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# **The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity in Fifteenth-Century England**

**MATTHEW WARD, BA (Hons), MA**

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**AUGUST 2013**



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# Abstract

This study examines the social, cultural and political significance and utility of the livery collar during the fifteenth century, in particular 1450 to 1500, the period associated with the Wars of the Roses in England. References to the item abound in government records, in contemporary chronicles and gentry correspondence, in illuminated manuscripts and, not least, on church monuments. From the fifteenth century the collar was regarded as a potent symbol of royal power and dignity, the artefact associating the recipient with the king. The thesis argues that the collar was a significant aspect of late-medieval visual and material culture, and played a significant function in the construction and articulation of political and other group identities during the period. The thesis seeks to draw out the nuances involved in this process. It explores the not infrequently juxtaposed motives which lay behind the king distributing livery collars, and the motives behind recipients choosing to depict them on their church monuments, and proposes that its interpretation as a symbol of political or dynastic conviction should be re-appraised.

After addressing the principal functions and meanings bestowed on the collar, the thesis moves on to examine the item in its various political contexts. It then places the collar within the sphere of medieval identity construction. In the final two chapters collars on church monuments are used as a starting point for conducting prosopographical studies of groups of linked individuals, in order to explore political and other types of shared identities at both a national and local level. It is argued that livery collars were used on church monuments as a manifestation, and indeed perpetuation, of the collective identity of the deceased and their kin. The inclusion of collars on church monuments could be used, as it were, differently, depending on local social, geographical and tenurial contexts.

The author's original contribution to research centres on his findings regarding the nature of political affiliation and political life in the fifteenth century. In addition, the thesis

offers a fresh methodology with which to analyse local history and networks. The collar is used as a vehicle through which to analyse and appraise wider themes of late-medieval politics and culture, and to explore the nature and understanding of royal power in the fifteenth century. Original conclusions are developed regarding the nature and extent of political thinking and conviction during the period – indeed the very meaning of politics to contemporaries at the centre and on the periphery of the polity - and its visual manifestation.

**Dedicated to C.E.J. 'Sedge' Smith**

# Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt of gratitude to many individuals for their support and advice. Firstly, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr Rob Lutton for his encouragement and help throughout the process. I would also like to thank Dr Gwilym Dodd, Dr Richard Goddard, Dr Gabriele Neher, Philip Riden, Lord Stafford, Sir Richard FitzHerbert, Nicholas Fitzherbert, Jennie Pegram, Sally Badham, C.E.J. 'Sedge' Smith, Geoffrey Wheeler, Philip Lankester, Margaret O'Sullivan and a multitude of church wardens and archivists who have provided assistance on my site visits. Last, but by no means least, my thanks go to my parents, who have endured countless informal lectures on the livery collar over the past four years.

Matthew Ward

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## Abbreviations

<i>Cal. Inq. Misc.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Chancery, preserved in the Public Record Office, 7 vols. (London, 1916-68)</i>
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. (London, 1903-27)</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1441-85, 6 vols. (London, 1933-54)</i>
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1452-1509, 4 vols. (London, 1911-62)</i>
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VII, 3 vols. (London, 1898-1955)</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1370-1509, 25 vols. (London, 1895-1916)</i>

- DAJ *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*
- Derbyshire Gentry* S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, Derbyshire Record Society, 8 (Chesterfield, 1983)
- Dunham W.H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461-1483*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 39 (1955, reprinted 1970)
- English Church Monuments* N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009)
- Fletcher D. Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations down the Centuries', in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud and New York, 1997), pp. 191-204
- Friar S. Friar, 'Livery collars on late-medieval English church monuments: A survey of the south-western counties and some suggestions for further study', University of Southampton, unpublished MPhil dissertation (2000)

- Harleian 433* R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433: Register of Grants for the Reigns of Edward V and Richard III*, 4 vols. (Upminster and London, 1979-83)
- Heraldry* P. Coss and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002)
- John Vale's Book* M.L. Kekewich, C. Richmond, A.F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs and J.L. Watts (eds.), *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book* (Stroud, 1995)
- 'Livery Collar' C.E.J. Smith, 'The Livery Collar', *Coat of Arms*, 8 (1990), 238-53
- Monumental Industry* S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (eds.), *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century* (Donington, 2010)
- PL* J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509*, Complete Library edn., 6 vols. (London, 1904)
- PROME** C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, A. Curry, R. Horrox, G. Martin, M. Ormrod and S. Phillips (eds.), *The*

*Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504* (Leicester, 2005)

*Test' Ebor'*

J. Raine and J.W. Clay (eds.), *Testamenta Eboracensia, or, Wills registered at York*, Surtees Society, 6 vols. (London, 1836-1902)

*TMBS*

*Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*

# Introduction

The maner of ynglonde was whan the kyng Nobilitatyde eny persone, to geve hym a certen baage or lyuery wyth hys Fee, whyche lyuery was a collar wyth letters of S made off golde or syluer.<sup>1</sup>

John Blount's citation of c. 1500, translated from Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari* (c. 1446),<sup>2</sup> is one of an abundance of references to the livery collar from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, albeit in this case not an entirely accurate interpretation of to whom the collar was given.<sup>3</sup> The collar found its way into literary sources, gentry correspondence and royal ordinances, was the object of legislation, was referred to in petitions to the king, and was depicted in manuscript illustrations and on church monuments, sculpture and stained glass. Quite simply, it had a pervasive presence. If one considers the three hundred and more depictions of livery collars on extant church monuments and in church windows from the fifteenth century, it is clear that the number of recipients of the item reached well into the hundreds, and probably the thousands. Despite this, it is perhaps its very ubiquity that has led many historians to overlook or dismiss the collar when it appears in source material; it is forever present, but seemingly only on the periphery. This thesis seeks to redress the balance, by appraising the social and political meaning and utility of the livery collar during the fifteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the second half of the century, the period associated with the Wars of the Roses in England.

The livery collar was a band of leather or velvet decorated with devices usually composed of silver, silver-gilt or gold, and was worn about the neck. The more prestigious examples were produced entirely of precious metal and resembled a broad necklace. Many

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.misc.d.227, fol. 32.

<sup>2</sup> For a copy of the original Latin text see London, British Library [hereafter BL], Additional MS 30946.

<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence to confirm the suggestion that a livery collar was given to every individual who was 'ennobled' by the king, whether the term refers to knighthood or the conferment of an earldom or dukedom, for example. In some cases it is conceivable that the individual had already received a collar. As will be addressed later, it was the case that those of a lower rank were also recipients.

collars terminated in pendants which depicted an armorial device, again usually made of metal. Part of the late-medieval system of livery, the collar was the most prestigious item, being awarded to those of the rank of esquire or wealthy merchant and above. The more common badges, robes and caps were given to lesser individuals. The evidence suggests that when it was introduced in the late fourteenth century it was given by leaders of baronial as well as royal affinities, but as a result of legislation in the early fifteenth century it increasingly became exclusive to the royal family. Indeed it was frequently referred to as the 'king's livery', and was awarded to household servants and perhaps to officers in the localities such as sheriffs, and to those who had demonstrated their loyalty on the battlefield. In addition it was conferred to foreign dignitaries and royalty: examples can be found in Italy, Belgium and Ireland. The livery collar witnessed its apogee in the fifteenth century, when complaints over the perceived evils of livery and maintenance were at their loudest. Although it continued to be distributed under the Tudors, it increasingly came to represent insignia of office and was worn by high-ranking government officials, the judiciary and the royal heralds.<sup>4</sup> During the second half of the fifteenth century there were two types of collar: first, the Lancastrian collar of esses, as seen in a sixteenth-century portrait of Henry VI (**Fig. 1**). This collar was revived by Henry Tudor on his accession to the throne in 1485. The Yorkist collar of alternate suns and roses, or more rarely roses set within suns, often referred to as *roses-en-soleil*, was introduced in c. 1461 and can be seen worn by Sir John and Lady Donne in Hans Memling's *Donne Triptych* (**Fig. 2**).<sup>5</sup>

The thesis uses the collar to explore the construction and expression of political and other forms of shared identities during the fifteenth century, in addition to analysing the item's cultural significance. The period chosen provides the ideal context for examining political conviction and expression: the existence of 'opposing' Lancastrian and Yorkist collars during a period of instability for the ruling regimes and controversy over the function,

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<sup>4</sup> The heralds, kings of arms and serjeants at arms continue to wear the 'SS' collar.

<sup>5</sup> There are three extant collars: two in the Victoria and Albert Museum dating from the early sixteenth century; and one in the Museum of London dating from the late fifteenth century, discovered in the Thames in 1983. For this example, see B. Spencer, 'Fifteenth-century collar of SS and hoard of false dice with their container, from the Museum of London', *Antiquaries Journal*, 65 (1985), 449-51.

or apparent malfunction, of 'bastard feudalism' would appear to give the collar particular political pertinence. Historians have been all too prepared to assume that those individuals who have a livery collar depicted on their church monuments were active, or even staunch, 'Lancastrian' or 'Yorkist' followers. This is an inappropriate and crude methodology to adopt. Collars and their wearers must be placed in their wider contexts and subjected to more rigorous research in order to reach firmer conclusions about those who wore them. Were all collar-wearers politically active supporters of the two respective regimes? Were other factors and motivations at play when it came to choosing to include the item on memorials, sculpture and in stained glass: for example local geographical and tenurial contexts, and kinship ties? To help answer these questions, the thesis will follow two broad strands: the motivations behind the donor (in most cases the king) distributing the livery collar; and the motivations of those who wore them and who chose to have them depicted on their memorials. Were the aims of the donor realised? Were the motivations of donor and recipient broadly similar, or were there tensions, with some recipients placing their own interpretations on the collar? The two salient objectives of the thesis are therefore to explore the collar as a symbol of royal authority and dignity, and to assess the role played by the collar in the expression and construction of group identities. The thesis will attempt to use the collar to more fully appreciate the beliefs, attitudes and assumptions of English society during the Wars of the Roses. In doing so it will offer a reinterpretation of the livery collar. As a result of a reconsideration of the item's significance, the thesis offers an innovative reappraisal of the nature of political conviction during the Wars of the Roses.

### **Research methodology and historiography**

The research methodology has been necessarily interdisciplinary. This is in part due to the diversity of the source material, and partly to fully comprehend the role of the collar in a variety of contexts. This introductory chapter introduces and appraises various methodologies which will be utilised throughout the thesis. It begins by addressing the corpus of material written on the livery collar, and then assesses the collar in the context of

material and visual culture. A significant aspect of the research has involved the study of groups of individuals whose collars feature on their church monuments, indeed the final two chapters directly address this topic. Although the thesis is not a study of church monuments or commemorative practices, this field of work will be appreciated here. Last, but by no means least, the context of the Wars of the Roses is explored, in particular the nature of group identity during the period. As the two final chapters adopt a prosopographical approach, this method is also addressed. Rather than provide general overviews of the above research fields, the focus here is on studies which have been influential and are applicable to the thesis.

### *The livery collar*

Perhaps not surprisingly there has been little written specifically on the livery collar. Much of the interest has come from the antiquaries of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. These authors were more often than not fascinated by the Lancastrian 'SS' collar and the elusive meaning behind the esses. It was this collar which was therefore their primary concern. An art-historical stylistic analysis of the collar's forms over a chronological period was also a favoured pursuit.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent studies have in the main followed this approach, with livery collars frequently being treated as concomitant to other major topics. Although the occasional chapter or article devoted to the collar has appeared, they have essentially rehashed the earlier work, or placed them within the contexts of archaeology or jewellery.<sup>7</sup> A useful introductory article on the livery collar was published by C.E.J. Smith in 1990,<sup>8</sup> and his vast unpublished catalogue of collars begun in 1992 has been used extensively throughout

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<sup>6</sup> J. Gough Nichols, 'On Collars of the Royal Livery', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 18 (February, 1842), 157-61; 18 (March, 1842), 250-58; 18 (April, 1842), 378-80; 18 (May, 1842), 477-85; 18 (October, 1842), 353-60; 18 (December, 1842), 595-97; G.F. Beltz, 'Notices relating to the ancient "Collars of the King's Livery", and, in particular, those which are still denominated "Collars of SS"', *The Retrospective Review*, 16 (1828), 500-10; A. Hartshorne, 'Notes on Collars of SS', *Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1882), 376-83; E. Foss, 'Hackington, or St. Stephen's, Canterbury. Collar of SS', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 1 (1858), 73-93; W.K. Skeat, 'Souvent Me Souvient', *Christ's College Magazine* (Michaelmas Term, 1905), 1-5; G. Scharf, 'A Note upon Collars', *Archaeologia*, 39 (1863), 265-71; C.K. Jenkins, 'Collars of SS: A Quest', *Apollo*, 49 (1949), 60-2; A.P. Purey-Cust, *The Collar of SS, A History and Conjecture* (Leeds, 1910).

<sup>7</sup> Fletcher, pp. 191-204; I. Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV* (London, 2008), pp. 384-7; Spencer, 'Fifteenth-century collar of SS', 449-51; R.W. Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery* (London, 1992), pp. 245-7.

<sup>8</sup> 'Livery Collar', 238-53.



the research. Stephen Friar's unpublished dissertation exploring the livery collar on church monuments in the south-west of England has been equally informative.<sup>9</sup> The provenance and meaning of the SS collar, alongside the meaning of the Yorkist suns and roses collar which has hitherto received scant scholarly attention, will of course be addressed in the thesis, as will the form of the collar, but much more work needs to be done. An alternative avenue of research has therefore been chosen. The thesis attempts to understand what the item meant to contemporaries, and how it was understood and 'read'. In particular, the thesis will address the roles and meanings of the livery collar during the Wars of the Roses, an avenue of research all but eschewed in the past historiography, despite its obvious potential.<sup>10</sup>

### *Material and visual culture*

The principal goal of cultural history is to attempt a morphological understanding of the past and to grasp what Huizinga termed the 'spirit of the age'.<sup>11</sup> Used alongside documentary evidence, the staple of the historian, objects, artefacts and works of art can provide greater insight and depth to the research, improving our comprehension of the topic by informing us of the social and psychological assumptions and attitudes of the audience. Of particular pertinence here is the use of material and visual culture to construct social identity, articulate political messages and values, and to indicate allegiance to or membership of a group.<sup>12</sup> The use of material and visual culture to construct and express identity is the key here. This is particularly pertinent to medieval society, when low levels of literacy meant that the ruling regime would frequently issue its messages through media other than the written word, such

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<sup>9</sup> See Friar.

<sup>10</sup> For a very brief discussion of brasses from the Wars of the Roses period, see L. James, 'York and Lancaster, a Study of Collars', *TMB*, 10 (1968), 454-7.

<sup>11</sup> J. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas* (New York, 1952), pp. 17-76. Many of Huizinga's conclusions have since been questioned, although this statement remains broadly applicable to the field of cultural history. Although the present author acknowledges the variety of source materials which should be utilised when studying cultural history, Huizinga's broader assumptions are not followed.

<sup>12</sup> A. Morrall, 'Ornament as evidence', in K. Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture* (London and New York, 2009), pp. 47-66; R. Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005), 591-603, at 595-7; J.A. Walker and S. Chaplin, *Visual Culture: an Introduction* (Manchester and New York, 1997), p. 28.

as on sculpture and in painting. We should be careful not to assume that objects are simply mirrors of a given society. Their intended message is not infrequently interpreted and responded to differently by different audiences. This is particularly true when one considers the political control of images and objects. Although they often signify social privilege and control, objects can transcend cultural boundaries, making them difficult to control. The meanings of objects can be multifarious, and can change over time as each generation places its own values and assumptions on them. The role of constructivism, originally the focus of philosophy, has therefore been a great influence on cultural historians. It is the period specificity, the focus on the social context of the objects, and the analysis of the tension between object and audience which a historian can offer to the discipline.<sup>13</sup>

The field of cultural history has benefitted from the ideas and theories of several other disciplines over the last few decades, notably art history, literary studies, anthropology and sociology. The art historian's traditional emphasis on style, form and aesthetics can be paired with the social and cultural contexts in which the object was produced, and the social and cultural roles and meanings of the object.<sup>14</sup> The mid-twentieth century witnessed an accompanying 'visual turn' alongside the 'linguistic turn', with art historians attempting to place visual artefacts in their social contexts, just as literary artefacts. Several ideas were borrowed from literary theory, not least the development of visual hermeneutics, an interpretative method used for texts and works of art. Originating in philosophical studies, this theoretical approach encourages the subjection of the source material to a variety of questions concerning its significance, the intended meaning and response, and an analysis of both the 'iconography' (the interpretation of the object itself), and 'iconology' (a consideration of the social and cultural world encapsulated in the work).<sup>15</sup> The alliance

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<sup>13</sup> A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Control of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 3-63, at p. 57; L. Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 1-13. For the 'reception' of audiences see D. Freeberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History of Theory and Response* (Chicago and London, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> N. Bryson, M.A. Holly and K. Moxey (eds.), *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Middletown, 1994), pp. xv-xxiv.

<sup>15</sup> See E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1957), pp. 26-54.

between the two disciplines of art history and literary studies was encapsulated in the Warburg Institute, which moved to London in 1933.<sup>16</sup> There should therefore be a synthesis between art-historical and historical practices, as there are many shared goals of both disciplines: both are interested in 'texts', and both agree that the works of sculptors, architects and artists tell us a great deal about how they perceived their world.<sup>17</sup>

From the 1960s cultural historians have benefitted from the influence of anthropology and sociology. As a result the field of historical anthropology has developed. Scholars now talk of 'cultures' in their plurality, with 'elite', 'popular', 'print' and 'court' culture being subjected to historical enquiry. In addition, and influenced heavily by Clifford Geertz and his interpretative method of 'thick description', historians have taken up the anthropologist's interest in symbols and symbolism, with the symbolic, rather than physical, characteristics of objects and actions the focus of attention.<sup>18</sup> This has permitted historians to take a fresh perspective when considering the use of objects to display power and wealth.<sup>19</sup> Although the anthropological turn encouraged the historian to take into consideration mass culture and the role of symbolic action in addition to objects and artefacts as symbols, more recently scholars have revisited 'high' culture and its relationship with politics. Studies of the symbols of aristocratic and monarchical power such as regalia, architecture and ceremony have been undertaken in an attempt to assess their efficacy. The effectiveness of the facilitating and controlling abilities of institutions such as the monarchy in determining the use and interpretation of images and objects, in relation to the agency of the 'responder', has also been an area of interest.<sup>20</sup> A related concern has been to analyse the role of communities, as opposed to the individual, in interpreting culture, and to investigate the political

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<sup>16</sup> P. Erickson and C. Hulse, 'Introduction', in P. Erickson and C. Hulse (eds.), *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 1-14.

