as Howard was when elected himself, he was also prepared to help when not personally involved. In January 1483 when the electors from the duchess of York's honour of Clare, for which he was steward, were on their way to vote in Ipswich, he paid for their lodgings and costs in Stoke-by-Nayland<sup>(2)</sup>. Howard himself, of course, sat as a peer from 1470.

How much local influence did Howard possess and how was it exercised? If the presence of his kinsmen, dependants and well-wishers among East Anglian M.P.s and sheriffs is used as a criterion, the following evidence emerges<sup>(3)</sup>. In 1478 Richard Ratcliff, who had been controller of customs at Ipswich from 1468 and master porter at Calais while Howard held his own office there, was appointed to the joint shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk, but he was also an esquire of the body and is nowhere mentioned in Howard's own records. The other sheriffs were all prominent local gentry. As knights of the shire, Sir Richard Harcourt was a distant connection but he was also a member of the duke of Suffolk's council; James Hobart was a close associate of Howard's acting as his legal advisor, but he was also a member of Norfolk's council, and as a lawyer, independent enough to prosper under the Tudors. The only man closely allied to Howard who sat was his son Thomas, M.P. for Norfolk in 1478 and 1483, by which first date he already held a household office and had become a Norfolk landowner in right of his wife; the year previously he had served as sheriff. The borough M.P.s fall into a different category<sup>(4)</sup>. Of the seven boroughs returning members, Norwich, Colchester and Lynn almost invariably elected their own merchants and Yarmouth usually did so, Malden and Dunwich were to all intents and purposes pocket boroughs, open to pressure if the local gentry thought it necessary. Almost no returns survive for

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1. H.B.I., p.399.

2. H.B.II., p.337.

3. Sheriffs for election years only have been checked.

4. The sheriffs' parliamentary returns for East Anglia are far from complete for all elections.



Malden and few for Dunwich and of the known members none had connections with Howard, despite all his shipping activities at the latter. Ipswich was another matter. Although he held no royal office there as he did at Norwich and Colchester, it was in Ipswich that Howard's wishes were most attended to, and the town was also surrounded by lands of the duke of Norfolk and other members of his council. Of the fourteen M.P.s known to have been elected in the Yorkist period, at least seven had Mowbray or Howard connections. Howard's business agent, Richard Felaw was elected for the first of Edward's parliaments, but he had also sat for the previous Lancastrian one, he was one of the towns leading merchants, so no disparagement occurred. James Hobart sat in 1467, 1478 and 1483. John Timperley the younger, who became Howard's son-in-law sometime in the early 1470s, sat three times for Ipswich, in 1469, 1478 and 1483, but his father was very active in local affairs, being a member of Norfolk's council, and he sat for the borough himself in Edward's last parliament. Young Timperley's fellow M.P. in 1483 was Roger Wentworth of Codham, son of Howard's cousin Elizabeth Howard (daughter of his father's younger brother, Henry). The dates of these parliaments when Howard's men are returned are significant ; 1478 was the parliament which attainted the duke of Clarence, an occasion when the king required all the support his chief followers could organise. The same is true for Edward V's parliament, which never sat, but was summoned in the middle of a constitutional crisis. This seems to follow the general pattern of aristocratic influence discerned in various studies of elections<sup>(1)</sup>. Manipulation was unnecessary if no vital issue faced the forthcoming parliament, but if it did, great pressure could be brought to bear, as the duchess of Norfolk's letter in 1455 indicates. When groups of retainers were returned, then their powerful backing and their general experience in local affairs assured them influence in the Commons far beyond their mere numbers. In the kind of relationship Howard had with Ipswich, the town, too, stood to benefit. It might follow his directions at election times, even in 1462 agree to furnish twenty men for royal service at its own expense, and generally meet all government requests for soldiers, but Howard's naval campaigns and much of his shipping business were conducted in the town, with the subsequent gain in local trade and employment. Formal recognition of the town's loyalty was made by Edward IV and confirmed by Richard III, by which the bailiffs,

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1. Summarised in Jalland, loc. cit.

together with four portmen, were given the right of determining all felonies within the borough, thus securing the citizens from any political reverse<sup>(1)</sup>.

For the three southern boroughs in which Mowbray/Howard influence was paramount, Reigate in Surrey and Steyning and Bramber in Sussex, John Timperley the younger sat occasionally, for Steyning in 1472 and Bramber in 1469, but the most frequent representatives were the brothers John and Richard Skinner for Reigate. Richard became almost the permanent member and John sat for Richard III's parliament. They were the sons of a prominent Reigate man who had sat as a member before them. John entered Howard's household some time before 1481 when the second set of accounts begin and is frequently mentioned in them. He was trained as a lawyer and appointed under-sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1483. He is the only member of Howard's household other than immediate members of his family, who served as an M.P., a sheriff, or indeed on the bench. Howard does not, in his later and most powerful years, seem to have surrounded himself with a coterie of local gentry in the manner of John Mowbray, who numbered Howard himself, Sir Gilbert Debenham, Sir Robert Wingfield, Sir John Heveningham, Sir William Brandon and Sir Roger Chamberlain as well as the lawyer James Hobart, among his council. The latter, who was Howard's legal advisor as well, sat on the Suffolk bench throughout the Yorkist period, and Thomas Hgward, more or less from the time his marriage established him as a Norfolk landowner, sat on the bench for that county. John Timperley, despite his frequent returns to parliament does not seem to have been appointed to the bench, but John Wyndham, another of Howard's son-in-law, whose father, like Timperley's, was of Norfolk gentry stock, was appointed a justice in 1482 ; he had been in Howard's household since he was a boy. Howard men like his Daniel nephews, his squire Thomas Moleyns, his other sons-in-law, Edmund Gorges and Robert Mortimer, all of whom were of suitable birth, were not appointed. That Howard could obtain such appointments if he chose to do so, is illustrated by his payment for the writing of an appointment to the Middlesex bench for William Chedworth in 1467, and of his own appointment to the Berkshire bench<sup>(2)</sup>.

A further method of deducing how much pressure a powerful man might bring to bear during an election is to study the names of the leading witnesses on the sheriff's return. If the M.P.s returned were not identifiable as close connections, it is possible to see whether they were elected with his support, because if they were, the chief witnesses are likely to be his men.

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1. J. Wodderspoon, Memorials of the ancient Town of Ipswich (1850), p.297-298

2. H.B.I., p.387.

These original returns do not survive for all elections, indeed, the only ones for these in Norfolk and Suffolk during the Yorkist period are for 1467, 1472 and 1478<sup>(1)</sup>. The returns are in two parts, the one being the writ received by the sheriff empowering him to hold the election, endorsed with the names of those elected for shire and boroughs, each with the names of two sureties, the other being an indenture between the sheriff and the electors recording the fact, date and place of the election. In his study of the returns made by the sheriffs of Lincolnshire for the period 1407-1485, Mr. Rogers concludes that the witnesses who were parties to the indenture were in fact electors, though they did not compose the whole body of the electorate. The Lincolnshire lists varied in numbers from sixteen to one hundred and sixteen and almost all have concluding phrases such as et aliorum. It is clear that the most important electors were named for they are generally listed in order of rank, knights, members of armigerous families, those called 'gentlemen', and then some with no designation<sup>(2)</sup>. Those named first are obviously the significant ones, indicating which local influences, if any, are at work in the shire elections. For the boroughs the witnesses are usually limited to the municipal officers<sup>(3)</sup>. In the 1467 election for Suffolk, when Howard himself was elected, among those with whom the sheriff made his indenture, were Sir John Heveningham, Sir Gilbert Debenham and John Timperley senior, all members of Norfolk's council, John Wyndham and his father, Howard's own steward, John Braham, and Robert Thorp, a business associate of Howard's, whose brother was in the household. Thomas Brewes, elected with Howard, was a man with former Lancastrian connections but recently knighted by Edward IV and on the council of the duke of Suffolk, was clearly the candidate of the other party. In 1472, two of Norfolk's council, Sir <sup>Robert</sup> Roger Chamberlain and Sir William Brandon, were elected for Suffolk, which speaks for itself, and in Norfolk, Sir Robert Wingfield, another of Norfolk's council, was returned with witnesses who included three of Howard's household, his nephew Thomas Daniel, John Skinner and John Davy. In 1478, when Thomas Howard was returned for Norfolk, the only Howard connections among the witnesses were Thomas' brother-in-law, John Wyndham and John Penley, his father's receiver. In Suffolk the witnesses to Sir John Wingfield and John Broughton included Sir John Heveningham, both

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1. P.R.O. Sheriffs Returns of M.P.s, C219/17/1-3.

2. Rogers, loc. cit., p. 65-66

3. Houghton, loc. cit., p. 131.

Timperleys, James Hobart and Roberth Thorp, indicating that the men returned had the approval of Howard. The tentative conclusion which may be reached is that Howard was acting within the received framework of arranging elections and that he was doing so, at least until 1475, as a supporter of Norfolk rather than independently, for those of his own men who were witnesses were usually headed by one of the duke's senior men. The loss of the original returns for Richard III's parliament, when Howard's influence was at its height, is a great one.

In East Anglia prior to 1461, Howard owed his position to his kinship with the Mowbrays and his place in the duke's council. In the early years of Yorkist rule he continued to spend considerable time in the duke's company, attending him in London, acting as one of his senior captains in the north and in Wales, but the crown was gradually building him into an important man in his own right, while his own business activities were making him increasingly wealthy. Both the last Mowbray duke of Norfolk and the king's brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, although immensely powerful in their birth and territorial interests, seem to have been men lacking in the strong character and ability necessary to sustain these positions, while Howard could hardly be described as other than forceful<sup>(1)</sup>. It suited the crown to make him one of its main supporters in the area because he owed his advancement solely to royal favour, and also because of the lack of any other powerful men in East Anglia on whom the king could place absolute reliance. The two dukes, though loyal, were not strong men, and the queen's brother, Anthony Woodville, who inherited the Scales estates and therefore became the third ranking peer in the area not only spent all his time at court but was unlikely to command local loyalties. Most of the other sizeable landowners in the region, if not actually resident, made Howard steward of their estates, and although Scales did not, Howard was on sufficiently amicable terms to spend two days in Lynn with him<sup>(2)</sup>. With the young <sup>fourteenth</sup> ~~fourteenth~~ earl of Oxford, he was equally friendly, spending days on hunting trips with him until de Vere's Lancastrian instincts overcame his common sense<sup>(3)</sup>. With many of his colleagues on the bench of justices he dined, hunted or played tennis, either in Suffolk or in London<sup>(4)</sup>. How much influence he could bring to bear on their actions if he chose, is naturally almost impossible to judge, but some examples have survived. Among his accounts

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1. See T.B. Pugh's opinion of Mowbray in 'The Marcher Lordships of Glamorgan, 1317-1485', Glamorgan County History, vol.iii (1971), p.259.
  2. H.B.I., p.276 ; Arundel MS G1/3.
  3. H.B.I., pp.250, 300, 339, 509.
  4. ibid., pp.151, 153, 167, 251-2.

is the draft of a letter to an unknown recipient who was engaged in a dispute with the prior of 'Blakberne',<sup>(1)</sup> who was in consequence in 'such fear of his life that he dare not abide in his church to serve God according to his duty'. It had already been suggested that the Council should be informed on behalf of the prior when Howard stepped in. He approached the prior and found him, not unnaturally, very eager to accept his mediation, and he then wrote to the other disputant whom he addressed as 'well-beloved friend' and with whom he was obviously on good terms. Presumably the friend was only too pleased to accept Howard's offer rather than to allow the matter to come before the king, but nothing more is heard about it<sup>(2)</sup>. In another letter he wrote to a man he addressed as cousin whose servant, a man called Bensted, had been pestering a widow of Sudbury to marry him, threatening her when persuasion failed. Howard had a two-fold interest in the affair, for the lady was a tenant of the duchess of York's honour of Clare, of which he was steward, and in addition she was betrothed to a servant of his own. He suggested that his 'cousin' and Bensted should come over and visit him, so that they could sort the matter out, for the lady had promised to accept their ruling<sup>(3)</sup>. In both these cases, Howard was acting as a mediator in matters in which he had no immediate interest. Where his own concerns were involved he could be considerably less conciliating. In a third draft letter, again to an unidentifiable recipient, he expresses himself in no uncertain measure. The letter seems worth quoting in full, not only for its illustration of one facet of Howard's character, but indirectly for another, the style and skill with which he uses his native language ; it is certainly of his composition, for it is in his handwriting and obviously written in the heat of the moment and not as a stylish exercise.

'You will understand', he writes, 'that I have knowledge you have used unsuiting language against me, which I marvel greatly at for I have given you no such cause. Also you say I am no better than a man of 'klowetes' [exact meaning uncertain], it shall not be long before you find me better. I shall make you understand me otherwise, as the law will, though I shall spend as much on it in a day as you are worth. Also you shall understand I am informed where Michael Ryndeford and Karowe and I with others were enfeoffed in a house and land within Dovercourt (Essex) to the use of John Hobbes and his father-in-law, and now, by your sinister labour and intent against all right and conscience, you daily cause great trouble in the same, saying it shall not be spared for any silver. I would advise you to cease both your labour and your spending, and also your unthrifty language, and if you do so you will find ease therein, by the grace of God who amend your disposition'<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. Probably Blackmore in Essex, Blackborough in Norfolk was a nunnery.
  2. H.B.I., p.564.
  3. ibid., p.170.
  4. ibid., p.172.

Again nothing further about this can be traced ; certainly it did not come to law. There is nothing in the Early Chancery Proceedings concerning Howard, who seems to have a distaste for litigation unusual among his fellows<sup>(1)</sup>. Kind and generous as he was in many instances, Howard could become threatening if he thought he was not being dealt with honestly or his interests were at stake, and he often carried things further than the occasion seems to have warranted, as happened with the Mercers' Company. How frequent these outbursts were or how quickly they burnt themselves out cannot be judged, but the sight or sound of Howard in an angry or aggressive mood was probably something all but a hardy few were prepared to give way before. On the other hand such fierce directness may well have added to the influence he had over the unruly natives of East Anglia.

at this is an early document between 1470 and 1473 was by far his longest period of absence, that is, it is assumed that he made only brief visits to England during the period. His various military and naval campaigns, his embassies and other sojourns in the West Indies for some time were a few months at a time, and when Parliament was sitting, the whole household moved to Stepney. If Howard had wished to spend most of his time at court, he was certainly in a position to have done so, since he did not, presumably it was because he was temperamentally averse to such a life and preferred to be at home.

The family that lived in Tucking Hall, Grove-by-Nayland, was not, by medieval standards, particularly large. When the surviving household accounts begin in 1462 John Howard had six children. Whether any others died in infancy is not known, but to rear all six and to educate them to a considerable achievement, as far as can be judged, he married Elizabeth Bagot in about 1440 when he was twenty and had inherited the estate. Thomas, his heir and apparently his eldest child, was born in 1445 and Richard, his second son, was probably not much younger, for the boys are usually named together in the accounts. After them followed four daughters: the order of their births is not recorded, and if it may be assumed that women were born one of them are mentioned together in the accounts they are named in order of age. Then Isabel was the eldest, followed by Anne, Margaret and Jane. It may well be the upbringing of Thomas and his brother at Nayland, seems to have differed from the norm. There is no indication from the accounts that either had been sent away to be brought up in another household, as might have been expected in view of their aristocratic connections. Thomas, in his epitaph, certainly makes no mention of it, but says he spent a sufficient

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1. P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings C/1, has no references to Howard.

## CHAPTER 5

### FAMILY RELATIONS AND DOMESTIC LIFE

Amid all his royal service, it would be easy to lose sight of the fact that John Howard spent the greatest amount of his time at home in Stoke-by-Nayland with his family. His spell at Calais as deputy-lieutenant between 1470 and 1473 was by far his longest period from home, if, that is, it be assumed that he paid only brief visits to England during the interim. His various military and naval campaigns, his embassies and terms as M.P. never took him from Suffolk for more than a few months at a time, and when Parliament was sitting, the whole household moved to Stepney. If Howard had wished to spend most of his time at court, he was certainly in a position to have done so, since he did not, presumably it was because he was temperamentally unsuited to such a life and preferred to be at home.

The family that lived in Tendring Hall, Stoke-by-Nayland, was not, by medieval standards, particularly large. When the surviving household accounts begin in 1462 John Howard had six children. Whether any others died in infancy is not known, but to rear all one's children to adulthood was a considerable achievement. As far as can be judged, he married Catherine Moleyns in about 1440 when he was twenty and had inherited his estate. Thomas, his heir and apparently his oldest child, was born in 1443 and Nicholas, his second son, was probably not much younger, for the boys are usually named together in the accounts. After them followed four daughters; the order of their births is not recorded, but if it may be assumed that whenever more than one of them are mentioned together in the accounts they are named in order of age, then Isabel was the eldest, followed by Anne, Margaret and Jane. In many ways the upbringing of Thomas and his brother at least, seems to have differed from the norm. There is no indication from the accounts that either had been sent away to be brought up in another household, as might have been expected in view of their aristocratic connections. Thomas, in his autobiographical epitaph, certainly makes no mention of it, but says he spent 'a sufficient

season at the grammar school<sup>(1)</sup>. This illustrates his father's belief in the importance of learning, underlined by his support of several local boys at Cambridge<sup>(2)</sup>. In June 1464, when he returned from fighting in the north, Howard gave both his sons and their schoolmaster 20d. each<sup>(3)</sup>. The context is a trifle ambiguous, since it does not indicate whether the boys were at Tendring or not, but it may suggest that for a time at least, there was a resident tutor in the household. It also raises the interesting point, that if the year 1443 is the correct date for Thomas' birth, and it has never been questioned, then he was still under formal instruction at the age of twenty-one.

From the frequency with which their names occur in the accounts at that date both boys were at home in the first half of the 1460s, accompanying their father on his trips to London, but not on his fighting expeditions. This again is worth noting, for boys in their late teens in this period might very well have been expected to form part of a fighting force, even if they were kept to the rear in an actual engagement. Edward IV was a seasoned soldier by the time he ascended the throne at the age of nineteen and his brother Edmund was killed at Wakefield when only eighteen. By contrast, the Howard sons seem to have been oddly sheltered. In June 1466, when Howard escorted the commissioners, who were to treat for the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Rash, to the continent, Thomas was allowed to accompany his father, and to establish his arrival at man's estate was given a gestraunt of mail and two swords<sup>(4)</sup>. He and his father seem to have remained at Calais while the commissioners went to Burgundy, and occupied their time buying cloth; one of the entries in the accounts is in Thomas' hand, prefaced by the words 'my fader bowt'<sup>(5)</sup>. In September 1467, a year later, entries referring to a great many new clothes for Master Thomas and costs for his journey to Windsor indicate that this was when he entered royal service<sup>(6)</sup>. His name still occurs

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1. J. Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631), p.839, quotes the epitaph; it does not say which school, but Ipswich, in view of Howard's connections with the town, seems likely, though Thetford also had such a school. See N. Carlisle, Endowed Grammar Schools (1818), vol.ii, p.521.
  2. H.B.II., pp.214, 379, 338; see below page 117.
  3. H.B.I., p.269.
  4. ibid., p.356.
  5. ibid., p.366.
  6. ibid., pp.428, 430.



in the accounts as receiving gifts of money or a new gown, but these are when his father was himself at court or in London. Apart from the occasional visit, Thomas had left home. Nicholas remained behind until 1468 when Lord Scales' expedition gave him his opportunity. He was fitted out with a new harness and entrusted with £20 to pay the expenses of the men under his command<sup>(1)</sup>. The expedition was a failure and Nicholas found himself back at home. The following June he and his father dined with young John Paston, in the company of his erstwhile commander, Scales, and the latter's youngest brother, Sir John Woodville<sup>(2)</sup>. In the November of that year, 1469, he had no fewer than five pairs of shoes purchased for him, which suggests that he was about to leave home again, but this entry in the accounts is the last that is ever heard of him and the date and circumstances of his death are unknown.

In contrast to his sons, Howard's daughters do seem to have received some part of their upbringing in the households of suitable ladies. Not apparently, however, in the most obvious place, the train of the young duchess of Norfolk at Framlingham. All four girls were at home when the accounts open in 1462, but in May 1465 Margaret was in London on her way to the household of Lady Norris. Although only the wife of a knight, Sir William Norris, Jane Norris was a very suitable person to have such a charge, for she was the daughter of the earl of Oxford and Elizabeth Howard. Margaret's father seems to have soon visited her to see her settled in her new surroundings, attending the christening of the latest Norris baby while he was there. In March 1466 it was Jane's turn to leave home, escorted by her father's squire, Thomas Moleyns, to go to no lesser person than the countess of Oxford herself<sup>(3)</sup>. Presumably the two older girls, Isabel and Anne, had similar training, but there is no record of where they received it, though perhaps at Framlingham. While the girls were at home there are numerous entries of gowns and shoes purchased for them and their waiting woman, Margaret Notbem, who seems to have been given the same as her young mistresses. The only item of particular interest is a device of gold worth 40s. given to Margaret in February 1465. It is the only valuable present given to any of the girls noted in the accounts and it is entered without explanation, except that Lady Howard gave her husband 14s. 7d. towards it<sup>(4)</sup>.

John Howard's marriage to Catherine Moleyns may be judged successful by the standards of their time. No record of their relationship survives,

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1. H.B.I., pp.567-8.
  2. Paston Letters, vol.v, p.32.
  3. H.B.I., pp. 398, 290, 292, 508, 338.
  4. ibid., p. 489 ; see below page 102.

but she presented him with a nursery full of children, including sons, and they seem to have been fond enough of each other for her to travel up and down the country to be with him when duty called him away from home for any length of time. In his shorter absences, she managed the household and estates with efficiency, submitting the accounts to her husband to check on his return<sup>(1)</sup>. In September 1465 Lady Howard fell ill and the accounts vividly illuminate the efforts made by him to have her cured. The first indication that anything amiss is a note of payment to Robert Clerke of 16d. for riding to Lord 'Bonseres' (Berners?) place to fetch a physician called Friar Robert Wotton. On the same day, Frederick Donker was paid 2s. 8d. for medicines for my lady, and two days later, 4s. 2d. more<sup>(2)</sup>. A week after this, Thursten was despatched to London to fetch physicians and before his return, Master Roger and John Clerke were paid for looking to her and for more medicines. Then Frederick Donker was sent to London to buy further medicines, but as her illness grew worse, the emphasis changes to things that would comfort her and make her suffering more bearable, sugar candy, water of honeysuckle, and special wine<sup>(3)</sup>. On 30 September she ordered 5s. to be given to the friars at Colchester, presumably knowing that the end was approaching, but she lingered for a month, dying on 'the morrow after Soulmass day' (3 November).

The details of her funeral are preserved among the Paston collection. She was buried in the church of Stoke-by-Nayland two days after her death, when Howard gave sixty-eight children in the choir 2d. each and to six score and nine priests and clerks 6d. each. The whole family and household had been plunged into instant mourning, one hundred and twenty-six people to be clothed in black, at a cost to their master of £21 for the men alone. On top of this he provided 13 poor men with gowns, and on her seventh day (i.e. seven days after her death) he gave lavishly in alms and on her thirtieth day he gave a hundred poor people 1d. each<sup>(4)</sup>. Nothing now remained but to pay Robert Wotton, the physician, for his attendance and give the friars at Colchester 10s. to sing a 'trentalle' for her soul. Later he was to give Sir Benet, a priest, 40s. to sing a mass for her every year for four years. Many years

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1. H.B.I., pp.507-8.

2. ibid., p.303.

3. ibid., pp.303-4.

4. Paston Letters, vol.iv, pp.211-3.

after, her descendants erected a brass on her tomb in the south aisle of the church.

Fifteen months after Catherine's death, Howard was showering a new bride with gifts. She was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth and recently a widow for the second time. Her first husband had been Nicholas Wyfold, a wealthy grocer, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1450 and died in 1456, leaving an only child, Isabel, by his young wife. There is no record of how long they had been married, but Isabel was certainly under age at her father's death. Wyfold left Margaret a wealthy woman, for he bequeathed to her all the furniture in his hall, parlour, chambers, buttery and kitchen, together with plate to the value of £100 and £1000 in cash<sup>(1)</sup>. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that she soon found herself another husband, this time from her own rank in life. He was John Norris of Bray, esquire, who took her as his third wife. She had step-sons as old as herself, but there appear to have been younger Norris children too, and she bore him a daughter, Lettice, and possibly a son, William. John Norris died almost a year after Catherine Howard, in September 1466, and after bequeathing the manor of Yattenden, Berkshire, to his heir, Sir William, and sums of money to all his other children he left the residue of all his lands and goods to Margaret, provided she remained a widow ; if she took another husband, only her lawful due as his widow was to be hers<sup>(2)</sup>. By the time Margaret proved his will, however, she was already married to John Howard.

She was, of course, a respectable match for Howard, but her money must have made little impression beside his own wealth. One of her uncles, apparently, was John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and the other was William Chedworth, Clerk to the Common Council of the City of London, the latter was useful to Howard, but he could have married widows far better connected if he had had a mind to it<sup>(3)</sup>. That they had known each other for some time is highly likely, since Margaret's eldest stepson, Sir William Norris, was married to Jane, daughter of Howard's cousin Elizabeth, countess of Oxford, and his own daughter Margaret was a member of young Lady Norris's household. In addition, Sir William seems to have been a friend of Howard's, and his younger brother John often acted as Howard's London agent in shipping business.

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1. P.C.C. 8 Stokton.

2. P.C.C. 19 Godyn.

3. The bishop and William Chedworth were brothers, but no connection between them and, Sir John Chedworth can be traced. Howard is later involved in family dealings with William, making it clear that Margaret was related to him, and the most likely relationship was that of uncle and niece. See Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, roll A96 m4.

One of Howard's surviving draft letters is addressed to him and is full of details about cargoes and the sale of two of his ships<sup>(1)</sup>. In view of the fact that less than six months elapsed between the death of John Norris and his widow's remarriage, the indications are that perhaps for Howard and Margaret there were personal preferences involved beyond the more usual business arrangements of a marriage.

The first clue to his remarriage that occurs in Howard's own accounts is an entry on 18 January, when he gave 'young Chedworth' 10s. He may be a younger brother or a nephew of Margaret's, but cannot be identified further. Then, on 20 January, he paid for 'two pleats of white lawn', and the keeper of the accounts added, 'and he gave the said lawn to my lady his wife'<sup>(2)</sup>. In the Paston Letters, together with the funeral account, is a list of the wedding gifts he gave his new wife. It is far too long to transcribe, but includes many items of jewelry, '2 rings of gold set with good diamonds the which the Queen gave my master', and a 'collar of gold with thirty four roses and suns set on a course of black silk with a hanger of gold garnished with a sapphire' (this type of collar or chain bearing the king's device was worn by many at court). Margaret retained her late husband's home, the manor of Bray in Berkshire, as part of her dower, whence Howard despatched various lengths of arras and a bed hung with crimson damask. Important enough to add in his own hand to the account was a 'pot of silver to put in green ginger that the king gave'<sup>(3)</sup>. Again in close proximity to the mourning list for his first wife in the household accounts, is a list of persons Margaret brought with her to Tendring Hall. It is headed by 'my Lady' herself, followed by 'mistress Jane, mistress Isabel, mistress Lettice, her daughters and master William her son'<sup>(4)</sup>. This raises several problems of identity. Isabel was undoubtedly Isabel Wyfold, Margaret's child by her first marriage, and Lettice her daughter by John Norris, both of whom are named in her will<sup>(5)</sup>. The will, however, makes no mention of children called Jane or William. John Norris's will does mention a second younger son called William, besides his heir (it

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1. H.B.I., p.560 ; see page 52.

2. ibid., p.384.

3. Paston Letters, vol.iv, pp.262-4.

4. H.B.I., p.586.

5. P.C.C. 16 Vox ; 13 May 1490, proved 3 December 1494.

was not unusual at this date for two sons to bear the same name, the best known example being the brothers John Paston), and daughters called Anne and Lettice. Anne and Jane are names easily confused, particularly in Latin, the language of the will, and it may perhaps be that Jane was a step-daughter of Margaret's and not her own child. In the second book of accounts, there are a number of references to 'mistress Norris', whom Howard refers to as 'my daughter Norris' ; generally she was being repaid for monies she had expended<sup>(1)</sup>. This was probably Jane Norris, old enough to be given a courtesy title. Her younger sister, Lettice, was married by 1481, but if Margaret were not Jane's mother and the girl had made herself useful in attendance, there would be less incentive to find a husband for her. On the other hand, William was almost certainly Margaret's own child, otherwise he would have been more than ten years old at his father's death and taken into one of his married brothers' care rather than being left with a step-mother. He presumably died as a child since he is not mentioned in his mother's will. Margaret bore Howard another daughter, whom they named Catherine.

Partly because his second wife was still young enough to bear him children and he already had two grown sons, Howard does not seem to have been over-anxious to see his heir Thomas settled down and continuing the family line. As early as 1458 there had been talk of a match between him and Margery Paston, but nothing came of it and Margery married her father's bailiff instead of becoming a duchess<sup>(2)</sup>. No further moves seem to have been made in the following decade, and by the time of Nicholas' death, the country was once more plunged into civil war. The result was that Thomas was nearly thirty when he eventually married in 1472, far older than the majority of his contemporaries. As it turned out the renewal of the war brought him his bride, for she was Elizabeth Tylney, widow of Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Berners' son and heir, who was killed at Barnet fighting for Edward, a battle in which Thomas was himself wounded badly, thus nearly extinguishing the Howard line. By coincidence the younger John Paston was eager to marry the widowed Elizabeth, but he was over-zealous and his more sophisticated brother informed him that his behaviour had 'a little chafed it, but I cannot tell how'<sup>(3)</sup>, and on 30 April 1472, young John wrote sadly to his brother, 'this day.... my lady and yours, Dame Elizabeth Bouchier, is wedded to Lord Howard's son and heir'<sup>(4)</sup>. For John Paston, a

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1. H.B.II., pp.156, 167, 209, etc.
  2. Paston Letters, vol.ii, p.331.
  3. ibid., vol.v, p.111.
  4. ibid., p.137.

younger son of a substantial gentry family, Elizabeth would have been a good match indeed, for she was the daughter and heiress of Sir Frederick Tylney of Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, and thus inherited manors in Norfolk and Suffolk as well as lands in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire and Cambridgeshire, but for 'Lord Howard's son and heir', she was not a particular matrimonial triumph. Her husband would hold her lands for his lifetime, but they would not descend to any son of Thomas, for she already had a son, John Bouchier, who was heir to his grandfather, Lord Berners. Elizabeth did not, however, fail to do her duty by her second husband, for young Thomas was born in 1473, Edward in 1477 and Edmund in 1479. Lord Howard was so pleased with his stout grandsons when he rode over to Ashwellthorpe in 1481 that he was moved to give the nursery 10s. Od.<sup>(1)</sup>.

Marriage in the later Middle Ages, at least among the landed classes, was treated strictly as a business matter. Nobody reading the Paston correspondence can remain in any doubt as to the importance of the financial arrangements and a general disregard for personal feelings. Most marriages were arranged by parents before their children were out of the nursery and the latter accepted the arrangements when the time came to marry. In view of this, the matches a man made for his children are likely to be quite an accurate guide to his worldly attitudes. Those made for the Howard children are surprising in their lack of ambition. For most of the previous century, as substantial gentry, the Howards had married their heirs to the daughters of lesser peers. Howard himself, despite his own small inheritance, had married a daughter of Lord Moleyns. His son, the heir to a baron and an extremely rich man, married the daughter of a knight, albeit she was his heiress and the widow of a baron's heir. Elizabeth Tylney was a respectable match rather than a good one, and Howard could have looked much higher for Thomas by the late 1460s if he had wished. Despite his age when he married, it would be wrong to assume that the lady was Thomas's choice ; if she were it would be a very unusual circumstance. There are, unfortunately, no surviving letters between Howard and his children and nothing to give any clue as to their relationship with their father. The custom of their time was for children to regard their parents with awe and never to question their judgement<sup>(2)</sup>. This is certainly the attitude held by John Paston's sons and presumably that of the young Howards was the same. The idea that children had any natural rights was

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1. H.B.II., p.222.

2. See 'Symon's lesson of Wyshedome for all Maner Chyldryn', Early English Meals and Manners etc., ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S., 1868), p.399.

inconceivable to the medieval mind ; they were chattels for their father to dispose of as best suited his own needs and this is the factor that lies behind the making of marriages. It enabled men to sell the marriages of their children, as Stephen Scrope, Fastolf's ward, put it, 'for very need I was fain to sell a little daughter I have for much less than I should have done by possibility'<sup>(1)</sup>. The feelings of the children involved were usually the last thing to be taken into consideration<sup>(2)</sup>.

One case cited by Bennett to illustrate the sale of marriages is that of John Wyndham of Felbrigg, Norfolk, but it also shows that personal feelings could effect marriages, as it may have done with Howard's own marriage to Margaret Chedworth. Wyndham, as a widower, had fallen in love with the widow of Sir John Heveningham, but unfortunately the knight had left pressing debts to the sum of 300 marks. Wyndham having failed to ingratiate himself with the widow's friends, offered to pay the debts if she would marry him. To do this he proposed to raise the money by the sale of his son's marriage to a London merchant for 700 marks. Margaret Paston related these facts to her husband in a way that shows she was neither shocked or surprised<sup>(3)</sup>. As it turned out, the lady's son was against the marriage and asked Paston to help him prevent it. It certainly never took place. The particular relevance of this case to the Howards lies in the fact that the son whose marriage Wyndham contemplated selling to a merchant, eventually married John Howard's daughter Margaret. When the union was arranged, probably in the very early years of Edward's reign or before, John Wyndham and Howard held similar positions in East Anglia. Wyndham had been a Lancastrian but in 1461 he turned Yorkist and was granted a pardon in January 1462. Later, in 1464, a Paston correspondent wrote : 'Wyndham is here and was at the shire house this day, and the King's livery about his neck'<sup>(4)</sup>. Despite this change of coat he does not seem to have prospered greatly under the new regime. In other words, what might have seemed an acceptable match if arranged in the 1450s or even in the first year or so of Yorkist rule, would not have looked nearly so inviting in the following decade as Howard rose in power and wealth. Nevertheless, the match was not repudiated ; young John Wyndham entered Howard's household some time

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1. Paston Letters, vol.i, p.155.

2. c.f. H.S. Bennett, The Pastons and their England (Cambridge, 3rd edition, 1968), pp.71-79 ; those few who rebelled against the system, like Margery Paston, serve to illustrate the case of the rest.

3. ibid., pp.28-9.

4. Paston Letters, vol.iv, p.95.

in the mid 1460s, and the first reference to him in the accounts in his inclusion in the mourning list for Lady Howard in 1465 when he was fourteen. There are indications that a formal betrothal took place in February 1465, perhaps at the time when John entered the household, for Margaret received from her father a 'device of gold', the only valuable gift to any of his daughters the accounts record, but explicable perhaps as a betrothal present<sup>(1)</sup>. Wedgwood states, without reference, that the couple married in 1475<sup>(2)</sup>, the only obvious reason for this choice of date is that it is the year in which John's father died and he came into his inheritance at the age of twenty-four. However, among the papers at Arundel is a note by Peter Le Neve, the seventeenth century antiquarian, that the marriage took place in 1467, 'as appears by the marriage articles dated 6 July 7 Edward IV'<sup>(3)</sup>. Although Le Neve had obviously seen the articles to which he referred, there is no trace of them now. Further confirmation of their earlier existence is given by the Wyndham family historian, who states (without giving his source) that the marriage took place in 1466 and that the articles stipulated that Howard should clothe both bride and groom for the ceremony, and for two years after he should keep the couple, their servants and their horses in food and drink. He also says that Howard settled his manor of Colby on his daughter and her husband<sup>(4)</sup>. This last fact is confirmed by Blomefield in his history of the descent of the manor<sup>(5)</sup>. Colby is nowhere mentioned among Howard's own records and has not therefore been included in the study of his estates. The possibility exists that it had been settled on Lady Howard and her death released for the use of one of her daughters. Le Neve's date for the articles should probably be taken as correct<sup>(6)</sup>.

Wyndham was not the only son-in-law of Howard to have entered the household as a boy. In January 1467 Howard and his wife were granted the wardship of Edmund, son and heir of Walter Gorges and Mary his wife, daughter and heiress of Sir William Oldhall, both of whom were dead. Edmund was therefore the heir of his grandfathers, Oldhall and Theobald Gorges of Wraxall in Somerset.

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1. HB.I., p.490.
  2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p.977.
  3. Arundel MS G1/3
  4. The Hon. H.A. Wyndham, A Family History 1410-1688 : the Wyndhams of Norfolk and Somerset (1939), vol.i, p.23.
  5. F. Blomefield, History of Norfolk, (1805-10), vol.vi, p.426.
  6. Margaret was dead by 1490 when John married Lady Eleanor Scrope ; he and Margaret were the ancestors of the earls of Egremont.



Despite the family holdings in the south-west, Walter Gorges had rented from Howard his manor of the Howe and his small sons, Edmund and John were members of the household by November 1465, for they too were included in the mourning list. Walter Gorges and Howard had arranged a match between Edmund and the second Howard daughter, Anne. In February 1466 Gorges received 200marks in part payment of the marriage, and when he died the following September it was only natural for Howard to take steps to secure the wardship and rights of marriage that went with it ; for this he paid the king £200<sup>(1)</sup>. Edmund, who was the heir to eight manors in Devon and Somerset, besides his mother's lands in Norfolk, was a better match than Wyndham who inherited only three manors. There is nothing to indicate when the couple married, but in 1478 the escheator of Norfolk was ordered to let Edmund take livery of his father's lands as he had offered proof of age. In August 1482 Anne gave birth to a child, possibly their first, and when it was christened, Lady Howard gave 20s.<sup>(2)</sup>

Howard's other two sons-in-law, Robert Mortimer, whose estates lay in Essex, and John Timperley of Hintlesham in Suffolk, both came from similar backgrounds to Wyndham and Gorges ; that is, from local gentry stock, undistinguished in national affairs and not of any great wealth. Mortimer, who married Howard's eldest daughter, Isabel, may have joined the household at the time he married, but was not there as a boy. He is first noted in 1475, when he was to have accompanied Howard to France on the king's expedition, but his 'volumus' or permit to travel granted in May, was revoked in October because he delayed in London ; it can only be presumed that sickness kept him at home<sup>(3)</sup>. In 1479 he was appointed to a commission with Sir William Pirton to look into a complaint from Duke Francis of Brittany that a Breton ship had been seized by pirates in the Thames estuary contrary to the treaties between England and Brittany<sup>(4)</sup>. That he was probably a member of the household after his marriage is indicated by the accounts which begin in 1482. He was paid 'prest' money for the Scottish expedition which amounted to £9 and implies a large number of men, since 'prest' usually ran at about 2s. per man. It may have also included a sum for victualling, since his Essex estates might not have raised as many as ninety men. He is not, for some reason, included in Howard's retinue, so it is possible he did not go to Scotland in person<sup>(5)</sup>.

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1. H.B.I., pp.327, 369 ; C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.527 ; H.B.I., p.466.

2. H.B.II., p.282

3. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.548.

4. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.146.

5. H.B.II., pp. 15, 428, 450.

After Richard's coronation, he returned to Stoke-by-Nayland with Howard, his own share of the horses numbering ten and suggesting that his train numbered five or six persons, and he accompanied the new duke on his subsequent tour of East Anglia.

John Timperley was the son of one of Howard's fellow members of the duke of Norfolk's council. His father was very active in local affairs and sat as an M.P. on a number of occasions. Wedgwood gives the son's birth as c.1446 and says he entered Lincoln's Inn in 1463. It is not easy to distinguish his career in many places from that of his father, but he was first elected to Parliament himself in 1467 in the Mowbray interest<sup>(1)</sup>. The date of his marriage to Jane, the youngest of Catherine Howard's daughters is unknown, but since he came of age in about 1467 it probably took place in the late 1460s. He accompanied his father-in-law to Scotland as a squire of the household, but he was probably not a permanent member of the establishment, since in December 1482 he sent him the gift of a hawk<sup>(2)</sup>. He was, however, in London with Howard in the crucial early summer of 1483, and it would probably be more accurate to assume that he and Mortimer were retainers of Howard's (if the word can be applied to men so closely allied), rather than members of the household.

It would probably be fair to say that Howard also had a hand in finding husbands for his step-daughters, Isabel Wyfold and Lettice Norris. Isabel married as his second wife, Sir Henry Marney of Layer Marney, Essex, who had been a ward of Richard, duke of Gloucester. He was regularly an M.P. for Essex, but his career really prospered under the Tudors and he was made a baron in 1523. He never seems to have attached himself in any way to his wife's step-father, and there is no mention of him in the accounts. In many ways, therefore, the merchant's daughter did better for herself than the daughters of Howard. Lettice Norris's husband was William Radmyld of Broadwater in Sussex, and the accounts record their marriage in October 1481, when Howard contributed many items to the setting up of their home<sup>(3)</sup>. They were resident in Sussex, but whenever Howard visited London, William was never backward in his attentions, despatching dogs or gifts of game to Stepney and in 1483 when the new duke toured his Sussex estates, William was by his side<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p.587.
  2. H.B.II., p.328.
  3. ibid., p. 129.
  4. ibid., pp. 282, 309, 400, 459, 465.

It was Catherine, Howard's youngest daughter and only child by Margaret, who made the best match by worldly standards. Although his standing in the early years of Edward's reign was high enough for Howard to have matched his older children more ambitiously than he did, by the time Catherine was born, he was a peer himself. Marrying five daughters was an expensive business even for a man as wealthy as he, and a good marriage into the peerage for Catherine would have meant a high price. In 1472, however, the ideal solution presented itself. Howard was a man to whom family ties were important, and the husband he chose was not only a good match, but closely allied. He was John Bouchier, the son of Thomas's wife by her first marriage and the heir to his grandfather, Lord Berners. He seems to have entered Howard's household at the time of his mother's remarriage and the two small children were brought up together. He succeeded to his grandfather in 1474 and the couple were married young. When the second book of accounts open in 1481, Catherine is already referred to as Lady Berners, although she was not more than thirteen and possibly younger. Such child marriages were not unusual, the most famous, of course, being that of Anne Mowbray and Richard of York. If Catherine and John were living under the same roof it made little difference when the official ceremony was performed, consummation would naturally take place at the parents' discretion. Certainly they continued to live with Howard until his death, for there are frequent payments for clothes, pocket money, medicines throughout the second book of accounts. John was too young to fight at Bosworth, as Howard's other sons-in-law did and thus was the only male member of Howard's family uncontaminated by treason left to protect his womenfolk.

It is clear that Howard liked to keep the members of his family about him, absorbing his daughter's husbands into the household rather than sending the girls off to new homes. This trait is also clear in the way he kept John Gorges, Edmund's younger brother, with him right until his own death. His nephews, too, the sons of his sister Margaret and the disgraced Thomas Daniel, were gathered in and given a home, certainly after 1461 if not before. The eldest, Thomas, not unnaturally, became his uncle's most trusted lieutenant. His name occurs in the accounts almost more frequently than any other and he is always given the title Master Daniel. His brothers, Edmund and George both accompanied Howard on his expedition to Scotland in 1482 and are mentioned in the second set of accounts. Edmund seems to have been trained as a lawyer and when his father recovered royal favour and was granted the lordship of

Rathwire in Ireland, Edmund was appointed his attorney<sup>(1)</sup>. Sir Thomas seems to have died there, for in 1482 the lands of the late Thomas Daniel in Ireland were regranted. Since his son and heir Thomas, was certainly alive at this date, the lands must have been granted for life only. Another family connection in the household was Howard's own squire, Thomas Moleyns, whose antecedents are not clear, but who must surely have been related to the first Lady Howard, although not very closely, for the male line of the Moleyns died out in Catherine's lifetime.

It is not easy to assess the exact size of Howard's household at any one time, but it can be done most satisfactorily for November 1465 when the accounts list the people for whom he purchased mourning on the death of his wife<sup>(2)</sup>. Apart from the immediate members of the family, the two Gorges boys and John Wyndham, one hundred and ten people are named. This total, however, includes Master John Cranwyse, the vicar of Stoke-by-Nayland, another priest, Sir Benet, Thomas Payn, named as the farmer of Whersted, and Jodde of Boxted, all of whom were presumably not resident at Tendring. The list also raises an interesting point, for it names only seven women, all noted elsewhere in the accounts and who obviously held responsible positions. Does it therefore only include the names of those who were of some standing in the household and those who wore livery, and exclude all the numerous manual servants, many of whom must have been women? This would then bring the total number of the household closer to two hundred. According to the regulations issued under Edward IV for the conduct of the royal household, which also gives the establishments suitable for other ranks from a duke to an esquire of the body, Howard as a knight might be expected to spend £100 p.a. upon maintaining his household<sup>(3)</sup>. About three-quarters of this sum would be expended on food and wages for his servants, for the number of persons attendant upon a man was the strongest proof of his status. George, duke of Clarence had a household of about three hundred persons and they cost him £4000 a year to maintain, the sum considered proper for a duke, but probably far more than the impoverished John Mowbray could afford<sup>(4)</sup>. If Howard did have a household, exclusive of menial servants, numbering a hundred, it was considerably larger than that of a knight was expected to be, and even before his elevation to the peerage, it

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1. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.110. *Possibly Daniel owed his pardon to Howard's influence.*
  2. H.B.I., p.582-5.
  3. A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester, 1959), p.110.
  4. P.M. Kendall, The Yorkist Age (1962), pp.226-7.

is obvious he was living quite as well and lavishly as many members of its ranks, and probably better than some. For the jousting at Smithfield when he acted as marshall on behalf of Norfolk, he put seventy men into his livery and spent £200 on his duties, a sum supposedly twice the annual expenditure of a knight upon his household<sup>(1)</sup>. These seventy men may not all have been permanent members of his establishment, but given the evidence of the mourning list it seems reasonable to suppose that most of them were.

To analyse the personnel of Howard's retinue is not very easy. Virtually no personal details are given in the accounts, and indeed there is no reason why they should have been, since those keeping the accounts, and Howard who read them, knew all about the people concerned. The officers of the household can be identified fairly satisfactorily for they are often given their titles. John Bliant, the steward, was certainly a man of gentle birth, and was probably a local man ; Simon Bliant of Ryngefield, Suffolk, gentleman, may well have been related, for the name is an unusual one<sup>(2)</sup>. When Howard became duke, Bliant was advanced to the position of comptroller of the household, which could only have been held by a man of standing. The earlier steward was John Braham, who is described as being of Boxted, gentleman. Boxted being a neighbouring village to Stoke-by-Nayland<sup>(3)</sup>. No one person seems to have been responsible for keeping the accounts, John Skinner, Thomas Dalamar, Giles Seynclow and his brother Thomas were all responsible for passages in the same period. Skinner was from Reigate and his career has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>(4)</sup> The Seynclow brothers were the sons of a Lancastrian who was attainted in 1461 and whose manor of Merton Hall in Norfolk was granted to Howard in 1462. Now disinherited, the brothers were forced to take service, and they therefore went to Howard, remaining with him for the rest of his life. Delamar was possibly a connection of Sir Thomas Dalamar who supplied the royal household with all the necessities for its bakery and was subsequently knighted and granted lands in Berkshire<sup>(5)</sup>. It is perhaps significant that he does not occur in the accounts prior to the marriage of Howard and Margaret Chedworth and he may perhaps have come with her from Berkshire. John Davy, whose father rented Howard's manor of Stanstrete Hall, was also presumably of gentle birth, and he was a senior member of the household throughout the period covered by the

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1. H.B.I., pp.170-468.
  2. C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.411.
  3. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.267.
  4. See below, page 89.
  5. C.P.R. 1461-67, pp.263, 553, 435.

accounts<sup>(1)</sup>. Thomas Thorpe, who served as a squire to the Howard boys and remained in Thomas's service when he left home, was the brother of Robert Thorpe, a prominent Norwich citizen who rented Howard's manor of Overburyhall<sup>(2)</sup>. Two knights, Sir John Dew and Sir John Cumberton, seem to have been attached to the household for a specific period of military service when Howard was fighting in the north and in Wales, but he had no one of similar rank in a permanent position, not even apparently after he became duke. When he attained that rank, two new household officials appear in the accounts, John Penley, receiver of all the Norfolk estates, and a secretary, unfortunately not named. Before the latter's arrival Howard had probably used the services of Dalamar or Giles Seynclo, both of whom produced a fine clerkly script, for although Howard drafted his letters in his own hand and frequently made entries in the accounts, his handwriting is appalling and well-nigh illegible. Unfortunately, the only two of his surviving letters, those to John Paston written in 1483 and 1485, are written by the secretary and only the endings, 'Your friend, J. Norfolk', and 'Your lover, J. Norfolk', are in Howard's own hand<sup>(3)</sup>.

The payment of wages to members of the household occurs throughout the accounts, but not in such a way as to enable an accurate assessment of annual expenditure to be made. Howard does not seem to have sat down once a month with all his people lined up in front of him to receive their wages. Instead, payments of odd sums are made at various times, sometimes just to one person, sometimes to half a dozen or so. For instance, on 5 March 1465 the entry occurs 'to Braham on his wages by the hand of my master, 6s. 8d.', and on the next page Richard Waleys received 3s. 4d. in wages<sup>(4)</sup>. It is quite possible that such payments depended on when Howard had spare cash with which to make them. In May 1466 he paid ten of his men at one time, in sums varying from 5s. 0d. to 12s. 0d.<sup>(5)</sup>. As well as may be judged, the majority of the lesser members of the household received 3s. 4d. per month and their seniors twice that sum. The longest and most detailed list occurs for the period 1466-1467 where a number of men have their payments for a whole year noted, and which illustrates quite clearly the irregular way they were paid<sup>(6)</sup>. For instance, Ralph Barleyscoles received 57s. 8d. for the period January to December 1467 and it was made in twelve payments, but the amounts varied from 1s. 0d. to

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1. H.B.I., p.566.
  2. H.B.I., p.465.
  3. B.M. Add. Mss. 43490 f.48.
  4. H.B.I., pp.244, 245.
  5. ibid., p.354.
  6. ibid., pp. 587 following.

10s. Od. Ralph, who ranked below the gentlemen of the household but who was a long standing servant of some position, therefore received approximately £3 a year in wages. As a very rough calculation then, with well over a hundred people to wage in 1467, Howard was spending between £200 and £300 a year on wages alone when the total expenditure on his household was supposed to cost a baron only about £500.

In addition to wages, everyone might expect to receive the gift of a new gown and a pair of shoes each year, or the cash equivalent. On occasion the household acquired a member for whom special conditions were made. In 1467 Howard obtained the services of an 'archer de maison', or an archer of the elite kind that the earl of Warwick once described to Louis XI as worth two ordinary archers, even English ones<sup>(1)</sup>. To persuade this man, Daniel, to enter his employ, Howard contracted to pay him no less a sum than £10 p.a., with two gowns and a house in the village for his wife. As an extra inducement Daniel was given on the spot, two doublets, a gown, boots, two spears, a bow and arrows and a shooting glove, all noted in Howard's own hand. When next in London he bought a bow from the bowyer, Fyshlock, for his own use ; it cost 2s. Od., but two for Daniel cost 10s. 6d.<sup>(2)</sup> Howard was not in danger here of getting his priorities wrong. Of some considerable importance is the fact that Howard rarely, if ever, used any of his influence at court to obtain positions, grants, pensions or any form of gift from the crown, for any of his dependents. His own son, Thomas, and his son-in-law, Edmund Gorges, who was an esquire of the body, are the sole exceptions<sup>(3)</sup>. This is an unusual feature for his time and suggests a strong sense of paternalism. His people were well-paid, well-fed and well-dressed, those related to him were drawn under his wing, and to them all he was a generous master, but he did not expect any of them to ride upon his coat-tails into royal favour. This may in some way help to explain what seems to be a lack of retainers unusual for a man of his standing. Lacking any indentures, such as those of Lord Hastings which have survived, it is difficult to reach any firm conclusion, but it seems that Howard had few if any retainers. It is worth bearing in mind that until 1475 when John Mowbray died, Howard was himself a retainer. He led Norfolk's forces to campaign in the north and at Holt castle in Wales, he deputised for him at the great tournament in 1467, lent the impoverished duke

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1. Kendall, Yorkist Age, p.199.

2. H.B.I., pp.423, 429.

3. See the account of the funeral of Edward IV in Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, ed. J. Gairdner, Rolls series (1861), vol.i, p.8.

considerable sums of money and generally kept a fatherly eye on his young relative. In such a position he was less likely to have any formally bound retainers himself ; the knights John Dew and John Cumberton mentioned above may have been retained by Norfolk rather than Howard. Sir John Lyones of Hadley indented to serve Howard for a year on 11 January 1482 for the sum of 5 marks. He received money in October and November of that year, but seems not to have renewed his indenture, for he is not included in the list of men Howard promised to the crown in February 1484. He had been associated with James Hobart over the sale of the manor of Monk's Ely a few years earlier, and may have formerly been, like Hobart, Norfolk's man<sup>(1)</sup>. In 1483 when he was granted the dukedom, he probably inherited a number of traditional Norfolk supporters, but he held the title for too short a time for any real evidence or pattern to appear. His plea to John Paston to join him before Bosworth, which Paston ignored, may be indicative of a number of other Norfolk men who, whether through dislike of Howard, distaste for the king, or a disinclination to be further involved in political upheavals, declined to give him traditional support.

The only formal indentures relating to Howard that survive are those copied into the accounts dealing with the Scottish expedition. Here is named the only man of rank who may perhaps be classed as a true retainer, and it should not come as a surprise to learn that he was a family connection of Howard's. He was John Brooke, Lord Cobham. Still a minor when he succeeded to the title in 1464, his wardship was granted to Edward Neville, Lord Abergavenny, the husband of Howard's sister, Catherine. In 1472 he was married to their daughter Margaret, Howard's niece. He was probably about the same age as Nicholas Howard with whom he embarked on the Scales expedition of 1468. On the Scottish expedition he was Howard's second-in-command, indenting to serve him on the 'George Cobham' with eighty sailors and the same number of soldiers, a total he later increased to one hundred and fifteen of each category, for a period of fifteen weeks<sup>(2)</sup>. There are several references to him elsewhere in the accounts, usually indicating that he had attended Howard on his visits to London or had sent him venison. In June 1483 when affairs had reached a climax in the capital, Howard despatched one of his men to fetch Cobham from the country, since he obviously felt the need of his support. He also seems to have accompanied the duke on his tours of

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1. H.B.II., pp. 150, 301, 320 ; C.C.R. 1468-1476, p.405.

2. H.B.II., pp. 9, 244.



his new estates later in the summer, and when Buckingham's rebellion broke out in October, Cobham was one of those Howard sent for immediately<sup>(1)</sup>. There is no reason to suppose that men like Roberth Clifford, Avery Cornborough, Edward Brampton and John Williams, for whom there are also indentures of service for Scotland, were anything other than servants of the king, but Sir Harry Wentworth was a Suffolk man, who had rented land from Howard and sold him some in return, and Sir William Pirton had served with him before, so both had closer ties with Howard than just mutual royal service<sup>(2)</sup>.

Having dealt with the people who formed an important part of Howard's life, some mention should be made of the style in which he lived<sup>(3)</sup>. His home, Tendring Hall, had come into his grandmother, Alice Tendring's, family in 1285. Although she was the last of her name and all trace of the medieval building has disappeared, it retains that name today<sup>(4)</sup>. Howard's grandfather, Sir John, took up his residence there in 1398 when he married Alice Tendring and may well, in view of his wealth, have carried out considerable improvements to the manor house. Since it had been held by a small, local family there is no reason to suppose it had more than the respectable minimum of defence works. That the elder Sir John left the house in a good state of repair and probably carried out some rebuilding can be deduced by the fact that he was also responsible for substantially rebuilding the parish church, work he was unlikely to have undertaken while his own house needed improvement. In addition, during the first decade of Edward IV's reign, while his grandson was in the process of becoming a very wealthy man, there is no record of any major work being done on his home. It is even possible that the elder Sir John completely rebuilt it. In 1481, when the second set of accounts being, it is clear that major work was intended, Lord Howard was about to add to his consequence by building a private chapel for his house. In April of that year, he made an agreement with John Perrekyn of Mile End, that the brickmaker should supply him with 80,000 bricks, 'good, lawful bricks in a kiln', and that he should make them at Wivenhoe, his new manor, where presumably there were more facilities than at Stoke<sup>(5)</sup>. The work must have gone on apace, for in February 1482 Howard delivered six 'sommers' of glass to the glazier by the Austin

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1. H.B.II., pp. 398, 423, 471.

2. H.B.I., p. 341.

3. A great many details drawn from Howard's accounts, but with little analysis, are given in P.V.B. Jones, The Household of a Tudor Nobleman (Illinois, 1917).

4. The last house on the site bearing this name, an 18th century building, was recently demolished.

5. H.B.II., p. 57.

Friars' Gate, London, for them to be prepared for the chapel windows. Each somme of glass had twenty-four 'tabuls', half of which were plain glass and half blue, green and purple. For the payment of 2d. per foot of plain glass, the glazier was to find his own lead and arrange for the carriage of the glass to Stoke. Lord Howard generously but cautiously adding in his own hand, 'and the other glass for 10d. per foot, if it be well and surely worked'<sup>(1)</sup>. Even at this stage in his career, very little escaped his own personal attention.

The other building for which Howard was in part responsible, unlike the chapel, still stands. Like most English parish churches, that of St. Mary the Virgin, Stoke-by-Nayland, dates from many periods, but it is substantially an early fifteenth century building for which Howard and his grandfather must take the credit. When his grandmother's mother, Katherine Tendring made her will in 1403, she bequeathed £10 towards the repair of the church. The building then must have been in a poor state, and her son-in-law went on to rebuild the greater part of it upon the old foundations, incorporating those parts which were in good repair. After his death in 1437, Howard continued the work, adding the most distinctive feature, the great tower, 120 feet high and a landmark for miles around. On the tower and on the new front which he had decorated with the badge of Edward IV, Howard had a coat of arms engraved. The arms have caused concern ever since, for they consist of Howard impaling Tendring, presumed to be the arms borne by the elder Sir John after his second marriage to Alice Tendring. It is considered a self-effacing gesture by Howard to have raised his grandfather's arms on the portion of the church that he himself had built<sup>(2)</sup>. In the stained glass window erected in the Tendring Hall chapel, presumably after his death, Howard's own portrait carries the arms of Howard quartering Tendring<sup>(3)</sup>.

To house between a hundred and a hundred and fifty people, Tendring Hall cannot have been small, but the accounts give few clues as to its size and layout. One such lies in the entry referring to the glass put into the window of the young Lady Berners' chamber in May 1482. The local glazier, Robert Lawson, was called in to do it and it took him nine days to complete the job, suggesting that both the chamber and the window were of a fair size. Nor was it only the major rooms of the house that had glass, for as early as 1465 Lawson supplied nine feet of glass for a new closet ; closet in this context presumably

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1. H.B.II., p. 157.

2. F. Engleheart, The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Stoke-by-Nayland (1963) pp. 17-19.

3. J. Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments, p.775.

meaning a small room rather than a cupboard<sup>(1)</sup>. Glass windows at this period were still a luxury, but not an exclusive one. Another type of fitment Howard installed were chimney pieces ; he bought two in London during a visit and had them carefully shipped by water to Stoke, where they were probably installed in the family's private apartments rather than in the hall or communal quarters<sup>(2)</sup>. Other means of reducing discomfort from damp and draughts were practised in the custom of hanging tapestries on the walls. The best hangings were imported from Flanders and northern France, the very finest coming from the region of Arras. Since Howard was a wealthy man and his ships travelled regularly to Calais, it is hardly surprising that his home had plenty of real arras on the walls. When he married Margaret Chedworth, several pieces are listed among his gifts to her. Unfortunately none of the references make any mention of the subject of the embroideries, whether religious, mythological or classical, which might give some clue to Howard's taste. The sole exceptions to this are the hangings he bought in August 1483 which had lions, the Norfolk crest, on them, and in the following October arras telling the story of 'Gressel', that is, Patient Griselda, and obviously intended for a lady's room, perhaps Lady Berners'<sup>(3)</sup>. Arras was not, of course, the only type of hanging he purchased and would almost certainly have been reserved for the family's own apartments. Apart from beds, included in the list of presents to Margaret and elsewhere, and cushions, no furniture is mentioned in the accounts, but the equipment which Howard took with him on his naval expedition to Scotland give an indication of the things he considered indispensable to his comfort and these form a very impressive list<sup>(4)</sup>. They include carpets, curtains, sheets, towels, napkins, tablecloths, pillows and quilts of down, and featherbeds. Nearly all the bowls and basins he took with him were of silver, but the most interesting item of the list is a 'case with four goblets'. The inescapable conclusion is that these must be glasses so to require a case. Glass-ware at this time fell into two categories, that made in England which was thick, greenish and known as forest glass, and the fine crystal manufactured in Italy, the products of which were still very rare in England and extremely expensive. Well into the sixteenth century one crystal glass was considered a fitting gift to Henry VIII from a foreign ambassador. That Howard possessed four glasses he was prepared to risk on

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1. H.B.II., p.188 ; H.B.I., p.511.

2. H.B.II., p.285.

3. ibid., pp. 421, 467.

4. ibid., p. 275.

board ship, even when he had the position of Admiral to maintain, illustrates as little else could do not only his wealth but his taste. Nor are these the only glasses he owned, for in 1482 he went to Colchester especially for a 'great glass', which was delivered to him a week later<sup>(1)</sup>.

A parallel case to that of taking valuable glasses on a naval expedition, is the library of books Howard took with him. There were no less than twelve, which surely can only have been a small proportion of those he owned, since he was unlikely to risk the whole collection in such a way. The selection of titles is illuminating. None were devotional and most were light romances or stories of heroes and battles, including one on Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and two on the Trojan war. Two were treatises on chess and dice and also included was the ever popular 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci'. None of the books were in Latin but all in French, and indeed form just the sort of collection a soldier of cultivated but unscholarly mind might take with him for relaxation. Whether they were manuscript or printed copies is impossible to tell, at least five had been printed by 1481, either in England or abroad, and as an indication that Howard's taste was very much that of his fellows, most of the others were printed in the following few decades<sup>(2)</sup>. Two of them, 'les Dites des Sages' and one on Troy, Caxton chose to print in English.

The list of clothes he took to Scotland is also the best indication of his way of dress that survives. Rich, of course, because he himself was rich, not sober, as might be assumed more fitting for an elderly man, but gay, as if he took a delight in being fine. He had with him two long gowns, one black satin, lined with purple velvet, the other russet, furred with leopard skin, two doublets of crimson satin, one of 'popegay' colour (i.e. popinjay, usually used to describe a kind of turquoise), a short mantle of blue velvet, a short gown of tawny velvet, and in case he had to impress the Scots, a jacket of cloth of gold. Minor things like seven pairs of hose, two pairs of slippers and three other pairs of shoes are listed, but unfortunately no mention is made of linen. Howard patronised a great number of drapers, never appearing to bestow his patronage in any one shop at a time. Most cloth for his own use or for that of members of the family came from Lornbn, the biggest single expenditure being for the tournament of 1467, from which a Lombard merchant named Humphrey Gentile benefitted to the sum of £96 8s. 4d., so large that even Howard had to pay it in instalments<sup>(3)</sup>. On this occasion the cloth was mainly

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1. H.B.II., p.326.

2. ibid., p. xxvii

3. H.B.I., pp. 413, 534.

satin, velvet and damask, but cloth for the household, worsted or Kendall cloth in the Howard colours of red and blue, was usually purchased locally<sup>(1)</sup>.