<sup>17</sup> T.K. Rabb and J. Brown, 'Introduction', in R.I. Rotberg and T.K. Rabb (eds.), *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning* (New York, 1988), pp. 1-6.

<sup>18</sup> C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), p. 89; R. Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 95-111.

<sup>19</sup> For such an approach see J. Brown, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven and London, 1980).

<sup>20</sup> See L. Stone, *The Crisis of the English Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965); P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London, 1992); Walker and Chaplin (ed.), *Visual Culture*, p. 94.

assumptions of groups.

Bernard Herman has made a distinction between 'object-centred' and 'object-driven' approaches to studying material culture. The former, favoured by art historians, focuses on the physical attributes and aesthetic qualities of the artefact, while the latter places the artefact in its historical context and uses it as evidence for analysing social relationships.<sup>21</sup> Although object analysis is an important element, not all material cultural studies require this approach; the existence of the artefact in itself allows the researcher to ask questions which require the analysis of other related evidence.<sup>22</sup> This is frequently the approach adopted by historians, and is the approach adopted here.

### *Church monuments*

There were two primary motivations behind commissioning a monument in late medieval England: sacred and secular. The intrinsic importance of the doctrine of purgatory in life, death and commemoration cannot be overlooked.<sup>23</sup> The form and content of monuments therefore reflected the concern to elicit prayers from the living to ease the commemorated through their purgatorial pains. Religious symbolism such as depictions of angels, saints and the holy trinity abounded on tombs and memorial brasses. The increasing popularity of inscriptions by the fifteenth century is also testament to concerns over the afterlife. They invariably began with the phrase 'Orate pro anima' (pray for the soul of), followed by the name of the deceased and the day on which they had died. But those who were commemorated by a church monument were also prompted by other concerns: the need to depict one's social station, to articulate one's identity and social, cultural and political affiliations through secular discourse. It is this area with which the thesis is concerned.

The use of secular imagery on monuments began well before the fifteenth century.

The use of secular iconography in European ecclesiastical buildings was a prominent feature

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<sup>21</sup> B. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992), pp. 4-12.

<sup>22</sup> J.D. Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> See C. Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in late medieval England', in S.J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750* (London, 1988), pp. 56-84. Also see J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Aldershot, 1990).

by the thirteenth century, with political imagery appearing on corbels and misericords, for example. The use of heraldry on tombs appeared earlier, the plaque placed above the monument of Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1150) in Le Mans cathedral being an early example.<sup>24</sup> From the twelfth century, founders' tombs had been erected to celebrate the role of the commemorated in establishing the religious house in which they rested. In the following century the church sanctioned the erection of intramural monuments for the laity, at least for those who had honoured their church. Influenced by the dynastic royal mausoleums at St Denis in Paris and Westminster Abbey, nobles and knights followed the lead and tombs began to fill church and monastery, celebrating their status, lineage and associations. It was not only the style and content of the monument which was important, the location of burial and funerary monument was a primary concern and reflected the social hierarchy. The very wealthy were buried in the chancel, with the slightly less affluent buried elsewhere in the church, such as in family or fraternity chapels. Memorial brasses were available for those individuals unable to afford a tomb and effigy. It should be stressed, however, that although the medium of brass allowed for a greater clientele to be commemorated by a permanent memorial, brasses were commissioned by locally prominent people who were far from nonentities.<sup>25</sup> Heraldry began to appear on English monuments to the aristocracy in the thirteenth century, and this was soon followed by a proliferation of monuments from the fourteenth century commemorating the nobility, knights, gentry and wealthy merchants, a period when secular badges also appeared.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the fourteenth century livery collars were being portrayed on tomb effigies and on memorial brasses, and their presence

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<sup>24</sup> P. Lindley, 'Introduction: Secular Sculpture 1300-1550', in P. Lindley and T. Frangenberg (eds.), *Secular Sculpture 1300-1550* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 1-9.

<sup>25</sup> S. Badham, 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *TMBS*, 15 (1996), 413-65; A. Martindale, 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and The Arts* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 143-78; J.M. Luxford, 'The Collegiate Church as Mausoleum', in C. Burgess and M. Hale (eds.), *The Late Medieval English College and its Contents* (York, 2008), pp. 110-39; R. Dinn, 'Monuments Answerable to Mens Worth': Burial Patterns, Social Status and Gender in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 237-55; N. Rogers, 'Hic lacet...: The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches', in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds.), *The Parish in Late Medieval England, Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 14 (Donington, 2006), pp. 261-81; J. Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An archaeology of commemoration*, British Archaeological Reports, 317 (Oxford, 2000), p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, 'Introduction', in *Monumental Industry*, pp. 1-11.

would proliferate during the following hundred years. By the end of the fifteenth century it was not uncommon for epitaphs to be more elaborate, not infrequently celebrating the worldly achievements of the deceased. In his 1478 epilogue to Geoffrey Chaucer's translation of Boethius, William Caxton noted the epitaph 'wreton on a table hongyng on a pylere' beside Chaucer's tomb at Westminster, which had probably been written by the Italian humanist Stefano de Surigone.<sup>27</sup>

As the antiquary John Weever stipulated in the 1630s, 'sepulchres should be made according to the qualitie and degree of the person deceased, that by the Tombe every one might bee discerned of what ranke hee was living'.<sup>28</sup> In order for spectators to acknowledge the worldly rank and achievements of the deceased, it was crucial that monuments attracted the attention. This they clearly did, as testified with more than a hint of sarcasm in the *Creed of Piers Plowman*:

Tombes upon tabernacles  
 Tyldre opon lofte, [raised high]  
 Housed in hornes,  
 Harde set abouten,  
 Of armede alabaustre  
 Clad for the nones, [decorated appropriately]  
 Maad opon marbel  
 In many manner wyse,  
 Knyghtes in ther conisante [cognizance]  
 Clad for the nones;  
 Alle it semed seyntes  
 Y-sacred opon erthe.<sup>29</sup>

To put it rather crudely, a monument had to be both a physical and visual obstruction. High tombs with effigies, some including canopies, were commonplace by the fifteenth century

<sup>27</sup> D.S. Brewer, *Chaucer, the Critical Heritage*, 2 vols. (London, 1978), i, pp. 74-9.

<sup>28</sup> J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> T. Wright (ed.), *The Vision and Creed of Piers Plowman*, 2 vols. (London, 1856), ii, pp. 461-2.

and were a conspicuous presence in churches, the east ends of which could be filled with an abundance of examples crowded around the high altar.<sup>30</sup> These highly visible tombs served as mnemonic devices for prayers, and as proud representations of the honour and prestige of the deceased and their family. They were carefully positioned, deliberately obstructing the sight lines of both clergy and laity, and usually visible from the nave, altars and chapels in order to afford them a central role in the liturgy of the church.<sup>31</sup> Although brasses were less physically obtrusive (this may well have been a reason for their introduction), their bright metallic gleam and coloured inlays would have been no less of an attraction. This, alongside the use of polychromy, jewels, gilding and coloured enamel served to catch the eye. Witness a Venetian visitor describing the tomb of St Thomas of Canterbury:

This, notwithstanding its great size, is entirely covered over with plates of pure gold; but the gold is scarcely visible from the variety of precious stones with which it is studded, such as sapphires, diamonds, rubies, balas-rubies, and emeralds; and on every side that the eye turns, something more beautiful than the other appears.<sup>32</sup>

The account goes on to describe the effect of the sunlight illuminating the tomb decoration. Light shining on church monuments through stained glass, the angle of the rays changing with the movement of the sun, accentuated different aspects of the tomb, and added to their magnificence. The same effect would be produced by the movement of candles and tapers around the tomb. The gilt and silver-gilt livery collars worn by tomb effigies, usually achieved by applying oil gilding (several layers of yellow oil and gold leaf),<sup>33</sup> would have played an integral part in the spectacle. Indeed, one of the few details of the collars that Richard Symonds noted on church monuments in Wales in the seventeenth century was their

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<sup>30</sup> See, for example the variety of tombs of the Morley, Stathum and Sacheverell families in St. Matthew's Church, Morley (Derbyshire). See below, pp. 172-3.

<sup>31</sup> S. Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel, An Archaeology* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 106.

<sup>32</sup> C.A. Sneyd (ed. and trans.), *A Relation, or rather true account, of the Island of England ... About the Year 1500* (London, 1847), p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Traces of which still survive on the 'choker' collar on the effigy of Joan Nevill (d. 1462) at Arundel: A. Brodrick and J. Darrah, 'The fifteenth century polychromed limestone effigies of William Fitzalan, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Arundel, and his wife, Joan Nevill, in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel', *Church Monuments*, 1 (1986), 65-94, at 71.

colour.<sup>34</sup> 'Elite' objects such as the livery collar were intricately produced to attract the light through their colours, textures, incised lines and relief work, in order to elicit a response. The use of gold and silver or silver-gilt also reflected the power and authority of the donor.

It was not only the striking, shimmering appearance of these metals which attracted the attention. Their symbolic significance would also have been fully appreciated. Gold appeals to the senses through its gleam, and its pliability makes it easy to work. Along with silver, it retains something of its 'nobility' due to its untarnishable colour and brightness. Its rarity and aesthetic appearance make it a perfect symbol, used to legitimise secular and religious hierarchy and authority.<sup>35</sup> There was therefore something of a 'visual privilege' in being associated with such an artefact, indeed this is reflected today by the SS collar worn by the Lord Mayor of London (**Fig. 10**). Recent work has explored the synaesthetic medieval church-going experience, particularly with regard to sites of pilgrimage, in which the visitor was exposed to a range of multi-sensory stimuli within the church setting appealing to sight, touch and hearing, to enhance their affective response.<sup>36</sup> There are clearly implications here for research into church monuments, which played an integral part in the broader church-going experience, and which appealed to a variety of senses themselves. A livery collar, both depicted on a church monument and worn by the living, would have appealed to the senses of sight and touch.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to bear in mind that the medieval tomb and its environment was a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total piece of art in which the tomb interacted with other monuments and church fittings, painted wall panels, and stained glass. Indeed a direct relationship between tomb and glass was deliberately achieved.<sup>38</sup> Livery collars can be found in examples of contemporary stained glass, such as the Yorkist collars worn by the figures of

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<sup>34</sup> BL, Harleian MS 944, fols. 18v-25v.

<sup>35</sup> P.S. Wells, *Image and Response in Early Europe* (London, 2008), p. 45; G. Clark, *Symbols of Excellence: Precious Materials as Expressions of Status* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 50-97.

<sup>36</sup> E.J. Wells, 'Synaesthesia in Medieval Pilgrimage: The Case of St Neot's Shrine, Cornwall', *Church Archaeology*, 14 (2010), 63-77.

<sup>37</sup> See below, p. 33.

<sup>38</sup> Badham and Oosterwijk, 'Introduction', p. 8; J. Luxford, 'The Hastings Brass at Elsing: A Contextual Analysis', *TMBS*, 18 (2011), 193-211.



Sir William Chamberlain (d. 1462) and Sir Robert Wingfield (d. 1481), first and second husbands of Anne Harling (d. 1498), at East Harling.<sup>39</sup> Here, the glass was designed to interact with the tomb of Anne and her first husband, and although the brass has now disappeared, it is not inconceivable that both tomb and glass would have featured livery collars, an example of accentuating the message through two types of media. This may well have been the case with other tomb-glass combinations, the disappearance of either or both commemorative media hindering firmer conclusions.

Earlier antiquarian interest in tombs and monuments is reflected in the works of John Weever, Richard Gough and Charles Alfred Stothard, all of which are still used today, not least for their excellent engravings. The studies of post-Renaissance sculpture, medieval monuments and alabaster tombs by Esdaile, Crossley and Gardner in the first half of the twentieth century presented a stylistic and aesthetic appreciation of monuments, with a focus on chronological development of forms, an approach that was broadly followed for several decades. Laurence Stone's influential study of medieval sculpture pioneered an art-historical approach to the study of church architecture and sculpture, an approach predicated on the development of style from pre-conquest sculpture, through the Romanesque and Decorated periods, and on to the late-Gothic style.<sup>40</sup>

A key historiographical development came with Panofsky's thought provoking study of tomb design from ancient Egypt to the Renaissance, highlighting continuities and changes

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<sup>39</sup> D. King, 'The Indent of John Aylward: Glass and Brass at East Harling', *TMBS*, 18 (2011), 251-67.

<sup>40</sup> Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*; R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 2 vols. (London, 1786-96); C.A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817-32); K. Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture Since the Renaissance* (London, 1927); F. Crossley, *English Church Monuments 1150-1550* (London, 1921); A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England* (Cambridge, 1940); B. Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1980); L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955). Phillip Lindley has contributed several excellent studies of church monuments. See, for example, P. Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, 2007). Other studies have focused their attention on a region or particular location: P.E. Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire* (Ipswich, 1976); S.M. Bond (ed.), *The Monuments of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor, 1958). For an influential early study of brasses see Herbert Haines's *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols. (London, 1861), and for a more recent approach see J. Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996). For tombs commemorating royalty see M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003).

in the style of monuments over several hundred years.<sup>41</sup> Several of his theories have become the staple of subsequent studies of church monuments and his work is still influential. As with Stone, Panofsky's approach centred on progression of style: he interpreted the Gothic period as an era of progression culminating in a reacceptance of the more aesthetically pleasing classical styles of antiquity in the sixteenth century. Several of his observations have formed the bedrock of research into church monuments since, not least his distinction in attitudes between the 'retrospective' tombs of the Greeks, to the 'prospective' tombs of the medieval period, when Christian doctrine – centring on the importance of achieving salvation – encouraged an approach which looked forward to the Last Judgment, rather than glorified the past of the individual.<sup>42</sup> He traces the development from the sculptured tomb slabs of the eleventh century through to the use of ever higher reliefs, which culminated with the introduction of the three-dimensional effigial tomb during the twelfth century. The next logical step was to place the effigy on top of a tomb, and to add an extravagant canopy. This 'elevation' of the tomb by the high middle ages accompanied an increasing desire to represent status on memorials: another theme which as we will see has taken longer to attract meaningful scholarly attention. Panofsky portrays a logical progression towards the funerary sculpture of the Renaissance, when the importance of individual virtues and a glorification of the past replaced Christian concerns for the future. Individual commemoration was thus 'sanctioned' by the Renaissance, with a rejection of the institutional commemoration of the medieval period.<sup>43</sup> Although religious elements remained, a virtual secularisation of tomb sculpture had occurred. Naturally, classical influences, such as the sarcophagus, were reintroduced. Unfortunately for the historian, he fails to place these developments within their full historical context. The various European Reformations which occurred throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their effects on iconography and style, are not explored. It is curious, for example, that Panofsky barely refers to the Christian doctrine of purgatory and its influence over meaning, function, and

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<sup>41</sup> E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London, 1964).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

style of monuments. Thus, a more nuanced approach to examining developments is missed, although the huge historical scope of such a work makes this impractical.

Another important avenue of research opened up by Panofsky was his attention to the depictions of mourners, or 'weepers', which began to appear on monuments in the thirteenth century. He suggests that these small figures, often shown in tomb niches, did not always depict mourners from the deceased's funeral procession, and in some cases, where the expressions of grief are absent, they may simply be family portraits. Later historians have built on this thesis by suggesting that the figures may actually represent the individuals named in the deceased's chantry ordinances.<sup>44</sup> Other themes addressed by Panofsky which have been taken up by historians include the cadaver, or *transi* tomb, which became popular in the north of Europe, particularly with ecclesiastics. The 'double-decker' tomb, which featured the depiction of the effigy in full regalia on top, with a rotting cadaver or skeleton beneath, is also discussed.<sup>45</sup> Here, Panofsky is influenced by the work of Ernst Kantorowicz,<sup>46</sup> who suggested these dual representations of the dead symbolised the 'two bodies' of the deceased: the immortal dignity represented by the effigy, with the mortal natural body represented by the cadaver. Though Kantorowicz applied his theory exclusively to royalty, Panofsky suggests that the model was also applicable to a broader range of patrons. More recently, early modern scholars in particular have elaborated and adapted this theory.<sup>47</sup>

From the 1980s scholars expanded on Panofsky's foundations by attempting to place church monuments more firmly within their historical contexts, for example through discussing how contemporary attitudes and eschatological beliefs were reflected in tomb design. Paul Binski's *Medieval Death* is a broader investigation into attitudes towards death

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<sup>44</sup> See Anne McGee Morganstern's work, referred to below.

<sup>45</sup> A local example, commemorating John Barton (d. 1490), can be seen in the Church of St Giles, Holme, near Newark.

<sup>46</sup> E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

<sup>47</sup> See Nigel Llewellyn's *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 – c. 1800* (London, 1991), pp. 47-9, 102-4. For doubt regarding the applicability of the theory to other levels of society than royalty, see P. Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2008), pp. 44-9.

and dying in the medieval period, with the focus on images as 'visual texts', and their relationship with 'representations'.<sup>48</sup> Progression of tomb style is once more one of the key features of the study, although this is related to a broader context of changing attitudes to death and commemoration in medieval Europe. Key issues are the influence of the doctrine of purgatory and the resulting relationship between the living and the dead, the macabre culture and appearance of the *transi* tomb, the 'politics of space', particularly with regard to the increasingly crowded royal mausoleum at Westminster, and the association between the medieval tomb and the notion of individualism,<sup>49</sup> the medieval tomb being 'inextricably bound up with notions of selfhood'.<sup>50</sup> Although both Panofsky's and Binski's studies are arguably broadly similar in their art-historical approach to the study of monuments, the latter succeeded in attracting historians to the field. More recently, Hampton's county by county guide to monuments from the Wars of the Roses is a welcome addition to the historiography, although it is not comprehensive, and provides only a brief description of the tomb and a biography of the individual it commemorates. A further disadvantage for the scholar is that the book is no longer in print, and is very difficult to find.<sup>51</sup>

A key development in the field of church monuments encourages scholars to examine the ways in which memory was manipulated through monuments and their settings.<sup>52</sup> The approach draws on the increasing number of studies of medieval memory (or more specifically, *memoria* – the various commemorative practices which secured the remembrance of the dead among the living) during the last fifteen or so years. Mary Carruthers' exploration of the role of memory and the use of mnemonic techniques in the middle ages has been an important influence here.<sup>53</sup> The use of tomb architecture as a 'mnemonic device' to trigger and manipulate the memory of the audience is a recurring theme. Tombs were a medium through which new interpretations of past events could be

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<sup>48</sup> P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996).

<sup>49</sup> A theory developed by Philippe Ariès in his *The Hour of Our Death* (Harmondsworth, 1981).

<sup>50</sup> Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 92.

<sup>51</sup> W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses* (Upminster, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, E.V. del Alamo and C.S. Pendergast (eds.), *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot, 2000).

<sup>53</sup> M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

created, the political functions of physical memorials to the deceased are explored in several of the essays. Several chapters in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* encourage the historian to consider the ways in which a dialogue between the living and the dead was established and maintained through various memorial strategies on tombs. Building on Panofsky's insights, Anne McGee Morganstern's discussion of the fourteenth-century tomb of Elizabeth de Montfort, Lady Montecute, in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, suggests that the figures illustrated in tomb niches – traditionally referred to as 'weepers', representing the mourners at the deceased's funeral – may actually represent the individuals mentioned in chantry ordinances. Along with heraldry, these figures acted as mnemonic devices to prompt the priest in his prayers. The author suggests that the heraldry on the tombs of the Burghersh family in Lincoln Cathedral served the same function. Thomas Bradwardine, a contemporary cleric associated with the family, stated that arcade niches in tombs were the ideal architectural setting for placing memory images.<sup>54</sup> Other authors have focused on the ways in which funerary sculpture influenced collective memory, with themes of rewriting history through tomb sculpture, celebrations of political leaders, and stressing continuity with the past through visual cues on tombs. The on-going themes of audience and vision and response remind us to take into consideration a variety of motives behind commissioning a church monument, and the variety of responses to them. The themes of audience and response, although ostensibly the territory of art-historians, is a subject very much at the heart of the historian's methodology: it provides a useful context for asking what motivations lay behind commissioning a specific tomb design, and why certain stylistic features, with both secular and religious purposes, were included. Tombs were not intended as dormant reminders of the past, but as integral parts of everyday life: the commemorated wished to continue to be placed within society.

In recent years the move towards placing tombs and monuments within their wider social and cultural contexts has gathered pace, partly as a result of contributions by

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<sup>54</sup> Morganstern expands her thesis in *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, Pa., 2000).

historians and archaeologists to the field. Jonathan Finch's study of monuments in Norfolk before 1850, for example, applied an archaeological methodology, eschewing analysis of style and placing the tombs within the county's material culture.<sup>55</sup> This has accompanied a revival of interest in the use of visual culture in social and secular display during the medieval period, an area which was not considered *en vogue* for a period, which has encouraged historians to examine the role of church monuments in expressing status and secular identity.<sup>56</sup> Nigel Saul's *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* is the first comprehensive study of its kind for some decades, and has attempted to gather the various historiographical theories and themes together. Saul examines the social, cultural and religious significance of medieval tombs, and uses a variety of methodologies.

Work by early modern scholars such as Nigel Llewellyn have also applied a socio-historical approach to the study of tombs from the sixteenth century onwards. Consequently, viewing monuments as 'symbols' is now a favoured approach.<sup>57</sup> Influenced by the Warburg school, Llewellyn and others have sought a critical interpretation of all visual (and literary) artefacts through attempting to understand them in relation to their social and cultural meanings and uses, in contrast to the traditional art-historical approach which placed emphasis on the aesthetic credentials of fine art.<sup>58</sup>

Saul argues that monuments should be interpreted in the greater context of church sculpture, and that they deserve to be taken as seriously as any other historical source. Likewise, they must be interpreted with the same degree of caution. Following the Binski tradition, he highlights the functional duality of the late-medieval monument: its role in eliciting prayers for the deceased, and in affirming their social status. He draws attention to a distinction in functionality between the medieval tomb, with a religious purpose intrinsically linked to the doctrine of purgatory, and the post-Reformation tomb, which served as a

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<sup>55</sup> Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk*.

<sup>56</sup> See M. Keen, 'Introduction', in *Heraldry*, pp. 1-16; B. and M. Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies', in *ibid.*, pp. 143-67.

<sup>57</sup> *English Church Monuments*; Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*.

<sup>58</sup> See Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, pp. 2-4; Erickson and Hulse, 'Introduction'.

perpetual replacement of the deceased's 'social body'. The fundamental function of the commemorative monument in both periods was, however, the same: to remember the dead.

The discussion of the concept of medieval memory continues, although Saul does not concern himself with the theoretical concepts applied in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*. The secular motives behind commemoration are now an important avenue of research, and these are addressed by Saul. The connection between physical commemoration and intercession in the late middle ages was intrinsic, the motivation behind the need to be remembered was the desire for prayers. However, in addition to the religious function of monuments, an element of secular discourse also appeared, with the identity and lineage of the family frequently celebrated.<sup>59</sup> Wider kinship ties and associations were also depicted, therefore both individual and group identity was expressed through the medium. Saul suggests that 'it was the commemorated's identity as a member of a group which mattered';<sup>60</sup> were tensions therefore created by the need to express individual *and* collective identity?

Saul continues elsewhere to refer to the dual purpose of the medieval tomb, with secular marks such as livery collars appearing in the late-fourteenth century. He alludes to the 'social body' theory of Nigel Llewellyn when stating that the monument 'took the place of the deceased and helped to preserve his or her memory in the community'.<sup>61</sup> The emergence of new social classes such as lawyers and merchants was reflected in an increase in the commissioning of cheaper monuments, in particular memorial brasses. By the fifteenth century, the patron class for monuments had therefore increased substantially, with lawyers and merchants now having a clear professional identity which was reflected in their memorials. The use of distinguishing marks by the new sub-knightly classes conferred on them a level of dignity, in the same way that heraldry and other secular symbols reflected the dignity and honour of the knightly class. The increasing complexity of English society resulted in confusion over funerary dress code. The more levels in society, the more the

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<sup>59</sup> *English Church Monuments*, p. 147.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175; Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, pp. 46-9.

boundaries were blurred. The depiction of the deceased in armour – once the preserve of knights who had undertaken military duties – could now be used by those who had never fought, and who never intended to fight.<sup>62</sup> The ‘social realities’ of the deceased were thus glossed over, as more patrons wished to depict their ‘acquired’ gentle status.<sup>63</sup> It is the concern to reflect the ‘social body’ in tomb effigy and memorial brass which underpins the present thesis. Worldly concerns over the need to place oneself in a social or indeed political group after death should not be overlooked, even during a period when the primary concern was religious. The desire to literally put in stone one’s social role and station, and to attempt to cement one’s family within their current social situation, was of tantamount importance.

As one of the principal objectives of the thesis is to examine the association between the livery collar and the construction of group identity, the final two chapters investigate the depiction of the collar on church monuments as a starting point for undertaking a prosopographical study of those individuals concerned. The approach is similar to that used by Pamela King, in her study of cadaver tombs commemorating a group of individuals associated with the Lancastrian court.<sup>64</sup> King suggests that the group were deliberately copying their associates when choosing to opt for such a monument. There is no particular need to provide a detailed analysis of the style or aesthetic qualities of the tombs in this article, as the primary objective is to explore the connections between those commemorated. This approach will be adopted in the present thesis. A number of other recent studies have addressed the use of similar types of monument, or the use of similar iconographical features on them, by groups of kin or associates.<sup>65</sup> At the broadest level, the choice by

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<sup>62</sup> As the fifteenth century progressed, the depiction of armour was increasingly used to signify that the deceased was a landowner; armour therefore signified lordship. Those parvenus who had made their way up the social ladder by acquiring land were often therefore depicted in armour, with their occasionally spurious coats of arms also proudly displayed.

<sup>63</sup> *English Church Monuments*, p. 237.

<sup>64</sup> P. King, ‘The English Cadaver Tomb in the Late Fifteenth Century: Some Indications of a Lancastrian Connection’, in J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa, Death in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium* (Liverpool, 1984), pp. 45-57.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, S. Badham, ‘Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group’, *TMBs*, 17 (2007), 423-52. For a study of the use of tombs and other types of media such as portraiture to construct aristocratic identities, both as an individual and as part of a group, see B.J. Harris, ‘Defining Themselves: English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550’, *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), 734-52.



knights and magnates to represent themselves in similar fashion on tomb effigies, as physically fit soldiers dressed in armour and proudly displaying their associations through heraldry, illustrated their shared gentle identity and evoked the 'symbolic boundary' between aristocrats and non-aristocrats. Take, for example, the effigy complete with what is probably the first representation of a Yorkist livery collar on an extant tomb, thought to represent Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury (d. 1460) at St Mary's, Burghfield (Berkshire), which is depicted in the same fashion as a knight.<sup>66</sup> The most notable study of tombs and the expression of group identity is Saul's study of the Cobham family's commissioning of a succession of memorial brasses to create an illusion of continuity of lineage.<sup>67</sup> In another study by Saul, the depiction of the Garter mantle on an increasing number of memorial brasses of the canons of Windsor from the 1470s is seen as evidence of their growing self-consciousness, and as a status symbol for the individual and group.<sup>68</sup> In addition, a small but not insignificant group of unpublished theses have recently contributed to the field by relating church monuments and burial locations to the construction of familial identity in particular.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> D. Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 73-4; P. Routh, 'Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury: The Burghfield Effigy', *The Ricardian*, 6 (1984), 417-23; M. Duffy, 'Two fifteenth-century effigies in Burghfield church and the Montagu mausoleum at Bisham (Berkshire)', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), 58-84. Although Westerhof's study focuses on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, her observation is on the whole applicable to the fifteenth century. There are, however, examples of magnates distinguishing themselves from their social inferiors by depicting themselves with robe and coronet, such as John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk (d. 1491) at St Andrew's Church, Wingfield (Suffolk). This may be an example of the increasing anxiety of magnates to set themselves apart from their social inferiors, particularly those who had acquired their gentility and who wished to depict the trappings of their new status on their own monuments. However, the shared concern to depict the deceased in knightly armour broadly continued into the sixteenth century and beyond.

<sup>67</sup> N. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> N. Saul, 'Shadows of the Past: Indents of Lost Brasses in the Rutland Chapel', *The Society of the Friends of St George's and Descendants of the Knights of the Garter, Annual Report 2005/6*, pp. 374-9. I am grateful to Christian Steer for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>69</sup> See for example R.C. Kinsey, 'Legal Service, Careerism and Social Advancement in Late Medieval England: The Thorpes of Northamptonshire, c. 1200-1391', University of York, unpublished PhD Thesis (2009); K. Wilson-Lee, "'Their final blazon": Burial and Commemoration among the north Midland nobility and gentry, c.1200-1536', University of London, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2 vols. (2009). Parts of this thesis have been published: K. Wilson-Lee, 'Dynasty and strategies of commemoration: Knightly families in late-medieval and early modern Derbyshire, part 1', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), 85-104; *ibid.*, 'Dynasty and strategies of commemoration: Knightly families in late-medieval and early modern Derbyshire, part 2', *Church Monuments*, 26 (2011), 27-43.

It is hoped that the present study will enhance our understanding of the association between monuments and group identity.

### *The Wars of the Roses*

The period associated with the Wars of the Roses in England, traditionally taken as 1455 (the first battle of St Albans) to 1485 (the battle of Bosworth), but often extended back to 1450 and forward to as far as 1500, is a distinct epoch still worthy of study in its own right.<sup>70</sup> Many historiographical trends have developed over the huge corpus of material written on the subject. The humanist inspired literature of the sixteenth century was in many ways testament to the success of the propaganda issued during the civil wars.<sup>71</sup> For Thomas More, Edward Hall and their contemporaries they were the result of the deposition and regicide of Richard II and subsequent monarchs, with divinely sanctioned peace only arriving through the marriage of Henry Tudor to Elizabeth of York in 1486, uniting the red rose and the white. The fifteenth century was seen as a ruthless, bloody struggle which enveloped the country in chaos and moral degeneracy. In a pamphlet echoing contemporary opinions of the disastrous effects of the wars on the population, Thomas Craig wrote of the 'slaughter and blood of 100,000 Englishmen'.<sup>72</sup> The wars were seen as a lesson: the country could not afford to make the same mistakes again. Subsequent writers did little to appraise the conclusions made by the Tudor historians, with Charles Plummer blaming the negative effects of 'bastard feudalism', in particular the behaviour of the 'overmighty' nobility, for the troubles.<sup>73</sup> It was K.B. McFarlane who offered an effective new paradigm: he could not see anything intrinsically wrong with the structure of fifteenth-century society; bastard feudalism was not evil; it was the weakness of the monarchy under the personal rule of Henry VI after 1437 which was the principal problem. The personal abilities of the king, expected to provide

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<sup>70</sup> M.A. Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 11.

<sup>71</sup> A.J. Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York* (Menston, 1970); J. Gillingham, *The Wars of the Roses: Peace and Conflict in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1981), p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), p. 16.

effective counsel and will, was what was lacking.<sup>74</sup> Subsequent writers have argued that the wars had only a limited impact on society at large, the level of chaos not being as high as was once thought, with actual fighting lasting only 12 to 13 weeks.<sup>75</sup> Some have even suggested that England was the most peaceful country in Europe during the second half of the fifteenth century, although scholars have been warned against this 'counter legend'.<sup>76</sup> Interest today is focused on ideology, the constitution and the nature of governance, economic trends, regional studies, the influence of Burgundy and France, and the relationships between the gentry, nobility and king,<sup>77</sup> the result being that scholars are now less inclined to enquire about the causes of the wars, and instead attempt to ascertain what the wars meant to contemporaries, to ask 'what the Wars were all about' for those who lived through them.<sup>78</sup>

The principal focus of the present study is the understanding and effectiveness of royal authority, the political principles and cultural assumptions of landed society, and the manifestation of group identities during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Several recent studies have addressed these areas. A move away from McFarlane's focus on clientage and patronage, towards the influence of political thinking and ideology has occurred in the last twenty years. Without denying the destabilising role played by the magnates' pursuit of political power, it is suggested that principles were far from lacking among the population, and to some extent they prompted the actions and attitudes of all levels of society. Particularly in the second half of the fifteenth century, a shared set of political premises, not least a belief in the duty and loyalty owed to the king and the need to maintain the 'common weal', was supplicated to by political thinkers and commentators such as Sir John Fortescue.

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<sup>74</sup> K.B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 20 (1945), 161-80; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973); C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 16-17, 263.

<sup>75</sup> Dunham, pp. 24-5; J.R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (London, 1976).

<sup>76</sup> Gillingham, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 15.

<sup>77</sup> J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996); Pollard, *Wars of the Roses*; Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*; Hicks, *Wars of the Roses*; A.J. Pollard, 'Introduction: Society, Politics and the Wars of the Roses', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 1-19; R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>78</sup> Hicks, *Wars of the Roses*, p. x.

The disastrous personal rule of Henry VI was followed by a slow recovery of the monarchy's authority and honour; the same mistakes could not, it was said, be made again. Carpenter has suggested that after 1450 it was the gentry who provided a core of political stability. Deeper links between the crown and the gentry developed under Edward IV, particularly after his restoration to the throne in 1471, which slowly extended the crown's authority.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps the swift replacement of Lancastrian by Yorkist collars on church monuments dating after 1460, and the equally brisk move to depicting the Tudor SS collar after 1485, is evidence of the need to acknowledge allegiance to the crown, albeit in some cases tacitly.

Regional and county studies have proliferated over the last two decades, serving to emphasise local differences in the ways the wars affected the localities.<sup>80</sup> Many have addressed the question of whether a sense of local identity developed during the period, and it is this question of identity which is pertinent to the present study. Carpenter's ambitious study of the Warwickshire gentry can be placed among this sub-field.<sup>81</sup> It examines the lives and aspirations of the region's gentry, and addresses several themes including social mobility, estate management, expenditure and religion. Carpenter is eager to stress the regional nature of Warwickshire politics, many of the county's gentry owned land and had influence in neighbouring shires. The county is seen as being geographically split along a north/south axis, and earlier in the century the county was also split between the east and west, due principally to the influence of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1439). Carpenter has not therefore identified a 'county community' spirit among the Warwickshire gentry. The concept of the county community, emphasising the political independence of the local gentry at the expense of power from above, was originally the preserve of early-modern historians, although some medieval local studies have applied the model to their counties,

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<sup>79</sup> E. Powell, 'After "After McFarlane": The Poverty of Patronage and the Case for Constitutional History', in D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies and P. McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Late-Medieval History* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 1-16; M.A. Hicks, 'Idealism in Late Medieval English Politics', in M.A. Hicks, *Richard III and his Rivals: Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses* (London, 1991), pp. 41-60; J.L. Watts, 'Polemic and Politics in the 1450s', in *John Vale's Book*, pp. 3-42; Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 263-5.

<sup>80</sup> Including N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); *Derbyshire Gentry*; S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>81</sup> C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992).

chief among those Nigel Saul's study of the fourteenth-century Gloucestershire gentry. Carpenter casts doubt over the applicability of the model for later medieval England. In Warwickshire, at least, the county was a 'wholly artificial creation', thoughts echoed by Pollard who postulates that in cases such as Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire the identification of a 'county community' may simply be an illusion, a creation of the historian.<sup>82</sup> Carpenter suggests that the lack of evidence found by Saul to identify the gentry's dependence on the nobility has led him to mistakenly identify a degree of independence in Gloucestershire.<sup>83</sup> That said, in certain circumstances the gentry could appeal to a county mentality, particularly in times of local political instability. In the shire session on 15 July 1494, amid growing tension in the county, Henry Willoughby pleaded with those present: 'Sires remembre we are neybour and warrewykshire men and this mater hath ben inquired of afore this tyme and the matter of trouth founden and if ye fynde eny more or othirwise then hath ben aforetyme founden ye shall cause warre amonges us duryng oure lifes'.<sup>84</sup>

If there was no county community of gentry, who then did they turn to for stability, leadership and support? For the first four decades of the century the powerful influence of Richard Beauchamp was felt across Warwickshire. His leadership abilities cemented the local gentry together, and peace and stability were the rule. However, from the 1450s things began to change. The new earl, Richard Neville, may have been the 'kingmaker', but failed to live up to his reputations in Warwickshire. Through bad leadership and a commitment to the national political stage, the 'umbilical cord' tying the nobility to the gentry was broken.<sup>85</sup> In response, the gentry were forced to develop their own networks and power bases. Lordly influence in the localities thus declined from the middle of the century; the duke of Clarence was no fit replacement for Neville, killed in 1471. The pattern was to change, however. As *de facto* earl of Warwick, Edward IV began to assert effective leadership. His interventionist

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340; Pollard, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9.

<sup>83</sup> Also see Carpenter's 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *The Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 340-80. The county community debate is summarised in S. Walker, 'Communities of the county in later medieval England', in M.J. Baddick (ed.), *Political Culture in later medieval England; essays by Simon Walker* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 68-80.

<sup>84</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 580.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 611-12.

approach, aided by his lieutenant William, Lord Hastings, was effective, creating a stability in the shire which had not been witnessed for years. Local members of the royal household, such as Simon Mountford and William Catesby, began to build their own influence under the authority of the king. However, the first Tudor king, lauded by early-modern historians as an astute and at times ruthless leader, proved to be weak and ineffective in the county, particularly during the first ten years of his reign. Disorder and rebellion was widespread in parts of the north Midlands until the execution of Edward of Warwick in 1499. Thereafter, Henry can be seen to be extending the practice of Edward IV, by more actively involving the gentry in royal governance.