The provision of food for any household the size of that at Tendring Hall was a major task. Howard went some way towards dealing with it by retaining in his hands the estates in and around Stoke-by-Nayland. These could provide the bulk of the produce the household needed, and the long series of entries in the accounts, most in Howard's own handwriting, relating to the care with which his ponds were broken and restocked, testify to the importance he attached to good husbandry. The home estates could not hope to provide all the meat required by the household and Wolpett Fair seems to have supplied most of the extra stock. Each autumn and spring saw the main purchases of livestock but throughout the rest of the year there was constant trade with local butchers, particularly for things like pigs, geese and pigeons rather than beef and mutton<sup>(2)</sup>. Purchases were obviously heavier when the household was away from Stoke, at Wivenhoe or Stepney. As with meat, much of the corn supply came from the estates. In addition to what was grown on the demesne, Howard came to various arrangements with his tenants, for instance, his farmer of Merton Hall in Norfolk, besides his cash rent, was also liable for a corn rent of sixty semes (quarters) of barley, and in another case, he purchased from Sir Pers, the chaplain of his private chapel, who held the living of Polsted, all his tithe corn for the sum of £10 a year<sup>(3)</sup>. At Stoke obviously the household made its own bread, but in London it made use of the local baker, John Melton, to such an extent that in September 1483 he received payment of £20<sup>(4)</sup>. The same pattern is true for beer, the third staple of the medieval diet, judging by the delivery of 221 lbs of hops at Stoke, brewing was practised there as in any contemporary house of its size. Nor was beer the only beverage drunk for with his shipping interests Howard had no difficulty in maintaining a supply of good quality wine. On one occasion a ship belonging to Richard Felaw, his Ipswich agent, came in with a cargoe of wine and Howard arranged for a pipe of white wine and a pipe and two 'tercyans' of red French wine to be sent to his manor of Winch, miles away near Lynn in Norfolk, and a similar amount to Stoke<sup>(5)</sup>. In September 1483 he was licensed to import a hundred tuns of wine free of duty and his secretary paid 4s. Od. for the sealing

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1. H.B.II., pp. 219, 293.

2. For details of stock bought see Chapter 2, pages.34-35.

3. H.B.II., p.208.

4. ibid., p. 441.

5. H.B.I., p. 274 ; a tierce was one third of a pipe and a pipe generally held 105 gallons. O.E.D.

and enrolling of the licence. It did not specify that the wine had to be for his own consumption and he was free to sell any surplus if he wished<sup>(1)</sup>.

Although the estates supplied most of the staple food required, any luxuries had to be purchased. Many of these were spices and dried fruits sent from London to Suffolk : dates and raisins and ginger bought from William Clerke of Gracechurch Street, pepper, cloves, lemons, mace, almonds, rice, cinnamon, currants, figs, sugar, capiscums, and olive oil show what a range of goods from overseas was available to the Englishman who could afford them<sup>(2)</sup>. Sometimes the purchases were so exotic that whoever was keeping the accounts could find no name for them and in one case noted that 10s. Od., had been paid for 'a sort of fruit', and the cost alone indicates its rarity value. An entry a little earlier is for something described as '16 pongarnettes', which are surely pomegranates<sup>(3)</sup>. Howard also seems to have been partial to fish he could not stock in his ponds at home. He often bought Colchester oysters, in 1466 'forty great eels', and for his wedding breakfast 'four pike'<sup>(4)</sup>.

Having detailed the lavish spending Howard made for his own comfort, his appearance and his stomach, it is only fitting here to note that he was a generous man to others less fortunate. Whenever he travelled, he would open his purse to those who were in need. His workmen and ships' crews were often given a little extra on top of their wages for drink, and any messenger or one who did him service was sure to go away richer than when he arrived. Whenever he was a guest at someone else's house, at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, or at Wivenhoe with Oxford, the cooks, the porters, the chamber servants were never forgotten<sup>(5)</sup>. Henry Elyse, a gentleman who had turned hermit, was a favourite recipient of alms, not just small sums, but as much as 6s. 8d. at a time<sup>(6)</sup>. Often when Howard went to Colchester, the friars received generous alms, and so did any churchman with whom he in came into contact, but the most interesting cases are those he gave to on the spur of the moment, often borrowing from one of his men to do so because he had no cash on him.

'My lord paid to Robert Clerke for alms he laid out at Colchester's town end, 2d. and to the lazars, 6d.', 'memorandum that my lord borrowed 3s. 4d. from Braham at Colchester to give to a man that was in debate with Thorpe's man' (what was it in the debate that so caught his attention?), 'for burying a poor woman, 8d', 'to a poor man that had his house burnt, 2s.', 'to the young man of the stable that is sick, 4d.'<sup>(7)</sup>.

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1. H.B.II., p. 465.
  2. ibid., pp. 42, 338, 352.
  3. H.B.I., pp. 386, 330.
  4. ibid., pp. 330, 388.
  5. ibid., p. 509 ; H.B.II., pp. 105-6.
  6. ibid., pp. 169, 367, 432.
  7. ibid., pp. 432, 364, 175, etc.

Nor was his charity entirely at random. He supported several local boys at Cambridge, either wholly or in part, with some contribution from their families. John Bradfield the younger contributed 13s. 4d. each half year towards his young brother's schooling, but there is no record of any repayment for the 26s. 8d. Howard paid to Master Archer, master of art at Sudbury, for a boy called Richard Beryffe who was at Cambridge<sup>(1)</sup>. Although not a scholar himself, Howard seems to have been genuinely interested in learning and had he lived to see it he would surely have been proud of young Lord Berners, noted for his translation of Froissart, one of the books printed by Caxton.

Whether or not Howard played an instrument himself, he seems to have been fond of music in all forms. He employed trained children to sing in his chapel and sought out copies of anthems and pricked song books for them, and his chapel had an organ installed as soon as it was built<sup>(2)</sup>. As early as 1465 the household had its own harper, a musician named Thomas. Nor was Howard averse to talent spotting, for in October 1482 :

'my lord made covenant with William Wastell of London, harper, that he shall have the son of John Colet of Colchester for a year to teach him to sing and harp for which teaching my lord shall give him 13s. 4d. and a gown and he took him in earnest 6s. 8d. and at the end of the year he shall have the remnant and the gown' (3).

By 1482 Howard may have had his own minstrels, since an item in the accounts gives the cost of mending a lute for them, but it might possibly have been just a visiting troupe. The duchess of Norfolk's minstrels visited Tendring Hall in 1481, receiving 3s. 4d. for their pains and in the August of that year the martial music of the duke of Gloucester's trumpeters had stirred him to give them 5s<sup>(4)</sup>. Musicians were not the only performers who thought it worthwhile to visit Stoke-by-Nayland, and on a number of occasions the household welcomed strolling players. At Christmas 1481 it was a group from Coggeshall and a few days later one from Hadleigh. There seems to have been an abundance of plays at this particular festive season, for a few days after the village players came the earl of Essex's troupe of players. This is the first known troupe under the patronage of a noble man and gives Essex some distinction, but Gloucester had a similar band who played at Stoke the following Christmas<sup>(5)</sup>. In between such visits the household amused itself

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1. H.B.I., pp. 214, 379, 338.

2. ibid., pp. 286, 158, 161, 149, 465, 163, 170, 114, 145.

3. H.B.II., p. 300.

4. ibid., pp. 145, 116.

5. ibid., pp. 146, 149, 336.

with the antics of its own two fools, Tom and Richard, the latter known as the fool of the kitchen. They also appear to be indicative of the increasing affluence of Howard, for neither occur in the first set of accounts. Even when players came at Christmas, the household provided its own Twelfth Night disguisings, and in 1482 Howard paid a large bill to Gerard of Sudbury for stuff that was required for costumes and which included more than four dozen sheets of gold and silver paper, two dozen sheets of gold foil, twelve quires of ordinary paper, nearly three pounds of something called 'arsowde' and a pound of glue, a pack of thread and the unlikely item of a pound of gunpowder<sup>(1)</sup>.

For the rest of the year leisure time was whiled away with cards and chess as well as books and music. A bag of chessmen was part of the indispensable equipment Howard took with him to Scotland and on another occasion he paid a 'limmer' 20d. for painting two chessboards<sup>(2)</sup>. Card games were a relatively new pastime in England, but had become an extremely popular form of gambling. While campaigning at Holt castle, long winter evenings meant considerable sums of money changed hands. One such night the duke of Norfolk's steward had to lend Howard four marks to pay his own debts and 13s. 4d. to pay the duke's, receiving his money back in instalments over the next ten days, presumably when Howard's luck had changed<sup>(3)</sup>. The older game of 'tables' or backgammon remained popular, but Howard seemed no luckier at that than cards, since he once lost the large sum of 28s. 4d. at it. The accounts may, however, cast an unfavourable light on both his luck and skill, since they probably record only money lost or lent and not that won. On another occasion, Howard acted as banker when Lady Scales found herself embarrassed to the tune of 8s. 3d.<sup>(4)</sup>. His other pastimes were rather more strenuous. Both hunting and archery he indulged in whenever possible. Hunting usually meant a few days from home, either at Castle Rising when his brother-in-law, Thomas Daniel still held it, or with the earl of Oxford at Wivenhoe or Lavenham<sup>(5)</sup>. There are fewer references to hawking, but payments for a hawk's bag and bells indicate that he did own birds. Archery was another temptation to wager; at the Holt he lost 7d. in a match, but in London in 1466 he was prepared to bet 10s. on a match between himself and Sir Harry Waffers and he gave the latter's wife the money to hold until the contest was over<sup>(6)</sup>. When in London he was

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1. H.B.II., p. 339.

2. ibid., p. 275.

3. H.B.I., p. 234.

4. ibid., p. 430 ; H.B.II., p. 158.

5. H.B.I., pp. 277, 300 ; H.B.II., p. 104.

6. H.B.I., p. 368.



able to play tennis and once lost 3s. 4d. to Sir Robert Chamberlain. 'Pykynges' or bowls was yet another chance to wager on a test of skill, and on one occasion he lost 4d. to Lord Stafford<sup>(1)</sup>. By and large Howard played games of skill away from home, they were amusements to be found in London or on campaign. Hunting and music, reading and chess were the more domestic pleasures to be had at Tendring Hall.

If only some of Howard's more personal letters had survived as well as the drafts of business letters in the accounts, it might have been possible to compile a more complete picture of the man. Yet even from the indirect evidence of his financial memoranda, something emerges. The direct and rather bullying nature sometimes shown in his business tactics is not to be found in his personal relations, there he was an exacting but generous master, a more than generous husband and a fond father, in short, a paternal figure whose influence extended over more than a hundred people. In his private life he seems to have been very much a man of his age, active well into old age, competitive and prepared to back his own abilities in hard cash, indeed, highly self-confident. He was intensely fond of music in any form, and while not a scholar in the sense of a Worcester or a Scales, yet by being cultivated in a European manner and valuing learning in others, he was far more typical of his class and time than they.

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1. H.B.I., pp. 252, 250.

## CHAPTER 5

### MILITARY SERVICE

None of the strictly contemporary sources makes any comment upon John Howard's abilities as a soldier and there is no reason why they should, for he was only one of a number of successful Yorkist captains. The sixteenth century historians, however, beginning with Polydore Vergil, who must have known many men, including Thomas Howard, able to judge Howard's capabilities, found him worthy of comment. Vergil describes him as 'a man very politic and skilful' and he is echoed by later historians who used him as a source. Crafton, for instance, describes Howard at the time of his elevation as 'a man of great knowledge and virtue as well in council as in battle', a judgement almost identical with that of Vergil<sup>(2)</sup>. There seems, therefore, some consensus of later opinion that Howard was an able soldier and commander in the field, probably based on contemporary views. The evidence available now on which to base an appraisal is scanty. There are three occasions; all in the last five years of his life, when he was in command and the results of the action may be used to assess his abilities as a general. All the battles of the civil war were fought on foot and the risk to the well-born was almost, if not quite, equal to that to the common soldier, as witness the lists of peers whose deaths are chronicled after contemporary accounts of each battle. To be a fifteenth century commander, therefore, needed a degree of direct expertise with weapons and personal courage not necessarily essential in later periods when commanders directed from the rear.

Howard's training in the use of arms would have begun when he was a small boy, as for any son of gentle birth and aristocratic connections. At what period he entered the service of his cousin, John Howard, the

1. Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, ed. E. Ellis, Camden Society (1846), p. 167.
2. Richard Crafton, History of England, (1809), vol. II, p. 113.

## CHAPTER 6

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1. Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, ed. H. Ellis, Camden Society (1844), p.187.
  2. Richard Grafton, History of England, (1809), vol.ii, p.113.

third duke of Norfolk, as it is presumed he did, is unknown. It may be that he saw service in 1437 when Norfolk was made warden of the east march and captain of Berwick, but the first campaign on which there is any real suggestion that Howard served, was that in Guienne in 1453. Like many campaigns in which the English were defeated, no mention of it is made in contemporary English chronicles<sup>(1)</sup>. The warrants and indentures for the leaders of the relief expedition under Lord Lisle, which went out to Bordeaux in March 1453 to support his father, the formidable earl of Shrewsbury, do not include Howard, who was at best a very junior captain, but the Tudor historians mention his presence<sup>(2)</sup>. This is perfectly explicable since they were aware of Howard's later importance and hence the significance of his early career. Whether they had documentary evidence or based what they wrote on information from his family, is a matter for conjecture.

It is quite probable that Howard went out to Guienne in the company of Robert Hungerford, lord Moleyns (who was married to his wife's niece and held his peerage in her right), as part of the force of sixty men at arms and six hundred archers the latter indented to take<sup>(3)</sup>. There was nothing to prevent a retainer of one lord serving with another for a specific purpose, especially if it was abroad and his own lord's interests were not involved. Howard's decision to go on this expedition is an interesting one; he was no longer a very young man thirsting for glory, but was over thirty, with a wife and young family to support, so it may be presumed that he went because he either needed any prize money he might win (and his later commercial career suggests that he would never have made such a highly doubtful gamble) or was a genuinely keen soldier who as yet had had no real opportunity to see active service. With Howard on this expedition went two of his cousins, James and Thomas Berkeley.

If this was indeed Howard's first step in a military career, it was hardly an auspicious one. The campaign reached its climax at the battle of Castillon on 17 July 1453, the last in the century-long struggle between England and France. In it Shrewsbury, the greatest English military commander of his day, was killed, so too, were his son Lisle and James Berkeley.

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1. 'Annales rerum Anglicarum', in The Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI, ed. J. Stevenson, vol.ii (1864), p.771.
  2. ibid., p.479; c.f. E. Hall, Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York, (1809), p.228
  3. Stevenson, op.cit., p.228

The shattered English force fell back on Bordeaux and from there Howard and his companions made their way home. Guienne, English for three hundred years, became part of the realm of France again<sup>(1)</sup>. Castillon was therefore, a battle with a claim to European significance, but for Howard it was, rather, an aberration, for he never fought again outside the British Isles. Two years later the first battle of St. Albans marked the final breakdown of relations between Henry VI and certain of his peers, and their resort to arms. How directly involved in this armed struggle for the control of government Howard became, is impossible to judge, but if he fought in any of the earlier battles of the civil war, it was as a member of Norfolk's force rather than on his own account.

It is clear that although he was a committed supporter of his lord, Howard steered clear of the gang-warfare inflicted upon East Anglia by certain followers of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The fact that he was regarded as a moderate man is illustrated by his appointment to two Lancastrian commissions prior to the accession of Edward IV<sup>(2)</sup>. Whether this moderation led to a disinclination to take up arms is doubtful for by all the rules of fifteenth century relations between lord and retainer, if Norfolk raised a force, then Howard would have been part of it. However, the first positive evidence that exists of Howard bearing arms for the house of York comes immediately after Edward IV's seizure of the throne. The new king set out in pursuit of the Lancastrian army which was retreating northwards, having previously sent out his chief supporters, including Norfolk, to raise men. As he moved slowly north with his army, Edward was met en route by John Howard, presumably bringing with him some of Norfolk's East Anglian levies, but also carrying a welcome loan of £100 from the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds<sup>(3)</sup>. Although he had acted on behalf of a number of lesser religious houses in the area, it does not appear that Howard had any connections with this, the greatest foundation in eastern England, and the abbot presumably chose him as a safe messenger for his gold. On Palm Sunday, 29 March 1461, the two armies met at Towton, near Pontefract, in one of the bloodiest battles ever fought on English soil, and in some of the worst conditions, for a snowstorm, luckily for Edward, was blowing in the faces of his enemies. Norfolk's force formed the rear-

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1. See M.G.A. Vale, 'The last years of English Gascony, 1451-1453', T.R.H.S., 5th series, xix, (1969), p.119-138, for the background to this campaign.
  2. C.P.R. 1452-1461, pp.656, 659
  3. P.R.O. Warrants for Issues, E404/72/1/80

guard and did not arrive until late in the day, preventing a stalemate by forcing the tired Lancastrians to flee<sup>(1)</sup>. In its way, Towton was as significant as Castillon, for it established the house of York upon the throne of England. Edward proved to be a grateful and generous king, and Howard, as a senior captain of one of his most powerful supporters, received a knighthood as a reward for his military services.

Edward remained in the north for some time, first at York and then at Durham and Newcastle, meeting as many people as possible in the hope that he could win them to him, for it was in the north that the key to the safety of his throne lay. He did not return to his capital until mid-June, but Howard returned home with Norfolk's soldiers and then set out north again with a further loan of 100 marks from Bury St. Edmunds to the king<sup>(2)</sup>. That he remained with the king for at least a month on this occasion is testified by Thomas Denys of Norfolk<sup>(3)</sup>. In the following few years Edward spent a considerable amount of his time in the north where Lancastrian activity caused Edward almost constant anxiety. In the year following Towton, Margaret and Henry had not been idle and by handing Berwick over to the Scottish crown, had acquired a Scots army. Once or twice, Edward started north himself, but never got very far and by and large he was content to leave the pacification of the north in the capable hands of his cousins, the earl of Warwick and lord Montagu. The struggle revolved round the three great Northumbrian castles of Alnwick, Bamborough and Dunstanburgh, which the Lancastrians still held. In July 1462, Howard was sent, together with lord Hastings and Sir Ralph Grey, to lay siege to Alnwick, which was held by Sir William Tailboys. There is little information on this campaign, which lasted only until the end of July, when Tailboys surrendered on promise of his life, and the castle was entrusted to the keeping of Sir Ralph Grey. Hardly had the business been completed when Howard was summoned south to join a fleet which Edward had hastily got together to prevent Margaret crossing with a French army to Scotland, and counter-attack Louis XI by raiding the French coast. Rumours of this fleet were circulating in France as early as the end of July and some commissions had gone out to English captains to gather men for the fleet on 16 June. Out of the ten ships requisitioned for it, four at least belonged to Warwick, but two, the 'Christopher' and the 'George', were possibly Howard's<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. Hall, *op.cit.*, says that Norfolk's delay was due to ill-health and he may well have been right, for Norfolk had only a few more months to live.
  2. P.R.O. Warrants for Issues, E404/72/1/80
  3. See below Chapter 4, page 77
  4. *C.P.R. 1461-1467*, p.204; for Howard's commission in May 1462 to take ships for a royal fleet, see Chapter 3, page 47

The fleet assembled at Sandwich under the command of Warwick's uncle, the earl of Kent, who had been appointed Admiral, with lords Clinton and Say and Sir John Howard under him. Because of fears for Calais' safety, the fleet hung around for some weeks before it raided the French coast as Louis had feared it would. The town of Le Coquet on the Breton coast was pillaged and burned as a warning to Duke Francis of Brittany who had previously given Margaret some aid, and then the fleet moved on to Louis' own territories, first attacking the Île Dieu where little damage was done, and then pillaging the Île de Rhé. The ships took no prizes, but they had served their purpose, for Francis gave the Lancastrians no more aid, and Louis began to see that by succouring them he might not so much stir up renewed civil war in England as reopen the old Anglo-French wars, which was the last thing he wanted.

When Margaret eventually sailed from France in early November, she had only a small force of Frenchmen with her under her old friend, Piers de Brézé, Seneschal of Normandy. Landing in Northumberland, they captured Alnwick, so that once again all three great castles were in their hands. By the end of November all three castles were besieged by the royal army, which daily expected a Scots army to fall upon it from the rear<sup>(1)</sup>. At Alnwick, Warwick's uncle, the earl of Kent, and lord Scales were conducting the siege, at Bamborough, his brother Montagu and lord Ogle, and at Dunstanburgh, the earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey, while Warwick himself set up his headquarters at Warkworth Castle, three miles from Alnwick and rode daily to oversee each of the sieges. At this period there are only brief glimpses of Howard, but occasionally it is possible to read between the lines. The young duke of Norfolk was at Newcastle with orders from the king to supply all the ordnance and victuals Warwick might require. The East Anglian force with the duke included Howard, Sir William Peche, Sir Robert Chamberlain, Ralph Assheton and John Paston the youngest, from whose long letter home on 11 December is derived this information<sup>(2)</sup>. According to Paston, Norfolk ordered Howard and his companions to convey the food and ammunition to Warkworth, but since the duke was only nineteen and without experience of warfare, it seems reasonable to suppose that he was under some kind of tutelage from his council, and the odds are that Howard himself was conducting the supply train.

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1. Chronicles of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (1905), pp.177-8

2. Paston Letters, vol.iv, pp.59-61

Bamborough and Dunstanburgh surrendered just after Christmas and all the force of the royal army was turned on Alnwick. For Howard, there must have been some irony in the fact that the leader of the besieged Lancastrians was Robert Hungerford, lord Moleyns, under whom he had served on the ill-fated Gascon campaign. However, as a man accustomed to the idea of his cousin Oxford and his brother-in-law Thomas Daniel fighting on the opposing side, it was doubtless an irony he was able to shrug off. With the fall of Alnwick, all England and Wales, with the sole exception of Harlech castle, was in Edward's hands that winter<sup>(1)</sup>.

By the summer, treachery had restored all three castles to Lancastrian hands, and the work of reducing them was all to do again, but this time Howard was not involved. August 1463 saw him in charge of fitting out a fleet to protect the coasts and prevent aid from the continent reaching the Lancastrians. There appears to be no surviving record of his commission, but his accounts note the payment of 'prest' money to Richard Outlaw, master of the 'Mary Talbot' of Lynn, for a hundred men pressed into royal service, and his Ipswich agent Richard Felaw received more than £50 in various payments during August to purchase corn, saltfish, beer and other essential supplies for this and other ships in the fleet<sup>(2)</sup>. The only ship that seems to have belonged to Howard himself in this fleet was the 'George', whose master, Richard Barre, was among those commissioned in July to take mariners for a fleet to resist the king's enemies<sup>(3)</sup>. The ships do not seem to have been gathered in a hurry. Bamborough and Dunstanburgh fell in March and this immediately set off fears of an invasion from the direction of France, as is clear from Howard's appointment on 22 March to a commission of array for Essex to guard Harwich and Dovercourt against any invasion<sup>(4)</sup>. Yet ships and seamen were not raised until July and Felaw was still receiving money from Howard at the end of August, though this was almost certainly after the fleet had sailed.

Howard was not on the coast of Suffolk supervising the fitting out of the fleet continuously through the summer, for he was also making preparations for a new campaign on land. On 18 August he travelled to London and received from the armoury of the Tower, bows, arrows and gunpowder, delivered to him by the earl of Worcester, who was constable of the Tower

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1. John Warkworth, A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, pp.2-3
  2. H.B.I., pp.188 following.
  3. CPR 1461-1467, p.302
  4. ibid., p.277



as well as of the country<sup>(1)</sup>. He returned home a few days later and preparations continued at Stoke. The Ipswich armourer and his men spent a week there and at the beginning of October, Howard engaged a gunner, who was to be paid one shilling a week as well as his board and lodging<sup>(2)</sup>. This seems to have been another campaign of which Norfolk was to be the titular head, but of which most of the organisation, and probably also the military direction, fell upon Howard. On this occasion the campaign was not centered on Northumberland but on Norfolk's castle of the Holt in Denbighshire. Here in Wales there had been several sporadic disturbances, but none serious enough to warrant a royal army. Yet Edward desired to show the Yorkist flag with some degree of force behind it. The young duke's father had made Howard constable of the Holt and therefore his direction of the expedition was natural enough<sup>(3)</sup>. Whether or not Norfolk visited the king at York on his way to Denbighshire, Howard certainly did, a circumstance which points to his being the de facto leader of the operation. Travelling by way of Lincoln, Doncaster and Pontefract, he was with the king by 17 October, staying at York to receive orders for four days and reaching Holt castle on 26 October. The speed at which he travelled indicates only a small body of men, well-mounted, and it seems likely that he made the long detour to York while the duke conducted the main force to Wales directly<sup>(4)</sup>.

The youngest Paston, as a member of Norfolk's household, wrote a letter home from the Holt in the following March, setting out very clearly the object of their winter's campaign:

My lord hath great labour and cost here in Wales for to take divers gentlemen here which were consenting and helping unto the Duke of Somerset's going, and they were appealed of other certain points of treason and this matter (5). And because the King sent my lord word to keep this country, is cause that my lord tarrieth here thus long. And now the King hath given my lord power whether he will do execution upon these gentlemen or pardon them, whether that him list, and as far forth as I can understand yet, they shall have grace. And as soon as these men be come in, my lord is purposed to come to London, which I suppose will be within

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1. H.B.I., p.218

2. ibid., p.219, 225

3. ibid., p.155; Arundel MS G1/3, the valor of 1463-4, his fee was £20 p.a.

4. H.B.I. pp.226 following.

5. When the Northumbrian castles fell, Somerset had been pardoned and shown great favour by Edward, but then reverted to his old allegiance.

this fortnight. The men's names that be impeached be these: John Hamner, and William his son, Roger Puleston and Edward of Madoc.

The commons in Lancashire and Cheshire were up, to the number of 10,000 or more, but now they be down again, and one or two of them was headed in Chester as Saturday last past (1).

From the defensive position in Holt castle the Yorkists made numerous sallies into the surrounding disaffected countryside during the winter months. These began almost as soon as their forces arrived, since on the Thursday following his own arrival, Howard paid for the dinner of all his lord's men at Wrexham in Denbighshire<sup>(2)</sup>. Later he claimed allowance from Norfolk's treasurer for himself and sixteen mounted men who were away from the castle for twelve days on what was surely a scouting expedition; he was paid at a rate of eight pence per man and horse per day, a sum totalling, by his own calculation, nine marks and eight shillings. For one of his men who was away on a lone scouting journey for twelve days, he also received eight shillings<sup>(3)</sup>.

The composition of the force at the Holt is somewhat in doubt. Following entries in his accounts for August 1463 and in Howard's own hand is a list of names headed 'Item, to ride with me to Wa...'. The twenty-one men named were presumably the members of his household he took to Wales. The list begins with Sir John Cumberton and his man, and Thomas Moleyns, Howard's own esquire; it includes men who were later to be prominent members of the household like John Davy, Thomas Thorpe and Giles Seynclo<sup>(4)</sup>. Much further on in the accounts is an apparent continuation of a list of retainers and although in form it is closer to the list of men he took north in May 1464, it is dated August and refers to Chester<sup>(5)</sup>. It seems reasonable to suppose that it does refer to the Holt expedition and that it names men who joined independently, but it does include some of those named in the first list. It is headed by Sir William Per<sup>b</sup>son and Sir William Warner and numbers nearly one hundred men. All the men in this list seem to have been issued with pieces of equipment and their wages were paid by Howard, who was later reimbursed. The amounts and dates of payment are added under most of the men's names. They did not receive their wages regularly, nor were they all paid at one time. For instance, Robert Clarke, one of

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1. Paston Letters, vol. iv p.95-6
  2. H.B.I., p.155
  3. ibid., p.155
  4. H.B.I., p.188
  5. ibid., p.439-441

Howard's own men, received 3s. 4d. in September and a similar sum in October, while his colleague, Robert Coke, was paid 20d. in November, 4s. on Christmas Eve and 8d. on 12 January<sup>(1)</sup>. This seems to emphasise the particularly personal relationship each man had with his lord, the former receiving as much or as little as the lord had about him when he needed it; not for them the mass line-up once a week when every man had the same amount issued to him. Many of the men also have their home village noted, and as might have been expected, they were mainly local, though some came from as far afield as Colchester or Ipswich.

What seems to have been the major attempt to capture Hamner and his associates began on 5 January, when Howard left the castle at midnight, taking with him Sir John Bromley as his lieutenant, and twelve hundred men. If the delivery of twelve pounds of gunpowder two days earlier from Chester is of any significance, then they had some light guns with them<sup>(2)</sup>. The force was away some days and ranged as far as Whitchurch in Shropshire, but whether it was on this trip or a subsequent one, that Hamner was taken is not clear. Paston's letter was written nearly two months later, when their fate was about to be decided, but it is possible that this length of time would have elapsed before they could have been brought back to the castle, the king informed and his decision to leave their judgement in Norfolk's hands made known at the Holt. Whether they were taken in January or later, however, Howard was ultimately successful in the campaign and it is not unlikely that the decision to give the rebels grace which Paston reports, was at least to some extent his doing. There is little evidence that he was ever a severe or unjust man in his personal relations, though he could appear so in commercial matters, and during his sojourn at the Holt, he was particularly reminded of how a man's fortunes might suddenly be reversed. Paston says in his letter that Howard received three or four letters from Thomas Daniel in Cheshire. His brother-in-law, as one of the duke of Suffolk's men, had once been one of the most powerful men in East Anglia, attainted after Towton, he had been in hiding in Cheshire, his native county, and it does not need any great stretch of the imagination to link his presence there with Paston's report that the commons had risen. What the purpose of his letters to Howard was, Paston does not divulge, nor does he say, even if he had known, whether Howard answered them. Certainly he did not persuade Daniel to come to terms, for later in the

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1. *ibid.* p.439-441

2. *ibid.*, p.160; artillery was no longer used solely in sieges, as is illustrated in the accounts of the battle of Barnet.

year that determined rebel was with the Lancastrians in their last stand at Harlech castle<sup>(1)</sup>. It may be that he had no intention of surrendering himself and merely wished for news of his wife and sons, or perhaps financial help from Howard.

While at the Holt, Howard perpetrated one of his more inexplicable actions. His accounts state that he purchased from Robert Bernard the reversion of the constablership of Bamborough castle after the death of Robert Langton, paying for it the sum of £20 and his bay courser, which he reckoned to be worth £8. He had no apparent reason for acquiring this post, for although the castle was of great strategic importance and to be its constable would add to his consequence and enable him to prove his loyalty to the crown in another field, he never at any other time indicated a desire to extend his influence outside East Anglia. He certainly never acted as constable, indeed, the following year the king granted the office to Sir Robert Ogle<sup>(2)</sup>. A possible explanation is that Bernard was being forced to settle gambling debts by selling off his assets. Howard himself makes a rueful entry in the accounts that he had borrowed four marks off the steward at cards, which he had to repay in two instalments<sup>(3)</sup>.

The last of the series of campaigns against the Lancastrians active in the north, was planned for the following summer of 1464. It was preceded by diplomatic activity and by mid April, ambassadors from Scotland arrived at York to negotiate a peace. Edward himself left London for the north on April 28, waiting at Leicester for ten days so that his forces from various parts of the country might join him. Howard, leaving Stoke on May 9 and travelling by way of Bury St. Edmunds and Newmarket, would have been one of the last to arrive<sup>(4)</sup>. He took with him twenty-one men, the same number from the household who had gone with him to the Holt. For the most part they were, of course, the same men, although this time neither Thomas Moleyns, Thomas Thorpe nor the Seyncloves accompanied their master. Each name has a note of whether the man was riding his own horse or one of Howard's, and what defensive clothing was issued to him; this was for the most part heavy padded leather jackets<sup>(5)</sup>. The royal army reached York on 22 May to find that lord Montagu had done their work for them by smashing a Lancastrian army at Hexham while they were still as far south as Nottingham,

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1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p.254-5
  2. H.B.I., p.184; C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.335. No records of appointments to Bernard or Langton occur on the Patent Rolls.
  3. H.B.I., p.234
  4. H.B.I., p.263
  5. ibid., pp.194-6

and this, together with his victory a month earlier at Hedgeley Moor had effectively put an end to Lancastrian activity. Somerset and lords Hungerford and Roos paid for their actions with their heads, and the now leaderless Lancastrians surrendered all three of the Northumbrian castles within a month. Howard and his troop stayed at York only a week before starting home. Although they saw no action they contributed £30 to the siege of the castles, which Howard dispatched to the Lord Chamberlain by the hands of Harry Muchegood<sup>(1)</sup>. For the first time in almost ten years the realm was at peace and Howard was able to hang up his sword for a while. Since he was under no compulsion to serve in these campaigns, however, it must be supposed that he did so partly out of a desire to serve the king and partly because he enjoyed fighting.