Pollard argues that, although there was no regional identity in the north east of England until the eighteenth century, there were distinct, close-knit groups of local gentry during the second half of the fifteenth century whose ties were manifested through co-witnessing deeds, arbitration, and intermarriage. This was particularly true of the Neville's Middleham affinity, centring on the honour of Richmond. Although disputes inevitably arose, gentry families such as the Conyers and Metcalfes were associated over several generations by family service to their lord, shared values and mutual material interests.<sup>86</sup> In the north east it was the magnate power of the Nevilles (and their heir the duke of Gloucester) and the Percies which helped form common gentry identities. It was only after 1483 when the Middleham estates were annexed to the crown that royal authority began to strengthen. In areas with little magnate influence the gentry were left to fend for themselves. If there was a strong crown presence in a given area, they would naturally be inclined to look to the king for leadership and employment. It is one such area, Derbyshire, or more precisely south west Derbyshire and the territory connected to the honour of Tutbury, which will be the focus of the first of two case studies of this study.

The two case studies utilise a similar approach to Pollard and Carpenter, at least with

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<sup>86</sup> A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990). Also see A.J. Pollard, 'The Richmondshire Community of Gentry', in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 37-59; A.J. Pollard, *The Middleham Connection: Richard III and Richmondshire, 1471-85* (Middleham, 1983).

regards to the use of source material. Where available, wills, deeds, enfeoffments, land charters, in addition to central government records and sources of national significance such as chronicles, are used in order to perceive any associations between the individuals and their families. This study, however, diverges from other research into localities and regions in one important respect. Here the starting point for identifying connections is the appearance of a livery collar on church monuments to a group of individuals. The aforementioned sources are therefore used to prove or disprove the existence of connections between the members of the group.

### *Prosopography*

The methodology of prosopography is used in the two case studies of groups of individuals whose funerary monuments depict a livery collar. As one of the principal aims here is to elucidate a variety of associations between the group members, the method is an appropriate one to adopt. A term introduced to historians by Lawrence Stone in 1971, prosopography is 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives'.<sup>87</sup> Originally the preserve of those wishing to study social and political elites, the nature of the research has evolved more recently. During the first half of the twentieth century, works including Sir Lewis Namier's *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* appropriated a 'new technique', which was prosopography in all but name, to investigate the minutiae of the shared interests and kinship and professional affiliations of MPs. Namier's *History of Parliament* project, with the ambitious target of producing biographies of all MPs from 1485 to 1901, continues the approach.<sup>88</sup> Later in the twentieth century the method was adopted by those wishing to

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<sup>87</sup> L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 46-79, at 46. For a development of his thinking, see L. Stone, 'Prosopography', in L. Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London, 1987), pp. 45-73. The journal *Medieval Prosopography*, founded in 1980, has published a wealth of material focusing on collective biography.

<sup>88</sup> L. Namier, *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London, 1929); L. Namier, *Avenues of History* (London, 1952), pp. 9-10; L. Namier, 'The Biography of Ordinary Men', in L. Namier, *Crossroads of Power: Essays in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1962), pp. 1-6.

explore other groups in society, in particular those from further down the social spectrum.<sup>89</sup> Where possible, a quantitative approach was used, particularly if a larger group of individuals was subjected to investigation. After a period of diminishing interest in prosopography during the late twentieth century, the methodology has witnessed a resurgence in popularity in the last twenty years. This is partly a result of the applicability of computer software, particularly databases, as a tool for researchers. Recent work has attempted to provide more nuanced definitions of the various branches of the field, and to place it within, and distinguish it from, other related areas of study such as collective biography.<sup>90</sup>

This thesis adopts aspects of the more traditional application of prosopography. For the method to be utilised effectively, the group must share one or more common characteristic: in this case the decision to depict a livery collar on one's monument, in addition to ties of locality and kinship. The methodology is ideally suited to uncovering the socio-psychological ties that bind a group together, and is arguably best equipped to investigate well defined, small groups of 'elites' over a limited time span, particularly if one is constrained by limited source material.<sup>91</sup> It is therefore ideally suited for use in the present study. The groups studied contain no more than a dozen or so members, the group is instantly discernible by the inclusion of a particular item on their memorials, and the period of time is little more than fifty years. The focus on the use of visual, rather than written, source material to define the group adds a fresh perspective to the method.

What follows is divided into two sections, each following a broad methodological approach: the first three chapters investigate the various late-medieval contexts in which the collar existed and functioned, while the final two chapters comprise case studies analysing the utility of the livery collar on church monuments as a symbol of collective identity.

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<sup>89</sup> An example being E. Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: Catholics and Cathars in a French Village, 1294-1324*, trans. B. Bray (London, 1978).

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>91</sup> Stone, 'Prosopography', p. 69.



The first chapter introduces the livery collar and places it within the historical context of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It appraises the collar's significance from its inception in England in the late fourteenth century, and discusses its subsequent development as a political, social and cultural artefact. The iconographical functions and meanings of the collar are examined, as are its value in both monetary and symbolic senses. In addition, it attempts to provide some answers to the question of who exactly was entitled to wear a livery collar. The following chapter places the livery collar within its political contexts. Through positioning the item within the wider political culture of landed society in fifteenth century England, it becomes clear that the collar had a more nuanced political resonance than simply denoting allegiance to the Lancastrian or Yorkist regimes. Especial consideration is given to contemporary attitudes towards the authority of the king, and legislative attempts to bring the collar under royal control. The third chapter places the livery collar within a discussion of the methods in which group identities were constructed and maintained by contemporaries, and the ways in which royal power and dignity were symbolically expressed. It argues that the artefact had potent symbolic resonance as a royal device, and utilises anthropological models and semiotic theory to help articulate this. The chapter ends with a discussion of the applicability of social network analysis to the study, a tool utilised by sociologists to aid analysis and interpretation of social groups. The subsequent two case studies analyse the appearance of the livery collar on church monuments in Derbyshire and Wales as a conscious means of expressing group identity, proposing that a variety of motives and meanings were at play, not infrequently local geographical, tenorial and kinship contexts. The approach in both case studies is prosopographical: the appearance of collars on memorials is used as a basis of illuminating connections between the commemorated and their families. Genealogies of the relevant families, and a collection of figures, are provided in the appendices.

The approach is deliberately and genuinely interdisciplinary, utilising not only visual, material and literary source material, but also broadly adopting approaches used predominantly by sociologists and anthropologists, and subsequently adopted by historians.

But the starting point has always been a seemingly simple yet ubiquitous piece of medieval material culture. By clarifying the ways in which contemporaries understood the livery collar, and by modifying the ways in which historians interpret the item, a greater understanding of the interaction of late medieval politics, society and culture will be realised.

# Chapter 1

## Function, Meaning and Significance

Qui gerit S tandem turmam comitatur eandem

Nobilis ille quidem probus et juvenis fuit idem

Sic quasi de celis interfuit ille fidelis.<sup>1</sup>

'Qui gerit S': he who bears the S. Thus is Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, described by John Gower in his *Cronica Tripertita*, a metrical chronicle written at the close of the fourteenth century as a sequel to his *Vox Clamantis*. The poem proceeds to compare the device, and by association the individual it represents, to a heavenly gift. For Gower, the collar of SS was clearly the most widely recognised means of identifying the earl. For the next century and a half the livery collar would attract similar attention from many a commentator, chronicler, and artisan. Its authority, its potency as a royal symbol, and what it represented, clearly mattered.

In early January 1400, after parliament had ruled that all livery collars save those of the king were no longer to be worn, Raulyn Govey, an esquire of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, refused to remove his lord's collar while he was still living. This political act of defiance did not last long, the earl was beheaded soon after for his involvement in the Epiphany Rising against Henry IV.<sup>2</sup> In the mid-1440s Nicholas Upton was to echo Gower's sentiments when he lauded the SS collar as a mark of nobility in his *De Studio Militari*.<sup>3</sup> In the intervening centuries the SS collar in particular has attracted antiquarians and historians, principally concerned with the development of the collar and the allusive, and elusive, meaning of the 'S'. Before moving on in subsequent chapters to consider the livery collar

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<sup>1</sup> 'He who bears the S I see at length in the same company / Noble is he forsooth that same illustrious youth / As though from the very heaven that faithful one had been given': BL, Harley MS 6291, fols. 134v-149v; G.C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1899-1902), iv, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, 1399-1422, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.misc.d.227, fol. 32r.

within the contexts of politics and group identity, this chapter will address salient themes not yet considered by scholars in any detail. It will address the various debates surrounding the meaning of the SS and offer a fresh interpretation, it will investigate the development of the collar, examine the value of the item, place it within the gift-giving milieu of fifteenth-century landed society, attempt to discern who was entitled to wear such an item, and discuss the iconography of the suns and roses utilised on the Yorkist livery collar, the first occasion this has been attempted in detail.

### **Development of the livery collar**

From its inception, the design of the livery collar was intended to signify possession and ownership, that of the lord over the servant.<sup>4</sup> This is most obvious when one considers the earliest form of the SS collar, a strap of leather on which were affixed several letters 'S', the ends terminating in a buckle or clasp and pendant. Examples of these embryonic collars could be found in the stained glass surrounding the arms of John of Gaunt, once situated near his tomb in Old St Paul's, as drawn by Nicholas Charles in c. 1605,<sup>5</sup> and a corbel of a crowned head at Southwell Minster, dating from the late fourteenth century. Allusion to the dog collar was presumably the intention, indeed the similarity with illustrations of hound collars dating from the same period is striking (**Figs. 3, 4 and 5**). Comparisons can also be made with the clerical collar, worn today to symbolise subservience to God. The message was simple: the collar worn by the individual signified the service they provided to their lord. It was frequently depicted on tomb effigies and monumental brasses, but the same message could be portrayed symbolically. There are several examples at home and abroad of a livery collar encircling an individual's coat of arms.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For discussions of the development of the collar see 'Livery Collar'; Friar.

<sup>5</sup> BL, Lansdowne MS 874, fol. 115v. In addition, a 1402 inventory from the cathedral lists several gifts from Gaunt, including copes of cloth of gold decorated with leopards and collars, three albs and three armices adorned with leopards and the letter 'S': W.S. Simpson, 'Two Inventories of the cathedral of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402', *Archaeologia*, 50 (1887), 439-524, at 454-5.

<sup>6</sup> Such as the brass representation of a suns and roses collar surrounding the incised slab shield of Joos de Bul (d. 1488), formerly in the Hôpital St Josse in Bruges. See below, p. 48.

A collar was used by successive kings from Henry IV to Henry VIII to surround their signets, visually combining two potent symbols of royal authority. The physical act of encircling a neck, or indeed a coat of arms, with a collar graphically symbolised the relationship between the individual and lord. But just as the relationship between lord and servant was in reality one of reciprocity and mutual aid, the collar could also be utilised to portray multi-faceted forms of possession and ownership: it could signify the lord's 'ownership' over the individual, and tactfully positioned to emphasise the individual's possession of the collar. Edward Grimston's 1446 portrait shows him playing with his SS collar between his fingers, simultaneously affirming his possession of the item and appealing to the tactility of such a prestigious piece of jewellery (**Fig. 6**). A brass pendant held in the British Museum depicts a swan gorged with a crown holding an SS collar in its beak, similarly appealing to the sense of touch to assert the link between the collar of Henry IV and the Bohun family, into which he married.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, a painting showing Louis, duke of Orleans (d. 1407) being presented with a manuscript by Christine de Pisan depicts one of the courtiers touching his collar of the duke's Order of the Porcupine with one hand and pointing to the manuscript with the other, thus affirming the duke's ownership of the book (**Fig. 7**).<sup>8</sup> A collar could also be used to make a subtle political statement. Around the hart's head crest on the tomb of Ralph Grene (d. 1418) at St Peter's, Lowick (Northamptonshire) is depicted an SS collar. This could be a comment on the deposition of Richard II, whose badges included the white hart, by Henry IV, whose badge became the SS collar.<sup>9</sup> Grene successfully switched his allegiance from Richard to Henry, although tellingly he did not choose to depict the collar on his tomb effigy. Perhaps this was a step too far for an individual who had enjoyed close connections with the deposed king.

The wearing of a gold chain or collar about the neck as a sign of rank or prestige has

<sup>7</sup> London, British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, 82, 10-11, 22.

<sup>8</sup> This collar comprised a gold chain with a badge of a porcupine standing on green enamelled turf. The order was established in 1394.

<sup>9</sup> Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 30; H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts* (East Knoyle, 1956), pp. 35, 60.

ancient precedents. Worn by the Egyptians and Romans, the item has a long antiquity.<sup>10</sup> But it was in the latter half of the fourteenth century that the livery collar emerged in England. It developed from the custom of distributing robes to mark followers or clients, which began in the twelfth century and evolved into a system of matching livery with a particular lord during the earlier fourteenth century.<sup>11</sup> From this developed other forms of livery, the most common being badges and hats, given to retainers in return for military, legal or domestic aid.<sup>12</sup> The collar became the most prestigious livery device, and can be witnessed in contemporary records and accounts from the reign of Richard II.

Although the creation of the collar of SS is credited to Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, it may in fact have been introduced by his father John of Gaunt. In addition to the collar being represented in Old St Paul's, six collars of the livery of the duke of Lancaster are mentioned in an inventory of the mercer William Caly in 1375,<sup>13</sup> and on his return from Spain in 1389 Gaunt was observed wearing his own livery collar which, as we shall see, was donned by Richard II. What is not clear is whether these were SS collars. Henry, earl of Derby did, however, begin to distribute the SS collar during the lifetime of his father, and his accounts for 1391-2 refer specifically to this: 'Pro I coler auri facto pro domino Henrico Lancastrie, Comiti Derb. Cum xvij literis de S. ad modum plumarum' (for one collar of gold of Henry Lancaster, earl of Derby, with 17 letters of S in the form of feathers). Another entry records a collar of esses and flowers of *souveyne vous de moys*, the forget-me-not, the phrase also used by Henry as his motto.<sup>14</sup> In preparation for Henry's expedition to the Holy Land in 1392 several collars were purchased in various forms, and in the first year of his reign 192 collars were distributed by his receiver-general, of which 91 were silver gilt, 81 were silver and the remaining were of a lesser metal. Although none were explicitly

<sup>10</sup> Beltz, 'Notices', 500.

<sup>11</sup> F. Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes in England, c.1200-c.1330', *The English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 279-98.

<sup>12</sup> For extant examples of badges see B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998), pp. 278-98. A discussion of badges is provided in the following chapter.

<sup>13</sup> London, The National Archives [hereafter TNA], C 131/193/43.

<sup>14</sup> TNA, DL 28/1/3, fols. 14-15v; DL 28/1/6, fol. 22v; Mortimer, *Fears of Henry IV*, pp. 384-7.

described as SS collars it is likely that they were.<sup>15</sup> Here we have a case of the use of the collar *en-masse* to aid the new dynasty's accession, through creating a visually coherent affinity. During the first ten years of Henry's reign some 40 collars were purchased through the exchequer, some for the personal use of the king, and some to be sent to European courts.<sup>16</sup>

The livery collar was a fresh innovation, wearers would immediately be distinguished from retainers of other lords wearing the more common livery badges.<sup>17</sup> P. Lewis has described its use as 'a spectacular but hopeful means of collecting members of an affinity',<sup>18</sup> although it should be noted that, although this may have been the case with a mass distribution of collars such as that referred to above, they may have been given to existing retainers in order to create a visual, as well as psychological, coherence to the affinity. The SS collar was adopted by both Henry's son Henry V, as exemplified on their statues on the choir screen at York Minster,<sup>19</sup> and grandson Henry VI, as portrayed in a painting dating from c. 1540 in the National Portrait Gallery (**Fig. 1**). Despite all three Lancastrian kings being depicted wearing their SS collars, it is questionable whether they would have worn them in life. As collars of livery, it would seem unnecessary for the king to don one himself, although, as will be shown, they certainly wore collars given by other rulers. The York Minster sculptures in particular should therefore be interpreted as a piece of Lancastrian propaganda, stressing continuity, and advertising and explicitly associating the rulers with the regime's most important identifying badge. The figures are represented in their full regalia, the collar's inclusion suggesting that it was afforded the same importance as the

<sup>15</sup> L. Toulmin-Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby In the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3*, Camden Society, New Series, 52 (London, 1894), pp. 112, 240, 280, 287; TNA, DL 28/4/1, fol. 18v.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, TNA, E 403/571, mem. 3 (eight collars for his sister and nephew in Portugal); E 403/582, mem. 8 (a silver-gilt collar and five silver collars to be sent to the Bohemian court). See J. Lutkin, 'Luxury and Display in Silver and Gold at the Court of Henry IV', in L. Clark (ed.), *English and Continental Perspectives, The Fifteenth Century*, IX (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 155-78, at 163-5 for further details of expenditure on collars.

<sup>17</sup> S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 94-5.

<sup>18</sup> P.S. Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism in Later Medieval France', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 37 (1964), 175.

<sup>19</sup> Probably erected under Dean Richard Andrew, secretary to Henry VI, in the 1450s. The accompanying statue of Henry VI is a replacement dating from 1810: Purey-Cust, *The Collar of SS*, pp. 58-63; R. Marks, 'Yorkist-Lancastrian Political and Genealogical Propaganda in the Visual Arts', *Family History*, 12 (1982), 149-66, at 153-4.

other emblems of royal dignity: the crown, sword and sceptre.

With the accession of Edward IV in 1461 a new collar was introduced, that of alternate suns and white roses, or *roses-en-soleil*, roses set within suns. There is evidence of earlier collars associated with the House of York. In an inventory from October 1399 of the jewels belonging to Edward III, Richard II and other members of the royal family, a collar of the duke of York is referred to as comprising, 'ove vii linketz and vi faucons blanz': seven fetterlocks and six white falcons, the falcon and fetterlock being badges of the dukes of York.<sup>20</sup> It is not certain whether these were distributed as livery collars, or whether this was the personal collar of the duke. There are no examples of such collars on church monuments, although the fetterlock badge does appear on tombs, such as the brass commemorating Sir Simon Felbrigge (1416) at Felbrigg, Norfolk.<sup>21</sup> This brass also features the white hart badge used by Richard II. Felbrigge was his standard bearer, although he was created a Knight of the Garter by Henry V in 1415. The inclusion of such a seemingly politically sensitive badge can be partly explained by the fact that Henry V had solemnly reburied Richard in Westminster Abbey in 1413, seeking to rectify his father's misdeeds.<sup>22</sup> Another collar, that of white roses (without suns) was apparently used by Edward IV's father Richard, duke of York (d. 1460),<sup>23</sup> but again there is little evidence that this was given to followers as a livery collar. After the defeat of Richard III in 1485 Henry VII reintroduced the SS collar, which would frequently be paired with the Tudor rose. An excellent example can

<sup>20</sup> TNA, E 101/411/9, mem. 4.