In the next few years, Howard's only martial exploit was of a very different nature. In 1467 he deputised for the duke of Norfolk as Marshal at the most splendid English tournament of the age, when Anthony, lord Scales, the queen's brother, fought Anthony, comte de la Roche, more commonly known as the Bastard of Burgundy, for he was the son of duke Philip the Good. Why Norfolk was unable to fulfil his hereditary role can only be a matter for conjecture; at the age of 23 he was certainly old enough to play his part, but since he only lived to be thirty, it may be that he always suffered from poor health and declined for this reason. The tournament took place upon the lines of pure courtly chivalry, despite the fact that it was taking place in a country recently racked by civil war<sup>(2)</sup>. It had been projected as long ago as 1465, but internal political commitments had kept the Bastard at home in Burgundy. He was recognised throughout Europe as one of the finest jousting living, while Scales was an acknowledged champion in England. There can be little doubt that it was a success, for it impressed even Olivier de la Marche, the Burgundian chronicler, who was master of ceremonies at the Burgundian court<sup>(3)</sup>. Equally, there is no doubt that it cost a great deal of money. Howard made various calculations as to what he had spent on the whole affair. In the following January he reckoned it to be 300 marks 'which my lord (Norfolk) must allow me', presumably on the grounds that as it was the duke's responsibilities

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1. *ibid.*, p.269

2. For a detailed description, see *Excerpta Historica*, ed. S. Bentley (1831), pp.171-212

3. *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, ed. H. Beaune et J. d'Arbaumont (Paris, 1883), vol.iii, pp.48-54

he had taken on, he should help defray the cost<sup>(1)</sup>. Since the duke was already in a state of chronic indebtedness to Howard, his cousin may not really have expected repayment. Probably he considered it money well-spent, for he was very much a man of his times and would therefore have enjoyed the tournament itself, and he could not have failed to be flattered by the honour bestowed upon him.

The festivities came to an abrupt end when news reached England of the death of the Bastard's father, Duke Philip. The grief-stricken guest rushed home, and it was Howard who conveyed him thither in his new carvel, the 'Edward'. Whether the Burgundian ships were not resupplied, or whether they had left intending to return for the appointed day of departure, it is clear that Edward wished to be as solicitous to his bereaved guest as possible. His deputy marshall took the Burgundian party swiftly home, escorting them to the very shore in the fishing boats that landed them. Since the quickest possible crossing was required, they had gone to Calais, from whence the Burgundians could ride swiftly to Bruges, and where the Englishmen could spend the day in a friendly port. The 'Christopher' at least accompanied the 'Edward', for Howard paid both crews for the journey, but there were almost certainly other English ships in the escort<sup>(2)</sup>. On this prosaic note of sailors' wages, the great extravaganza ended, and although he could never have read them, Howard would probably have been much pleased to know that in his memoirs, de la Marche noted that the Constable and the Marshall knew how to perform their office well<sup>(3)</sup>.

Howard's next assignment in the military field also had lord Scales as its main protagonist, with Howard himself again playing an organising rather than a combatant role. In other respects the episodes could not have been more different. In June 1468, Edward achieved a diplomatic coup when he married his sister, Margaret, to the new duke of Burgundy, Charles the Rash. To complete the circle of alliances around France, he renewed his treaty of amity with Duke Francis of Brittany, which entailed a promise to help protect his domains if they should be attacked by France. Louis XI promptly made them put this clause into operation by mounting a campaign against Brittany as the weakest of his three enemies. True to his promise, Edward agreed to send three thousand archers to Brittany, provided Francis did not make a peace with France detrimental to England. A month later, on 10 September 1468, lord Scales and lord Mountjoy indented to command the expedition to Brittany, the latter to take the force of archers to Francis

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1. H.B.I., p.170; in Oct. 1464 the duke owed him over £500, H.B.I., p.467
  2. ibid., p.409-410
  3. de la Marche, op.cit.

and lord Scales to launch an attack by sea on some undefended part of Louis's coast. The musters were arranged for 28 September, at Portsmouth for Mountjoy's men and at Gravesend and Sandwich for Scales's fleet.

Throughout August and September, Howard was responsible for preparing and victualling the east coast contingent of the fleet. The only ship of his own that was pressed into service was the 'Christopher', others were the 'John of Newcastle', Nokes's carvel, Cole's carvel, Thomas Roger's carvel, Blount's carvel and the 'Old Elen' (Helen). Probably none of these were large ships, certainly none of them were requisitioned for the great fleet going to Scotland in 1482, and it seems reasonable that Scales would want a group of small fast ships for his raids; this is lent credence by the number of carvels, a type of ship noted for its speed. According to the Chancery warrants authorising payments to him, Howard was responsible for victualling 1000 soldiers and 500 mariners in the 'Old Elen' and Blount's carvel for a period of six weeks and a further 80 mariners in a hulk (whose name is torn away), for a space of three months, each man being allowed 12d. per week<sup>(1)</sup>. Since the 'Grace Dieu', the largest of all the English ships of this era, only carried 500 men on her voyage in 1482, it must be supposed that the numbers given in the warrants were not just sailing in the two ships named there, but made up the complement for all the east coast ships<sup>(2)</sup>. For this, Howard was paid £522 18s. 4d. on 28 November. In addition to victualling the fleet from the east coast, a further warrant authorised repayment for what he had spent victualling certain other mariners in all the ships of the Scales' fleet between 6 September and 19 September; that is, skeleton crews manning the ships before their full complements arrived. For this he received £232 7s. 6d.<sup>(3)</sup>. The 'John of Newcastle' had needed repairs, for the last named sum of money also included the cost of a new mast for her and a general refitting.

Contrary to what might have been expected, the victualling was done, not at Harwich or Ipswich, but in London. Howard's accounts are divided into sections by commodity and cover the period 1 September to 19 December, when every account had been finally settled<sup>(4)</sup>. The first commodity was fish, both salt and fresh, and this was bought in bulk from merchants whose names indicate their alien origin, Copyne Gardynges, Zankoveson, Baff Newton, Copyne Aryanson and Cornelius Betsone. Gardynges, for instance, sold him 1000 saltfish at £10 5s. and nine barrels of fresh fish at £3, and similar amounts were purchased from the other merchants.

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1. P.R.O., Warrants for Issues, E404/74/1/43

2. H.B.I., p.3

3. P.R.O., E404/74/1/65

4. H.B.I., pp.512-529; the entries on these pages concern the fleet almost exclusively.

It is worth noting that if all these merchants were indeed aliens, then they were operating a policy of no credit, for Howard seems to have paid cash for each purchase, whereas in most other cases he made arrangements to pay over a period of time. The brewers from whom the fleet's beer came, on the other hand, appear to have been English, John Matlow, Garrarde, Nicholas Smith, John Doyse and Arnold Williamson are named, although beer-brewing was generally an alien occupation. The only exception would seem to be Herman Stolle and he, whatever his origins, was Howard's own Ipswich brewer. Stolle had had a number of business dealings with Howard, not all of them relating to beer, and it would seem that he was permanently settled in Ipswich. In each case, Howard made arrangements for the beer to be brewed within a fortnight and supplied immediately, usually in quantities of about 80 pipes per brewer. Since a pipe is generally reckoned to be the equivalent of 105 gallons, the quantities involved are impressive, even bearing in mind that the fleet would drink no water<sup>(1)</sup>. The bulk also raised questions of storage, since there seems to have been a chronic shortage of pipes and barrels. These were bought wherever Howard's men could lay hands on them, some, of course, from chandlers, but many from the taverns of London, for example, the 'Sun' in King Street, Westminster, the 'Crown' in the same street, the 'King's Arms', 'a tavern within Westminster', in all cases seemingly, paying the good wife of the house, and obtaining quantities which ranged from two to forty pipes, depending on how many she could spare, at a cost of 8d. per pipe. Even Howard's own friends and acquaintances were not spared, Lady Buckingham gave him five pipes, lord Mountjoy's cook was persuaded to part with three, and Mr. Hampton's butler the same number.

Beef was for the most part bought on the hoof and salted on the spot. Some cattle were supplied by merchants. One named Waneshed sold Howard 25 bullocks on 4 September at 12s. 10d. each and a week later, 42 oxen for a sum of £28. 10s., and a similar number on a third occasion. It was obviously more economical to send men out of London to buy livestock directly from the producer, and this is what Howard did. No lesser person than his own steward, John Bliant, was sent to buy £50's worth, and provided with costs for three men to drive the cattle to London, pasturing them on the way. Howard was in fact buying cattle wherever he could lay hands on them, so that he might pay a London butcher for 20 oxen and 10 bullocks, John Wilcocks for bringing in 53 oxen from the country and yet not refuse to buy the odd one or two brought him by lesser men.

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1. O.E.D.



Wheat cost him 7s. a quarter, and since some of it at least had to be unloaded from a ship, much of it was probably purchased out of London where it would be cheaper. Like beer, which for the most part he paid for in seven weekly instalments of between £3 and £7, Howard bought corn on an instalment system. William Denly, John Barkeley and John Lenthomme, who between them supplied nine score quarters, received three payments each. In mid September, the earl of Warwick's herald brought 112 quarters from his lord, but the latter was hardly motivated by patriotism to the exclusion of profit, for Howard had to pay a shilling a quarter more for it, a substantial increase. Other supplies, like salt, cheese, wood, pitch and tar, are dealt with much more summarily in the accounts and the name of the supplier is not usually given. Besides the victualling, finding all the extra ships' gear was Howard's responsibility, the masts, the lines, the oars and finally all the extra equipment needed for the men, he bought 300 platters at 4s. for the hundred and 400 drinking bowls at the same price.

While Howard was organising the purchase of all the victuals for the fleet, and its transport in a constant stream of lighters and barges downstream to Ratcliffe, the ships' masters were riding through the countryside raising the extra seamen to man the ships and Howard was later reimbursed for £21 he had advanced for their costs<sup>(1)</sup>. Although he was not sailing with the expedition himself, he had a personal interest in it, for his younger son, Nicholas, was sailing with lord Scales on his first major trip from home. At the end of September his father bought him a complete harness costing the substantial sum of £6 16s. 8d., and to complete the effect, gave him an ostrich feather. Finally he bestowed upon him as the fleet prepared to sail, £20 'for all manner of expenses behovable to him'<sup>(2)</sup>. With Nicholas went a force of men that numbered about 200, not men-at-arms, who were fairly easily recruited locally, but skilled archers, some of whom came from as far afield as St. Albans. Most had to be equipped with brigandines, the customary form of protective clothing, being small plates of metal sewn on to quilted linen or leather jackets and costing about 16s. each. Most probably had their own bows, but nevertheless, John Davy, one of Howard's squires, was sent to his home country to get bows for some of them. A number of references to young lord Cobham, Abergavenny's ward, indicate that he went with Nicholas as a companion; they were much of an age.

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1. P.R.O. E404/74/1/65

2. H.B.I., pp.567-8

In the spring of 1470, at a time when the earl of Warwick was discovering that he was unable to control Edward as he wished despite the drastic steps he had taken in the preceding twelve months, one of the signs that indicated this lack of control to his ally Louis XI was the presence of an English fleet in the Channel. Although it was ostensibly to guard the sea against the Easterlings, any fleet seemed to Louis a potential threat to France<sup>(1)</sup>. Within the fleet the political factions at home were represented by its commander, Howard, and its second leader, Thomas Neville, a natural son of the earl of Kent (Warwick's uncle, now deceased) who was known as the Bastard of Fauconberg, from an earlier title of his father's. On 20 February, the masters of Howard's ships, the 'Edward', the 'Christopher' and the 'Margaret Howard', and the masters of several others, including Warwick's ship, the 'Trinity', were commissioned to recruit mariners for a fleet<sup>(2)</sup>. On 3 March Howard indented to serve at sea for the defence of the realm from the coming 18 March with 1,500 men, armed and arrayed, for which service he was to receive 1,875 marks, 600 marks to be paid in hand and the residue in the following March (1471).<sup>(3)</sup> This time, since he was commanding the fleet, he was spared the responsibility of victualling it, that task passing to Robert Basset, a London alderman, who was paid 125 marks<sup>(4)</sup>. Fauconberg, on the other hand, received a reward of £50 for joining the fleet, which was to be paid out of 'the prest received from the Bishops and Abbots above the 2000 marks delivered to Lord Howard and if not to be borne, then to give him assignment from the issues of the hanaper'.<sup>(5)</sup> What the Bastard had done or promised to do to merit this kind of reward is not mentioned, but his subsequent behaviour may throw some light on the matter.

Howard's fleet was at sea when the successful suppression of the Lincolnshire rebellion by the king led to the flight of Warwick and Clarence. They took ship for Calais, of which Warwick was still governor, but were dismayed to find upon arrival that Calais had remained loyal to Edward and was closed to them. Whilst outside the harbour they were joined by the Bastard of Fauconberg with some of the fleet. Howard's ships had probably become scattered before the news of the political upheaval at home had

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1. C. de la Roncière, Histoire de la marine française (Paris, 1900), vol.ii, p.340, says that Rivers, not Howard, commanded the fleet, but Howard's fleet was at sea in April, while Rivers' appointment was not sealed until 23 June (C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.217).
  2. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.201
  3. P.R.O., E404/74/2/111; in this warrant Howard is first referred to as a baron, one two months earlier still names him as Sir John. He was not summoned to Parliament as a peer until the following October.
  4. ibid.
  5. P.R.O. E404/74/3/1

reached the fleet, and it took him some days to track the Bastard down. He therefore failed to prevent Warwick and his company from landing safely at Harfleur, but managed to rescue several Burgundian ships that Warwick and the Bastard had captured<sup>(1)</sup>. On his way back to Southampton, Howard captured two of Warwick's men, Sir Geoffery Gate and a man called Clapham, who were trying to join their lord<sup>(2)</sup>. They were sent to London, where Clapham, who had been involved in Robin of Redesdale's rebellion, was executed; Gate, in view of his past good services, was pardoned.

When the fleet returned home, Howard spent the summer at Stoke. In August he took the 'Edward' and the 'Marie Sanz Piere' out after sea-rovers and was granted 20 marks towards victualling them<sup>(3)</sup>. He was not with the king when Edward slipped out of the country from Lynn, and although Thomas Howard, according to his epitaph, found it politic to sit out the king's exile in sanctuary at St. John's, Colchester, Howard was too prominent for Warwick, lacking popular support, to molest as long as he made no hostile move. When Edward's invasion became imminent, however, he was possibly one of those gentlemen, together with the duke of Norfolk, whom Warwick summoned to London from East Anglia by letters of privy seal and either imprisoned or required to raise large sums of money as surety for their good behaviour. His accounts do not cover this period in any chronological sequence, but he was back in Suffolk in time to proclaim Edward's arrival<sup>(4)</sup>. Under the date 13 September 1471 in the accounts is a list of men who were almost certainly those he took to Barnet and Tewkesbury. There are 122 names, many belonging, of course, to household men, but it is unclear whether they formed only his personal retinue, or whether they were his whole fighting force. Since Oxford had just raised a Lancastrian force in the area and the time allowed Howard for recruiting was short, the latter is not impossible. Most of the men have the sum of 20d. entered by their names, though some received 3s. 4d. and Thomas Daniel, Howard's nephew, 11s. At a later date in September about half of them received a second payment. There is no obvious explanation for the sums, unless they were a form of prest money, differentiated by rank<sup>(5)</sup>. Howard's role in the battles that followed is undocumented, indeed there is no evidence to prove he took part in either, but his military experience, zealous support of Edward, and the list of men

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1. Mémoires de Philippe de Comynnes, ed. J. Calmette et C. G. Durville (Paris, 1924), vol.i, p.195
  2. The Great Chronicle of London, ed. A. H. Thomas & I. D. Thornley (1938), p.210
  3. P.R.O. E404/74/3/31
  4. H.B.I., p.548
  5. Paston Letters, vol.v, p.97; H.B.I., p.548f

in his accounts all indicate the likelihood of his presence. Thomas Howard was definitely at Barnet, where he was 'sore hurt' and the duke of Norfolk was at Tewkesbury, thus making the absence of Howard extremely unlikely<sup>(1)</sup>.

The decade of peace which followed Edward's re-establishment on the throne was broken only by the invasion of France in 1475 and as events turned out this episode may be designated diplomatic rather than military. Up to this date, the evidence which survives to illustrate Howard's career in the field is for the most part administrative, showing how he raised troops and supplied them. The campaign at the Holt, of which he was de facto leader, has no evidence to show how he went about capturing the rebels. All three episodes by which his tactics must be judged, occur in the last few years of his life when he was an old man and important enough for chroniclers to take an interest in him. Of these three, the first was most calculated to appeal to him, and it was to be the last military service he performed for Edward IV. In 1481 he was appointed to command a fleet which was to attack Scotland in concert with a land invasion led by the duke of Gloucester<sup>(2)</sup>. In the years following the Treaty of Picquigny, France and England had apparently been on good terms, but by 1480 Louis was very anxious about a new league between the old triumvirate of England, Burgundy and Brittany. Following his usual policy of divide and conquer, he found little difficulty in contriving an Anglo-Scottish conflict that would keep Edward busy on his northern border. In turn, Edward set about dealing with James III. Bamborough had been burned in a raid by the earl of Angus and in September 1480 Gloucester led a retaliatory raid across the Scottish border. On his return, plans were made for action on a somewhat larger scale, he to lead an invasion by land and Howard one by sea. In consequence, all export of grain was prohibited and ships and seamen requisitioned<sup>(3)</sup>. The king bought at least four large ships for the burgeoning royal navy, the 'Holy Ghost', which was Portuguese and therefore usually referred to as the 'carvel of Portugal', the 'Marie', which came from Bilbao and was known as the 'great Spaniard', the 'Trinity' of Eu in France, and finally the 'Mary Howard', for which he paid Howard 500 marks<sup>(4)</sup>. On 23 February 1481, Howard indented to serve the king as captain of his

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1. The Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England, ed. J. Bruce (1838), p.28

2. H.B.II., p.9

3. C.P.R. 1477-1485, pp.240, 249-50

4. P.R.O. Council and Privy Seal Records, E28/92

fleet for a term of sixteen weeks with a complement of 3,000 men, 'landsmen and mariners', for whom he was to receive payment of 15d. per man per week for their wages and 12½d. per week for the victuals, a total according to his own accounts, of £5,500<sup>(1)</sup>. The fleet was to be divided into two sections, the larger, under Howard, sailing for Scotland, and the smaller under Avery Cornburgh to remain in the south with the equally important task of patrolling the Channel to guard the English coast against raids by the French and prevent them sending aid to Scotland.

Although Howard had sold the 'Mary Howard', she was to be his flagship, and with the Portuguese ship, the 'Holy Ghost', she was the largest of those going to Scotland, each of them carrying four hundred men. With them went the 'Anthony' and the 'Mary of Asche' with three hundred men apiece, the 'George Cobham' with one hundred and seventy, including young lord Cobham as Howard's second in command, and three smaller ships, the 'Mary of Lynn' with fifty men, the Carvel of Ipswich (not identified by name) with forty and his own 'Paker Howard', the smallest of all, carrying thirty men. This was not a very large fleet, being eight ships, only four of which were of any considerable size, and at the last moment something happened to the 'Mary of Asche', for her complement of men was transferred to three smaller ships, Lockwood's carvel, Nokes's carvel and the 'great spaniard called the Mary of Greenwich'. This was the 'Mary of Bilbao', now given an English name; she carried one hundred and eighty men and had originally been designated for the Channel fleet, so this must mean that the two substituted carvels were both quite small. Cornburgh's part of the fleet, which was to patrol the Channel was even smaller than Howard's, though his flagship, the 'Grace Dieu', was the largest of all the ships, carrying as many as five hundred men, and the rest of his force was divided between the 'Caragon', the 'Mary of Calais', the 'Mary Daubeny', the 'Trinity of Eu' and the 'Nicholas of the Tower'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Less than half the fleet was composed of ships belonging to the crown and the mariners of the other ships commandeered for service all received prest money by way of compensation. Howard calculated that he paid more than eleven hundred mariners two shillings each; skilled men received more, for instance, John Larke, who was a gunner, and John Boone, a baker, each received 6s. 8d. in prest<sup>(3)</sup>. Copied into the accounts are the indentures

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1. H.B.II, p.9
  2. H.B.II., p.3
  3. ibid., pp.15-16

Howard's captains made with him, each specifying the ship he would command and the number of men, mariners and soldiers, who would sail in her. Lord Cobham, as second in command, was responsible both for his own ship, the 'George Cobham' and the 'Mary of Lynn'. After each indenture is noted how much each captain ought to receive to cover the payment of prest money, wages, and victuals for all his men, and how much he had already been paid. The man responsible for the supply of money from the royal coffers was John Fitzherbert, one of the king's tellers<sup>(1)</sup>. Howard's own retinue consisted of about one hundred and fifty men, listed in the accounts as 'What Gentylnen goeth with my lord Howard to the See'. The list includes his captains, Cobham, Sir Henry Wentworth, Edward Brampton, Avery Cornburgh, Robert Clifford, John Wayneflete and John Williams, all of whom, with the exceptions of Wentworth and Cobham, held positions in the royal household. Clifford and Cornburgh were esquires of the body, Brampton, the converted Portuguese Jew, was a gentleman usher, Wayneflete a sergeant of arms and Williams, marshall of the hall. This was entirely customary, since nearly all military and diplomatic appointments, however relatively minor, went to the five hundred or so men who made up the royal household<sup>(2)</sup>. Howard's own household, of course, featured largely in the list. All four of his sons-in-law, two of whom, Edmund Gorges and John Timperley, were also esquires of the royal household, two of his Daniel nephews, and men like John Braham, John Bliant, Robert Clerke, John Davy, the Seyncloew brothers, all of whom had been fighting with him and serving him for nearly twenty years, went with him this time<sup>(3)</sup>. The accounts also contain details of the equipment each non-gentle member of his retinue was issued with, for which perhaps one example will suffice: 'Erdiswick hath a pair brigandines, a sheaf of arrows, a salat with a vizor, a pair splentes (thin steel plates for armour) and his jacket (presumably in Howard's own colours)'. His retinue was not the only part of the force to be wearing those colours, for he delivered to Robert Michelson, sea captain of the 'Mary Howard', jackets for her eight score sailors<sup>(4)</sup>.

The headquarters for fitting out the fleet was Harwich and Howard seems to have divided his time between London, Ipswich and Harwich, often travelling by boat. His accounts contain details for the fleet interspersed

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1. ibid., pp.9-13, 243-6
  2. D.A.L. Morgan, 'The king's affinity in the polity of Yorkist England', T.R.H.S. 5th series, xxiii (1973), p.15
  3. H.B.II., pp.4-7
  4. ibid., pp.249, 243

with his own household entries, but they are not as orderly as the record for the fitting out of the Scales fleet in 1468 and it is harder to work out exactly where the supplies came from. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the general pattern differed greatly from that of thirteen years previously. There was the same difficulty of storage and Howard was even reduced to arranging with Andrew Thomson, a Scot dwelling in Ipswich, for him to bring twenty pipes over from Flanders<sup>(1)</sup>. In consequence of the projected expedition, the king had forbidden the export of all grain the previous November, and at least one man, John Kokeman of Woodbridge, had forfeited a ship-load of wheat, presumably because he tried to defy the ban<sup>(2)</sup>. Small coastal vessels like the 'Turtle', the 'Christopher of Bryklesey' and the 'Trinity of St. Osyth' plied up and down between the major ports ferrying equipment and supplies. Lacking the great warehouses of Ratcliffe wharves, Howard was forced to use 'the loft over the salt house by the churchyard' at Harwich for storing hand guns and the timber to make shafts and spars<sup>(3)</sup>. Local smiths were employed in making thousands of caltrops (instruments consisting of three spikes, one of which was always upwards; they were mainly used against cavalry), but it was in London that the larger weapons, serpentines, for instance, were made<sup>(4)</sup>.

The degree of comfort, not to say ostentation, the commander of the fleet saw fit to surround himself with on the 'Mary Howard' has been discussed elsewhere<sup>(5)</sup>, but in the midst of worldly preoccupations, the spiritual were not forgotten; none of the twelve books he took were obviously devotional, but vestments, chalices, a 'super altar' and a mass book were among his personal equipment. In the last minute scramble before the fleet sailed, harrassed Thomas Delamar, who was keeping the accounts was forced to compile his own 'aide-memoire': item, he wrote, 'to remember the cheeses. Item, to remember the candle. The mustard seed. Item, James Stolle in his keeping, my lord's cloth sak, a panier with spices, the buckets of leather, the almonds and the rys, the lampreys and the sturgeon'<sup>(6)</sup>.

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1. ibid., p.24
  2. C.P.R. 1477-1485, p.240; H.B.II., p.25
  3. ibid., pp.13, 72, 23
  4. ibid., pp.25, 33, 47
  5. See below, Chapter V, pages 113-114
  6. H.B.II., pp.275, 273

The king and Prince Edward went to Sandwich to review the fleet and see it leave. The exact date of sailing is unknown, but Howard left his wife at Harwich on 20 May, presumably to rendezvous with Cornburgh at Sandwich, and it was probably two or three days later that the fleet set sail. By 4 June, Howard's ships had got no further north than Yarmouth, where they put in, probably because of contrary winds, for they stayed there almost a week taking on more supplies. By 17 June they were still only off Scarborough where they took in some fish, but after that they made speed, for on 24 June they were 'fast by the light at Inskith', and the lighthouse at Inchkeith is on an island in the Firth of Forth<sup>(1)</sup>. The chronology of Howard's actions is not easy to ascertain; that he made two raids along the Forth is clear from Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland<sup>(2)</sup>, although since Lesley placed the account of the first raid immediately after mention of the death of the bishop of Aberdeen on 14 April 1481, it was for a long time assumed that Howard's raid took place in late April or early May. It must, however, have taken place on 22 or 23 June, because the fleet was revictualling at Inchkeith on 24 June and it is far more likely to have done this after, rather than before, the action<sup>(3)</sup>. By any account the raid was a successful one. Taking the Scots completely by surprise, Howard sailed along the southern bank of the Forth as far as Leith, where he captured the largest of the enemy ships there and burnt the smaller ones, before crossing to the northern shore and inflicting similar damage at Kinghorn and Pettenween. Eight ships were captured in all and Howard even managed a landing at Blackness where he burnt the town. Lesley, with understandable bias, says the English were not suffered to land elsewhere, but given the nature of his command Howard probably had no intention of landing many troops anywhere, but aimed at quick hit and run attacks in as many places as possible.

From the Forth, the little fleet retired to Newcastle, where they awaited Sir John Elrington, who had succeeded Howard as treasurer of the household and had now come north to arrange for their revictualling and to bring the commander a letter from his king. Since it omits all reference to the raids, it was written for Sir John to carry north on the assumption

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1. ibid., pp.74-79
  2. J. Lesley, History of Scotland from the Death of King James I in the year 1436 to the year 1561, Bannatyne Club (1830), pp.44-45
  3. H.B.II., p.78



that he would reach Howard before the fleet saw action. Since it sets out Edward's orders to Howard, it is worth quoting in full:

Right trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well and let you weet that we send at this time our trusty and right wellbeloved Knight and Counsellor, Sir John Elryngton, treasurer of our household, to our town and port of New Castle to the intent that when our victuallers shall be there discharged, that then he man them on war fare for to accompany and give their attendance on you, to burn Leith and other villages along the Scottish sea. Over this we will, and in our straightest wise require and charge you, that you keep the sea near about the said Leith unto the last day of August, according to your indenture. Which day done and ended, we will that you leave on the sea, six hundred men, whom we have commanded to be victualled and waged to the last day of October, in our ship called the Spaniard, in the ship whereof William Congersal is captain, in the ship of Thomas Morris, in the barque whereof John Alye is captain, in the ship of John Titney of Holy Island, in the 'Anne of Fowey'. And that the surplus of our men in your retinue you do convey unto our said port and town of New Castle. Fail not of these premises as our very trust is in you. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, 6 July. (1)

The news of Howard's successful raid had obviously not reached London by early July and the king did not know that even before he wrote that the main part of his command had already been successfully carried out. Nevertheless, the fleet returned about three weeks later for a second attack, which took place on 16 or 17 July. This time, lacking the element of surprise, they could do little or no damage, or as Lesley puts it, 'they were repulsed by the country men'. The bishop cannot have known that on 17 July Howard paid Scots from the island of Inchcolm, also in the Forth, for bringing him food, or his faith in his countrymen might have been diminished<sup>(2)</sup>. With the Scots on their guard, Howard could do little except patrol the mouth of the Forth to prevent any French ships reaching Edinburgh, or any Scots ones slipping out. By 25 July, the fleet was off the Northumbrian coast, where he bought supplies from the Percies: since he was entertained by Lady Percy's luter (lutanist), he probably went ashore at Alnwick. The first four days of August he spent revictualling at Hull, probably for the ships that were to remain on watch until October,

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1. H.B.II., p.274

2. Lesley, op.cit., p.45; H.B.II., p.82

for the main part of the fleet was home by the end of the first week in August, when he paid off the sailors, giving many of them extra sums, 'for drink'<sup>(1)</sup>.

Howard's successful sea raid, in many ways reminiscent of those perpetrated by his Tudor descendants, illustrates clearly the difficulties of naval campaigns of the time. Despite the fact that Edward had been building up a royal fleet, only about half Howard's ships belonged to the crown, the rest being commandeered from the king's subjects. Since Edward also used his ships for mercantile purposes, he could never be sure that they would all be available when he needed them. The profits of these trading ventures, however, enabled him to buy more ships, so that the inconvenience was worth it. Until the crown could afford to build its own ships primarily for fighting, much of its fleet would be composed of comparatively little ships, which were preferable for trading. The 'Paker Howard', for instance, probably only carried a crew of about five or six and could squeeze in about two dozen or so soldiers when necessary. Because of the relative smallness of the ships, very little space was available for supplies to feed all the extra men. In the two months this fleet was away, Howard had to revictual in a major way at Newcastle and take on extra supplies whenever the occasion offered. Because the proposed major land attack did not take place in concert with Howard's sea raid, its success was largely thrown away. The land invasion the following year was supported by a fleet commanded by Robert Radcliffe, but it lacked either Howard's luck or his skill and failed to make much contribution to Gloucester's success. Howard seems to have had nothing to do with this fleet, not even its fitting out, though he travelled to Dover with the king to see it sail.

The expedition to Scotland was destined to be the last military service Howard performed for Edward IV, the next time he put on the sword it was for Richard III and it was the only extempore action he was called on to make. On all other occasions, a campaign was formally mounted, Howard received his orders, gathered his men, organised their supplies and set out for whatever rendezvous the king had designated. In September 1483 the scene was set quite differently. After Richard III's coronation, the king set out on a major progress through his newly acquired realm and Howard went down to see his new ducal estates in Surrey and Sussex.

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1. *ibid.*, pp.84, 88-95

He met a great number of local men, most of them eager to secure his goodwill, and it is quite possible that from one or two of them he received definite warnings of rebellion. There had been murmurings in the south all summer in favour of delivering Edward V from the Tower, partly formented by men genuinely loyal to Edward IV's sons, partly by men, like some of the Courteney family in Devon, old Lancastrians, ever eager to stir up trouble, and of course, by Woodville supporters. At the end of August the king appointed a commission of oyer and terminer headed by Howard for the city and suburbs of London and the belt of counties which surrounded it<sup>(1)</sup>. Some time in September the duke of Buckingham declared himself on the side of the rebels and coincidentally with this, the rumour that the princes had met a violent death began to circulate in a far more positive form than the vague suspicions held hitherto. Lacking Edward V as an alternate king, the conspirators turned to the idea of offering the throne to the only Lancastrian claimant left, Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, if he would marry Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth<sup>(2)</sup>. Simultaneous outbreaks were planned throughout the south, while Buckingham was to march in from Wales and Richmond landed with a force from Brittany on the south coast. The outbreak was timed for 18 October, but the conspiracy was far too widespread for it to remain a secret. It does seem likely that as Howard returned to London after his visit to Surrey and Sussex, he had some idea of what was afoot. Unfortunately the king was still far from London, although on his way back from the north, and it was lucky indeed for him that Howard chanced to be in London. If he had been at home in Suffolk, the machinery of royal defence could not have been set in motion so quickly and efficiently. The chronology of events in the south comes almost exclusively from Howard's accounts. As early as 7 October, it is safe to say, he, and therefore the council at Westminster, knew that an intended rebellion was imminent. On that day he sent a man into Kent to speak with someone named Schell, from whom he presumably expected to get reliable information. He had returned by 10 October, for on that day Howard sent another man into Kent and a messenger to the king<sup>(3)</sup>. The rebellion in Kent broke out prematurely, probably because the conspirators knew they were being watched. Howard immediately despatched some of his responsible men, including his

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1. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.465

2. Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, ed. and trans. H. T. Riley (1854), p.491

3. H.B.II., pp.468, 470

nephew, Thomas Daniel, to Gravesend to arouse loyal local men, while Sir John Middleton and Sir John Norbery followed with a force of some seventy men, likely to have been the total of fighting men Howard had with him in London. Thomas Thorpe was sent post haste to lord Cobham with £20 and ordered to carry on to Rochester. Howard's nephew, Edward Neville, was with him in London, and so, too, was the latter's half-brother, Abergavenny, whose main seat was in Kent, for one of his men was also sent to Gravesend<sup>(1)</sup>.

Within 36 hours of his messenger leaving London, that is, some time on 11 October, the king at Lincoln received the news, for he immediately sent to the city of York for assistance. The distance between London and Lincoln is 128 miles and the speed with which the king received the news is a good illustration of the efficiency of communication when the matter was one of importance<sup>(2)</sup>. In the few days that followed, Howard sent messengers off to East Anglia to raise forces and presumably they reached their destinations as fast. On the very day he had news of the rebellion, a letter was written to his old colleague in arms, John Paston, that was short and extremely to the point:

Right wellbeloved friend, I commend me to you. It is so that the Kentishmen be up in the weld and say they will come and rob the city, which I will let if I may. Therefore, I pray you, with all diligence you make you ready and come hither, and bring with you six tall fellows in harness and you shall not lose your labour, that knoweth God, who have you in his keeping. Written at London, the 10th day of October.

Your friend,  
J. Norfolk (3)

This is the only one of its kind to survive, but probably Howard dispatched dozens of similar letters to his followers and gentlemen he thought he could rely on. It is worth noting that he was not entirely open with his wellbeloved friend, for he did not give Paston the true reason for the Kentish rising, implying that it was merely one of the periodic outbursts to which the Kent commons were prone. It is just possible, but on the whole unlikely, that this is all he thought it to be himself.

Richard had summoned his armed forces to meet him at Leicester on 20 and 21 October, but since Howard was still in London on the first of these days, it is clear that the king had already entrusted the defence of the capital to him. It is on this, of all days, that the chronological

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1. ibid., pp.471-472

2. c.f. C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News in England at the time of the Wars of the Roses', in Studies in Medieval History Presented to FM. Powicke, ed. R. W. Hunt and others (Oxford, 1948), p.450

3. Paston Letters, vol.vi p.73

sequence of entries in his household books cease, and although there are further entries relating to the men Howard raised for the king two years later, there is nothing to shed any light on his day to day actions<sup>(1)</sup>. There was plenty for him to do in London. He remained in constant contact with the Chancellor, Bishop Russell of Lincoln, he had already sent a reassuring message to the king's mother, the duchess of York, and he received his forces as they came in from East Anglian towns and villages, spreading them out to guard the southern approaches to the city<sup>(2)</sup>. The body of men he had sent so promptly to Gravesend meant that he was in control of the vital crossing of the Thames, thus preventing the rebels' encirclement of the city to link up with Buckingham's forces in the midlands. Forced to abandon their attempts to take the city, they moved as far west as Guildford and halted there. As is well known, the rebellion collapsed and within two weeks only mopping up operations were left. Thomas, now earl of Surrey, was sent off to Bodiam castle in Sussex, where the last vestiges of resistance were apparent in the south, and dealt rapidly with them<sup>(3)</sup>. For the two Howards, perhaps the most painful aspect of the affair was the defection to the rebels of two close friends, Sir William Norris of Bray and his brother John. Not only were they the duchess's stepsons, they had been close associates of Howard's for twenty years; Sir William, however, was married to the earl of Oxford's sister, and this may have influenced his decision. A reward for their capture (together with that for more prominent rebels) was offered on 23 October, but as late as February the following year, John at least was still at large, for poor Howard was ordered to find and bring him before the king immediately<sup>(4)</sup>.

That the rebellion collapsed as quickly as it did must be in some measure to the credit of Howard. His effective defence of London not only prevented it from perhaps falling to the rebels, but also meant that the king was free to concentrate his forces on crushing the rebels in the west. It is the only occasion when his military abilities can be seen in enough isolation to be judged, and if a grasp of strategy and the use of swift, effective action with the minimum of men can be classed as essential attributes in a successful commander in the field, then the verdict of posterity in naming him a man 'skilful in warres' is probably correct. From his accounts can also be seen the care with which he organised and supplied his men, a skill not less important than strategy, but more often overlooked.

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1. H.B.II., p.479
  2. ibid., p.472 *BM Harl: 433, ff.37, 38*
  3. C.P.R. 1477-1485, p.370
  4. ibid., p.371; *BM Harl: 433, ff.37, 151*

Henry Tudor did not make much of a showing in the autumn of 1483, but undeterred he landed in Wales on Sunday, 7 August 1485. He was not unexpected and the normal machinery for the defence of the realm had already been set in motion. The news of his landing had reached Richard at Nottingham by 11 August, and Howard, of course, was one of the first to whom he sent word, since he was able to field one of the largest contingents of men. Towards the end of that week, Howard wrote the best known of his surviving letters again to John Paston:

To my wellbeloved friend, John Paston, be this bill delivered in haste.

Wellbeloved friend, I commend me to you, letting you understand that the king's enemies be a-land and that the king would have set forth as upon Monday, but only for our Lady day, but for certain he goes forth as upon Tuesday, for a servant of mine brought to me the certainty. Wherefore I pray you that you meet with me at Bury as upon Tuesday night, and that you bring with you such company of tall men as you may goodly make at my cost and charge, beside that which you have promised the king; and I pray you, ordain them jackets of my livery and I shall content you at your meeting with me.

Your lover, J. Norfolk. (1)

Despite this appeal, which was in no way couched as a command, despite the men he had promised the king, John Paston had hung up his sword for good and none of his men left Bury St. Edmunds that Tuesday night under the lions of the Norfolk banners. Paston's sympathies had <sup>often</sup> always, like his father's, tended towards the Lancastrians, in spite of his service with the duke of Norfolk and current friendly relations with Howard, and his family's old lord, Oxford, was again in England with the Tudor. Many men, with less reason than he, also decided to stay at home that August, for the king had never had a popular following, save in the north, and the rumours concerning the fate of his nephews had alienated large numbers of those who might otherwise have mustered. For Howard, these considerations were irrelevant; he owed his dukedom to Richard, and above this if the house of York was threatened, then the house of Howard would be in arms to defend it. To have acted otherwise would have given the lie to his whole career of service.

There is at the end of his household accounts a list dated February 1484 and headed 'The names of the 1,000 men my lord has granted to the King'<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1. Paston Letters, vol.vi, p.85
  2. H.B.II., pp.480-493

It pre-dates the Bosworth campaign by eighteen months but presumably the men who gathered at Bury on 15 August 1485 were substantially those named in the list. These were Howard's men, whose primary allegiance was to him, and whose lack of sympathy for the king would not have cancelled out their loyalty to their lord. It was the independent gentry, like Paston, who chose when and for whom they would fight. Unfortunately for historical purposes, the list is not as helpful as it might have been. It contains not a thousand names but only about seven hundred, including such entries as (Thomas Kechyn and his man), and although they are classified into rough groupings, in some cases it is difficult to ascertain why they have been so grouped. The first section is quite straightforward and is topographical, giving the names of men recruited from each village, in Howard's lands; for example, Stoke-by-Nayland, only a small village, provided 31 men, Framlingham, a small town dominated by the castle that was the hereditary seat of the Norfolks, put 100 men in arms. All in all, forty-four villages are listed, most, but not all, ones in which Howard owned land. Ipswich itself sent a dozen men to him personally, in addition to its standing contribution of soldiers for the royal army. The second group of names is headed by that of his nephew, Edmund Daniel, and includes the Gorges brothers and his other sons-in-law, Tymperley and Mortimer, together with senior household men like Braham and Bliant. It seems to be the fighting force recruited from the household, numbering about sixty, but not including men the gentlemen of the household would have had with them. The third group consists of the names of those who brought with them one or more others; some household names are included and it may be that these were now settled in their own homes and not actually living at Framlingham. A fourth group of names seems to contain more household men, some of whom, like John Davy, certainly held manors elsewhere. Since all the names on the list belonged to men whom Howard waged, it would obviously not include contributions from men of standing like Paston, unless they raised more than their customary quota on the understanding that Howard would pay for the extra. It might, however, contain men of somewhat lesser standing who were willing to put themselves and their servants under his command and at his cost and charge for this sort of occasion.

This list concerned only men recruited in the East Anglian region, whether a contingent from Howard's estates in the south-west joined the main force is unknown but Surrey and Sussex made their contribution. Included

in the second group of names are those of John Deynych and Richard Sackfield, both identified as living in 'Susseks', who brought with them fifteen men and who were probably already at Framlingham with their duke. At the end of the list is a note that Sir Henry Rosse, Thomas Hoo and Richard Lewkenor had contracted to get Howard an unspecified number of men from among his servants and tenants, besides those already named, in Surrey and Sussex, 'well-horsed and harnessed, able to do the King and my lord service'. The phrase, 'at my lord's wages', has been deleted, which implies that the thousand men Howard had promised the king could be raised from East Anglia alone, and the extra force from the south would be paid from the royal purse.

There is no contemporary account of the battle of Bosworth and Vergil is the only near contemporary who provides any detail. Howard, with Thomas as his lieutenant, was given command of the vanguard, taking up his position on the ridge of Ambien Hill, facing down towards the enemy. As it was the general custom, it may be supposed that his forces were deployed with archers on the wings and body of men-at-arms in the middle, centred on himself, Thomas and their household men<sup>(1)</sup>. Richard held the main force on the top of the hill and Northumberland, at his own request, took up his position in the rear, with almost a third of the royal army. Howard's van probably consisted of between a third and a half of the army, which perhaps numbered 12,000. Opposite him, leading the van of the invading force, was his cousin, Oxford. For most of the battle, their two forces were the only ones engaged. Neither seems to have gained the upper hand when Richard launched his desperate charge across the field at Henry Tudor, but probably one of the factors which made him do it was the news that Howard had fallen. Not for him a brilliant cavalry charge, but rather the solid defence in the middle of an infantry line, for despite his age he was there at the centre. Hutton relates the apochryphal story (and how close to truth it was, cannot be judged), of Howard and Oxford fighting hand to hand, how Oxford was wounded in the arm but managed to cleave Howard's helmet so that his face was exposed and in that instant he was hit in the face by an arrow and died on the spot. Hutton puts into Oxford's mouth, the tribute, 'A better knight could not die, but he might die in a better cause'<sup>(2)</sup>. This verdict

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1. See A. H. Burne, The Battlefields of England (1950), pp.142-5, Kendall, Richard III, pp.354-367, D. T. Williams, The Battle of Bosworth, (Leicester, 1973), but primarily, Polydore Vergil, English History, p.222-3
  2. W. Hutton, The Battle of Bosworth Field, ed. J. G. Nichols (1813), p.106



seems to have been generally accepted by the generations that followed, and it would be difficult to argue with it<sup>(1)</sup>.

The battle was neither lost nor won when Richard rode at Henry, but with the king's death the fight was ended. Resistance to the new regime never really got off the ground, for the man in England best capable of rallying an organised Yorkist stand was dead also. Whether he would have wished to do so is another matter, Richard had left no son, Edward's boys were dead and whether he would have committed himself to the earl of Lincoln is doubtful. The idea that Howard would not, in the circumstances, have wished to survive Bosworth cannot be lightly dismissed. His whole life had been spent in the service of the House of York and he was too old and too stubborn a man to have wanted to come to terms with Henry, much less serve him, as Thomas was honestly able to do. He died as he had lived, fighting for York, and according to the values of his age, there could have been no better way to go.

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1. Many instances of such appointments in household offices appear in the biographies of knights of the shire, barons, bishops, etc.

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1. Modern interpretations of the battle differ in many respects, but fortunately Howard's role is clear enough. See also pages 206-207.

## CHAPTER 7

### THE SERVANT OF THE CROWN

It may well have appeared to John Howard after he had succeeded to his grandmother's estates in 1437, on the death of his grandfather, that he could expect to follow the older John Howard's successful career. Like his grandfather, Howard had come into his inheritance as a young man, he was closely connected to the peerage through his mother, Margaret Mowbray, and he had just married Catherine Moleyns, a peer's daughter. He was not nearly as wealthy as Sir John, but there was every reason to suppose that he would play an active part in local affairs, as a justice, perhaps as an M.P., and if royal favour came his way, as a sheriff. Indeed, with his connections, it was possible that even a minor household appointment was not beyond his reach<sup>(1)</sup>. Things, however, did not turn out quite like that. As John Howard entered man's estate, so did his king, and with the end of the royal minority, the government of England began to deteriorate slowly into a faction fight between those peers who enjoyed royal favour and thus controlled the crown's patronage and those who were excluded from both. Howard belonged to the wrong group. This was not, of course, so much a matter of choice as of accident, for with an uncle who was duke of Norfolk, he had not unnaturally entered his service and continued later in that of his son. John Mowbray was not a supporter of the duke of Suffolk and was inclined more often than not to take the part of the duke of York. For the most part, therefore, he was in the political wilderness and could expect no offices or grants of land. This embargo extended to those closely identified with him. In local affairs Norfolk was far too influential to be ignored by the crown completely, he served on commissions of the peace and he was able to see that Howard was also appointed to the bench for

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1. Many instances of such appointments to household offices appear in the biographies of knights of the shire. Wedgwood, Biographies

Norfolk from 1452 and that for Suffolk from 1455<sup>(1)</sup>. It was <sup>usually in</sup> ~~only~~ for the brief periods of York's ascendancy that he or Howard were appointed to any other commissions. In view of this, it is not surprising that on <sup>one of</sup> the two occasions on which Howard was elected to Parliament during this period, for ~~Suffolk in 1449~~ and for Norfolk in 1455, <sup>was</sup> were when York was in control of the government. In 1460, therefore, when Howard was forty, it looked very much as if a public career was not for him.

The battle of Towton which set Edward IV firmly on the throne changed John Howard's life as radically as it changed that of England. Almost immediately, Norfolk reaped benefits for having supported Edward's father. On 11 July 1461 he was granted the office of Chief Justice in Eyre, and Steward and Keeper of Forests south of the Trent for the Duchy of Lancaster, and a month later an annuity of forty marks and the office of custodian of the castle of Scarborough with £20 p.a. from its issues and fifty marks p.a. from the issues of Scarborough and Yorkshire<sup>(2)</sup>. Any further emoluments which might have come his way were forestalled by his premature death in the November of the same year. That Howard had made an immediate impression on his new young king is clear from the fact that his first grant came almost as soon as Norfolk's, on 21 July, when he was made constable of Norwich castle for life. A week later the similar office at Colchester was conferred on him<sup>(3)</sup>. Despite the local eminence these offices bestowed, they did not have nearly as much significance as his appointment as a king's carver the same week. This post carried with it an annual salary of £40, but its importance lay in the entry to the royal household which it entailed. At this period the household consisted of about five hundred officers of whom approximately half, the state officers, the knights and esquires of the body, the ushers, carvers and others, were men of political standing. In 1461 almost all these posts were filled with men who were receiving their reward for fighting on the Yorkist side. To become one of these two hundred and fifty or so men meant belonging to a close-knit central group who combined the general business of the household with special

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1. C.P.R. 1452-1461, p.301

2. C.P.R. 1461-1467, pp.45, 46, 71

3. ibid., p.10. In the summer of 1461, as constable of Norwich, he was granted the custody of the 'old' (i.e. senior) Lady Roos, whose husband and son were both with Henry VI. On 22 March 1462, she was transferred to the charge of Sir Robert Constable, who was to be paid 26s 8d. per week for her keep, together with 26s. 8d. p.a. for her apparel and expenses for six attendants. E28/29

service in war or diplomacy. Save for the most minor, nearly all military and diplomatic appointments were made to household servants<sup>(1)</sup>. Once having entered the household, a man could rise as high as his ability permitted, and thus to become a king's carver gave Howard more political significance than either his knighthood, bestowed on him at Edward's coronation, or his offices of constable.

The Black Book of the Household which was designed to regulate the various departments was drawn up about the beginning of Edward's second decade as king and according to the text there were four king's carvers, although in practice there were often more. Their minimum fees from the counting house were 8 marks at Christmas and Whitsun for robes and 10 marks at Easter and Michaelmas. Howard's fee of £40 p.a. was therefore very high. As a knight of the chamber, he had, with another of the same standing, to be on duty in the hall at mealtimes and he was permitted a gentleman and a yeoman in attendance. If he were absent, two yeomen had to remain in his place<sup>(2)</sup>. The Black Book implies that household duties were undertaken on a shift system, but there is no indication that Howard regarded the post as entailing long or regular periods of attendance at court. Probably when he was there for other purposes he fulfilled his duties, but for the rest his place was taken regularly by deputies, the two yeomen receiving his daily allowance of two loaves, a mess of 'gros mete', half a pitcher of wine and two gallons of ale as well as candles and firewood.

By 1467, Howard was being referred to as a knight of the body and in September 1468 he was appointed Treasurer of the Household and Keeper of the Wardrobe<sup>(3)</sup>. This office, together with those of Steward and Chamberlain, was the head of one of the three great household departments. The other two offices were held by peers throughout Edward's reign, but the treasurers on the whole seem to have given rather more personal attention to their duties and therefore required certain abilities, even though the chamber eclipsed the wardrobe under the Yorkist kings as their chief

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1. D. Morgan, 'The king's affinity in the polity of Yorkist England', pp.4, 15
  2. A. R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV, pp.106, 225
  3. R. L. Storey, 'English Officers of State, 1399-1485', BIHR, xxxi (1958), p.92. This implies Edward's trust in Howard, but not necessarily close friendship between the two, such as existed between the king and his Chamberlain, lord Hastings.

financial organ. Edward had succeeded to an insolvent and badly administered household, but the general insecurity of his position for the first years of his reign meant that household reforms were not a major item on his agenda. His first treasurer was Sir John Fogge, whom Howard replaced in 1468, shortly after the scandal of Sir Thomas Cook<sup>(1)</sup>. It may be reasonable to assume that as a noted business man, Howard was given the office with a view to improving the financial status of the household. His deputy, Sir John Elrington as cofferer, was the holder of the highest position that was possible through internal promotion within the household; that he was extremely able is clear from his later promotion from cofferer to treasurer, a very rare distinction. Professor Myers considers that he was almost certainly responsible for the compilation of the Black Book, which he dates at 1471-2. Certainly the combination of Elrington as cofferer and Howard as a sympathetic, if not actively involved treasurer, make the years that they were in office together the most likely time for it to have been drawn up. It seems a pity that Edward appointed Howard to the post just as he was also beginning to make use of him in the diplomatic field, which inevitably took him away for long periods.

The date of Howard's appointment as treasurer is clear, not only from the fact that Fogge accounted for the period ending 30 September 1468, but also that on 25 October, Howard as treasurer, was granted the king's profits from the mint, coinage and exchange in the City and Tower of London for the payment of his expenses<sup>(2)</sup>. He is generally considered to have held office until 1474 when he was succeeded by Elrington<sup>(3)</sup>. In fact, the Issue Rolls of 1478-9 show that Elrington had held office since 1471 and certainly in the warrants for issues from 1471, Howard and Sir John Fogge are both referred to as treasurers in the past tense<sup>(4)</sup>. Unfortunately Howard's accounts are not preserved with those of other treasurers in abstract form on one particular exchequer roll, so that the exact date he surrendered the office is not known. In fact, his accounts were never

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1. The Great Chronicle of London, pp.205-8
  2. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.98
  3. c.f. Storey, op.cit.
  4. P.R.O. Warrants for Issues, E404/75/1/16, 75/2/3, 36

rendered and he was allowed exemptions from them in pardons dated 1473 and 1475<sup>(1)</sup>. The end of his tenure, however, can be narrowed down to within a few weeks. When Edward recovered his throne in 1471, Howard recovered his office, which had been held during the readeption by Sir John Delves. It was soon clear that the king had other plans for him, for although he witnessed the creation of the baby Edward as prince of Wales on 26 June 1471 and is described as treasurer, a warrant dated 18 July states that 'Whereas when Lord Howard and Sir John Fogge were Treasurers of our household...'<sup>(2)</sup>. It would be reasonable to assume that he held office until the end of June. There is no evidence on which to base a judgement of Howard's tenure of the office, it can only be said that he surely had better personal qualifications than many who held it, for his own account books give vivid testimony of his business sense, his scrupulous care over the handling of money and the efficiency with which all his administrative tasks were undertaken. It is undeniable also that if Howard had much to contribute to the office, the latter was an important step in his own career. The appointment of one who was not then a peer to a great household office was a mark of considerable royal confidence, it bestowed on him prestige and advanced his standing not only in England but on embassies abroad. Eighteen months after he had made him treasurer, sometime in early 1470, Edward created Howard a baron<sup>(3)</sup>. This peerage was of some significance. Excluding men summoned de jure uxoris, only eight men were raised from the ranks of the gentry during the twenty-three years of Edward's reign (this excludes Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, whose position as the queen's son was somewhat different)<sup>(4)</sup>. Five of them, John Wenlock, William Hastings, Robert Ogle, William Herbert and Humphrey Stafford received their baronies immediately Edward became king. Wenlock was a follower of Warwick's and had fought for the Yorkists, but his elevation was probably intended as a gesture to Warwick himself, and this is true also of Ogle. Hastings, Herbert and Stafford were the king's own companions in arms and the latter two were later advanced to the earldoms of Pembroke and Devon. Hastings, the king's much loved friend, remained

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1. P.R.O. E361/7 m71-4, C.P.R. 1467-1477, pp.387, 516
  2. T. Rymer, Foedera etc. (1704-1735), vol.ix, p.715; E404/75/1/16
  3. Between 29 Dec. 1469 (E404/74/2/87) and 12 Feb. 1470 (C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.199). He was not summoned to Parliament until the following Oct., during the Readeption, which has led many to suppose the peerage was a Lancastrian bribe for his support. c.f. D.N.B.
  4. T. B. Pugh, in Fifteenth Century England, 1399-1509, p.117, lists sixteen baronies, of which four, Ferrers of Chartley, Morley, Lisle and Welles were de iure uxoris, two were restorations, Lumley and Dacre of Gilsland, and two, Maltravers and Dunster, were to heirs of earldoms married to the queen's sisters; this leaves eight straight elevations to the peerage ranks.

content with a simple barony, though his influence ranked him among the major peers. After 1461, only three men received a peerage as a reward for services to the crown. Walter Blount, who became lord Mountjoy in 1465, had been a Yorkist from the mid 1450s, treasurer of Calais and in 1464 was made Treasurer of England. John Dynham, who in 1459 had helped Edward and Warwick escape to Calais and who had been given various offices under Edward, was given a barony in 1466 and finally John Howard became baron Howard in 1470. His career had followed a similar pattern to those of the other two, he had fought for Edward's accession to the throne, enjoyed various offices, served on various embassies and received a mark of the king's gratitude. Unlike the earlier recipients, he was not a close friend of the king, nor did he owe it to the influence of a lord, for Edward might grant peerages to please Warwick in 1461, but hardly in 1470 to please Norfolk. Howard owed it entirely to his merits and his services<sup>(1)</sup>.

Howard was also one of the few household members to be granted both lands and offices. Generally household careerists had offices, with pensions and gifts, rather than estates, which went to men who were already politically important in a territorial sense<sup>(2)</sup>. Hastings is the most obvious exception to this rule. Holding a high household office, his territorial holdings in the midlands, previously insignificant, were increased until he was the most important landholder in the region. Most of Edward's new peers did not hold household offices of any great significance, but right from 1461, Howard was granted manors in East Anglia, the region where his territorial influence, such as it was, already lay, until at the time of Edward's death, he virtually controlled it and rivalled Hastings in the midlands and Stanley in Lancashire, both of whom remained in senior household positions after Howard left his. The reasons for this retirement are not far to seek. Howard was not a man of the court and having lent his expertise to the household finances, probably preferred to return to more active service for his king. Immediately after Elrington succeeded him as treasurer, Howard was re-appointed deputy-lieutenant of Calais<sup>(3)</sup>. He had originally been appointed to the post on 2 July 1470, when Edward had become suspicious of Wenlock's loyalties, and was seeking to prevent

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1. G.E.C., see various entries

2. Morgan, loc.cit., p.20

3. P.R.O. Writs of Privy Seal, C/834/3240

Calais becoming a springboard for invasion, as had happened in 1460<sup>(1)</sup>. He had just replaced Warwick as captain by Rivers. In the political upheavals that followed, there is no evidence that Howard in fact spent any time at Calais<sup>(2)</sup>. In 1471, when Edward regained his throne, he entrusted the command of Calais to the most loyal of his supporters, William, lord Hastings, whose personal devotion to him was unquestionable and untainted with any personal ambition. In this context, Howard's re-appointment as deputy is a further indication of the trust in which Edward held him. Hastings did not give up his household office and it would be unlikely that the king would wish to be deprived of his friend's company for any long period, so it is reasonable to suppose that he intended to place the administration fairly firmly on Howard's shoulders. As early as March 1470, he had been granted a general pardon of all offences and debts as a former commissioner of Calais<sup>(3)</sup>. There appears to be no record of his appointment as a commissioner, but the fact that the pardon was granted just as Edward regained control of his kingdom after Warwick's first period of power suggests that it may have been a commission set up by Warwick himself. At any rate it presupposes a knowledge by Howard of the workings of the Calais administration before he received his first appointment as deputy.

Unfortunately Howard's accounts for this period do not survive, the first volume ends in the summer of 1471 when he took up his Calais appointment. This in itself indicates that a radical change took place in the pattern of his life, but since no personal details of his time in Calais exist, it is not proposed that a general study of the administration of the town and its fortifications be given. The only brief glimpse of him while he was there comes indirectly from a letter of Hastings', writing to Sir John Middleton and Sir John Paston to thank them for their attendance on him while he was on one of his periodic visits to Calais; he asks them to commend him to 'my Lady Howard, my Lady Bouchier and all the other ladies and gentlewomen of the said town'<sup>(4)</sup>. By lady Bouchier,

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1. T. Carte, Catalogue des roles gascons, normands et francoises (1743) vol.iii, p.361, where his name is given as Thomas.
  2. See Chapter 6, pages 136-137
  3. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.204
  4. Paston Letters, vol.iii, p.97



he presumably meant Sir Thomas Howard's wife, Elizabeth Tylney, recently the widow of Sir Humphrey Bourchier, it would presumably have been too complicated if both she and her mother-in-law were known as lady Howard. Their presence in Calais suggests a semi-permanent Howard establishment there, broken by visits home and the several diplomatic trips to which Howard was appointed during his period of duty. Almost impossible as it is to build any picture of his activities there, so equally uncertain is the date when his post as deputy-lieutenant came to an end, or at least when he ceased to spend any appreciable time in Calais. It seems to have been some time before the 1475 expedition to France, and glimpses of him in the Paston correspondence from the end of 1474 seem to indicate that he was back more or less permanently at Stoke-by-Nayland by that date<sup>(1)</sup>.

Two of the later appointments Howard was to hold were of a military nature. In February 1479 Edward granted him the second reversion to the office of Constable of the Tower of London, which owing to the extreme longevity of the incumbent, lord Dudley, he never held<sup>(2)</sup>. In July 1483, Richard III made him Admiral of England. This was a fitting tribute to the leading seaman of his day, but the irony of it is that Howard commanded no fleets during the last few years of his life, and as far as evidence exists, made no voyages<sup>(3)</sup>. He had already acted as sub-admiral for Norfolk and Suffolk on behalf of Richard when the latter as a boy held the office of Admiral himself. The last administrative office Howard held was that of Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster south of the Trent<sup>(4)</sup>. The appointment in 1483 was for life and his powers were by no means nominal. As in making him admiral, the new king had chosen an office for which his talents were particularly suited<sup>(5)</sup>. How much the steward chose to exercise these powers himself and how much he relinquished to deputies depended on his own temperament and inclination. It may safely be said that whereas Howard might have given a considerable amount of attention to his duties in the normal run of events his advancement to the dukedom almost immediately after his appointment to the stewardship meant that his own affairs occupied all his time.

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iii, pp.121, 151
  2. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.137; for a discussion of this point see Chapter 8, pages 190-191
  3. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.363
  4. B. M. Harl 433 f.6; H.B.II, p.393
  5. See R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster: 1295-1603 (1953), pp.113-5, for a description of the powers and duties of a chief steward.

The granting of offices in the fifteenth century was not entirely a matter of the king's decision as to who was most worthy to fill a vacant post. It was a well-established practice that men petitioned for offices or grants of land which they desired and felt they were entitled to by way of a reward for services to the crown. This went on regularly and most of the petitioners were royal servants of one kind or another, but there was always a surge of requests after any particular reversal of royal fortunes. The petitions are included in the Chancery class of signed bills and warrants, which also include appointments to commissions and similar business. If Edward saw fit to grant the petition, he scrawled the letters R.E. on it and passed it to the Chancellor for whom it acted as a warrant for the issue of letters patent incorporating the grant; in most cases the petition actually set out the form the letters patent were to take. Unfortunately only those petitions granted and thus used as warrants for further action survive, so that there is no indication of the number and range of petitions that were refused. The existing petitions serve to illustrate both a man's opinion of his worth and the direction in which his ambitions lay. Several petitions of Howard's survive and it is interesting to see which of his many grants he actively sought and which were unsolicited gifts from the king. The most politically important of the early grants, that of the entry into the royal household as a king's carver, was not of his seeking, nor was that of the shrievalty of Norfolk and Suffolk or the constableness of Colchester castle, but he did petition for and receive that of Norwich castle, likewise his first grant of estates, the seven manors he received in February 1462, and the two tenements in Crooked Lane, London<sup>(1)</sup>. Several conclusions may be drawn from this. First, that Edward recognised Howard as a man to be rewarded for his support and one who could be entrusted with offices in the politically disturbed sphere of East Anglia and also that Howard, although he did not intend to let his services go unrewarded, was more interested in his private affairs, the enlargement of his estates and the furthering of his business interests than in becoming a royal officer. This is borne out by the few later petitions which exist. The only one of any significance is for the six Oxford manors in 1475, the others being for a licence to found a chantry in 1474 and for the right to hold markets and an annual fair in Stoke-by-Nayland in 1478 and finally to be granted the manor of

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1. P.R.O. Chancery warrants, C81/1486, 1490

Whymple in Devon in compensation for the manor of Dolyngham which he had surrendered at the king's request<sup>(1)</sup>. Other entries relating to Howard in this class are appointments to various commissions and a general release from all debts and obligations he had incurred as treasurer of the household<sup>(2)</sup>.