<sup>21</sup> H.W. Macklin, *The Brasses of England* (London, 1907), pp. 153-4.

<sup>22</sup> See P. Strohm, 'Reburying Richard: Ceremony and Symbolic Relegitimation', in P. Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (Notre Dame, 1998), pp. 101-27.

<sup>23</sup> A 1466 York will mentions a collar of 'a white rose' of the duke of York: 'unum monile ditissimum vocata anglice a white rose nuper domini ducis Eboracum'. This is echoed by an expensive collar bought by Richard, duke of York and given to Sir John Fastolf, also called 'a White Rose': A. Hartshorne, 'The Gold Chains, the Pendants, the Paternosters and the Zones of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and Later Times', *The Archaeological Journal*, 66 (1909), 77-102, at 83; J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509*, 3 vols. (London, 1904), ii, pp. 280-1; iii, p. 233. A number of tomb effigies appear to be wearing collars of florets, such as that of William, Lord Lovell (1455) at St. Kenelm's, Minster Lovell (Oxon). Is this an example of one of the duke's early 'Yorkist' collars, the florets representing white roses, or does it have some other, possibly religious, significance? Later collars 'of roses' which do not mention suns, such as that bequeathed by Joan Methley in 1480, may simply be an example of the term used to describe a suns and roses collar: *Test' Ebor'*, iii, p. 219.



be found on the effigy of Sir John Cheney (d. 1499) at Salisbury Cathedral. The collar is long, extending down to waist level, and has a portcullis and double rose pendant.<sup>24</sup>

### Manufacturers and monetary value

By the fifteenth century the responsibility for the storage and upkeep of jewellery had been transferred from the Great Wardrobe to the Jewel House at Westminster.<sup>25</sup> The livery collar was considered an item of jewellery and occasional references to them can be found in connection with the king's jewellers and goldsmiths, such as Marcellus Maures, a goldsmith from Utrecht who began supplying the royal court by 1480,<sup>26</sup> Edward Ellesmere, treasurer of the chamber and master of the jewels to Queen Margaret of Anjou,<sup>27</sup> and John van Delf, one of Henry VII's goldsmiths.<sup>28</sup> Other *ad hoc* work by goldsmiths for the royal court can occasionally be glimpsed. In 1407 John Cotton was fined 3s. 4d. for faulty workmanship 'dez colers appelez 'S' by the goldsmiths' Mistery in London. As they were probably intended for the court it was prudent that unsatisfactory items were kept in custody. In the accounts for 1441-2, Henry Luton, 'Dutchman', paid 2s. for defect in the workmanship of collars for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.<sup>29</sup> In an inventory of Henry VIII's moveable goods compiled in September 1547, several minutely described collars are listed as being stored in the king's secret jewel house in the Tower, and in a coffer in another secret jewel house in the gallery at Westminster.<sup>30</sup> The fact that they were kept in a private location, stored in a separate

<sup>24</sup> The portcullis was the badge of the Beaufort family. Henry VII's mother was Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby (d. 1509).

<sup>25</sup> A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester and New York, 1983), p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> N.H. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth* (London, 1830), p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> Gold SS collars for Thomas Wood, under-treasurer of England and Osan, one of Queen Margaret's ladies, are listed in his accounts of 1452-3: TNA, E 101/410/11, mems. 1-3; A.R. Myers, 'The Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1959), 113-31.

<sup>28</sup> Who provided a gold collar worth £30 for the king in 1502: S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History* (London, 1831), p. 127; T.F. Reddaway and L.M. Walker (eds.), *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509: The Book of Ordinances 1478-83* (London, 1975), p. 172. For his 1502 will see TNA, PROB 11/14, fols. 9v-10r.

<sup>29</sup> L. Jefferson (ed.), *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London 1334-1446* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 333, 521.

<sup>30</sup> London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 129; D. Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII* (London, 1998), pp. 68, 80.

coffer away from public view but easily accessible to the king when required, reflects not only the impressive monetary value of such items,<sup>31</sup> but also their worth as prestigious items of royal authority and dignity.

In an intensely hierarchical society it is not surprising that the composition of a collar reflected the recipient's status, or indeed the donor's estimations of them. Therefore those of knightly status or above were usually awarded a gold or silver gilt collar, and those of the rank of esquire silver collars, as confirmed in John Hall's will of 1483 in which he left his curate Thomas Laundey 'my silver livery collar with designs of roses made for the King's esquires'.<sup>32</sup> Gabriel Tetzels account of Leo of Rozmital's visit to England in 1465-7 recorded their attendance at Edward IV's court, at which 'the king admitted my lord and all his attendants to his fellowship. The knights received a gold [badge], and those who were not knights a silver one, which he himself hung about our necks'.<sup>33</sup> Although not referred to specifically as livery collars, this was most likely the case. The gradation was reflected in tomb effigies, some of which retain traces of their original polychromy, such as the gold suns and roses on the collar of Sir William Gascoigne (c. 1461-65) at All Saints, Harewood (Yorkshire), and the gilded suns and roses collar on the effigy of Joan Neville, Countess of Arundel (d. 1462) in the Fitzalan chapel at Arundel.<sup>34</sup> Antiquarian church notes confirm the use of now lost polychromy on effigies. In 1645 Richard Symonds described the 'fairely gilt' SS collars on the effigies of members of the Mathew family in Llandaff Cathedral.<sup>35</sup> If tomb effigies were on the whole idealised images of the deceased, eschewing portraiture in favour of placing the commemorated within their role and position in society, this is plausible evidence that their livery collar at least was a more realistic portrayal. However, there is

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<sup>31</sup> The meticulously described composition of each item is also testament to their value.

<sup>32</sup> '... colerium meum argenti signis rosarum pro armigeris regis': TNA, PROB 11/7, fol. 109v; L. Boatwright, M. Habberjam and P. Hammond (eds.), *The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486*, 2 vols. (Knaphill, 2008), i, no. 173.

<sup>33</sup> M. Letts (ed.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, 1465-1467* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> P. Routh and R. Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood* (Wakefield, 1983), p. 67; Brodrick and Darrah, 'Fifteenth Century Polychromed Limestone Effigies', 71.

<sup>35</sup> BL, Harley MS 911, fols. 67r-69v. Collars were not, however, always either gold or silver. Some could be composed of both, such as the 'coler de S deauratis in parte argenti et in parte auri', mentioned in the 1463 will of Euphemia Langton: *Test' Ebor'*, ii, p. 258.

evidence that this strict hierarchy was not always adhered to; some esquires may well have worn collars befitting a higher rank, perhaps given to them as bequests by more elevated relatives or acquaintances.<sup>36</sup> This engendered the same anxieties which lay behind the various sumptuary statutes during the period. In the 1478 ordinances for the household of Edward IV it was stipulated that every lord, knight and esquire within the household should wear livery collars 'as to them apperteyneth'.<sup>37</sup> In the 1533 Act for Reformation of Excess in Apparel it was specified that 'no man oneless he be a knight weare any color of Gold ... named a color of S'.<sup>38</sup> Evidently Edward IV's previous attempts to control who wore what type of collar were not entirely effective.

The monetary value of a livery collar, and indeed its weight, also mirrored the recipient's standing in society. The cost of a collar could vary tremendously. For those at the lower end of the social spectrum a livery collar could be valued at several pounds, such as Sir Thomas Charleton's Yorkist collar of gold with roses and a white enamelled lion pendant, weighing 8oz and valued at £8.<sup>39</sup> In his 1456 will Sir Edmund Ingoldesthorpe ordered his gold collar to be sold for £5, with the money going to Richard Cawdrey who was yet to be paid for its manufacture.<sup>40</sup> It is striking that Ingoldesthorpe did not simply return the collar. Cawdrey may of course have simply not wanted a 'second hand' item, or perhaps in this instance the act of giving a collar to one who had not originally been entitled to it was deemed inappropriate. The collar was, after all, a personal item, although as we will see, there are examples of collars being left as bequests.

For those individuals acting as high-ranking representatives for the king a more expensive example was required. Richard III ordered William Daubeney, clerk of the king's jewels, to deliver a collar worth £30 to Thomas Barrett, bishop of Annaghdown in Ireland, destined for the earl of Desmond. It was to be handed over in a ceremony appropriate for an

<sup>36</sup> It should, however, be stressed that there is no evidence that collars given as bequests were worn.

<sup>37</sup> A.R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), p. 205.

<sup>38</sup> A. Luders (ed.), *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1810-25), 24 Henry VIII c.13 [hereafter *Statutes of the Realm*]. Also see TNA, E 36/113.

<sup>39</sup> 1466 inventory of goods: London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 6646, 6625.

<sup>40</sup> TNA, PROB 11/4, fols. 53r-54r.

item which represented the king's authority: 'the said Bisshop shalle deliver unto his said Cousyne in most convenient place and honorable presence the kings lyvree that is to wite a Color of gold of his devise'.<sup>41</sup> This is not the first instance where the word 'collar' is given a capital; perhaps a further indication of its significance. At the higher end of the spectrum, vast amounts of money could be spent on livery collars, reflecting the recipient's social standing. In 1489 the 'coller of gold of Kyng Edwardes lyverey', once owned by the king's trusted companion William, Lord Hastings (d. 1483), was valued at £40.<sup>42</sup> The collar had been pledged, but was now returned to Hastings' heir Edward. Nicholas Vaux (d. 1523), one of Henry VIII's courtiers, was noted as donning a 'coler of Essis' weighing 800 pounds after the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon.<sup>43</sup> Such a heavy and seemingly ostentatious piece of jewellery certainly succeeded in attracting attention, and was no doubt a hefty price.

At the apex of society, it would seem natural that a personal livery collar for a king or queen would attract the highest price. At their wedding in 1402 Henry IV gave his bride Joan of Navarre a gold SS collar worked with jewels and his motto 'soveigneur' worth £385 6s. 8d, paid for by the royal household. This was an expensive piece of jewellery befitting a royal bride, but in addition it served to advertise, as it were, the king's livery badge.<sup>44</sup> It is likely that the London goldsmith Christopher Tildesley made this collar. He was paid the same sum in 1406 for an identical SS collar. It appears that Henry IV, keen to not only distribute his SS livery collars to others, but also to publically exhibit his personal collars, used them to conceal his insecurities over his usurpation in a visual sense. He certainly favoured expensive collars. In January 1408 he paid Drugo Barantyn an extortionate £550 for a gold collar garnished with precious stones.<sup>45</sup> Finally, we have the 'White Rose' collar given by Richard, duke of York (d. 1460) to Sir John Fastolf for repayment of a loan, priced at 4,000

<sup>41</sup> *Harleian 433*, iii, pp. 109-11.

<sup>42</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the MSS of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq., The Manor House, Ashby, de la Zouche*, 4 vols. (1928-42), i, p. 305.

<sup>43</sup> A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (eds.), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), pp. 311-12.

<sup>44</sup> Fletcher, p. 193.

<sup>45</sup> TNA, E 403/594, mem. 11; F. Devon, *Issue Rolls of the Exchequer; being a collection of payments made out of His Majesty's revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive* (London, 1837), pp. 305, 307.

marks.<sup>46</sup> Its price could, of course, have been deliberately inflated, but it is another reflection of the place a livery collar could have in the hearts of lords and their servants. The collar did not, however, simply have monetary value. The act of giving and receiving the item was also charged with symbolic resonance, as will now be discussed.

### **Gift giving, diplomacy, and the removal of the collar**

After the execution of Sir William Stanley in February 1495 for his involvement in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy, his residence Holt castle was seized by the crown. Among the contents of his treasure house were found the components of a Yorkist suns and roses collar, some of which were broken.<sup>47</sup> The find was of course politically profitable for the Tudor regime, open to any evidence of his lingering Yorkist sympathies. Stanley may well have retained the collar simply for its fiscal value, but it is not implausible that it had sentimental worth; perhaps he could not force himself to part with an item which symbolised his intimacy with Edward IV.<sup>48</sup> Sadly, the state of the collar when discovered reflected the Yorkist regime: broken and disjointed. For some individuals the livery collar did have political value and intrinsic meaning, and was a tangible link to the donor as an individual, as well as a link to the royal authority which the collar represented. The collar linked donor and recipient through the act of giving and receiving. The ways in which testators bequeathed collars reflected the ways in which they interacted with the item in life.

Certain aspects of anthropological theory concerning the reciprocal nature of gift giving may help inform a late medieval paradigm, particularly when focusing on the collar as a gift from the sovereign to an individual or group. Conceived by Lévi-Strauss, Mauss and Morgan and developed by later social anthropologists, gift theory has a rich literature.<sup>49</sup> For anthropologists, the 'gift' defines the personal relationships forged through the exchange of

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<sup>46</sup> Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters*, ii, pp. 280-1; iii, p. 233; K.B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, 7 (1957), 108.

<sup>47</sup> 'the garnishing of colier golde. White roses and the Sonne broken': TNA, E 154/2/5, fol. 13v; I. Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy 1491-1499* (Stroud, 1994), p. 93.

<sup>48</sup> He was steward of the household to Edward's son the Prince of Wales.

<sup>49</sup> See L.H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877); M. Mauss, *The Gift* (London, 1925); C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (London, 1949).

items. The salient point for this study is that those exchanging gifts form a qualitative social relationship through the transaction. This can be juxtaposed with commodity exchange or trade, which establishes a relationship between the objects transacted. Gift exchange therefore stimulates personal interaction between donor and recipient, the nature and intensity of the bond determined by the differing social status of the transactors: the original gift is usually conferred by one of superior rank. The donor gives the gift in return for the personal relationship, thus placing the recipient in a position of subordination. The ideal outcome is one of mutual indebtedness.<sup>50</sup>

England during the Wars of the Roses was not, however, the perfect context in which to achieve this ideal. The donor's principal motive in giving a livery collar was the loyalty and adherence of the recipient. The 'counter-gift' was therefore intangible and could only be hoped for, and was far from being guaranteed. As regards a counter-gift of enduring political conviction, the collar may not have been entirely effective. Although there were of course individuals whose lasting loyalty could be guaranteed, the gentry and nobility of the late-fifteenth century were notoriously pragmatic in their approach to dynastic politics. We will see below the limited effect of such a gift on the allegiance of Sir Robert Harcourt to the Lancastrian dynasty. The success of the gift depended on the personality and individual situation of each recipient. However, the collar could have been a more successful gift in terms of the recipient's acknowledgement of pride in royal service - whether that was for the Lancastrian or Yorkist king - the counter-gift manifested in the recipient's choice to depict their collar on their memorial. The crown in the second half of the fifteenth century may well have been conscious of the success (or otherwise) of earlier distribution of badges and collars, notably by Richard II and Henry IV. Although it may not have been the individual's primary motive in including the item on their memorial, the number of extant examples on

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<sup>50</sup> C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London, 1982), pp. 1-9; 15-24; 41-70; M. Strathern, 'Qualified value: the perspective of gift exchange', in C. Humphrey and S. Hugh-Jones (eds.), *Barter, Exchange and Value, An Anthropological Approach* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 174-5.

church monuments and in stained glass is testament to the efficacy of effigial depictions of livery collars in displaying the king's authority.<sup>51</sup>

Although interpreting allegiance or loyalty as a form of 'counter-gift' may be a step too far for some anthropologists who, on the whole, have been reluctant to discuss intangible counter-gifts, the model postulated above is not entirely inconsistent with the theory. Offer's discussion of the 'economy of regard', whereby the grant of the gift is driven by the donor's desire for regard, is applicable here. In order to satisfy regard, the counter-gift does not have to be tangible. It can, at the very least, simply be a grant of attention.<sup>52</sup> Anxiety over losing regard provides a stimulus to continued gift giving, although, crucially, Offer maintains that in some circumstances not all gifts are successful in sustaining bonds.<sup>53</sup>

The act of being decorated with a livery collar by the king amid regal ceremony, kneeling before him and his royal banner, as depicted in a manuscript illumination from 1458,<sup>54</sup> loaded the collar with immense significance (**Fig. 8**). Before Henry IV's coronation Richard Beauchamp was made a knight of the Bath and awarded an SS collar by Henry amid similar solemnity. The occasion was recorded for posterity in the Beauchamp Pageant, a posthumous series of illustrations charting the major events of Beauchamp's life.<sup>55</sup> Livery collars were included among the largesse distributed on occasions such as New Year, when they were given to existing supporters or foreign dignitaries. The act of gift giving was a royal virtue and generous patronage reflected the donor's wealth, generosity and worship.<sup>56</sup> Although the collar was technically a gift, it differed from other similar items in significant ways. Although most gifts were given with the expectation of something in return, wearing a livery collar would not only benefit the recipient as a prestigious item, but also the ruling

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<sup>51</sup> The theme of livery collars being utilised on memorials to display *royal*, rather than *political* service, will be revisited later.

<sup>52</sup> A. Offer, 'Between the gift and the market: the economy of regard', *Economic History Review*, 50 (1997), 450-76, at 451-4.

<sup>53</sup> Offer, 'The economy of regard', 453.

<sup>54</sup> BL, Additional MS 30946, fol. 82v.

<sup>55</sup> BL, Cotton MS Julius E IV, part III, fols. 1-28; V. Dillon and W.H. St John Hope (eds.), *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K.G. 1389-1439* (London, 1914), plate III.

<sup>56</sup> M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007), pp. 121-4. Another powerful motivation, diplomacy, is examined below.

regime. What better way to advertise royal authority than to have one's servants wearing your badge? As witnessed above, it was expected to engender a degree of reciprocity, the gift accompanied by the expectation of the recipient's loyalty.

The collar could be an efficacious recruitment aid, and there appears to have been no age limit as regards who was targeted. In 1452-3 the infant son of Sir Robert Harcourt, a member of Margaret of Anjou's household, was given a collar 'de tissewe cum esses argenti', worth 6s. 8d.<sup>57</sup> Although essentially a plaything, wearing it would prepare the boy for expected loyal service later in life.<sup>58</sup> Collars could also be given as wedding gifts, with not only the monetary but also the symbolic and sentimental value of the item reflecting the esteem the recipient held for the giver. In January 1467 John Howard (d. 1485), the future duke of Norfolk, lavished a variety of gifts on his new bride Elizabeth, including 'a coler of goolde with xxxiiij. roses and sonnes set on a corse of blak sylke with an hanger [pendant] of goolde garnyshed with a saphyre'.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps in this context the collar was also given in expectation of loyalty, or faithfulness, this time to the husband, its acceptance confirming the wife had entered her husband's 'affinity'. As collars were evidently given away by their original recipients, it is plausible that the new recipients would wear the items themselves, opening up the possibility that some individuals wore collars they were not technically entitled to.