Howard was a member of the king's council before the Readeption. It is not possible to say exactly when, but it was probably about 1467-8 when he was undertaking his earliest diplomatic missions. Not only did the position add dignity to an envoy, but it also meant he was covered by the councillor's oath of secrecy. By the time he joined the council, division of opinion over whether to ally with France or Burgundy was already apparent. That Howard was pro-Burgundian is clear from two letters he wrote early in 1468. The king had summoned the council to meet at Coventry and Howard wrote to him apologising for his inability to attend because of an injury to his leg, but to a colleague (unnamed) he offered to lead a contingent of a hundred men at his own expense if the king decided to go to war with France<sup>(3)</sup>. The council warrants under the great seal, which usually give the names of those councillors present are too few to build up a valid picture of who were the most active members<sup>(4)</sup>. Howard's frequent trips abroad on both military and diplomatic business would ensure that he was not the most regular of attenders at council meetings, but the one or two occasions when he is known to have been present, are not without significance. In February 1468 he was one of the few councillors who attended the meeting Edward had summoned in order to allow the earl of Warwick to put forward his views on a French alliance a week after he had himself signed the marriage alliance with Burgundy. In September 1469 when Edward was in Warwick's control after Robin of Redesdale's rising, Howard was again one of a small group of councillors who endeavoured to keep the normal wheels of government turning in London despite the political upheavals, and he was present in 1474 when the marriage of James of Scotland and Princess Cecily was under debate, which suggests

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1. P.R.O. C81/1510, 1508, 1515, 1517

2. C81/1496, 1504, 1506, 1513 and 1509

3. H.B.I., pp. 173-4

4. For a detailed discussion of the records, personnel and activities of the council at this period see J. R. Lander, 'The Yorkist council and administration, 1461-1485', E.H.R., lxxiii (1958), p.27-46 and 'Council administration and councillors, 1461-1485', B.I.H.R., xxxii (1959), pp. 138-166

he was back more or less permanently home from Calais by this date<sup>(1)</sup>. He seems therefore, to have performed his duties conscientiously while he was in London.

If appointments on military and diplomatic missions were the virtual prerogative of members of the household, Howard would seem to have had an unusually large number. During the first decade of Edward's reign he was constantly engaged in warfare, either fighting, directing a fleet or fitting out expeditions. In the relatively peaceful second decade of the reign, he became one of the king's chief ambassadors. Diplomacy at this period was largely a matter of sending special envoys to a fellow-ruler in order to reach agreements on specific points. The envoys, therefore, could be chosen to suit the question in hand. Howard's first venture in the diplomatic field came as early as 1464 when he was made one of a party to ride out of London and greet the Castilian ambassador, but the first occasion when he was solely responsible was the reception of the Burgundian envoys, led by the Seigneur de Gruythuse at Gravesend in December 1466, from whence he escorted them up the Thames. In 1467 he conveyed the bereaved Bastard of Burgundy home in his own ship, the 'Edward', after the great tournament<sup>(2)</sup>. Discounting the Castilian reception, where anyone from court might have been required to take part, his two dealings with Burgundians seem to have been based on his experience with ships rather than any more subtle diplomatic ability. It seems as though the turning point in Howard's career may well have been the tournament. Up to that point, he had been one of Edward's reliable captains in the field and a powerful Yorkist influence in East Anglia, but not a man necessarily marked out for higher offices. His ability to cope with the unexpected dignity of the Marshall's office and the efficiency with which the Burgundians were escorted home probably convinced Edward of his versatility. From this followed his appointment to the council and to the office of treasurer and also to the entourage that escorted the king's sister Margaret to her marriage in Burgundy the following June, where the English found the court so dazzling that young John Paston wrote home

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1. P.R.O. C81/1499, 1547, 1508

2. H.B.I., pp.250, 383, 409, see Chapter 6 page:132

I heard never of none like to it, save King Arthur's court and by my troth, I have no wit nor remembrance to write you half the worship that is here. (1)

On this occasion also, Howard's ships proved useful, for of the seven which conveyed the party, two were his<sup>(2)</sup>.

Judging by these state occasions it might be thought that the king intended to develop Howard as a Burgundian specialist, and in view of the latter's strong commercial interests and Burgundy's role as England's chief trading partner, this would have seemed a reasonable step. In fact, things turned out rather differently and the first time Howard was appointed as an ambassador to negotiate with a foreign power, it was with France. Interestingly enough, his appointment was intended as a slight to Louis XI<sup>(3)</sup>. That king was, in 1467, making Edward very tempting offers to persuade him not to make the Burgundian alliance. A high-powered embassy from him in July was treated with distinct coolness in England and returned home merely with the king's promise to send a return embassy and meagre gifts of hunting horns, leather bottles and some large mastiffs. Edward had already entered into an agreement with Charles of Burgundy and in September despatched to him a fine embassy headed by lords Hastings and Scales. The ambassadors appointed to visit France were far less impressive, being Howard, Sir Richard Tunstall and Thomas Langton, the latter two former Lancastrians<sup>(4)</sup>. As a team they were obviously intended to imply to Louis that Edward did not consider him important enough to send anyone of higher rank. There is no positive evidence that they ever visited France, but clues in Howard's personal accounts suggest that they did. They are not chronological at this period and it is impossible to work out his movements, but he paid a number of bills on 18 October including one for some new clothes and there are no further entries between that date and 16 November, when he paid for repairs to his carvel at Southampton<sup>(5)</sup>. It seems reasonable to suppose that they crossed in Howard's ship about the middle of October, and since it was clear that Edward had entered into a treaty

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1. Paston Letters, vol.iv, p.298
  2. For a full description of the reception given to Margaret and her entourage see Excerpta Historica, pp.227-239
  3. For a detailed description of the complex foreign policy of the period, see C. Scofield op.cit., vol.i, pp.393-439
  4. Foedera, vol.v, pt.i, p.149; Wedgwood, Biographies, p.883; C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.97; C.P.R. 1461-1467, p.268 for Tunstall and Langton
  5. H.B.I., pp.428, 430

of amity and mutual alliance with Burgundy, there was little point in a prolonged visit. Despite the inauspicious occasion of this first embassy, they must have impressed both Louis and their own king, for this unlikely trio were destined to make many more trips to France, not as men of little standing, but as some of the most experienced of the English ambassadors.

There is no evidence at all of any form of diplomatic cunning in Howard's character, indeed rather the reverse, his usefulness lay in a bluff openness and a single-minded determination to achieve what he set out to do, qualities which are apparent in his commercial dealings and proved equally opportune in foreign courts. Following his account of the treaty of Picquigny, Philippe de Commines commented that the English did not conduct their treaties with the cunning of the French, but proceeded with more ingenuousness and straightforwardness and yet, he adds, a man must be cautious and not affront them for it was dangerous to meddle with them<sup>(1)</sup>. This may well have been an accurate generalisation about fifteenth century Englishmen, but it is certainly a description which tallies with all that is known of Howard's character, and since Howard and Commines had spent much time in each other's company over this treaty and Howard was the most frequent ambassador to France, it is not difficult to believe that Commines was generalising from the particular.

After the first trip to France, there was no more diplomatic activity for Howard until Edward regained his throne in 1471, and then it was centred on Burgundy. No sooner had he and lord Hastings been put in command of Calais than they were appointed to a commission to treat with Burgundian ambassadors concerning the border of Calais with Picardy. This was a minor matter of adjustment which would probably have been dealt with by the current lieutenant, whoever he may have been<sup>(2)</sup>. In September 1472, when Edward and Charles of Burgundy were planning an aggressive alliance against France, Charles despatched an embassy led by the Seigneur de Gruythuse to England. Gruythuse was not only Governor of Holland, he had personally entertained Edward during his exile in Burgundy, while Charles was doubtful about aiding his brother-in-law, and from the moment he set foot on English territory he was heaped with all the honours the English could devise, including the earldom of Winchester. Before he left Burgundy he was met by two English squires, Robert Ratcliff, the porter of Calais, and

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1. Philippe de Commines, Mémoires, ed. J. Calmette and G. Durville, vol.ii, p.60

2. P.R.O. C81/1504

Thomas Thwaites, bailiff of Guisnes, and conducted to Calais, where he was met by Howard, for Hastings was in England with the king, Sir John Scott, marshal of Calais, Sir William Peche, Sir Geoffrey Gate and the other leading members of the town's establishment. According to Bluemantle Pursuivant, he was feasted day and night throughout his stay in the town, which Bluemantle believed to have lasted three or four days. Certainly it was long enough for Howard and his visitors to get well acquainted. When they left he saw to it that they were attended by three or four well-furnished ships of war to ensure a safe passage, with Gate and Ratcliff as escorts<sup>(1)</sup>.

For Edward IV, a necessary preliminary to a war against France was a settlement with the merchants of the Hanseatic League, who had been conducting a fierce mercantile war with England with the aid of the king of Denmark<sup>(2)</sup>. The two sides agreed to meet at a diet at Utrecht in July 1473 and the English negotiators included Sir John Scott from Calais, Dr. John Russell, and to represent the London business interests, Howard's connection, Sir John Crosby. Not content with a meeting to come to terms with the Hanse, Edward empowered the envoys to attend another diet at Bruges to settle commercial differences with Burgundy<sup>(3)</sup>. At Bruges they were to be joined by lords Hastings and Howard, who were to treat with the duke of Burgundy for a perpetual peace and an offensive and defensive alliance against France, and render their colleagues any assistance they might over the commercial treaty. Howard's commission was issued on 20 May 1473, and he probably was in England to receive it and hear the king's instructions, for a few days later he set out to return to Calais, preceding his colleagues, Dr. Russell and William Hatclyf, the king's secretary. During the crossing, his ship was attacked by Easterlings, three Hanse ships, and being heavily outnumbered, was driven on to the sands. While the ships 'bikered to guyder', sixteen of Howard's servants were killed and he himself only managed to escape by taking to a boat<sup>(4)</sup>. The incident was unpleasant enough in itself, but must have been doubly galling with the diet at Utrecht about to take place. Luckily, Howard was not a member of that commission, for he would not have been in a mood conciliatory to the Hanse,

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1. The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant in C. L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (1913), pp384-5
  2. Again, for the background to all these negotiations, see Scofield op.cit., vol.ii, pp.53-84
  3. Foedera, vol.v, pt.ii, p.30
  4. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 11th Report, app.7, p.95; William Dengayn was writing from Calais on 1 June to Sir William Calthorp, the duke of Norfolk's steward of the household, and his story was likely to be substantially true.

and the English had instructions to be accommodating because Edward wanted the sea safe for English ships so that he could transport an army to France. Russell and Hatclyf followed Howard to Calais in safety, and were met by William Rosse, another commissioner. They were going to Bruges to try and settle England's commercial differences with Burgundy before going on to meet the Hanse representatives at Utrecht. Only these four, of all the various commissioners Edward had appointed seem actually to have crossed to the continent. Hatclyf and Russell left Calais for Bruges, planning that Howard and Rosse should follow. Unfortunately, Edward's commission had specified at least four representatives, so nothing could be done until their colleagues arrived. A few days later, Rosse joined them on his own and the situation therefore remained unchanged. No explanation for Howard's continued absence is given, yet the circumstances are curious, for it is the only occasion when he appears to have failed in his duty to the king. One possible explanation lies in the Easterling attack. Did he perhaps receive injuries which turned out to be more serious than at first supposed and which incapacitated him for travel?

Although Howard did not attend the diet at Utrecht that settled English differences with the Hanse, he was one of those who might have been expected to benefit most. The attack made on his own ship and the narrow escape sustained by Edward in 1470 as he fled from Lynn to Burgundy show how fiercely the Hanse were prosecuting the war which had broken out in 1468. For much of this period Howard's accounts have not survived and only the purest chance preserved the reference to the attack made on the ship when he was travelling himself. Before 1468 his ships had traded with the Hanse as far east as Prussia, so the closing of these markets may well have made an appreciable difference to his finances<sup>(1)</sup>. Therefore as a merchant and a diplomat he would appreciate that England's best interests lay in securing peace with the Hanse, whether or not the question of transporting an army to France was taken into consideration.

The proposed invasion of France finally took place in the summer of 1475. The loss of Howard's accounts for this period is particularly unfortunate, because all the other forces he raised for the crown, with the possible exception of the Scottish expedition, he raised quickly. On this occasion the English had over a year to prepare themselves. Howard's contribution,

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1. For further instances of attacks on Howard's ships, see below, page 180 H.B.I., p.332



according to a manuscript in the College of Arms, was twenty men-at-arms and two hundred archers. This was one of the highest among the barons, out-numbered only by Hastings and Stanley and equalled by Ferrers and Scrope. Norfolk provided two knights, forty lances and three hundred archers, so Howard's numbers compare quite favourably. All his men wore his badge of 'a Whytt Lyon on his sheulde (shoulder) Cressant azur'; the white lion was the Norfolk badge and the crescent azur on its shoulder differentiated Howard's men from those of his lord. Although Howard was probably no longer a retainer of his cousin's, being far too prominent on his own account, his choice of badge indicates how closely he still identified his interests with those of Norfolk. His son Thomas, on the other hand, was quite independant and chose as a badge for his six men-at-arms and sixty archers, a silver salet, a form of defensive headgear then currently fashionable. Lord Howard received four shillings for his own daily wage, together with one shilling for each of his men-at-arms and sixpence for his archers, paid by John Sovell and John Fitzherbert, the king's tellers<sup>(1)</sup>.

The army mustered on 26 May at Barham Down near Canterbury. Charles of Burgundy kept his word to provide five hundred Dutch bottoms, low, flat ships, suitable for transporting horses, but notwithstanding these and the English ships commanded by the crown (which included Howard's 'Margaret', 'George' and 'Thomas'), it took Edward three weeks to make the crossing with his army<sup>(2)</sup>. The situation which greeted the English invading force when it reached Calais was not satisfactory. Of their two allies, Francis of Brittany was too afraid of Louis XI to act and Charles of Burgundy's army was tied down besieging the town of Neuss. That Edward was far from satisfied with his brother-in-law's behaviour is suggested by the fact that the year before he was willing to offer terms to Louis and avoid an invasion. Louis had rejected the overture and tried all manner of means to persuade Charles to abandon the alliance. Failing this, he attacked Charles' territory, which at least had the effect of making him break off the siege of Neuss. When Charles arrived to meet Edward as arranged, it was only with a handful of followers instead of the large, fresh army the English expected.

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1. F. P. Barnard, Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475 (1925), pp. 24-25, 78-79
  2. C.P.R. 1467-1477, p.525

When Charles left the English camp, Edward had already decided to abandon their grand design and to salvage what he could. Even before he embarked he had sent Garter King of Arms, a native of Normandy by birth, to Louis with a Letter of Defiance so elegantly styled and politely written that Commynes could hardly believe any Englishman had a hand in composing it ('en beau langage et en beau stille, et croy que jamais Angloys n'y avoit mist la main)<sup>(1)</sup>. Perhaps Garter was responsible. It called upon Louis to surrender the kingdom of France to Edward as by right and inheritance so that he might restore the French to their ancient freedom. Louis seized his chance and taking Garter aside, he declared that he knew Edward was coming only to satisfy the English commons and the duke of Burgundy, who was not in a fit state to discharge his share of the alliance, and he went on to enumerate several other arguments in an attempt to get the herald to persuade his master to make peace. In what was to become a symbolic gesture, he slipped three hundred crowns into Garter's hand and promised him more on the conclusion of peace. Garter hastened to assure him that the king was not adverse to the idea of peace, but that nothing could be done until the army was in France, and then Louis might send a herald. For good measure he suggested that Louis send letters to lord Howard or lord Stanley as well as one to himself, so that he might assist and introduce the herald<sup>(2)</sup>. After this interview, Louis appeared to be 'very cheerful and valiant', as well he might, for he was shrewd enough to recognise that Edward was really as unwilling as himself to fight, and with a modicum of luck the whole affair could remain on the level of a diplomatic game.

The choice of lords Howard and Stanley as names to drop is an interesting one, for Garter is unlikely to have named them at random. As a result of his former ambassadorial visit in 1467, Howard was personally known to Louis, and was probably one of the few of Edward's loyal lords who was so known, but there is no indication that he had ever been more favourably inclined than Edward towards France. He had never shown the slightest inclination to join Warwick's circle in the 1460s and with his mercantile interests he would always have been prejudiced in favour of

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1. Commynes, op.cit., vol.ii, p.31

2. ibid., p.32

Burgundy. Stanley, at this period steward of the household, had no record of privy dealings with France. The fact that Stanley held, and Howard had recently relinquished, a senior household post may have been enough for them to be known by repute to Louis and would also indicate to him that they were men of influence. From the later moves in the game, it may be assumed that neither were naturally inclined to be favourable to Louis behind Edward's back, but that in giving their names, Garter was making Edward's first move toward a settlement, and that whatever Howard or Stanley did subsequently, it was at Edward's direction.

In the diplomatic manoeuvrings that followed, Howard played a leading role. Because the events were chronicled in detail by Philippe de Commynes, there is, for this one occasion of national importance, a narrative account in which Howard features largely. For this reason it is worth following what happened in some detail, particularly as it is possible that Commynes's<sup>1</sup> source of information for what happened in the English camp may have been Howard himself, he being the Englishman with whom Commynes was most in contact. The game began as soon as the duke of Burgundy left the English. A servant of Jacques de Grassay, Sieur de Yors, had been captured by the English and it was decided to release him and use him as a messenger to Louis. This was undoubtedly a decision taken by the king, but he made no appearance as yet and the Frenchman was ostensibly sent off because he was of insufficient importance to keep. As he was escorted out of the camp, he was stopped by Howard and Stanley, who pressed a noble on him and requested him to present their humble service to his king when he had an opportunity of speaking to him. The success of this plan hung upon the intelligence of the servant, but it worked, for he went straight to Louis at Compiègne. The idea that he had in fact been planted by that astute monarch, although entirely worthy of him, is rendered less tenable by Louis's first reaction, which was to clap him into prison because his master had a brother in the service of the duke of Burgundy. A night's reflection upon the fact that the very two English lords named by Garter, were those who had just recommended themselves to him, made Louis decide to take the risk. He dressed a servant in Herald's dress and sent him off to the English camp. When stopped by sentries he declared that he had messages for lord Howard and lord Stanley and was conducted safely to them. Delighted by the success of the plan, the lords took him to the king<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1. Commynes, op.cit., pp.39-43

For an improvised herald, the servant seems to have delivered his message like a master, and Louis's grasp of the relationship between the English king and his subjects was equally masterly. He made great play of the selfish ends of the duke of Burgundy and the great expense to which the English had been put, while showing that he was aware of the eagerness of the English nobles and merchants for war. If Edward was willing to consider peace, therefore, Louis would come to terms agreeable both to him and to his subjects, and would send ambassadors to discuss the terms. It took Edward very little time to agree to come to terms and the very next morning French and English commissioners met at a village near Amiens. Edward obviously felt no scruples in making a separate peace with Louis but he met with some opposition from among his own army. In a meeting of his senior captains, his brother Gloucester opposed the suggested peace as dishonourable and had the support of some others. By fifteenth century standards it might indeed be so considered, for Edward was proposing to allow himself to be bought off and his brother was young, martial and probably idealistic, but in the circumstances, Edward was making the best of a bad job and most of his lords agreed with him.

There can be little doubt that Howard viewed the matter in the same light as his king. He was always a practical man and the campaign had ceased to be a practical proposition. If he had not been in favour of the idea of peace, he would hardly have been chosen by the king for the role of go-between, nor chosen to lead the commission that settled the terms of the English army's withdrawal. He was supported by Dr. Morton, Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas St. Leger, the king's brother-in-law, and William Dudley, dean of the chapel royal, an able, but apart from Howard himself, an undistinguished team. That of the French was much more impressive, and consisted of the Lord of St. Pierre, seneschal of Normandy, Anthony, Bastard of Bourbon and Admiral of France, the bishop of Evreux and the lord of Lude. On the morning of 15 August, the commissioners met and the English opened the bargaining with Howard, as their head, demanding the crown of France for his master and then reducing the demands to the duchies of Guienne and Normandy. The French parried in a similar spirit and the whole affair proceeded amicably, as these things do when both sides desire an agreement. The English demands gradually narrowed down to the terms decided on by Edward and his council. These were the payment of seventy-five thousand crowns to Edward on the removal of his army from France, and an annual payment of fifty thousand crowns in two instalments

during the lifetime of them both, a truce for seven years and a treaty of amity and mutual assistance against enemies and rebellious subjects, the treaty to be sealed by the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, Edward's eldest daughter, to the Dauphin. Some of the French could not believe the English to be in earnest, but Louis was so eager to get them out of France without having to hand over any French towns, that he was prepared to accept before the English changed their minds<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is clear that the choice of Howard as chief commissioner to put these demands was a sound one on Edward's part. As a businessman, he probably found a settlement of financial compensation less distasteful than would many of his fellow peers. Edward had insisted that the truce comprehend both Brittany and Burgundy as well, if they so chose, showing more consideration for his allies than Duke Charles had done, but the latter was so angry at his brother-in-law that he swore not to take advantage of the truce until the English had been back home for three months, since he could manage perfectly well without them. About 19 August, Howard and his fellow-commissioners travelled to Senlis, whither Louis had withdrawn himself, and it was agreed that the two kings should seal their new-found amity by a personal meeting. Since Louis found it impossible to cast aside his customary suspicion, it was also agreed that Edward should leave behind two hostages for Louis until the army had left France. The men selected for this thankless task were Howard and Sir John Cheyne, Edward's master of the horse.

The next problem to be overcome was that of choosing a site suitable for the meeting place of the two kings. So fraught with difficulties was it that a special commission was set up to solve it, consisting of Howard and Thomas St. Leger on one side and Commynes and the lord of Bouchage on the other. As the four of them rode on scouting expeditions in the neighbourhood of Amiens, it may be that Commynes learned of many of the happenings in the English camp. Luckily they managed to find a site that fulfilled all their requirements. It was at Picquigny, the site of a former castle on the Somme about three leagues (nine miles or thereabouts) from Amiens, where the river was narrow enough to be bridged but too deep to be fordable. Thus the English and French parties could be isolated on

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1. Commynes, op.cit., pp.44-54

either bank. The commissioners then arranged for a bridge to be built, on which the kings were to greet each other. As Louis could not forget how a former duke of Burgundy had been murdered on such a bridge in his grandfather's time, they had also to order the erection of a barricade across the centre of the bridge, a barricade made of latticed woodwork such as, according to Commynes, 'the lions' cages are made from, the holes between the bars being just big enough for a man to push his arm through easily'<sup>(1)</sup>. The side from which Edward was to approach obliged him to cross a causeway about two bowshots in length with marsh on both sides, a highly dangerous position if French intentions were dishonourable. As it happened the French were not contemplating treachery, but although Commynes thought the English had not noticed the danger, it is inconceivable that a soldier of Howard's experience had remained unaware of it, even if he turned a blind eye. This may have been the reason that while the French king brought a train of about eight hundred to Mequigny, the entire English army escorted its king. It had been agreed that only a dozen men from each side would be allowed on the bridge itself, and to guard against any trickery, four French observers were to be stationed on the English side of the bridge, and four Englishmen on the French end. If the precautions tend a bit towards the ludicrous, there can be no doubt as to who was responsible. Edward was not by nature a suspicious man and Commynes testifies to the guilelessness of the English, while Louis, not for the first time, ordered one of his party (Commynes himself) to appear in garments exactly like his own. Howard did not escort Edward on to the bridge, and remained with the army, which was drawn up in battle formation, but his son, Thomas, was there as Edward's squire<sup>(2)</sup>.

The meeting was a successful one and all the precautions proved effective or served to discourage anyone contemplating treachery. The kings took courteous leave of each other, Louis returning to Amiens and Edward to his army. Two or three of Edward's lords were invited to dine with Louis that evening, and as is hardly surprising in view of all his hard work in the previous few weeks, Howard was one of those invited. It might

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1. Philippe de Commynes, Memoirs, ed. and trans. M. Jones (1972), p.255

2. Weever, Funerall Monuments, p.834; Commynes, op.cit., pp.54-67

in any other circumstances have been thought natural for the two kings to dine together, but the precautions and effort that would have entailed put it out of the question. While on the bridge, Louis had suggested that Edward come and divert himself in Paris with the ladies, offering the Cardinal of Bourbon as confessor, himself a well-known wench. Although he could not resist a sly dig at Edward's notorious habits, in fact the last thing Louis wanted was any delay in the English army's departure from France. Edward, being an easy-going man, had accepted the laugh against him and with suitable repartee had indicated that he would be delighted to come. The story probably spread rapidly through the English army and that evening Howard was able to pay Louis out in his own coin for the joke against his king. He was apparently in the seat of honour at dinner, for he was able to lean close to Louis and whisper in his ear that if the king so desired it, he would find a way to bring Edward to Amiens or Paris so that the two kings could enjoy each other's company. Taking the Englishman's statement at its face value, Louis was horrified, but managed to smile and dissemble and told Comynnes afterwards that the thing he most feared had come to pass. When Howard followed up his advantage and pressed him, Louis declared that he had to turn his whole energy to dealing with Burgundy and arrange for the instant departure of an expedition against Charles. Howard, who had just disproved Comynnes' view of the guilelessness of the English could he have but known it, surely spent the rest of the evening laughing up his sleeve at Louis's discomfiture<sup>(1)</sup>. In this incident may well lie the key to Howard's success as an envoy, particularly in relation to the French. A naturally straightforward man, he had greater reserves of subtlety than the French ever gave him credit for, and was able to turn these to good use. Probably they would have been less at ease with an Englishman of greater depth and less openness.

Louis found it impossible to raise the full sum of seventy-five thousand crowns immediately and Edward had to be content with fifty-five on the spot and Louis' assurance under the great seal and sign manual for the rest as soon as it could be obtained. Edward turned his army towards Calais and home, leaving Howard and Sir John Cheyne as sureties for his swift departure. Since the hostages were sent to Paris and there entertained in Louis' household, they could have had small cause for

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1. Comynnes, op.cit., pp.68-9

complaint save for French sneers that the English had been willing to accept money rather than fight<sup>(1)</sup>. Louis may well have been pleased with the ease with which he had rid France of an invading army, but in truth it had been an expensive business for him. Always thorough, he had promised, and indeed paid, besides Edward's annual pension, pensions to men he considered Edward's leading councillors. Lord Hastings', as befitted his influence with the king (of which Louis stood in no doubt), was the highest at two thousand crowns a year, Rotherham, the Chancellor, one thousand crowns, Dr. Morton, six hundred crowns, and Sir Thomas Montgomery and lord Howard twelve hundred crowns, paid annually in the years of 1476, 1477 and 1478<sup>(2)</sup>. It is worth noting that those who received these pensions had all been active as ambassadors to the French court on several occasions, so Louis was not just scattering his money about among those he considered might have influence on the English king. He was always noted for his generosity to foreign ambassadors and it was the scale rather than the principle which was surprising on this occasion. Nor did he give pensions alone, for Commynes says that to his certain knowledge (and probably his envy), in less than two years Howard received more than twenty-four thousand crowns in money and plate from Louis, and this in addition to his pension<sup>(3)</sup>.

The morality of the acceptance of French pensions by the English in 1475 has long been a subject of debate. Certain contemporary Frenchmen and a good many English felt England was selling her honour for an easy peace. Edward was highly unpopular when he returned home and if the full terms of the treaty of amity had been known, a prediction that he would be torn to pieces when he reached England might have been fulfilled<sup>(4)</sup>. There must, however, be some distinction made between the pension which Edward demanded and Louis agreed to pay as part of the peace treaty, and the pensions he freely offered to certain other Englishmen. It has been noted that the recipients had been ambassadors to Louis on this and other occasions, and it was a customary practice to honour envoys with gifts in the exact proportion of the esteem in which their rulers were held at that moment. In this respect,

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1. Jean de Troyes, La Chronique Scandaleuse, printed in Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy (1747), vol.ii, p.120
  2. Bibliotheque Nationale, MS francais 10375 (quoted Scofield, op.cit., vol.ii, p.146n)
  3. Commynes, ed. Calmette, op.cit., p.241-2
  4. Calendar of State Papers: Milan, (H.M.S.O. 1913), p.211



Louis was following custom in 1475, but the suspicion that he was trying to build up a pro-French party at the English court is probably correct. Since the pensions were freely paid and had no strings attached, there was little guarantee that such a party could be created. For the ambassadors themselves, there would have been some difficulty in refusing what their king had been so eager to obtain. The acceptance from a foreign ruler of a substantial pension was certainly not unknown and not necessarily attended with dishonour; Hastings had been in receipt of one from Burgundy that amounted to a thousand crowns, a sum Louis was probably aware of, since his own to Hastings was exactly double. The circumstances of the pensions in 1475 were not such as a proud man could easily stomach, but they were also such that it was impossible to refuse. They made the best of it and called it tribute money, but nobody was really fooled, least of all Louis, who insisted that Restout, the Rouen merchant who delivered the instalments, receive a receipt from each pensioner. Hastings refused to give one, saying that he had not asked for the money and nobody was going to produce a receipt from him which called the lord chamberlain of England a pensioner of the king of France. Howard did not appear to have similar scruples, but then he was not in Hastings' delicate position of having two pensions from rulers at war with each other, and like a good businessman gave Restout the desired receipt each time his twice yearly instalment of six hundred crowns arrived<sup>(1)</sup>. Presumably, like the other recipients, he settled his conscience by enjoying the addition to his income and allowed Louis to gloat if he chose.

It should not be supposed that in the years following the treaty of Amiens, the relations between England and France continued in brotherly amity. In January 1477 an event occurred which was bound to impose the severest strains: Charles of Burgundy was killed at the siege of Nancy, leaving as heiress to all his domains, his only child, Mary. In the flurry of diplomatic activity which followed, the English were at a distinct disadvantage, because Edward very strongly desired to retain his French pension and the match for his daughter, Elizabeth. On the other hand, he wanted a friendly, independent Burgundy, and victories in the field by Louis would threaten Calais, English mercantile interests and the jointure of his sister, Duchess Margaret. On the horns of this dilemma, it was

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1. MS francais 10375

Howard who was chosen most frequently as envoy to France, firstly with his fellow pensioners, Sir Thomas Montgomery and Dr. Morton. This point Miss Scofield takes to imply that Edward was trying to be as conciliatory as possible, since all the envoys would be well-disposed towards France<sup>(1)</sup>. Surely, however, the situation was the reverse, the three were pensioners because they had been regular negotiators in France, and continued to be so since the situation demanded experienced men. There is no evidence that any of those in receipt of pensions ever acted more favourably toward France than they would otherwise have done, or than their king would have wished. On his next visit, Howard was accompanied by his old colleagues, Richard Tunstall and Thomas Langton, neither of whom were pensioners. The negotiations were extremely delicate, since Louis, by claiming that Mary of Burgundy was a rebellious subject of his own, was able to request Edward's armed support against her and her new husband, Maximilian of Austria. What Edward needed was an excuse to withhold the support, but one which would not affront Louis. Howard and his two colleagues spent three months at Plessis-du-Parc-les-Tours during the winter of 1477-8, while at home the duke of Clarence was condemned and died, and Anne Mowbray, sole heiress to the late duke of Norfolk, was married to Edward's younger son, Richard, duke of York. The course of the negotiations can be traced from several documents which, although undated, are almost certainly memoranda of replies to the English ambassadors from Louis' commissioners<sup>(2)</sup>. In the middle of March 1478, Howard and Langton received a new commission from London<sup>(3)</sup>. Those who had been appointed under the treaty of Amiens to arbitrate the differences between the two kings had never met, and the two envoys were now empowered to arrange with Louis for such a meeting. It was settled that they should hold their first meeting in England before Easter 1479 and their second in France before the following Michaelmas, and that they should finish their task before 29 August 1481<sup>(4)</sup>. Having finally completed their tasks in France, Howard and his companions departed three months after their arrival and returned to England carrying with them Margaret of Anjou's ransom to lay before Edward beside the proposals for the fate of Burgundy.

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1. Scofield, op.cit., vol.ii, p.194

2. MS français 4054, ff.213-229, quoted Scofield, op.cit., vol.ii, app.xii

3. Foedera, vol.v, pt.ii, p.79

4. Commynes, op.cit., vol.ii, p.248-9

This is the only one of Howard's embassies for which details of the development of negotiations survive, but the course of them was obviously far more influenced by the two kings than by any ambassador, and for this reason have not been detailed here. Howard might be free to hint at what would be acceptable to Edward, his council or merchants, and what would not, but he was bound by the general framework of the commissions given to him and his companions. Yet an ambassador who knew his king's mind and who was esteemed by the king with whom he was negotiating, was clearly a valuable man. That Edward did so value Howard is clear from the number of times he was appointed to meet the French, the subject of England's most important diplomatic dealings, and after 1475 there were few meetings between English and French envoys at which he was not present. By contrast, apart from the bishop of Elne, Louis' semi-permanent representative in London, all the French embassies were manned by envoys who came to England only once, presumably so that they could plead ignorance of all that had previously been arranged. Nor did Louis scruple to repudiate what the unfortunate bishop had agreed to, if it suited his purpose. In England, Howard also often had official dealings with French envoys. He was on a commission which negotiated with the bishop of Elne the alterations that Edward wished made to Louis' offers that he (Howard) had brought home from France in 1478, and when French envoys came to settle the question of the princess Elizabeth's dowry, Howard presented them with a fine 'ambling horse' in the king's name<sup>(1)</sup>. Despite the obvious advantages of having experts to negotiate, it laid the participants open to all sorts of pressures. In the early summer of 1479, there is a story that Flemings found on a captured French ship a letter and presents that Louis was sending to Howard, asking him to arrange for the sending of 10,000 English soldiers to help him in Flanders<sup>(2)</sup>. No reference is given for this information and there appears to be no English evidence for its authenticity, or for that of its sequel, which was that Edward was subsequently informed and arrested Howard and eleven of his close associates, unfortunately not named. If the story is true, it reflects Louis' belief that Howard was not only very influential, but also very well-disposed toward himself, it does not, however, necessarily imply that Howard could or would have attempted to carry out the request. The story has an air of likelihood about it.

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1. Foedera, vol.v, pt.ii, p.97

2. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Histoire de Flandres (Brussels, 1847-50), vol.v, p.314

Louis was suffering reverses in the field, although Maximilian did not inflict the defeat of Guinegate upon him until August of that year, and he was also worried by the fact that Edward was drawing closer to an alliance with Maximilian and Mary than to one with himself. An English contingent among his troops would not only have been welcome militarily therefore, but would have illustrated the solidarity of the Anglo-French alliance and the unlikelihood of any English aid being given to Burgundy. Since Edward was in the process of negotiating a marriage between his daughter Anne (who was later to marry Howard's grandson, Thomas, the third duke of Norfolk) and Maximilian and Mary's son Philip, a letter like this from Louis to Howard would doubtless awaken old memories of Warwick and cause trouble to the recipient. Whatever his own personal views of the merits of a French or Burgundian alliance, and there is no indication of what they were, Howard had never in the past shown the slightest desire to follow his own policies, and lacking any evidence to that effect on this occasion, it should be assumed that Louis had misjudged his man. Presumably it would not have taken Howard long to convince Edward of this. That he was arrested may well have been a product of an over-fertile Flemish imagination and indeed there is no evidence from English sources that he was ever out of favour at this period.

The acceptance of the French pensions did lay certain members of the council open to accusations that they were pro-French, but Edward was hardly likely to have used the pensioners so extensively in the years that followed if he had cause to suspect their loyalty to himself. In January 1479, when Louis' ambassadors were received by Edward, the Chancellor, Howard and other members of the council, their answer concerning the payment of Elizabeth's dowry enraged the council so much that they apparently advised Edward to break off all relations with France<sup>(1)</sup>. Since a number of the most influential members of the council were in receipt of French pensions which were thus put in jeopardy, this unanimity hardly argues that the payment of them made the recipients pro-French. Relations with the French deteriorated throughout 1479-1480, though negotiations continued. In May 1480, lord Hastings was sent to take command at Calais, Gloucester was commissioned to defend the border against

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1. P.R.O. E101/412/10; B.N. MS français 18,427, 'The Trial of the Bishop of Elne', quoted Scofield, op.cit., vol.ii, p.245

the Scots and Howard and Langton were commissioned to return to France with Louis' ambassadors and demand the ratification of the treaty concluded with the bishop of Elne on Louis' behalf, and the immediate marriage of the Dauphin and Elizabeth. This indicates that Edward could hardly have believed that Howard was more favourable to Louis than he should have been, but rather that in a deteriorating diplomatic situation, he was sending to France his most experienced and therefore most trustworthy negotiator. Louis' returning ambassadors crossed in the 'Grace Dieu', but Howard and Langton seem to have crossed in a ship of John Barker's, presumably because none of Howard's own were available<sup>(1)</sup>. With them travelled some horses and dogs, sent to Louis as gifts from lord Hastings, who wrote to him, 'You may be sure, Sire, that I shall ever be ready to render you all the service I can, as I have sent you word (by the returning ambassadors) and also by Monsieur de Howard, who is your very good servant. And by them you shall be told about everything'<sup>(2)</sup>. This is not the whole text of the letter, but it is enough to indicate that Edward was willing to have some of his closest associates make themselves agreeable to Louis. Hasting's loyalty to Edward has never been questioned, and the fact that he had just departed for Calais suggests that Edward wanted Louis' suspicions lulled and his sensibilities smoothed. Although moving toward Burgundy, he was loth to lose his pension and his daughter's fine marriage, and thought if he was adroit enough, he might manage to retain both. Louis received Howard as politely as usual, and distributed a thousand marks worth of silver vessels among the English envoys, but stalled for as long as he could while attempting to discover what Edward was really up to. Howard was left to wander the streets of Paris and amuse himself as best he might until the king chose to proceed further<sup>(3)</sup>.

Louis' spies brought him the disconcerting news that the Duchess Margaret had made an unexpected visit to England in the late June of 1480, in order to induce her brother to enter a firm alliance with Burgundy. This brought Louis promptly to Howard and Langton with a firm offer to pay Edward's daughter fifteen thousand crowns a year until such time as she married his son. By the end of July Howard was back in London with this

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1. P.R.O. E404/76/4/135, Howard was paid £100, £80 for his own costs and £20 for the French envoys, Langton received £40 for his costs.
  2. B.N. MS6987 f.140, quoted Scofield, vol.ii, p.281
  3. Comynnes, ed. du Fresnoy, op.cit., vol.iv, pp.6-9

offer, and on the 27 July, Margaret wrote to Maximilian that according to Howard, Louis was now promising Edward everything that he wished of him, but that if Edward failed him, he would make a separate treaty with Maximilian to the exclusion of Edward. Howard was of the opinion, she went on, that Louis would rather spend half the yearly revenue of France on gifts than fail to accomplish what he wanted. This was undoubtedly not only Louis' true frame of mind, but also one he wished Edward to appreciate, a classic example of bribing with one hand and threatening with the other<sup>(1)</sup>. Howard could also endorse Louis' determination with the news that he was preparing an army to lay siege to St.Omer or Aire. Despite all Louis' efforts, Edward decided in favour of Maximilian, the treaty made with Burgundy in 1474 was confirmed and he promised to send Maximilian six thousand archers. Margaret spent the summer in England negotiating between her brother and her step-son-in-law. On her way home she wrote letters from Rochester, one to Maximilian dated 14 September 1480 states that out of the money she had received towards the payment of the archers from Edward, she had paid Dr. Langton £24 as compensation for some goods he had lost the previous year when ships of lord Howard's had been taken by subjects of her cousins of Romont and Nassau. This sum was to be deducted from the money Maximilian must pay Howard, and she had a letter from Howard in front of her agreeing to the separate payment to Langton<sup>(2)</sup>. This is all that is heard of either the loss of the ships and their cargoes or, indeed, of the compensation. It was one of the many losses suffered by merchant ships during this unsettled period, but unlike most other merchants, Howard was important enough to press for compensation at the very highest level, and his position as chief envoy to the French court surely meant that Margaret and Maximilian would be particularly anxious to accommodate him.

Throughout the next two years, all three sides continued their manoeuvrings, but the death of Duchess Mary removed from Maximilian the whole-hearted support of the Burgundian people and without active aid from England he could not hope to continue the fight against Louis. In this event, Edward had to face the consequences of playing both sides against the middle. He sent Howard immediately to France to try and salvage what he could, but even he could not prevent Louis from pursuing his own best interests. This last diplomatic journey could hardly have been a pleasant

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1. Commynes, ed. du Fresnoy, op.cit., vol.iii, pp.576-9

2. ibid., p.607

one for Howard, although it is a further indication of the reliance Edward placed on him. He was forced to watch all his king's policies crashing in ruins and Louis' complete triumph over Maximilian. Worse still, he had to return home in the early days of 1483 and give Edward an account of the treaty of Arras whereby Louis and Maximilian buried all enmity and arranged for the marriage of the Dauphin to Maximilian's daughter, with the counties of Artois and Burgundy as her marriage portion. Hoist by his own petard, Edward lost both his pension and his prospective son-in-law, and when Commynes says that the news of the treaty killed him, he may not be very far wrong<sup>(1)</sup>.

Taken all in all, Howard is a very good example of the versatility expected of its servants by the crown. As a soldier, an administrator and as a diplomat he was equally proficient, and this explains his rise through the medium of the household from relatively obscure beginnings to a position of considerable influence at court. In turn, his standing as an ambassador brought him wealth from Louis' gifts and influence to safeguard his mercantile interests; the wealth once acquired, increased his importance at home. The fact that his deepest interests lay in East Anglia and abroad kept him clear of the intrigues of Edward's court and made his influence the greater by his comparative impartiality. That Howard was not a very ambitious man in comparison with those of his time is indicated by the amount of time he spent in Suffolk, the unusual modesty of the marriages arranged for his children and his disinclination to become very involved in court life, but as far as his career is concerned, once given an office to perform, he thrust himself into it and pursued it wholeheartedly to the best of his ability. When he could promote his own interests as well as those of the king, he did not hesitate to do so, but Edward seems to have been correct in his certainty that Howard would never promote his own at the expense of the kingdom and credit should go to the king for recognising Howard's talents and making full and varied use of them.

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1. Commynes, ed. du Fresnoy, op.cit., vol.iv, p.95

## CHAPTER 8

### THE REIGN OF RICHARD III

The death of Edward IV forms a watershed in the career of John Howard. From the accession of Edward his career followed a long, steady path upward to wealth, honours and political standing, and the last years of the king saw his activities on behalf of the crown at their height, his diplomatic trips increasingly important and his military service crowned with success in Scotland. Up to 1483, Howard's role had been a singularly uncontroversial one: that of a loyal, hard-working servant of the crown. With the death of Edward this changes. Within a very short space of time he was advanced to the highest title a king could bestow and implicated in political actions which have cast a shadow upon his name and honour ever since. Thus two summaries of his life show reverse sides of the same coin; his article in the Dictionary of National Biography declares:

Norfolk was a wise and experienced politician and an expert and valiant soldier ... and a faithful adherent of the house of York, but his memory is stained by his desertion of the interests of the son of his old master and by his intimate relations with the usurper.

while the History of Parliament considers him to be the greatest of the Howards and the fact that

he adhered to Richard and remained by him to the end is not so much a slur on Howard but almost the only good thing that can be said for Richard III.

Most writers seem to have found his behaviour in the years after Edward's death to some extent inexplicable, and the theme of this chapter must therefore be a close study of this behaviour and its implications as far as they may be ascertained from his actions; like most of his contemporaries he left few clues to his motives.

First it must be emphasised that Howard was never a courtier, nor indeed a politician in the sense of one influencing the events of government, but rather a royal servant who obeyed orders rather than issued them.



He seems not to have been much at court, visiting London when parliament was sitting, or when summoned by the king, but generally preferring to spend his time at home in Suffolk. He passed the first Christmas of the king's marriage at court together with Lady Howard, but no other as far as may be judged from his household accounts. His office as carver, little more than a sinecure, required few attendances at court and although presumably his appointment as treasurer of the household in 1467 meant that he would have been there more often, it is not apparent from his own accounts and there are no records surviving from his tenure of the post. He seems to have attended council meetings as regularly as he could, but most of his royal service was performed away from court, either on military or diplomatic trips. He did not belong to any of the political groups at court, although in so far as he opposed Warwick's pro-French policy in 1468, he may perhaps be described at that time as anti-Nevill<sup>(1)</sup>. He was never one of the king's bosom friends nor one of those identified closely with the queen, although he was an old acquaintance of her brother, Anthony, earl Rivers. Both men had an East Anglian sphere of influence, they had served on numerous commissions together and in 1468 Howard had fitted out a fleet for Rivers. Howard had served under lord Hastings, the king's closest friend, for several years as his deputy at Calais, and he had fought with Richard of Gloucester on the Scottish campaign. It should, however, be remembered that Howard was a generation older than all these men. The king himself was only a year older than Howard's own son and this fact, although it does not preclude the possibility, makes it less likely that he was a close friend to any in the court circle. Apart from Norfolk himself and those other peers to whom he was related, Oxford, Abergavenny (the least political of all Warwick's family), and Cobham, Howard's accounts reveal little intimacy with any prominent figure or indeed with anyone outside his own county. At the time of Edward's death, therefore, it may reasonably be assumed that Howard was to all intents and purposed politically uncommitted.

There is no doubt that Edward's death took everyone by surprise. The king had only been ill for about a week. A false report of his death reached York on 6 April, but he rallied from the first bout and there was no real reason to suppose that the hearty king would die. Howard received a letter from the king on 4 April, probably written early in his illness and unrelated to it<sup>(2)</sup>. The messenger would surely have told him the

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1. Lander, 'Council, administration and councillors', p.160
  2. H.B.II., p.378

latest news of the king's health, but Howard saw no reason to rush down to London. On the following day he seems to have had a message from the queen, since he paid 20d. to her 'byrder'<sup>(1)</sup>. Even then he does not seem to have been over-anxious because although he accomplished the journey in quicker time than usual, spending only one night upon the road, he did not leave Stoke until 7 April. He reached the king just in time, for there are boat payments for 8 April as he was rowed up-river to the palace at Westminster and the next day Edward breathed his last<sup>(2)</sup>. His body was displayed at Westminster for the next ten or twelve hours so that all his peers and the mayor of London might see him dead and then it was taken to the chapel, where it remained for eight days, with his lords and gentlemen taking it in turns to mount vigil over it. On Wednesday 16 April, the body was borne in state by the knights and esquires of the body to the Abbey. Howard bore the king's banner before the bier, preceded by all the lords spiritual and temporal. Thomas Howard was not in London, but lord Cobham was there with Howard to take his own place. After mass had been celebrated, the peers were joined by other men of note, the mayor and aldermen of London, the king's judges and the barons of the exchequer, and as night fell, the body was transferred to a chair covered with black velvet, drawn by horses and conveyed in procession to Charing Cross. At the front rode Howard as the 'king's bannerer, next before the fore horse, bearing the king's banner, upon a courser trapped with black velvet with divers scutcheons of the king's arms, with his mourning hood upon his head'<sup>(3)</sup>. At Charing, the king's body was put into a royal barge and rowed up river, first to Syon Abbey and thence to Windsor and another vigil. This time, as well as Howard and Cobham, the family was represented by Edmund Gorges, described as a yeoman usher. On the following day Edward was solemnly interred and then his lords returned to London. The king was dead and none of them could possibly feel easy about the ensuing political situation.

The position in London is far too well-known for it to be necessary to repeat it here; during their attention to the rituals of Edward's obsequies, the minds of all his mourners would have been weighing up what

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1. H.B.II., p.379

2. ibid., pp.383, 384

3. J. Gairdner, Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, vol.i, pp.3-10

was likely to happen next. Despite his relatively uncommitted position, it is worth noting that two days after the king's death, Howard, and doubtless a number of others too, were dining with Hastings<sup>(1)</sup>. Nor can it be entirely coincidence that three days later he purchased a dozen buckles and 800 arming nails as well as 11 yards of mourning cloth<sup>(2)</sup>. On the return from Windsor everybody was awaiting the arrival of the key personages, the dead king's brother, whom he had named Protector, the new young king and his maternal uncle, earl Rivers, who was his governor. It was Hastings who sent a messenger to Gloucester with news of Edward's death, and presumably he discussed affairs with Howard and other members of the council before he sent a second messenger to Yorkshire warning Richard to bring a strong force and secure the person of the king since he feared the queen's party would usurp power if it could<sup>(3)</sup>. It was not until 4 May, almost a month after Edward's death that Richard arrived in London with the new king, having out-manouevred Rivers at Stony Stratford; it would have seemed a very long month to those waiting anxiously in London.

The tension which was inevitably felt in the capital during April is hardly reflected in the household accounts, life went on as usual even while history was being changed, but one or two entries are of interest. First, Howard despatched his nephew, Thomas Daniel, to Stoke to escort Margaret to London, and she arrived on 29 April, and this suggests that her husband had no reason to believe that there was going to be any serious trouble in the city. Five days before his wife reached London, Howard paid a man for bringing a letter from his son Thomas, the second in just over a week<sup>(4)</sup>. Thomas did not apparently come to London for the funeral, nor did he feel his presence was required afterwards; that he was indeed at Ashwellthorpe rather than in a London lodging is indicated by the large sum, 20d., paid to the messenger. On 27 May, however, Howard sent his man, Hammond, on an errand to Thomas, which may be taken to mean that by this time he had arrived in town<sup>(5)</sup>. The two other entries in the accounts with political

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1. H.B.II., p.384

2. ibid., p.385

3. Howard was almost certainly one of those 'more prudent members' of the council who opposed a Woodville regency. Croyland Chronicle, p.485

4. H.B.II., pp.385, 388

5. ibid., p.396

significance at this period occur immediately after Gloucester's arrival with young Edward. On 9 May, Howard sent home to Suffolk no fewer than thirty-four of his retinue, not men from the household, but drawn from Hadleigh, Stoke-by-Nayland, Nayland and Chelmsford<sup>(1)</sup>. There is no record that these men arrived in London after their lord or that they were specially summoned because of the degree of political uncertainty, so they presumably came as part of the train he brought with him to the king's deathbed. A week later, on 15 May, Howard presented the Protector with a gold cup and cover weighing 65 ounces<sup>(2)</sup>. This gift has invariably been taken to mean that Howard was committing himself firmly to Gloucester's cause. This is not necessarily so; it is almost impossible to view the events of these months without being influenced by the knowledge that by June Gloucester had usurped his nephew's throne, and hence supposing that every gesture of support made to Gloucester at the beginning is tantamount to approval of his accession to the throne. If the accounts of Hastings or any other peers had survived it is quite possible that similar gifts, though perhaps not as costly, might have been entered. In Howard's case, the gift was made the day after the protector had appointed him to a valuable office, and may be viewed as a graceful expression of thanks<sup>(3)</sup>.

Kendall makes a considerable point of comparing the similarities both in character and career between Gloucester and Howard prior to the death of Edward IV, noting their loyal service, martial qualities, mutual straightforwardness, attachment to their home countries rather than to the court and the apparent friendship that developed between them during the campaign against the Scots. If this last is true, it must have arisen during the planning stages, for there is no evidence that Howard had any communication with the land forces once he was at sea. In his desire to emphasise Howard's position as being in some way symbolic of the authentic tradition of the Yorkists, Kendall overstates his case, but it is true to say that although Howard would probably not initiate political action in the way Hastings, for instance, might, he would follow where his sense of duty to the house of York led him, and would almost certainly be followed by the majority of the less prominent supporters of the crown.

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1. H.B.II., p.390
  2. ibid., pp.390, 392
  3. See below, page 189

On the death of Edward this meant support for Edward V and for Gloucester as the best man to head the council of regency. Because of this, Howard's relations with Gloucester prior to Edward's death are of great importance. Gloucester's name does occur in the household accounts, in the first set, once only, when the young duke met Howard at Colchester and journeyed with him as far as Bury St. Edmunds. The entry is not dated, but was almost certainly in 1469 when Edward progressed north via East Anglia to settle accounts with Robin of Redesdale and both men were in his train. Here again it is worth noting the great disparity in their ages, in 1469 Howard was forty-nine and Gloucester seventeen, which makes the idea of close friendship between them fairly unlikely. On this occasion, Howard seems to have spoken to the young duke on behalf of Norfolk and wrote to the latter afterwards,

... promising you I found my lord as well disposed towards you as any lord may be to another, save my lord spoke it largely and I was right glad to hear it.

Gloucester had apparently asked Howard to accompany him to Bury

and further, if I might, but I durst promise him no further, I was, nor am certain how hastily you would have me. (1)

At this time, of course, Howard was acting as Gloucester's deputy admiral for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. For the next ten years or so they appear to have had little contact apart from this and presumably occasional meetings at court. Then, in 1480 Howard purchased from Gloucester the confiscated Oxford manor of Wivenhoe in Essex, and in the following years there are a number of entries rewarding the duke's minstrels, trumpeters and players, another taste the two seemed to have in common besides that of warfare; the latter is illustrated by the seven crossbows of wood and one of steel that Howard gave Gloucester in 1482<sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1483, therefore, it may be presumed that Howard was well-disposed towards Gloucester and able to judge him as a potential head of a council of regency. It is equally true to say that almost everyone else, except only the strongest supporters of the queen, also approved of the late king's brother. Mancini says that the good reputation of his private life (in contrast to that of Hastings and Dorset, whose feud over their

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1. H.B.I., p.580

2. H.B.II., p.161

mistresses the Italian considered to be an important factor in political events) and his public activities powerfully attracted the esteem of strangers<sup>(1)</sup>. According to him, the council in London, meeting before Gloucester arrived, seemed to have been unanimous in their wish for him to head the government during the minority. The question was, whether he should have sole direction of affairs or merely lead a council of regency, since it was considered that no man with the full powers of regent voluntarily laid them down again. Mancini is clear about the degree of popular support he had at this time, but the lords of the council, in view of the precedents before them, did decide on the latter course. Many of them wanted to delay the decision until Gloucester himself arrived in London, but were over-ruled by Dorset and the queen's supporters. The Woodvilles seem to have dominated the council at this point, as Hastings reported to Gloucester, and in the face of a French naval threat, they dispatched a fleet of twenty ships to sea under Sir Edward Woodville. There is no doubt of the existence of the French threat, but it certainly strengthened the Woodville hand to have the fleet commanded by one of themselves and it was generally believed that most of the late king's treasure went with Sir Edward<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the light of this kind of action, Howard certainly aligned himself with Hastings in supporting Gloucester and urging his immediate presence with a strong force of men. As a soldier he probably admired the skill of the coup at Stony Stratford and concurred with Hastings' frequently expressed belief that nothing had been done but that the government of the kingdom had been transferred from two of the queen's blood to two more powerful of the king's<sup>(3)</sup>. Things were not quite as simple as that, however, for by the despatch of Rivers and Grey north under guard and the deliberate attempt to stir up feelings against the Woodvilles by the display of weapons supposedly taken from them during the entry to London, Gloucester had made it clear that whatever he was aiming at, it was not a council where all factions would be represented. He even attempted to have Rivers charged with treason, but this the council refused to countenance, declaring that at the time of the alleged treason, Gloucester held no regency or public office<sup>(4)</sup>. The position of Howard and the other council

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1. Dominic Mancini, The Usurpation of Richard III, ed. C.A.J. Armstrong (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1969), p.79
  2. Mancini, pp.87, 89
  3. Croyland Chronicle, p.488
  4. Mancini, p.103

members was thus delicate; in the interests of good government they had to support Gloucester's claim to head the council of regency, but they felt it necessary to curb his excesses. Nor could things have been made any easier by the rumours, which Mancini says began immediately after Stony Stratford, that Gloucester was aiming at the crown<sup>(1)</sup>. Since they were probably started by Woodville supporters, the council felt justified in accepting his declarations of loyalty to his nephew and proclaimed him protector, 'with the consent and goodwill of all the lords', according to the Croyland Chronicle<sup>(2)</sup>. In supporting Gloucester's claim to head the regency, and later in tacitly supporting his usurpation, Howard's motives must surely have included the awareness that a grateful regent or usurping king might look favourably upon his claim to half the Mowbray inheritance, from which Edward IV had so arbitrarily excluded him. No fifteenth century landowner could have failed to bear this in mind, even if it had not formerly affected Howard's loyalty to Edward.

The government of the country was now able to get under way after the hiatus, and almost immediately Gloucester's confidence in Howard was demonstrated by his appointment, ten days after the arrival of the king's party, to the office of chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster south of the Trent<sup>(3)</sup>. The appointment was retrospective to April 21, the previous holder, Essex, having died a few days before the king. At the same time, Cobham was sent to Dover and Sandwich with a small force to see that the ports were prepared to resist a surprise attack, either from the French or from Edward Woodville's fleet, while Thomas Fulford and Edward Brampton put to sea to take Woodville if they could<sup>(4)</sup>. These appointments could as easily have been made by Edward IV as by his brother, but they indicate Gloucester's assumption of continued loyal service from Howard and his adherents.

One of the problems facing the council during the early part of May was that of a residence for the king. On his first arrival, he was lodged

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1. Mancini, p.103

2. Croyland chronicle, p.488

3. B. M. Harl. 433, ff.6; H.B.II., p.393 see Chapter 7, page 159

4. Historic Manuscripts Commission, 9th Report, vol.i, p.145

in the bishop of London's house at St. Pauls, but this was only a temporary measure and the council had to settle on a more suitable place for him to go. The palace of Westminster was excluded because the queen had bolted into sanctuary there with her other children on Gloucester's arrival, several other places were suggested, but with his coronation date set for 24 June, the duke of Buckingham's suggestion of the Tower was accepted as the most proper, for the kings of England customarily lodged there before they were crowned<sup>(1)</sup>. There is some uncertainty as to who, as constable of the Tower, would have had the honour of his reception and stay there. The last official appointment relating to the office was in 1479 and was made to Howard. This has led a number of later writers to suppose that he was constable at this date<sup>(2)</sup>. In fact he was never granted more than the second reversion, following the deaths of John, lord Dudley, who held the office in 1479, and Richard Fenys, lord Dacre, who held the first reversion. Dacre, as it happened, predeceased Dudley, who did not die until 1487, at the age of about 86<sup>(3)</sup>. Howard, therefore, never held the office at all. However, with Dudley too old to exercise the office in person, the position of deputy became correspondingly significant. At the time of Edward's death it was held by no less a person than Rivers, and a letter to his man of business, Andrew Dymmock, written on 8 March, shows him in the process of transferring the office to his nephew, Dorset<sup>(4)</sup>. It was a private arrangement and has left no trace in official records, but it is of great significance, since it explains how Dorset came to be in control of the Tower and the royal treasure, and lends substance to the fear of Hastings and his fellows of a Woodville plot to gain control of the government. What happened between the date when Dorset fled into sanctuary on the arrival of Gloucester in London and the official appointment of Sir Robert Brackenbury as constable on 17 July will probably never be known. Was the latter's appointment a formal recognition of a position he had in fact held for some time, or was Howard, by virtue of his reversionary interest, filling in during the interim? It may be noted that Brackenbury's appointment, made after Richard was

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1. Croyland Chronicle, op.cit., p.487
  2. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.137
  3. Dugdale op.cit., vol.ii, p.215
  4. E.W. Ives, 'Andrew Dymmock and the papers of Anthony, earl Rivers, 1482-1483', B.I.H.R., xli (1969), p.225



king, superseded those of both Dudley and Howard. That Howard had some connection with the Tower, official or unofficial, at this point is indicated by the household accounts. The young king was installed in the royal apartments some time before the end of May, but the arrangements for boarding his suite were incomplete owing to the short notice, or so it would appear, for on 21 May Howard paid six men for a day's labour at the Tower, the carpenter for making three beds and the cost of a hundred feet of board and two sacks of lime<sup>(1)</sup>. The Protector was lodging at Crosby Place, described by Kendall as his town house. It was in fact only rented from the executors of Sir John Crosby, who built the beautiful house in Bishopsgate Street, and the duke had probably got the use of it through Howard's good offices, for his wife was a close relative of Crosby's widow<sup>(2)</sup>.

To all outward appearances, affairs in London continued smoothly for a month after the arrival of the Protector. Preparations were in progress for Edward V's coronation and the only real cause for concern lay in the fact that his mother and younger brother continued in sanctuary, and the fleet under her brother was still at sea. At the end of the first week in June the situation changed radically enough for Gloucester to request the assistance of a body of armed men from the city of York on 10 June, ostensibly because of a plot by the queen and her adherents<sup>(3)</sup>. Political divisions, however, were no longer that simple. The exact truth behind the Protector's charge that Hastings, together with Morton, Bishop of Ely and lord Stanley, were plotting to join the Woodvilles in his overthrow, will never be known. It cannot even be conclusively proved that there was any plot by Hastings at all. Gairdner's claim that Vergil makes it clear there was one rests upon a misinterpretation, because the evidence he cites is clearly placed in Vergil prior to the Protector's arrival in London and thus provides no proof of a conspiracy by Hastings which developed weeks later, if at all<sup>(4)</sup>. The three major contemporary sources all state that Hastings died because he was the most loyal supporter of Edward V and therefore the Protector saw him as the main obstacle to his own passage

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1. H.B.II., p.394

2. Kendall, op.cit., p.182; see below Chapter 3, page 62

3. R. Davies, York Records (1843), p.149

4. J. Gairdner, History of the Life and Reign of Richard III, (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1898), p.62

to the throne, and it seems difficult to argue with this reasoning<sup>(1)</sup>. The strongest evidence to support the belief that Hastings's only opposition to Gloucester would have lain in the latter's attempt to usurp his nephew, can be seen in Hastings' own behaviour, his initial strong support for Gloucester and his apparently total lack of suspicion at the fateful council meeting on 13 June. If he had really been plotting, surely he would have been far more on his guard.

Howard's role in all this is equally open to doubt. The only two facts of any certainty are that he supported Hastings in his desire to have Gloucester rather than the Woodvilles at the head of the government at the beginning of the reign, and that he was not one of those arrested with Hastings on 13 June. Neither the Croyland Chronicle nor Mancini mention his name at all in their descriptions of the political manoeuvrings prior to Gloucester's ascent of the throne. Vergil's only reference is open to interpretation in two completely opposing ways. All three make it clear that the council meeting held at the Tower on 13 June was a selective one and that the main body of councillors under the new Chancellor, Bishop Russell of Lincoln, met that day at Westminster to proclaim the day fixed upon for Edward's coronation. Vergil states that those specially commanded to the Tower were 'Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, John Morton, Bishop of Ely, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, Thomas, Lord Stanley, William, Lord Hastings, John, Lord Howard and many others whom he (the Protector) trusted to find faithful either from fear or benefit'<sup>(2)</sup>. Is Howard meant to be classed here as a supporter of Richard's, like Buckingham, as one of Hastings' party, like Stanley, Morton and Rotherham, all to be arrested, or as one of those the Protector trusted to find faithful? None of the contemporary sources class him at this point with Buckingham as a prominent supporter, and the implications are that only a few weeks before he had been strongly behind Hastings, yet the fact that he was not arrested and that two of the sources omit to mention his presence show that neither Gloucester nor contemporary opinion saw him as a severe threat to the Protector, or as a prominent supporter.