When it came to bequests collars found a variety of recipients. On occasion it was given as a guarantee or recompense for an unpaid loan, as was the case with Thomas Dalby, a canon of York Minster in c. 1500, who pledged a gold 'colare cum le esses' for £100 he had taken from the common chest. In his interminable 1463 will John Baret (d. 1467), a wealthy merchant from Bury St Edmunds, wished his collars to be sold to pay for prayers: 'I wil bothe my colers of silvir, the Kyng's lyfre, be sold, and the money disposid in almesse for Edmund Tabowre soule and his frendys, to recompense broke silvir I had of his to oon of the

<sup>57</sup> TNA, E 101/410/11, mem. 3; Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou', 113-31.

<sup>58</sup> Things did not, however, go according to plan. Sir Robert became an early adherent of Edward IV, and was made a knight of the Garter in 1462.

<sup>59</sup> *PL*, iv, p. 263.



colerys and othir things with othir stuff by syde wich I took to my owne vse'.<sup>60</sup> Although Baret seems principally concerned with the monetary value of his collars, the fact that they were also given in exchange for alms tangibly connected the item with the care of his acquaintances' souls, the spiritual association suggesting a more significant role for the collar. A collar does not, unsurprisingly, feature on his cadaver effigy in St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds, but an SS collar does appear on the small figure sculpture of Baret on the side of the tomb chest, holding a scroll bearing the word 'me'. The message here could not be more graphic: this was a portrait of Baret as in life, as he wished to be remembered (**Fig. 9**).<sup>61</sup> It appears that he therefore wore the collar which is represented on his sculpture, perhaps one of the collars referred to in his will. John Hall's aforementioned silver collar, bequeathed to his parish priest Thomas Laundey, was to be used to pay for his funeral expenses. A collar could also be used to perpetuate the donor's memory, in both a spiritual and secular sense. Sir John Aleyn, mayor of London, appears to have had this in mind when making his will in 1545:

I will that the Lorde mayre of London for the tyme being shal have my Collo[r] of SS to use and occupie yerely at and uppon principall and festivall dayes and the same ... to hym and his successours mayres for the same effecte. So that the same mayre and his successours come yerely to myne obytte in the mercers chapel in London.<sup>62</sup>

Not only did Aleyn benefit from the grateful prayers of his successors, but the bequest ensured that his name would be forever linked with the gift. The collar, kept at the Mansion House, is still used today by the lord mayor (**Fig. 10**).

More frequently, a collar was bequeathed to a family member, often as an heirloom, highlighting the importance of the item as a memorandum of the royal service of the testator and the pride and honour which it had bestowed on their family. The continuing presence of

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<sup>60</sup> S. Tymms (ed.), *Wills and Inventories from the register of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society, Original Series, 49 (London, 1850), p. 41.

<sup>61</sup> The roof of his chapel is also decorated with SS collars surrounding his initials, 'IB'.

<sup>62</sup> TNA, PROB 11/31, fol. 2v. He was buried in the Mercers Chapel.

the collar of the individual within their kin would also encourage commemoration; their memory would live on. Henry Fotherby of Lincoln left his collar 'of the lord King Henry the Sixth' to his son John in February 1471, and in 1482 Sir Richard Roos bequeathed his 'collar of golde of the kings lyverey' and other items of jewellery 'that I was wont to were' to his nephew Sir Henry Roos. John of Gaunt left his widow Katherine Swynford (d. 1403) his best collar in his will, illustrating his affection for her.<sup>63</sup> Occasionally there is evidence that a collar was passed down several generations, such as Thomas Reresbie's collar, left to him by his father, and now bequeathed to his son Lionel.<sup>64</sup> One can imagine the family showing off such a collar to neighbours and kin, accompanied by the story of when, why, and to whom it was awarded.

The livery collar not only reflected the relationship between worldly individuals and their 'ownership', as it were, of each other. It could also reflect the bonds between living and celestial individuals, as was the case with William Swayne who in 1484 left his 'colour of silver of the kinges lyverey' for the making of St Osmand's shrine in Salisbury Cathedral. Five years previously his son Henry, who predeceased him, also left his livery collar for the same purpose,<sup>65</sup> an expression of family solidarity through shared devotion to a saint for whom the family obviously held close affection. In 1463 the aforementioned Euphemia Langton left her SS collar, along with a gold necklace and an alabaster figure of the Virgin Mary, to the altar of the Virgin in Elmet Church, North Yorkshire. Judging by the opulent bequests, the church was evidently a favoured place of worship.<sup>66</sup>

Occasionally we can glean more: the donation of a collar being inlaid with a deeper, more symbolic value than its cash worth or as a stimulus for saintly intercession. In 1499

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<sup>63</sup> Lincoln Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter, A/2/35, fol. 131v. The description of Henry VI as king coincides with the period October 1470 to April 1471 when he was restored to the throne; Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds.), *Logge Register*, i, no. 38; J. Nichols (ed.), *A Collection of all the wills now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), p. 155. The tomb chest of Swynford in Lincoln Cathedral once featured shields encircled with SS collars, as recorded by William Dugdale in his 'Book of Monuments', 1640-1: BL, Additional MS 71474, fol. 107r.

<sup>64</sup> *Test' Ebor'*, vi, p. 181.

<sup>65</sup> TNA, PROB 11/7, fol. 3; PROB 11/7, fols. 153v-155; Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds.), *Logge Register*, ii, no. 268; i, no. 5.

<sup>66</sup> *Test' Ebor'*, ii, p. 258. She was buried in Leeds with her husband Sir John Langton (d. 1459).

Henry VII presented a rich collar of 25 esses, two portcullises, a double 'R' and a red rose to Norwich Cathedral to adorn an image of the Holy Trinity.<sup>67</sup> The gift was not only a pious statement of favour from the king, but it definitively united the most powerful and evocative of religious images with a potent symbol of Henry's authority, an item incorporating the very essence of his royal dignity and honour. As the collar was intended to 'adorn' the image, which was likely a sculpture, it is probable that it was hung around it in some way. This act added to the symbolism: not only was the king, symbolised through his collar, being physically 'united' with the Holy Trinity (there is even a hint that he was claiming 'ownership' of the image), but a degree of heavenly intercession was transmitted to the king through physical contact with his collar. The timing of this gift is also noteworthy. Not long after the Cornish rebellion and the standoff at Blackheath in 1497, and the execution of the earl of Warwick in 1499, his political position now appeared more secure. Perhaps the king was expressing his personal thanks for divine intervention.

In the royal courts of Europe the collar could be used for diplomatic effect. The act of giving or wearing a collar was politically efficacious and utilised to great effect, with the medium of art regularly recording the act for posterity. We have previously witnessed Henry IV ordering a plenitude of collars for use at home and abroad during the first years of his reign.<sup>68</sup> The practice was continued by his successors. A manuscript illustration from c. 1470 shows Edward IV being presented with a book, dressed in full regalia and wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>69</sup> The order was established by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy in 1430. Once enemies of Burgundy, Edward had forged an alliance with the dukedom, and his sister Margaret married Philip's son Charles the Bold in 1468. Charles was made a Knight of the Garter the following year, shortly after Edward's investiture into the

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<sup>67</sup> Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Sacrist's Register, DCN 40/11, fol. 111r. Some time after 1475, James Goldwell, bishop of Norwich from 1472 to 1499, and his brother Nicholas, archdeacon of Norwich, established a chantry dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Great Chart (Kent). In 1505 Nicholas added Henry VII, his parents and children to those to be prayed for: N.P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984), p. 217.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp. 34-5.

<sup>69</sup> BL, Royal 15 E IV, fol. 14, from Jean de Waurin's *Chronique d'Angleterre*.

Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>70</sup> After the death of duke Charles in 1477, Edward ceased to wear his collar. When quizzed by the Burgundian ambassadors as to the reason why, he stated that he would wait until the uncertain state of the English-Burgundy alliance was more clear. On one occasion he is reported to have declared that he now wore the collar beneath his clothes; a diplomatic answer indeed, explaining why the collar was no longer on show, but suggesting that the collar, and with it his affection for the regime, remained quite literally close to his heart.<sup>71</sup> Examples of English livery collars can be found on tombs and in stained glass across Europe. In the Hôpital St Josse in Bruges is an incised slab with a canted shield commemorating Joos de Bul (d. 1488) and his wife Katherine. Around the shield was originally a brass replica of a collar of suns and roses with a lion pendant, recording de Bul's connections with Edward IV.<sup>72</sup>

One incident which highlights the significance and potentially contentious nature of a king wearing another's collar concerns Richard II. In the parliament of 1394 the earl of Arundel complained that the king's decision to wear the collar of John of Gaunt was detrimental to his honour, as was the fact that members of the king's retinue were also wearing it. Obviously a king should only wear the collar of an equal, and as regards Richard's retinue, just who was their lord, the king or Gaunt? Richard's answer was that he had personally taken the collar from Gaunt's neck and 'would wear it as a sign of the great love and whole-heartedness between them, as he had done with the liveries of his other uncles'. He added that it was also his decision that his retinue wore Gaunt's livery collar.<sup>73</sup> Here we return to the significance of the livery collar as an expression of the ownership of the donor over the recipient. Evidently Richard either misunderstood this, or was attempting

<sup>70</sup> D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 356-96; C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols. (London, 1923), i, pp. 462-3, 484-5.

<sup>71</sup> L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Garters and the Garter Achievements of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy', *The Ricardian*, 23 (2013), 1-19, at 9.

<sup>72</sup> It is likely that he provided hospitality for the king and his brother-in-law Earl Rivers on their stay there in 1471, but earlier connections are confirmed by a grant of £20 per annum to de Bul and his wife in July 1467: *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 19. The brass is now held in the Musée des Hospices Civils in Bruges: W.J. Hemp, 'A Late Fifteenth Century Incised Slab at Bruges with a Collar of Suns and Roses in Brass', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 6 (1913), 320-5.

<sup>73</sup> PROME, Richard II, Parliament of January-March 1394, mem. 6.

to use it in a different context, something which confused, and perhaps installed jealousy among, contemporaries. The king was attempting to show solidarity through wearing his uncles' livery collars.

Wearing a collar to express the 'love' between rulers became commonplace. Jean Froissart reported that Henry IV wore 'aboute his neck the lyvery of France' at his coronation.<sup>74</sup> This act may also have been a subtle means of reminding the French of the English claim to their throne. A similar motive may have lay behind a collar of SS and broom cods made for the young Henry VI in 1426.<sup>75</sup> In c. 1414 John, duke of Brittany, was given a collar of SS 'of the order of the king of England', with the motto 'A ma vie'. The collar became a favoured item of the dukes, with several generations adopting it after.<sup>76</sup> An SS collar, possibly the personal collar of Henry V, was given to Emperor Sigismund in 1416 on his admission into the Order of the Garter. He was an enthusiastic recipient, noted to have worn it on a procession in Constance the following year. A further batch of 24 silver gilt and 60 silver collars were sent to him in 1434, for mass distribution to the knights and esquires of Basle, at the emperor's and the English ambassador's discretion.<sup>77</sup> A similar group distribution of collars symbolised the close connection between the Lancastrian court and the Gonzaga dynasty of Mantua. In 1436 Henry VI granted Gianfrancesco Gonzaga permission to distribute 50 gold SS collars to his most prominent men. Gianfrancesco had been given a similar collar some thirty years previously. A mural in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua depicts a tournament scene. The border is created by a line of SS collars with swan pendants and marigold flowers, the combination of the Lancastrian and Gonzaga badges symbolising their alliance. The SS collar is also featured on some of the horses'

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<sup>74</sup> J. Jolliffe (ed. and trans.), *Froissart's Chronicles* (London, 1967), p. 416. This collar was composed of broom cods.

<sup>75</sup> TNA, E 404/42/306.

<sup>76</sup> G.A. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1707), ii, p. 921.

<sup>77</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae*, 20 vols. (London, 1704-35), ix, pp. 435-6; N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 7 vols. (London, 1834-7), iv, p. cxvii.

comparisons.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the scene depicts the tournament at which the collars were officially distributed, and although the frieze is incomplete, there may have originally been fifty collars in the border, representing those distributed. In 1426 John, duke of Bedford (d. 1435) sent two gold collars of his livery to Paolo Guinigi and his son Ladislas, rulers of Lucca, delivered by the earl of Salisbury and intended to win their support against France.<sup>79</sup> The collars were probably similar to that of alternate roots and esses with an eagle pendant, worn by Bedford in his portrait in the Bedford Hours (**Fig. 11**).<sup>80</sup> Although a Guinigi agent, Jacopo Bernardini, lent money for the English military cause in France, this was the limit of the gifts' effectiveness. In 1432 the Seigneur de Châteauevillain, another recipient of one of Bedford's collars, returned it. The reasons appear to have been political, as Châteauevillain had switched his allegiance from Burgundy to Charles VII of France. The act, which contravened his oath on receiving the collar, immensely angered Bedford.<sup>81</sup>

Just as the livery collar could be given as a gift, it could therefore just as easily be returned for political reasons. Similarly, political motivations could result in a collar being taken away, the forceful nature of the removal being used in narratives to underline the symbolism of the act; it was considered a physical insult not only to the collar wearer, but also to the donor. In early January, 1400 Thomas Holland, earl of Kent visited Isabella, the queen of the recently deposed Richard II, to whom the earl had remained loyal. Declaring that Richard was still alive at Pontefract, he ripped off the SS collars worn by Henry IV's servants who were attending Isabella: 'to cause his speech the better to be believed he took awaie the king's cognizances from them that ware the same as the collars from their necks ... and throwing them awaie, said that such cognizances were no longer to be borne.'<sup>82</sup> It was not only the act which was highly politically charged, but the aggressive manner in which it was undertaken heightened its significance. Livery collars were regarded as potent

<sup>78</sup> I. Toesca, 'Lancaster and Gonzaga: the Collar of SS at Mantua', in D. Chambers and J. Martineau (eds.), *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981), pp. 1-2.

<sup>79</sup> J. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories* (London, 1993), pp. 101-3.

<sup>80</sup> BL, Additional MS 18850, fol. 256v. The root was Bedford's personal device.

<sup>81</sup> Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, p. 102.

<sup>82</sup> J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 4 vols. (London, 1884-98), i, p. 97.

symbols of royal power and dignity, and even, as we shall see in chapter 3, as physical embodiments of the essence of the king's majesty and honour.

### **Iconography: the meaning of the Lancastrian 'S' and the Yorkist sun and rose**

The elusive meaning of the 'S' has fascinated scholars since the nineteenth century, and a multitude of suggestions have been postulated. These include *Saint Simplicius*, *signum* (badge or sign), *souveigneur* (remember), *soverayne* (sovereign), *seneschallus* (steward) and *sanctus* (saint). Other more imaginative suggestions have included the S representing a bridle bit or a swan.<sup>83</sup> None are implausible, although the only two suggestions which can be corroborated with evidence are *souveigneur* and *soverayne*.<sup>84</sup> We have already seen that the phrase *souveyne vous de moi* was favoured by Henry IV, with the forget-me-not flower appearing on items of clothing, and SS collars, worn by the king. The word *Soverayne* appears several times on the tester of Henry IV's tomb at Canterbury Cathedral, which also features SS collars encircling heraldic shields bearing the royal arms and the arms of Navarre. The word was also included on Henry's seal as duke of Lancaster, and Henry's son John, duke of Bedford adopted *Sovereigne* as his motto.<sup>85</sup>

However, perhaps the antiquaries of the nineteenth century and subsequent scholars have misunderstood the meaning of the S, chiefly through attempting to ascertain which one particular meaning should be attributed to it. A fresh theory is offered here: the letter was deliberately chosen because of the multiplicity of meanings which it signified for contemporaries, meanings which have multiplied as each successive generation has sought its own interpretation. It is striking that no 'official' explanation of the S exists, opening up the possibility that no one meaning was ever intended. There is evidence which supports this theory. An illuminated frontispiece to a Sarum Breviary dating from c. 1420-30, now held in St John's College, Oxford, features a shield of the Five Wounds of Christ surrounded by a gold collar of nineteen esses, each letter forming the start of a word. The following inscription

<sup>83</sup> See Gough Nichols, 'Collars of the Royal Livery'; Hartshorne, 'Notes on Collars of SS'; Foss, 'Hackington, or St. Stephen's, Canterbury'; Skeat, 'Souvent Me Souvient'; Scharf, 'A Note upon Collars'; Jenkins, 'Collars of SS'.

<sup>84</sup> Mortimer, *Fears of Henry IV*, p. 385.

<sup>85</sup> Duffy, *Royal Tombs*, pp. 199-206.

is written at the bottom of the page: 'O qui cuncta regis miles fortissime vere collarium regis es dignum dignus habere' ('O that among all things of the king, most brave knight, certainly you are worthy to have the worthy collar of the king').<sup>86</sup> Notwithstanding this phrase, which neatly sums up the importance of the livery collar and the explicit connection it had with the king, the illumination reveals several additional meanings of the S, suggesting that, at least for the individual who commissioned the breviary and in all likelihood received the collar, the S represented a variety of words of both secular and religious pertinence. An additional clue to the multiplicity of meanings attached to the S lies in the *Tirant lo Blanc*, a romance written by Joanot Martorell, a Venetian knight who visited England in 1438. In the manuscript Martorell describes the device's significance, listing saintliness, sagacity, sapience, 'and many other noble words' as its principal meanings, adding that no other letter in the alphabet has such lofty significance.<sup>87</sup>

When compared to the SS collar, the two components of the Yorkist collar, the suns and roses, have not received the scholarly attention they deserve. This is surprising, as contemporaries would have accorded no less significance to its meaning than the Lancastrian equivalent. Indeed, as the Yorkist collar was introduced as a rival to its predecessor, its meaning and significance were undoubtedly of paramount importance.

For centuries religion and politics, on the face of it diametrically opposed, have in fact interacted. Religious ceremony has served to define and legitimise political institutions, leading some to describe religious practice as an 'idiom of political expression'.<sup>88</sup> During the late medieval period ruling regimes utilised the visual arts to bolster their identity, through appropriating religious symbolism. The Yorkists were particularly astute at this, their

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<sup>86</sup> Oxford, St John's College, MS 179, fol. 1v; N. Morgan, 'An SS Collar in the Devotional Context of the Shield of the Five Wounds', in J. Stratford (ed.), *The Lancastrian Court, Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XIII (Donington, 2003), pp. 147-62. The words are: Salve Salvator, Spes, Sol, Sapiencia, Splendor, Salve, Sola Salus, Salve Scola, Summa, Salvus, Sanctifica, Servo, Salvans, Sub Sanguine, Sanus. The patron of the manuscript is not known.