There is one further fact to be taken in to consideration. More, in his account of the council meeting and whose source may have been Morton or Thomas Howard, describes Hastings being fetched to the Tower by

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1. Polydore Vergil, English History, p.180; Croyland Chronicle, p.488; Mancini, p.111
  2. Vergil, op.cit., p.180

a knight whom he says was a 'mesne' man, meaning of middling degree, but who at the time More was writing was much more important. When Hastings stopped on the way to the Tower to talk to a priest in Tower Street, his escort laughed at him, asking why he dallied so long, since he had no need of a priest yet. Hall, using More's version of events, gives the name of the escort as Thomas Howard. Presumably More, writing at the time Thomas's career was at its peak, about 1513, was being circumspect, while Hall, whose chronicle was published first in 1542, long after Howard's death and the events of which he was writing had become history rather than something within living memory, saw no reason to withhold the escort's name<sup>(1)</sup>. Both Tudor writers, however, imply that Thomas was privy to the Protector's plan and that his remark to Hastings was malicious. It does seem possible to accept the fact of Thomas's role as Hastings's escort, but reject his prior knowledge of the Protector's intentions, which he would have been hardly likely to reveal to anyone, except perhaps Buckingham, beforehand. If Hastings had considered Thomas to be so deeply in the Protector's confidence, he might well have been more on his guard about this particular summons than he was, and Thomas's joking remark seems, in view of Hastings's notorious way of life, to be just the sort of comment any of his close associates might have made in similar circumstances.

Although John Howard's part in these events will always be open to speculation, it seems permissible to make an informed assumption in view of all that is known about his previous career. He would probably never have supported the Woodvilles, and his early backing of Gloucester is entirely consistent with affection for an old colleague in arms, recognition of the justice of his claim to head the government during the minority and probably the knowledge that he might be a firm and capable ruler. Howard had no cause to feel slighted, as Hastings perhaps did, if he seemed to be excluded from the Protector's inmost circle, for Hastings had been accustomed to being at the very heart of government while Howard had never been in such a position. If this was Hastings' only grievance, then Howard would probably not have felt the need to take part in a move to oust the Protector from his position. Despite any rumours which may have been current about the Protector's aims, the first move he made which can

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1. Sir Thomas More, The History of King Richard III, ed. R. S. Sylvester (Complete Works, Yale edition, vol.ii, 1963), p.51; Hall, op.cit., p.361

be in any way interpreted as indicating his aspiration for the throne, was the arrest of Hastings, Morton, Stanley and Rotherham. The summary execution of Hastings was a very potent warning to everyone else, and indeed with his death, anyone who opposed the Protector had nowhere to turn for leadership except to the Woodvilles, a step Howard would hardly have wished to take.

The council meeting at the Tower took place on Friday, 13 June, and on the following Monday, 16 June, the council persuaded the queen to surrender into their hands the young duke of York. With the sole exception of the Croyland Chronicle, all the primary narrative sources put the delivery of York before the arrest of Hastings, but that the Croyland Chronicle is correct is confirmed by a letter from Simon Stallworthe, a servant of the Chancellor's, to Sir William Stonor, and by Howard's own accounts, which note payment on 16 June for eight boats up and down the Thames from Westminster<sup>(1)</sup>. The council had certainly been trying to persuade the queen to leave sanctuary for some time, chiefly because it was hardly dignified for the young king to be crowned with his mother and his brother and heir hiding in sanctuary. To this extent the council were at one with the Protector, no matter whether he had other motives for wishing York to join the king. It may be that the council had already decided to take the boy if his mother would not willingly yield him up, which would account for the general mistake over the dates, as Mr. Armstrong suggests<sup>(2)</sup>. Both the Croyland Chronicle and Mancini state firmly that the sanctuary was surrounded by armed men, the former further adding that Cardinal Bouchier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was compelled to appeal to the queen and exert his influence to gain York, while Mancini says he acted to avoid a violation of sanctuary<sup>(3)</sup>. No source doubts for a moment the integrity of Bouchier and yet it is difficult to see how he could have been compelled to act as he did. Any idea that the cardinal felt subsequent events to have impugned his honour is belied by the fact that he crowned Richard (he was old enough to have staged a diplomatic illness if he wished), and that he made administrative use of two of the new regime's devoted supporters, Brackenbury and Gatesby, on the Canterbury estates<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483, ed. C. L. Kingsford, Camden Society, (1919), vol.ii, p.161; H.B.II., p.402
  2. Croyland Chronicle, p.488, Mancini, p.109; Miss Hanham in 'Richard III, Lord Hastings and the historians', E.H.R., ~~ccxliii~~<sup>lxxxviii</sup> (1972), pp.233-248, argues unconvincingly that Hastings was executed on Friday 20 June, not Friday 13 June
  3. Croyland Chronicle, p.488, Mancini, p.109
  4. Register of Thomas Bouchier, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay, Canterbury and York Society (1957), pt.i, pp.64-5

The Croyland Chronicle says many others were likewise compelled to go with the cardinal, and Vergil and Grafton specifically name Howard, the latter even putting words spoken to the queen into his mouth<sup>(1)</sup>. All the implications seem to be that the cardinal and Howard were chosen for this errand because nobody, not even the queen, would doubt their honour, that they sincerely believed that no harm would come to the boy and that the queen overcame her misgivings because they were men whose word she trusted. The inference may also perhaps be drawn that the Protector convinced the council that Hastings had been involved in a plot, since if they had been sure that he himself was aiming at the crown, its members would have been less likely to lend themselves to the removal of York. The only judgement that can fairly be passed against them was that they were deceived.

Such are the realities of power that with its natural leaders dead or imprisoned, any part of the council that felt inclined to oppose the further moves of the Protector towards the throne, would have found itself powerless to act. It is conceivable that Howard's prestige was great enough for him to have headed an opposition if he had chosen to do so, but it is clear from his previous career that he had no desire for that sort of political initiative. It is equally likely that being an eminently practical man, accustomed to the rapid reversals of power which had taken place during his long career and with the Mowbray inheritance in mind, he was prepared to accept without many qualms what Gloucester was doing and that many others viewed things in much the same light. Howard was not a man to throw away his chances on a futile gesture and it should be remembered that he had always been on friendly terms with the Protector and he would, in fact, be likely to do well out of the regime if he were careful. If he indeed held this sort of attitude, Gloucester's next move was a shrewd one. On 28 June, two days after his reign commenced, he granted to Howard the dukedom of Norfolk and the office of earl marshal<sup>(2)</sup>. Since this had surely been discussed in advance, Howard's position at Richard's right hand, when he claimed the throne in Westminster Hall on 26 June, can be seen as a declaration that he would keep his side of the bargain<sup>(3)</sup>.

A great deal has been made of the grant of the dukedom, chiefly that it implies the death of the previous holder, the duke of York, who

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1. R. Grafton, History of England, vol.ii, p.93
  2. CPR 1476-1485, p.360
  3. Great Chronicle of London, p.232

had been made duke of Norfolk in 1477 on his marriage to the Norfolk heiress, Anne Mowbray, and that either Howard had had a hand in his death or that Gloucester bribed him with the dukedom in exchange for his acquiescence in the usurpation. That Howard was the murderer of the two young princes is a relatively new theory; for the first five hundred years after their death no mention is made of him in any connection with it. The first suggestion comes in 1844, when Payne Collier edited the second volume of Howard's accounts for the Roxburghe Club. The reference to the beds and lime which Howard had conveyed to the Tower immediately set his mind working on novel lines. Fuller details occur in Melvin J. Tucker's biography of Thomas Howard, which bases the case on 'a strong motive and a series of interesting coincidences'<sup>(1)</sup>. The motive, of course, was the desire for the dukedom and the coincidences may briefly be summarised. They include the fact that Howard was constable of the Tower and therefore had access to the boys, the entry in the accounts relating to the beds and lime, his past friendship with the Protector, the role he played in persuading the queen to give up York and the support he continued to give Richard III for the rest of his short-lived reign. Tucker also cites Pollard's views on More's informant for the details of the murder, that is, not Morton or Tyrrell, but Thomas Howard himself<sup>(2)</sup>. He goes further and suggests that not only was Thomas More's informant, but that where the facts in More's story are demonstrably inaccurate they are the result of a deliberate attempt by Thomas to throw people off the scent of the Howards and lead them to believe that the princes were murdered much later than they really were, that is, prior to Howard's elevation to the dukedom.

The idea of a new contender in the murder stakes is a stimulating one, but when it is studied in detail, it begins to appear a little thin. First, the motive: in February 1477, in contemplation of the intended marriage of his younger son with Anne Mowbray, Edward IV created him earl of Nottingham and Warenne and duke of Norfolk, which titles were in abeyance following the death of the last duke, John Mowbray, in 1475, Anne, in her own right, was *de jure* baroness Mowbray, Segrave and Braose, while the old royal title of earl of Norfolk granted to Thomas of

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1. M. J. Tucker, The Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk (The Hague, 1964), pp.38-45
  2. A. F. Pollard, 'The Making of Sir Thomas More's Richard III', in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith & E. F. Jacob (1933), pp.224-8

Brotherton in 1372 continued in abeyance. This granting of titles to the husband of an heiress was common practice, but not necessarily automatic. On 16 January 1478, Edward went on to do something almost without precedent. By an act of parliament it was decreed that should Anne die without heirs of her body, many of the Mowbray lands, instead of reverting to her right heirs, should remain vested in her husband. Given the paramount importance of landed inheritance and the sanctity of the laws which governed it, Edward, in his desire to retain the rich inheritance for his son come what might, was acting in a highly arbitrary and illegal fashion, as the need for an act of parliament to give it some status in law amply reveals. That his conscience was not entirely untroubled is clear from the act, which goes on to stipulate that the two coheirs of Anne Mowbray might assert their rights to certain manors, which in the case of Howard, meant only the manor of Prittlewell in Essex<sup>(1)</sup>. The normal law of inheritance was that a man might hold his wife's inheritance during her lifetime and if they had children he continued to hold it until his own death, no matter if she predeceased him, in trust for their heir. If, on the other hand, she died childless, her lands, but not any title regranted to her husband, reverted to her own right heirs. But for the act of 1478, on Anne Mowbray's death in 1481 at the age of nine, the Mowbray lands and the baronies of Mowbray, Segrave and Braose should have reverted to her co-heirs, who were John Howard and William, lord Berkeley, by right of their mothers, Margaret and Isabel, daughters and eventual co-heiresses of Thomas, first duke of Norfolk. Until 1481 Howard had no reason to suppose he would become entitled to a moiety of the inheritance, for Anne might well have grown up and had children of her own to inherit, as his cousin Elizabeth had done. By 1481 he was an old man and a rich one, and although this has never prevented men from wishing to extend their riches, it might well mean a reduction of the risks they were prepared to run to get possession. In addition, about half the Mowbray lands were tied up in dower of two widowed duchesses, Anne's mother and her great grandmother<sup>(2)</sup>. Her mother had been persuaded by the king to forego most of her dower to increase the inheritance of her daughter, but she would almost certainly claim it off anyone else. There is nothing in all Howard's

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1. Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol.vi, p.170

2. Katherine Neville, widow of the second duke, in fact died some time during the late summer or early autumn of 1483. Her dower lands were distributed between Howard and Berkeley. B. M. Hart. 433 f.117; CCR 1429-1435, pp.204-214, Rot. Parl., vol.vi, p.206

career to this date to suggest that ambition was for him a driving force and indeed some evidence to the contrary, and he was far too sensible not to realise that killing York would not necessarily gain him his share of the inheritance. Although the lands should have descended to him, the titles depended entirely on the king's willingness to grant them. If he had murdered the boys, Richard could so easily have denounced him for it. It would after all have solved a major political problem for the king and by denouncing the real murderer, have removed all suspicion from himself. In point of fact, of course, the way in which Howard did gain the dukedom and the lands was by the far simpler expedient of a royal grant which tacitly ignored Edward's act. Provided the king or Protector favoured Howard there was simply no need for York to die, since Edward's act could be repealed at any time. Richard of York's title through act of parliament did not lapse simply because he was declared a bastard by his uncle, but no repeal was ever made. This might perhaps suggest that by the time Richard's parliament did sit, the boy was dead.

As for Howard's opportunity for the murder, the case seems largely based on the premise that he was constable of the Tower, one which has already been proved incorrect, and there is only a possibility that he was acting as constable prior to Brackenbury's appointment, a possibility unsupported by any evidence<sup>(1)</sup>. At the time he paid the workmen at the Tower and ordered the carriage of beds and lime, the young king was in the royal apartments and everything points to the work being done for much less important rooms, presumably for attendants. If Howard had ulterior motives, he is hardly likely to have paid London workmen to do the job and gossip about it afterwards. None of the contemporary accounts draw the inference that since Howard held the dukedom, York must have been dead, nor is Howard ever mentioned in the context of the boys, except as likely to protect them. The queen accepted his word with Cardinal Bouchier's that no harm would come to York and although she was proved to have been wrong in letting the boy go, contemporary opinion supports her in regarding Howard as trustworthy. In June, George Cely, writing to George Weston, expressed fear for the life of Edward V if either the earl of Northumberland or lord Howard were slain. The idea that Howard was a potential victim seems also to indicate that he was not regarded as a committed Protector's man, since

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1. No administrative records for the Tower survive for this period.



the only current dealer of death was Richard himself<sup>(1)</sup>. That Howard and Gloucester had been closely associated on several occasions is not indicative of a close friendship or of Howard being in the latter's confidence. Tucker considers that because Thomas was steward of the usurping king's household, he was thus privy to all his plans and secret thoughts. This is indeed naive, and so is his assertion that 'until researchers are allowed into Arundel Castle to search for the missing letters that passed between John and Thomas, we will never know for certain the exact nature of their role in the princes' death<sup>(2)</sup>.

One secondary reason for doubting whether the dukedom was a reward for despatching the boys for Richard, is the relative fairness of the division of the Mowbray inheritance between the two co-heirs<sup>(3)</sup>. The most telling evidence for Howard's innocence in regard to the fate of Edward IV's sons, however, lies in the actions of William Berkeley. In 1478, when the act disinheriting himself and Howard was passed, Berkeley made over his rights in the Mowbray estates to the crown in return for the payment of his large and pressing debts to the earl of Shrewsbury, which amounted to £34,000, and for a viscounty<sup>(4)</sup>. The money involved was probably a fair enough price for his interest in the lands, and therefore when Anne Mowbray died and the laws of inheritance were put aside in practice as well as in theory, Berkeley had no cause for complaint. If any similar financial arrangement was made by the crown with Howard, no trace of it remains, and the act itself was passed while he was conveniently absent in France. No evidence survives of Howard's reaction to the death of Anne and his own disinheritance. Five years later, when it became apparent during the third week of June 1483, that Richard of Gloucester was about to usurp the throne, and the position of the young duke of York became as insecure as that of his brother the king, Berkeley, not Howard, petitioned for his moiety of the Mowbray inheritance, and for the earldom of Nottingham, which by the natural laws of inheritance York had a right to bear for life unaffected by any stigma of bastardy. The petition was

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1. The Cely Papers, ed. H. E. Malden, Camden Society (1900), p.132-3
  2. Tucker, op.cit., no such letters exist at Arundel.
  3. See Chapter 2, pages 38-39
  4. J. Smyth, The Lives of the Berkeleys, vol.ii, p.119

fully and correctly drawn up and was presumably initiated by Berkeley in the days following Dr. Shaa's sermon at St. Paul's Cross on 22 June, the first open sign of the impending usurpation, and thus while there can be little doubt that the boys were not only still alive but occupying the royal apartments and well-attended. Berkeley calculated that with the boys disinherited, he could lay claim to the inheritance whose rights he had sold, as the price of his support for the usurpation. The petition was granted on 28 June, two days after Richard III's reign commenced. In all this, no sign of Howard can be seen; he did not join Berkeley in seeking his own share, but Richard, in granting Berkeley's petition, trumped him by freely giving Howard his share and the dukedom, which even Berkeley's effrontery stopped short of seeking<sup>(1)</sup>. By the grant of the dukedom and its lands, Richard tacitly demanded and Howard accepted, that the price to be paid for it was Howard's support in the usurpation. Like few others, Howard kept his share of the bargain, but it does seem clear that the reward was not of his seeking and that Berkeley's move came while there is no doubt that Richard of York was alive. The boy was not murdered for his titles, he was simply set aside; he died because he was the next heir to the English throne. In propounding his theory that the Howards were responsible for the murder, Tucker has to place the murder between 16 June, when York joined his brother, and the grant of the dukedom on 28 June. Yet this is surely contradicted by both the Great Chronicle and Mancini, who imply some considerable lapse of time between their disinheritance and the final disappearance of the boys from view<sup>(2)</sup>.

The large grants made to Howard by Richard III (detailed in Chapter 2) pose something of a problem, for they are greater than those made to any other man prominent during the reign, and perhaps more than any other reason have led historians to accept that their recipient was a close supporter of the crown; so he may well have been, but it is worth examining the question in somewhat greater detail. The Croyland Chronicle makes two specific criticisms of Richard's government, namely that it was extravagant and that it favoured men from the north at the expense of those from the south. The two charges are closely linked. Richard could

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1. PRO C81/1529/5, 6

2. Tucker, op.cit., p.39; Mancini, p.93; The Great Chronicle of London, p.234

not command a great deal of support of a popular nature and thus tended to give grants of land in areas where support was doubtful to men whom he knew, or thought, he could trust. Because he had spent most of his career administering the northern part of the kingdom, the men he knew best were those associated with the north, or as in Howard's case, had served on northern campaigns with him. Hence the grant of 27 manors in Devon and Somerset worth £650 p.a. to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a Cumberland man, and the offices of constable of Exeter and sheriff of Kent granted to Lord Scrope of Bolton and Robert Brackenbury respectively<sup>(1)</sup>. This list could be multiplied and in its light should be seen the grants to Howard of so many manors in the west country<sup>(2)</sup>. In East Anglia, of course, after the death of Rivers and the attainder of Oxford his influence was unrivalled and matched that of Northumberland on the Marches and Stanley in Lancashire, both of whom received large grants of manors, and Buckingham, whose grant of the stewardship of fifty manors and lordships, the constablenesship of all the great royal castles and the office of chief justice made him the virtual ruler of Wales and the Welsh Marches<sup>(3)</sup>.

Why, it may be asked, if Howard had played no positive role in the usurpation and thus proved his loyalty to Richard, did the king make him these grants? The answer is that he could not afford to mistrust him. He made similarly large, though not quite as extensive, grants to Buckingham, Stanley and Northumberland, each one of whom was to betray him; Stanley, in addition, had been one of those he mistrusted enough to arrest with Hastings. What the four men had in common was sufficient territorial power to make them dangerous enemies. It made further sense for Richard at least to appear to trust them and sweeten them with grants of additional lands. If he was astute enough to recognise that the key point in Howard's character was loyalty, it may explain the comparatively greater generosity shown to him. This kind of loyalty seems to have been inherited by Thomas, who, once he had been given the opportunity, served the Tudor kings as long and as faithfully as his father had served the Yorkists.

Besides the territorial concessions, Howard received a number of lesser grants which may be enumerated here. In the summer of 1483 he was licensed

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1. CPR 1476-1485, pp.472, 502
  2. See Chapter 2, page 39
  3. CPR 1476-1485, pp.349-50

to import a hundred tuns of wine from France or elsewhere in whatever ships it pleased him best for the period of one year. Early in 1484 he was made master forester for life of all the lands the duke of Buckingham had forfeited by his attainder<sup>(1)</sup>. When Thomas was granted an annuity during his father's lifetime to uphold the earldom of Surrey, Howard himself received a gift of 2000 marks from the issues of the duchy of Cornwall likewise, and he and Thomas were given the joint wardship of Henry, earl of Essex. In August 1484 he was granted the reversion of the manor of Vanes in Essex, when it was granted to Sir Thomas Montgomery for life, with an annuity of 20 marks from the lordship of Dovercourt during the lifetime of Montgomery, and also the crown's two fifth shares in the manors of Howden and Kynds in addition to his own one fifth share, the manors having been recently held in dower by Margaret, late wife of Edmund Lentall, a distant relative<sup>(2)</sup>. Finally in March 1485 Howard was given an annuity of £45 2s. 5d. for six and a half years; the reason for this time limit and the oddness of the sum suggest that it was for the repayment of some unrecorded royal debt<sup>(3)</sup>. It is worth noting that William Berkeley and his wife, Joan, were in receipt of annuities totalling £400p.a.; Berkeley had never been an active Yorkist supporter and presumably the king saw no need to add to his territorial holdings. Amid all this generosity, other members of Howard's family were not forgotten, though their gains and appointments were modest in comparison. Edmund Gorges was made a commissioner of musters for Somerset, his home county, John Timperley was likewise made a commissioner for Suffolk and had his annuity of £20 granted in 1482 confirmed, John Wyndham was able to borrow £150 from the crown, George Daniel was granted the office of bailiff of the lordships of Cookham and Bray, Berks., where his aunt, the duchess of Norfolk, held her Norris dower lands, and his brother Thomas, already a yeoman of the crown, was made bailiff of Hatfield while the temporalities of Bishop Morton of Ely were in the hands of the crown. Of all Howard's male relatives in his household, only Robert Mortimer, his son-in-law, and the young lord Berners received nothing<sup>(4)</sup>.

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1. B. M. Harl 433 ff.28, 52; the office is not confirmed on the patent rolls
  2. ibid., ff.186, 161d
  3. ibid., ff.98; CPR 1476-1485, p.541
  4. B. M. Harl. 433, ff.331d, 69d, 313d, 332; 25d; 33d, 312d, 104d

Richard III was crowned on 6 July 1483, attended by Howard bearing his crown and Thomas, the sword of state, as befitted their new ranks. The rest of the regalia was borne by other senior peers, Northumberland, Stanley, Kent, Lincoln. Despite the fact that <sup>Howard</sup> was earl marshal and had been appointed to the office of Steward of England for the coronation, the Wardrobe Accounts speak of Buckingham as having 'the chief rule and devising of the ordinance for ... the king's ... coronation<sup>(1)</sup>, and another account says that Buckingham bore the white wand, the traditional symbol of the steward<sup>(2)</sup>. About two weeks after the coronation, Richard set off on a progress through the midlands and north. Howard did not join the court that accompanied him, partly at least because he had a progress of his own to make. He did, however, leave London in the king's company, for the latter's first stop was Windsor and Howard was going to Margaret's house at Bray. Since the company foregathered at Greenwich, the journey was presumably made by boat<sup>(3)</sup>. By the end of July Howard was back in London again, buying some fine new clothes for himself and the family and countless new liveries in the blue and red which were his colours and some hangings with a design of lions, the Norfolk crest<sup>(4)</sup>. On 11 August he set out for home, having been in London since about 26 July. Although any suggestion that Howard was involved in the murder of the princes has to be based on the premise that the boys were dead by the time Howard got the dukedom on 28 June, it should perhaps be noted that he was in London at the time More says Tyrrell was despatched to the Tower, namely, while the king was at Gloucester<sup>(5)</sup>.

If Howard went home to Stoke-by-Nayland at all, it was only for a few days before he set out on a tour of his new duchy estates<sup>(6)</sup>. His interests could no longer be confined merely to East Anglia, however, and at the beginning of September he returned to London, prior to making a similar

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1. C.P.R. 1476-1485, p.360; 'Observations on the Wardrobe Accounts for 1483', Archaeologia, i (1779), p.374
  2. Excerpta Historica, p.380
  3. H.B.II., p.411
  4. ibid., pp.412, 416, 421
  5. More, op.cit., p.83
  6. For details, see Chapter 2, page 40.

progress through his Surrey and Sussex estates. It was well for Richard III that Howard did make this trip, for it seems fairly certain that while in Surrey he heard the first intimations of the southern rising that formed part of Buckingham's rebellion. His opportune presence in London meant that the king at Leicester could concentrate his forces on the western rebels and leave the defence of his capital in Howard's capable hands (for details of this and the Bosworth campaign, see the chapter on Howard's military career). To some extent, he owed his prominent role in suppressing this rebellion to his accidental presence in London at the crucial period; what is not entirely clear is how much of his time was spent in the capital during Richard's reign. Did he in fact lend much active political support to the king, or did he only provide military assistance when circumstances required it? The last chronological entry in his accounts occurs for 20 October 1483, in the middle of Buckingham's rebellion, and in other records there are only glimpses of him. Thomas's epitaph says that having received the dukedom to which he was the rightful heir, his father and he himself 'served the said king Richard truly as his subjects during his life, living at home in their own countries and keeping honourable houses'<sup>(1)</sup>. The clear implication from this is that neither spent much time at court or played an active political role in affairs. How far this was true, however, or how far Thomas was disassociating himself from Richard in light of later Tudor propaganda is impossible to tell. Certainly it seems credible as far as his father was concerned. Unlike his son, Howard held no household appointment, he had a vast, new inheritance to administer and he was now an old man, every circumstance points to his wishing to lead a quiet, settled existence at Framlingham. He was appointed to several commissions of oyer and terminer and array, to others for the delivery of certain prisoners from Newgate and Guildford gaols, and to that which tried Colyngbourne and Turbeville, but whether or not he actively sat on any of them is another matter entirely<sup>(2)</sup>.

It would be wrong to overlook the fact that after the death of Buckingham, Howard was the most powerful territorial magnate in the country. His dukedom caused him to outrank even Northumberland, whose influence was perhaps more autonomous, and the only other duke, Suffolk,

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1. Weever, *op.cit.*, p.834

2. *C.P.R. 1476-1485*, pp.362, 397, 465, 489, 519, 520; *The Great Chronicle*, p.236

the king's brother-in-law, he had long outclassed in personality and influence even when still a simple baron. What is not clear is how far he used this power politically. None of the reign's contemporary historians suggest that he was a major political influence behind the throne. Mancini does not refer to him at all, Vergil, after Richard's coronation, only mentions his death and the Croyland Chronicle only names his presence at the ceremony to swear allegiance to Prince Edward, naming Howard in parenthesis as the most important man present, presumably a reference to his rank<sup>(1)</sup>. Nor, for whatever value may be placed upon it, does Colyngbourne's rhyming testimony suggest it. He was sent abroad on no diplomatic trips, though in the last years of Edward IV he was the single most important envoy, and there is little evidence that he spent much time in London at court, or at the centre of government. There is not much doubt that his influence would have been great if he had chosen to use it, and it should not be overlooked that he may have done so in ways that have left no recorded trace. Although its validity is in considerable doubt, the letter the antiquarian George Buck claimed to have seen, in which the princess Elizabeth asked Howard to mediate with the king on her behalf to promote her incestuous marriage with her uncle, suggests this sort of influence with Richard<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is certain that he left home to attend the king at Nottingham in September 1484. This was on a very important occasion, the reception of ambassadors from Scotland, seeking on behalf of James III a peace treaty and a marriage alliance. It was, in fact, the culmination of several years of more or less constant warfare in which Howard had played a distinguished part and it was fitting that he should have been there. In addition, Richard seems to have gathered about him the greatest peers of the realm on this occasion, and received the embassy in state, seated in the great hall of Nottingham castle with his royal canopy above him. Commissions were appointed, one for the settlement of the peace treaty, the other to arrange for the marriage of James' heir, the future James IV, to Richard's niece, Anne de la Pole. Howard was on both commissions, which began negotiations on 14 September; as both sides were eager for peace, they were considerably less drawn out than many such proceedings<sup>(3)</sup>. When they

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1. Croyland Chronicle, p.496

2. Gairdner, Richard III, pp.203-4

3. Gairdner, Letters and Papers, pp.63-7

were completed, Howard returned home to Suffolk, where as far as may be judged, he remained until he was summoned on the landing of Henry Tudor, to perform his last great service for the house of York.

Of all the battles fought on English soil, Bosworth is the most conspicuous for treachery. As he launched his desperate charge at Henry Tudor, Richard knew that the Stanleys had thrown in their forces on the opposing side and that Northumberland, refusing to bring his men up, intended to sit out the battle and make his peace with the victor. Undoubtedly, if Howard had taken a similar course he could have come to very comfortable terms with the new king, for he was far too powerful for Henry to leave him in opposition if he could win him over. The famous warning that was supposed to have been pinned to his tent the night before the battle:

Jockey of Norfolk be not so bold  
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold (1)

indicates that perhaps threats and warnings were being made after other overtures had been rejected. Neither was likely to carry much weight with Howard. His attitude, and that of his son, is best expressed in the words of Sir John Beaumont in his poem on Bosworth; when Thomas is asked why he fought for Richard, he replies,

Set England's royal wreath upon a stake,  
There will I fight and not the place forsake (2)

Camden, who also gives the story, has Thomas continue by saying to Henry Tudor that when he was crowned king by the parliamentary authority of England, so too would he fight for him<sup>(3)</sup>. And so he did, though he had to serve four years of imprisonment first. Henry did not wait for parliamentary authority and by the expedient of dating his own reign from the day before Bosworth, attained twenty-eight of Richard's adherents, men fighting for their anointed king, of high treason. That Thomas's attitude was respected, and indeed, highly thought of in the following decades, is clear from Hall's comment on John Howard, which failing any other, must serve as his epitaph. Hall had no reason to write as he did except to express a widely held view, since he was writing of a man who died an enemy to the Tudors and whose descendants were no longer so powerful that all may be explained by sycophancy:

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1. Hall, op.cit., p.419
  2. The Poems of Sir John Beaumont, ed. A. B. Grosart (1869), p.51
  3. W. Camden, Remaines of a Greater Worke Concerning Britaine (1605), p.217



He regarded more his oath, his honour and his promise made to King Richard like a gentleman and a faithful subject to his Prince, and absented not himself from his master, but as he faithfully lived under him, so he manfully died with him, to his greater honour and laud. (1)

This was not, however, the view current immediately after the battle. So permeated with treachery had it been, that at first much confusion existed as to who had turned traitor and who remained loyal. The day after the battle, news reached York that Richard had been slain through the duke of Norfolk's treason, and the Croyland Chronicle, usually so accurate, reports that Norfolk fled, and includes in its list of traitors to Richard, lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir Robert Brackenbury, all of whom died on the field for the king<sup>(2)</sup>. Although untrue, the stories gained credit in the confusion that followed and it was some time before the correct version gained the upper hand.

After the defeat, Howard's body was conveyed to Thetford Priory, traditionally the burying place of the dukes of Norfolk, with far greater respect than was shown to the body of the dead king. This was not without its symbolism, for Richard's hacked and naked body was that of the last of the royal line of Plantagenet, while from that of John Howard sprang a line which for the next century was to be the most influential and prolific of all the noble families England ever produced, and which after four generations was to produce Elizabeth I, for Howard was her great-great-grandfather.

Howard's relationship with Richard III may be summed up in the following terms. As an old and quite close acquaintance and fellow soldier, he knew that Gloucester would be a capable regent and he therefore supported Hastings' moves to this end, and to prevent the Woodvilles gaining control of the government. While not joining Hastings in any later plot, he was close enough to him for fears to be expressed for his safety. After Hastings' death he was not prepared to take any steps to block Richard's path to the throne, and indeed, as a pragmatist he may well have welcomed it as an alternative to constant faction fighting during a minority. What contemporary evidence there is indicates that his role in the delivery of York was an honourable one and that nobody suspected the fate in store for the boys, even if they were beginning to

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1. Hall, op.cit., p.419

2. R. Davies, York Records, p.218; Croyland Chronicle, p.504

suspect Richard of designs on the throne. It may quite convincingly be argued that an attempt to impute the princes's murder to Howard is doomed to failure on grounds of both motive and opportunity, and on total lack of contemporary suggestion that he was in any way involved. Having gained the throne, Richard had to trust all the most powerful of Edward's lords and took an obvious step in granting to Howard his rightful share of the Mowbray inheritance, compounding it with the grant of the dukedom, which he probably saw in terms of a bribe for future loyalty. In fact, he would have received this without the bribe, for unlike most of his fellow peers, Howard, having once sworn loyalty to a king, never failed to maintain his oath in the most positive of fashions. He appears to have taken little part in the day to day politics of the realm, but when his presence was needed for defence or diplomacy, he was there, the most loyal, the most consistent and the longest serving supporter of the house of York.

Quarry

17 Early Chancery Proceedings

C 81 Council Warrants, Warrants for the Great Seal and Privy Seal, August 1414

C 119 Inquisition Post Mortem

C 146 Ancient Deeds

C 219 Sheriffs' writs and returns of Members of Parliament

C 234 Writs of Privy Seal

King's Bench

18 21 King's Bench

18 21 King's Bench

18 21 King's Bench

British Museum, London, England

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British Museum, London, England

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