<sup>87</sup> Joanot Martorell and Marti Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, ed. and trans. D.H. Rosenthal (New York and London, 1984), pp. 127-8.

<sup>88</sup> R. Firth, 'Spiritual Aroma: Religion and Politics', *American Anthropologist*, 83 (1981), 582-601.



propaganda frequently being channelled through religious themes.<sup>89</sup> This was no more so than in their principal emblems: the white rose, the sun, and the combination of the two, the *rose-en-soleil*. These devices abounded in monumental art and architecture,<sup>90</sup> on jewellery and clothing,<sup>91</sup> in manuscripts and paintings,<sup>92</sup> and of course on tomb effigies and brasses in the form of the suns and roses livery collar. Due to the religious and secular contexts in which these badges were used, we should be wary of interpreting every white rose, sun, or *rose-en-soleil* as 'Yorkist'. In some cases their appearance was perhaps intended to convey a religious rather than secular meaning. This may have been the case with the brass of Canon John Byrkhede (d. 1468), in St Mary's, Harrow-on-the-Hill (Middlesex), on which a *rose-en-soleil* appears on the morse of his processional vestment. The depiction of the Virgin on the head of his orphrey suggests that the *rose-en-soleil* was a Marian symbol. Equally, the fifteenth-century stained glass in Diddington Church (Hunts.), depicting Saints Katherine and Margaret with *roses-en-soleil* in the borders does not appear to have any Yorkist connotations. A nuanced reading of such examples is therefore required. It may have been the case that the majority of such depictions were indeed acknowledging both religious and political contexts. The multiplicity of meanings would have certainly appealed to the late medieval mind, and served to increase the potency and effectiveness of their use.

Legend has it that Edward IV adopted the sun in splendour motif after his victory at Mortimer's Cross in February 1461, during which three suns appeared in the sky (**Fig. 12**).<sup>93</sup> Edward was not, however, the first English king to adopt a sun motif as Richard II had used 'the sonne shyning' (a sunburst through a cloud) as one of his badges.<sup>94</sup> Henry IV may have sparingly used the red *rose-en-soleil*, and it possible that the badge was earlier adopted by

<sup>89</sup> Marks, 'Political and Genealogical Propaganda', 154.

<sup>90</sup> Excellent examples can be found in the stained glass of the east window of Holy Trinity collegiate church, Tattershall.

<sup>91</sup> For numerous examples of extant Yorkist badges see Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, pp. 295-7.

<sup>92</sup> The *rose-en-soleil* features in several of Edward IV's manuscripts in the Royal Manuscripts Collection in the British Library: BL, Royal 19 E V, fols. 32, 196; Royal 14 E IV, fol. 244v.

<sup>93</sup> An example of the rare meteorological phenomenon known as a parhelion. The event was immortalised by William Shakespeare in Act II, Scene I of *Henry VI, Part III*, and illustrated in the *Life of Edward IV (1461)*: BL, Harley MS 7353. Also see J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, Camden Society, New Series, 17 (London, 1876), p. 211.

<sup>94</sup> It features prominently on his gilt cast copper-alloy effigy at Westminster Abbey.

Edward III.<sup>95</sup> But the use of sun iconography goes back much further, having classical precedents. The concept of the divinity of the king has existed since antiquity, and the sun device had been linked with the sacerdotal function of the king, seen as the *Christomimesis* or the imitation of Christ on earth, for centuries before the accession of Edward IV. The Hellenistic device of a circle of the sun's rays was adopted by Rome in the third century as one aspect of the deification of the ruler and the cult of kingship. Thereafter, the emperor would be referred to as *Sol Invictus*, the unconquered sun. After the conversion of Constantine in the fourth century a coin was introduced depicting the emperor riding to heaven in a chariot surrounded by the sun's rays. The cult of the sun was later integrated into Byzantine politico-religious discourse, and although subsequent concepts of kingship developed in the west did not adhere so vigorously to the notion of the king as the sun, the two were frequently tied.<sup>96</sup> Gian Galeazzo Visconti (d. 1402) adopted the white dove set within a radiating sun as his device, which was worn as a necklace by his followers. The sun was not infrequently connected with the rose. A bust at Paestum depicts a rose growing out of a crown in the form of a sun dial, worn by a goddess.<sup>97</sup> The Christian church adopted the sun symbol, which frequently surrounded depictions of the Virgin and Christ in art.<sup>98</sup> A sixteenth-century sermon also linked the two: 'And as in the morning the rose opens, receiving the dew from heaven and the sun, so Mary's soul did open and receive Christ the heavenly dew'.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Rayed roses with sixteen points appear on the tie-beams of the Great Hall at Winchester Castle. Their provenance is problematic. Usually referred to as Yorkist *roses-en-soleil*, it has been convincingly argued that they date from the period 1348-9, when the hall was re-roofed. It has also been suggested that they may be pictorial representations of the word 'Windsor' ('winds' of 'or'), and therefore represent wind-roses: M. Biddle, B. Clayre and M. Morris, 'The setting of the Round Table: Winchester Castle and the Great Hall', in M. Biddle (ed.), *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 59-101, at 78-9; M. Biddle, 'The hanging of the Round Table', in *ibid.*, pp. 393-424, at 414-7.

<sup>96</sup> S. Bertelli, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Pennsylvania State University, 2001), pp. 6, 10-13.

<sup>97</sup> E. Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game* (London, 1969), p. 111.

<sup>98</sup> R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners, Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 24; BL Additional MS 31835, fol. 24. An example in stained glass can be found in the church of St Nicholas, Ashill (Norfolk), where the sun's rays surround a depiction of Mary's monogram: C. Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1950), p. 182.

<sup>99</sup> Quoted in Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, p. 113.

As with the sun emblem, the rose has a long history dating back to classical antiquity and beyond.<sup>100</sup> Attracted by its fragrance, the rose was cultivated by the Greeks, Herodotus referring to them being grown in gardens in his *Histories*. The cultural meanings associated with the rose developed in Rome where it was closely linked to Venus, Bacchus and Aphrodite, the flower symbolising love, drinking and death. The healing and cleansing powers of the flower were discussed by Pliny, roses featured on the standards of the empire's legions, and rose chaplets and wreaths became increasingly popular as an 'orgy of rose worship' flourished. The *Rosalia*, the festival of the rose during which the flower was venerated, developed from the second century, and the flower became increasingly connected with debauchery. Nero was obsessed with roses, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was reported to have smothered his guests with rose petals showered on them from a reversible ceiling.

The flower, which is both 'inescapably political and transcends politics',<sup>101</sup> has a long history in England as both a decorative and heraldic emblem.<sup>102</sup> Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence, is said to have introduced the golden rose badge to England, which was inherited by Edward I. There is tangential evidence that the rose was used as a badge by subsequent royals, including John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV, although the colour is not specified and it may have simply been a decorative device. The white rose was adopted by the House of York, probably through their Mortimer descent, from at least the 1430s.<sup>103</sup> The aforementioned 1399 list of royal jewels included a collar of white roses and mascles which may have been an early collar of the House of York. If not a livery collar, it is likely that it was associated with the family.<sup>104</sup> Richard, duke of York's seals included roses, but again we cannot be certain of their colour. It appears that the duke may have used a form of white

<sup>100</sup> For this paragraph, see J. Potter, *The Rose, A True History* (London, 2010), pp. 6-50.

<sup>101</sup> Potter, *The Rose*, p. xxi.

<sup>102</sup> See M.P. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, 4 vols. (Woodbridge, 2009), ii, pp. 211-26; S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), pp. 74-9.

<sup>103</sup> A list of badges dating from c. 1460, listing the badges and lordships of the House of York, associates the white rose with Clifford Castle, acquired after the marriage of Richard, earl of Cambridge (d. 1415) to Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford: Bodleian Library, Digby MS 82. It is assumed, therefore, that the Clifford family inherited the white rose from their seat. There is, however, no supporting evidence for this claim.

<sup>104</sup> TNA, E 101/411/9, mem. 4.

rose livery collar: we have witnessed such an example being given to Sir John Fastolf. Edward IV, dubbed the 'Rose of Rouen' after his place of birth, was definitively associated with the white rose. After the Towton campaign of 1461 he was referred to as 'thys fayre white ros and herbe, the Erle of Marche', and in other verses of the period he is called the white rose.<sup>105</sup> Edward's seals depicted roses, suns, or a *rose-en-soleil*, and a pedigree roll compiled for the king includes several examples, alongside the falcon and fetterlock badge.<sup>106</sup> His white *rose-en-soleil* badge is most famously depicted alongside a portrait of the king in the window of the north-west transept of Canterbury Cathedral, dating from c. 1482.

Contrary to popular belief, there is no evidence that the red rose was associated with the House of Lancaster until after the accession of Henry VII in 1485, when it was adopted as one of his badges.<sup>107</sup> It was the Croyland continuator who first mentioned the red rose of Henry as avenging the boar of Richard III, and a poem, *The Rose of Englande*, dating from the 1490s, repeated a similar theme.<sup>108</sup> With the inception of the Tudor red and white rose, symbolising the union of Lancaster and York with the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York in 1486, it became convenient for Tudor writers such as Edward Hall to integrate a 'red rose of Lancaster' into their narratives. The badge was therefore very much a product of the Tudor propaganda machine. The golden rose of Eleanor of Provence was now transformed into a red rose by her son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and Henry IV was given a red rose badge in *Writhe's Garter Book*, a heraldic manuscript dating from c. 1488.<sup>109</sup> The idea of the union of the red and white roses is epitomised in an extant manuscript, the beginning of which includes a picture of a red, white and Tudor rose tree enclosing a poem celebrating

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<sup>105</sup> T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 2 vols. (London, 1859-61), ii, pp. 269-82; J. Gairdner (ed.), 'Gregory's Chronicle, 1461-1469', in his (ed.) *Historical Collections*, p. 215; R.H. Robbins (ed.), *Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 1959), no. 92.

<sup>106</sup> Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis, E 210.

<sup>107</sup> See J. Ashdown-Hill, 'The Red Rose of Lancaster?', *The Ricardian*, 10 (1996), 406-20.

<sup>108</sup> N. Pronay and J. Cox (eds.), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486* (London, 1986), p. 184; G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London and New York, 1957-75), iii, pp. 346-9.

<sup>109</sup> See A. Wagner, N. Barker and A. Payne (eds.), *Medieval Pageant: Writhe's Garter Book: the Ceremony of the Bath and the Earldom of Salisbury Roll* (London, 1993).

Henry VIII, the embodiment of the union of both roses.<sup>110</sup> The Yorkist white rose and sun were not, however, abandoned immediately after the accession of Henry VII, perhaps in a prudent move so as not to completely alienate himself from past supporters of his father-in-law Edward IV, many of whom had helped him to the throne. At his marriage to Elizabeth of York her badges of the sun and white rose were displayed in abundance, and the queen was referred to as 'þe lyly-whizte rose' in a ballad dating from the same period,<sup>111</sup> the allusion to the Virgin being particularly apt for the matriarch of the Tudor dynasty. The careful integration of Elizabeth into the Tudor historical narrative was complete by the reign of her son Henry VIII, her badge now being represented as a rose branch springing from a sunburst, bearing a red and white *rose-en-soleil*: the white rose was not now illustrated in isolation. Any lingering political meanings linking it with the House of York had been nullified.

Virginia Henderson has discussed the red rose's multivalent symbolism, proposing that it was adopted by Henry VII predominantly for its Marian and Christological associations, the political importance of the symbol being superimposed by the regime.<sup>112</sup> However, the white rose was equally, and in some contexts more so, associated with the Virgin. Perhaps we should therefore acknowledge that one of the motivations behind the emblem being adopted by the House of York, and promulgated by Edward IV alongside the sun device, was its religious resonances. The Virgin was a favoured saint of many royals, not least due to her association with fertility, birth and nurturing lineage, and Marian references can be found in political images and narratives of the fifteenth century.<sup>113</sup> Alongside St Anne, the Virgin was a focus of Yorkist religious devotion. Both Edward IV and his mother Cecily, duchess of York (d. 1495) committed their souls to the Virgin in their respective wills, and images of the saint were depicted in the north clerestory windows in the

<sup>110</sup> BL, Royal 11 E 11, fol. 2r.

<sup>111</sup> Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, ii, p. 223; Robbins, *Historical Poems*, no. 34.

<sup>112</sup> V.K. Henderson, 'Retrieving the "Crown in the Hawthorn Bush": the Origins of the Badges of Henry VII', in D. Biggs, S.D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 237-59.

<sup>113</sup> M. Rubin, 'Religious Symbols and Political Culture in Fifteenth-Century England', in L. Clark and C. Carpenter (eds.), *Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain, The Fifteenth Century*, IV (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 97-110, at pp. 106-7.

Yorkist mausoleum at Fotheringhay Church, probably at Cecily's instigation.<sup>114</sup> Edward further demonstrated his favouritism by making the Virgin Mary the joint patron saint of the Order of the Garter in 1469.<sup>115</sup> In addition, his queen Elizabeth Woodville also showed particular devotion for the Virgin, not least through petitioning the pope to allow an indulgence to be granted to all those who said the *Ave Maria* on their knees thrice daily.

At first reticent to encourage the use of the emblem, the rose was eventually adopted by the Christian church, where it soon came to represent the Virgin, the mystical rose. It was Bernard of Clairvaux who promulgated the Marian association, principally through his sermons on the Song of Songs: 'Mary was a white rose by reason of her virginity, a red rose by reason of her charity; white in her body, red in her soul; white in cultivating virtue, red in treading down vice'.<sup>116</sup> The virtues represented by the white rose, in particular purity and its association with paradise, were perhaps one of the reasons why it was adopted by the House of York. By the fifteenth century the link between roses and prayers for the Virgin was firmly established. *Aves* were transformed into roses for the Virgin, which she wore as a rose chaplet. A popular story connected with *Our Lady's Psalter* recalled how the Virgin appeared before a monk, whose prayers turned into white and red roses which she collected together to form a wreath.<sup>117</sup> The rosary was frequently depicted in art as three sets of five rings each containing ten roses, representing ten *Aves*. The first set, the 'white rosary' recalled the birth of Jesus, with the second and third sets, the 'red' and 'golden' rosaries, represented his later life and death.<sup>118</sup> The rosary devotion was intrinsically linked to the prayer beads which represented it. There is a visual similarity between the beads and the livery collar, not least

<sup>114</sup> Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 366-79; TNA, PROB 11/10, fols. 195r-196v; R. Marks, 'The Glazing of Fotheringhay Church and College', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 131 (1978), 79-109.

<sup>115</sup> Visser-Fuchs, 'The Garters of Charles the Bold', 17; A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "'A most benevolent queen": Queen Elizabeth Woodville's reputation, her piety and her books', *The Ricardian*, 10 (1995), 214-45.

<sup>116</sup> Potter, *The Rose*, p. 83. Also see N. Morgan, 'The Monograms, Arms and Badges of the Virgin Mary in Late Medieval England', in J. Cherry and A. Payne (eds.), *Signs and Symbols, Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XVIII (Donington, 2009), pp. 53-63, at p. 54; B. Seward, *The Symbolic Rose* (New York, 1960), pp. 43-8. The red rose was also used to represent Christ and the Five Wounds. It was also linked with love and sexual union, epitomised in the *Roman de la Rose*.

<sup>117</sup> Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, pp. 165-73. In the Wilton Diptych the angels surrounding the Virgin wear wreaths of white roses.

<sup>118</sup> A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: the Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania University, 1997), pp. 34-8.

when one considers that beads could be worn around the neck.<sup>119</sup> Examples include the Langdale rosary (c. 1500), which is comparable to the suns and roses collar held by the duke of Clarence in the *Rous Roll* (Fig. 13). When one considers the fact that the beads represented roses, and the Yorkist collar comprised suns and roses, there may also have been a symbolic link between the two.

It is not difficult to understand why such powerful and commonplace symbols as the sun and white rose were utilised by the Yorkists. The effect of wearing a collar composed of suns and roses would have been profound. Such an interplay of religious, secular and political implications was abundant during the late medieval period. The collar was a sign of the relationship between the wearer and the king, but it would have served in the very least as a visual reminder of the Yorkists' Marian piety and, by implication, the Virgin's patronage of the regime.

### Who wore the livery collar?

Put simply, there is no definitive answer to this question. If one considers the 391 extant collars on church monuments, in addition to the examples depicted in stained glass, one may assume that hundreds, possibly thousands, of individuals wore a livery collar. Alongside royal household servants and courtiers, the collar was also given to individuals outside the household but who undertook governmental duties, perhaps including sheriffs, and notable foreigners and their representatives and diplomats, such as the Belgian knight Jean Chabot of Emæl (d. 1496), depicted wearing his SS collar whilst presenting a book to Henry VII in a copy of the *Livre de physique* (c. 1494) (Fig. 14). Members of the nobility who can be considered supporters of Lancaster or York would also have been recipients. It may also have been distributed to those who had served the regime on the battlefield.<sup>120</sup> In some cases we can be certain that the recipient was given the collar personally by the king, as

<sup>119</sup> Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, p. 148.

<sup>120</sup> Friar, appendix B; J.P. Morewood, 'Livery Collars – some observations on their history, style and significance to the historian and students of church monuments', unpublished paper (undated), pp. 4-6. Although the brass commemorating Sir William Yelverton (d. 1472), Justice of the King's Bench, at Rougham (Norfolk) depicts Yelverton with a suns and roses collar over his judicial mantle, there is no evidence that the judiciary were awarded collars until the reign of Elizabeth I.

was the case with John Eylestone, sheriff and mayor of Lincoln.<sup>121</sup> More generally, the collar may also have been given as a gift or reward for service or favour. John Leventhorpe's brass at Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire (1433) depicts an SS collar, probably due to his prominence as an administrator for the duchy of Lancaster. Thomas Colte, an advisor to Edward IV, wears a Yorkist collar on his brass at Roydon, Essex (1471). But there are exceptions. Prominent government officials whose monuments do not feature a collar include John Throckmorton (1445) at Fladbury, Worcestershire, and Sir William Pecche (1487) at Lullingstone, Kent.<sup>122</sup> It is argued here that the absence of a collar on such a memorial was a consequence of either the individual's or their family's choice, choices that were made for a variety of reasons. They may well have received a livery collar during their lifetime. Conversely, there are examples of individuals whose effigies wear collars, but who do not appear to have been members of the royal household. As will be shown in chapter 4, this was the case with several tombs to the Derbyshire gentry. They may of course have been awarded a collar for other reasons, although the lack of extant household accounts from the 1470s and 1480s must be taken into consideration.<sup>123</sup>

Within the royal household we can be more certain that servants of the rank of esquire and above were given a livery collar. Legislation from the parliament of January 1401 stipulated that dukes, earls, barons, bannerets, and the king's sons were permitted to wear the king's livery collar, in addition to 'certain other knights and esquires'.<sup>124</sup> This alludes to the suggestion that collars were also given to individuals outside the royal household. The 1478 ordinance for the household of Edward IV stated that:

Euery lorde, knyght, and squyer, aswele squyers for the body as other  
within the household, were daily a coler of the kinges lyuerye aboute

<sup>121</sup> As attested in his will of 1492: 'meum colerium quod Edwardus Rex quartus michi dedit', bequeathed to the Clerks' Guild in Lincoln: Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Corporation of Lincoln Registers, I [The White Book], L1/3/1, fol. 87. I am grateful to Anne F. Sutton for providing this reference.

<sup>122</sup> James, 'York and Lancaster', 454-7.

<sup>123</sup> It is possible that these accounts would reveal that they were household servants, although they are not referred to as such in other records.

<sup>124</sup> PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of January 1401, mem. 2.



their nekkes as to theym apperteyneth, and that none of the said  
 squyers faille herof, vpon payne of loosing a weekes wages.<sup>125</sup>

The rule alludes to the fact that collars had been distributed to the above groups for some time, although evidently not all the king's esquires had been wearing their collars when required.<sup>126</sup> There are several plausible reasons why this was so, beyond the simple conclusion that some were refusing to wear them. Perhaps they had simply forgotten, or perhaps they were unsure as to when and where they should wear their collars due to the lack of precise regulations. The 1478 ordinance sought to rectify this by establishing a set of rules to allow for consistent collar-wearing among household staff. They were now expected to display their collars when they themselves were on display, thus creating a visually distinct group.<sup>127</sup> Whether these individuals chose to depict their collars on their monuments was still, of course, a matter of choice. This was, however, the case with John Gower and Robert Waterton. Gower (d. 1408), 'esquire', received a livery collar from Henry, earl of Derby in 1393, costing 26s. 8d.<sup>128</sup> It is probable that this is the collar, complete with a swan pendant, featured on his tomb effigy in Southwark Cathedral. As we have seen, Gower became an intimate of Henry IV to whom he dedicated his *Confessio Amantis*. Robert Waterton (d. 1424) was an esquire of the body to Henry IV who received at least two collars: Henry's Wardrobe accounts for 1396-7 record that a collar of rolled esses was given to Waterton as the earl had given his previous collar to another esquire.<sup>129</sup> His alabaster tomb effigy, in the Waterton Chapel at St Oswald's, Methley (West Yorkshire), wears a collar of

<sup>125</sup> Myers, *Black Book*, p. 217.

<sup>126</sup> It should be noted that in 1681 Sir Henry St George, Clarenceux king of arms, left instructions regarding to whom the title of esquire should be given, stating that they are made thus by the king placing a collar of SS about their necks: J. Bedells (ed.), *The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon 1684 made by Sir Henry St. George, knight, Clarenceux king of Arms*, Harleian Society, New Series, 13 (London, 2000).

<sup>127</sup> J. Watts, 'Looking for the State in Later Medieval England', in *Heraldry*, p. 267.

<sup>128</sup> 'Livrez a Richard Dancastre pour un Coler a luy doné par monseigneur le Conte de Derby par cause d'une autre Coler doné par monditseigneur a un Esquier John Gower, vynt et sys soldz oyt deniers.': TNA, DL 41/424.

<sup>129</sup> '... pro ponder argenti unius Colerii facti cum Esses rollati et dati Roberto de Waterton eo quod dominus dederat colerium ipsius Roberti alio armigero': Beltz, 'Notices', p. 507. For details of Waterton's close association with Henry see S. Rose, 'A Twelfth-Century Honour in a Fifteenth-Century World: The Honour of Pontefract', in Clark (ed.), *English and Continental Perspectives*, pp. 38-57, at pp. 46-9.

alternate reversed esses and crowns.<sup>130</sup> We also know that the aforementioned Sir Thomas Charleton received a Yorkist collar, probably due to his position of knight of the body to Edward IV, although he has no extant monument.<sup>131</sup>

As regards women whose monuments depict a livery collar, the traditional interpretation which saw ladies as nothing more than appendages of their husbands is still in the main subscribed to today.<sup>132</sup> We may need to at least partly revise this supposition. It may be true that some women did have livery collars depicted on their memorials in right of their husbands, but there are examples of those who were probably awarded a collar for their own royal service. Elizabeth Donne, wife of Sir John Donne, is depicted along with her husband wearing a collar of suns and roses with a white lion pendant in Hans Memling's Donne Triptych (**Fig. 2**). As she was one of Queen Elizabeth Woodville's gentlewomen, receiving a £10 annuity, it is likely that she received a collar in this capacity.<sup>133</sup> The same can be said of Margaret (d. 1503), wife of Nicholas Gaynesford (d. 1498), whose brass survives at Carshalton (Surrey). Although her husband has no collar, Margaret is depicted in a 'choker' collar of suns and roses. According to the tomb inscription, she served in the households of both Elizabeth Woodville and her daughter Elizabeth of York.<sup>134</sup>

Before drawing some conclusions from this chapter, it is first necessary to address an issue indirectly related to this section and pertinent to the whole thesis, with particular reference to church monuments and the influence of the individual or their family, and the workshop commissioned to produce the memorial.

### Agency 'versus' workshop

This thesis is underpinned by one important assumption: the vast majority of livery collars on tomb effigies, memorial brasses, and in stained glass were requested by the individual, or

<sup>130</sup> Routh, *Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, pp. 75-9.

<sup>131</sup> *Harleian* 433, iii, pp. 109, 111.

<sup>132</sup> 'It seems likely that the majority of the collars which are depicted on female effigies are there as a consequence of a husband's status': Friar, p. 129.

<sup>133</sup> A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466-7', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 50 (1967-8), 207-35; 443-81, at 451-2.

<sup>134</sup> M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 481; Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses*, frontispiece.

family or executors of the deceased. When attempting to interpret the appearance of collars on memorials, it is important to keep in mind that we are considering conscious choices by the individual or family to include a collar. The role of agency (of those who commissioned the memorials) should not therefore be underemphasised. There is however a possibility that collars were added as a 'stock item' by a workshop. Unfortunately, of the fifteen extant tomb contracts dating before 1540, none refer to the inclusion of a collar on a memorial.<sup>135</sup>

However, there is evidence to suggest that livery collars were indeed requested.

The dominant alabaster workshop during the first half of the fifteenth century was that run by Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton at Chellaston in Derbyshire. An often quoted contract for one of their tombs survives, that for Ralph Grene and his wife Katherine at Lowick (Northants), made in 1419.<sup>136</sup> Colin Ryde has identified a feature common to a group of alabaster tombs which were evidently made at the Chellaston workshop: figures of angels holding shields set within the tomb panels.<sup>137</sup> Here we have a pattern used by the same workshop over a durable period. Of the set of nine primary tombs listed by Ryde, although the majority do feature the livery collar of SS, the effigies of Ralph Grene at Lowick, Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1419) at Harewood (Yorkshire), and an unidentified effigy at

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<sup>135</sup> The majority of the contracts concern royalty or the aristocracy, and six are connected to the tomb of Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439) at St Mary's, Warwick: *English Church Monuments*, pp. 100-103. For other contracts from the pre-Reformation period see N. Saul, J. Mackman and C. Whittick, 'Grave stuff: litigation with a London tomb-maker in 1421', *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 572-85; 'An Agreement for the Construction of a Tomb in Wollaton Church, 1515', in J.H. Hodson, P.A. Kennedy and V.W. Walker (eds.), *A Nottinghamshire Miscellany* (Nottingham, 1962), pp. 1-2; J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, Marbler of London, and a Tomb Contract of 1376', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 60 (1980), 66-74; S. Badham, 'Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, The British Archaeological Association Conference for the Year 1983, 9 (Leeds, 1989), pp. 165-85, at p. 168; N. Saul, 'The Contract for the Brass of Richard Willoughby (d. 1471) at Wollaton (Notts.)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 50 (2006), 166-93; R.F. Scott, 'On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1915), 365-76; J.C. Cox, 'Derbyshire Monuments to the Family of Foljambe', in his *Memorials of Old Derbyshire* (London, 1907), p. 108; G.M. Bark, 'A London Alabasterer in 1421', *Antiquaries Journal*, 29 (1949), 89-91; J. Bayliss, 'An Indenture for Two Alabaster Effigies', *Church Monuments*, 16 (2001), 22-9. Also see S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, below.

<sup>136</sup> Printed in Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 30. A full transcript and translation, along with a detailed discussion of Prentys and Sutton, can be found in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, 'Cest Endenture Fait Parente': English Tomb Contracts of the Long Fourteenth Century', in *Monumental Industry*, pp. 217-18.

<sup>137</sup> C. Ryde, 'Chellaston Standing Angels with Shields at Aston on Trent: Their Wider Distribution 1400-1450', *DAJ*, 113 (1993), 69-90. The tomb of Sir William ap Thomas and his wife at Abergavenny also shows close comparisons to this group.

Lutterworth (Leicestershire) do not.<sup>138</sup> Several of the Derbyshire alabaster effigies included in the present study, dating from the second half of the century, also feature standing angels.<sup>139</sup> These may or may not come from a later generation of the Chellaston workshop. Although the majority feature a livery collar, one – that of Richard Barley at Dronfield – does not (**Figs. 15 and 16**). The incised slab to John Rolleston (d. 1482) and his wife at Swarkestone also has no collar (**Figs. 17 and 18**). Although the Fitzherbert tombs at Norbury do not feature standing angels, the sleeping bedesman at the feet of Ralph Fitzherbert is a characteristic shared with other effigies which also include a livery collar, including Sir Richard Herbert's tomb at Abergavenny (c. 1470) and the Mathew tombs in Llandaff Cathedral, suggesting another workshop pattern.<sup>140</sup> However, once again not all effigies from this group feature collars, an exception being Sir John Strelley (d. 1502) at Strelley (Notts). It should also be noted that, even with those tombs which feature standing angels, the collars are all depicted very differently, suggesting that they may have been copied from those owned by the commemorated.

The assertion here is that, although the livery collar was certainly part of the workshop's repertoire (we should recognize that we are probably talking about several workshops here), it would be added 'on order'. Indeed, it is accepted that various additional elements could be appended to a set tomb pattern depending on personal preference and cost. These could be negotiated during the tomb's manufacture.<sup>141</sup> They need not necessarily have been put in writing, and could have been agreed verbally with the workshop. In his 1437 will, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1439) referred to the erection of his chapel and tomb, the particulars of which were 'known wel', and several patterns and a drawing, or 'portraicture' of the tomb were given to the workshop by his

<sup>138</sup> The latter two are depicted in civilian dress. Examples of livery collars on effigies of this type are rare, although see the brass to Thomas Clarell, below.

<sup>139</sup> John Bradbourne, Ashbourne; Richard Barley, Dronfield; John Rolleston, Swarkestone; Nicholas Montgomery, Cubley; John Curzon, Kedleston; Thomas Cockayne, Youlgreave. The tombs of Thomas Fraunceys at Repton, Ralph Pole at Radbourne, and the Fitzherberts at Norbury have collars, but no standing angels on the tomb chests.

<sup>140</sup> A similar bedesman can be seen on the tomb to Edward Redman and his wife (c. 1510) at Harewood: Routh and Knowles, *Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, p. 65.

<sup>141</sup> Ryde, 'Chellaston Standing Angels', 81; *English Church Monuments*, p. 102.

executors.<sup>142</sup> Edmund Wighton's will of 1485 asked that his executors erect his tomb 'like as I have declarid to them by mouthe'.<sup>143</sup>

It should be kept in mind that there are other forms of 'collared' memorial in Derbyshire which came from other workshops. There is no evidence to suggest that the incised slab at Barlow was produced by the same workshop as the alabaster effigies mentioned above. What of the brasses? The Bothe brasses at Sawley and the Kniveton brass at Mugginton are evidently a product of the same workshop, London 'D'.<sup>144</sup> Again we have a variation of collared and non-collared examples from this workshop. Although the two Sawley examples are remarkably similar and were probably commissioned at the same time, the father's figure does not wear a livery collar. Other non-collared examples from the same workshop include Ralph Eyre at Hathersage (1493), and Thomas Stathum at Morley (1470), whilst the brass to Thomas Clarell (1471) at Lillingstone Lovell (Bucks) does have a collar.<sup>145</sup>

Now to turn to evidence which augments the theory that collars on memorials were commissioned. Firstly, it should be ascertained whether those individuals whose effigies include a collar actually owned a collar. We are restricted here by a lack of evidence, although there are several examples which confirm that individuals at least owned a livery collar, whether this was the same collar featured on their tomb effigies is a matter of conjecture. We have already witnessed John Gower and Robert Waterton being awarded collars which were probably depicted on their tomb effigies, and John Baret's tomb sculpture features a 'self portrait' of him wearing his SS collar; it will be recalled that he bequeathed two livery collars in his will. The same is true of Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire (d. 1499) who left his collar to his cousin the earl of Shrewsbury in his 1498 will; Stafford's effigy at

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<sup>142</sup> TNA, PROB 11/1, fol. 146r; W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1656), pp. 354-5.

<sup>143</sup> Boatwright, Habberjam and Hammond (eds.), *Logge Register*, ii, no. 279.

<sup>144</sup> This workshop operated for the majority of the fifteenth century: J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses: A New Classification of Military Effigies, c.1360-c.1485', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 12 (1949), 70-97.

<sup>145</sup> Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 45. In this instance the civilian figure is depicted in a suns and roses collar.

Lowick (Northants) features an SS collar.<sup>146</sup> In 1509 Sir John Darell left his SS collar to his wife; a collar of the same type is depicted on his effigy in St Mary's, Little Chart (Kent).<sup>147</sup>

There is one definite example of a testator requesting a livery collar on their memorial. In 1489 Thomas Fetherston asked for 'a picture after my persone in Laton to be gravid and fast sett in the seid stone with a coler of Esses of King Henry is livery a bought my nekk'.<sup>148</sup> In 1494 Sir Edmund Mountford of Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, requested that his monument record his service to Henry VI and Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford.<sup>149</sup> Although there is no specific mention of a livery collar in this will, it is possible that Mountford envisioned an SS collar on his (now lost) effigy. In the King's Remembrancer accounts for 1401, there is a reference to work undertaken by the glazier William Burgh at Eltham Palace. A window of four lights was made for a new chamber next to the king's study, containing 'eschucheons, garters and Colers of the Bages of our Lord the King', at a cost of 73s. 4d. A further four-light 'Baywyndowe' was made also comprising collars, crowns and flowers alongside the motto 'Soveigneur vous de moy', costing £4 8s.<sup>150</sup> Although the reference is not a contract, we may assume that the entry in the accounts may be paraphrasing, or referring directly, to the wording of the initial contract.

As the details of Burgh's work were laid out explicitly, and discussed in technical language in the accounts, so too would they have been in the contract. It is argued here that the same would apply to church monuments, and the appearance of a collar would not simply have been added as a workshop stock item, or by an individual artisan. Similarly, the appearance of idiosyncrasies on tombs, such as the knight on the tomb chest of Nicholas Fitzherbert shown in a long gown with a cross-patté on the shoulder, or the small livery collars featured on two of the other weepers, or the fox looking at itself in a mirror on the Kniveton brass at Mugginton, must have been added by request. In his 1466 contract with

<sup>146</sup> TNA, PROB 11/11, fol. 250r ('I wil my lord and cousin of Shrewisbury have my Coler of the kingis livere').

<sup>147</sup> TNA, PROB 11/16, fol. 189r ('I bequeth to Dame Anne my wif my coler of gold of Esses').

<sup>148</sup> TNA, PROB 11/8, fols. 162v-163r.

<sup>149</sup> J.R.H. Weaver (ed.), *Some Oxfordshire wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1393-1510* (1958), p. 48.

<sup>150</sup> TNA, E 101/502/23.

James Reames for his brass at Wollaton (Notts), Richard Willoughby specifically asked that wheel shells be included on his memorial, which they duly were.<sup>151</sup> Finally, the intricate carving of many livery collars on tomb effigies would have required time and therefore money, suggesting that they would not have simply been added by the workshop without consultation.

## Conclusions

This chapter has sought to emphasize the significance of the livery collar for various levels of late medieval society. The numbers of extant collars on church monuments, very nearly 400, is likely to be the tip of the iceberg, particularly if one considers those individuals who were awarded such an item, but chose not to depict it on their memorial. The 150 years from 1400 was the epoch in which the livery collar was most prevalent. After the middle of the sixteenth century it slowly disappears from church monuments, probably as the collar was increasingly awarded only to members of the judiciary.

The livery collar served a variety of functions, some of which have been introduced here and will be revisited throughout the subsequent chapters, alongside its additional functions. The item was an expensive piece of jewellery, with costs varying according to the rank of the recipient. The composition of the collar, whether it was a solid piece of either gold or silver, or a leather strap with metal additions, reflected the status of the recipient. The collar also had immense symbolic significance. As a gift from the sovereign it was intrinsically connected to royal authority, and was given frequently as a reward, to serve a diplomatic purpose, or in the expectation of service and loyalty. As bequests to kin, associates, or saints, collars constituted a noteworthy contribution to late medieval commemorative practice. It supported the identity construction of individuals and groups, both donors and recipients.

Just as the collar had a variety of functions, it too had a variety of meanings, both secular and religious. As far as the Lancastrian 'S' is concerned, it may well have originally

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<sup>151</sup> University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Middleton Collection, Mi 5/168/34; Saul, 'Contract', 166-93.

had one salient meaning, but it is postulated here that the meanings of the device quickly proliferated, interpreted in various ways from group to group, and individual to individual. For this reason it is not implausible that it was chosen deliberately by Henry Bolingbroke for inclusion on his collar: it could mean all things to all men. Although we should be careful of over-interpreting symbols whose meanings may have been well known, but now elude us,<sup>152</sup> it is clear that the dual religious and secular symbolism of the sun and the rose was one of the explanations why the devices were chosen as the components of Yorkist livery collar, perhaps in an effort to match the multiplicity of meanings inherent in the Lancastrian 'S'.

This brings us to another important facet of the collar's role, its political significance. During the fifteenth century, and particularly during the Wars of the Roses, there were uniquely two collars: one for Lancaster and one for York. The following chapter will examine the livery collar in its political contexts.

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<sup>152</sup> C. Grössinger, 'Questioning Signs and Symbols: Their Meaning and Interpretation', in Cherry and Payne (eds.), *Signs and Symbols*, pp. 180-91.



## Chapter 2

# The Political Context

The term 'political culture' has been *en vogue* since it was coined by political scientists in the mid-1950s. Despite the seemingly ever-present problems over definition, it is perhaps safe to propose that the term envelopes the activities, beliefs and actions of the political community, and their relation to the structures of power.<sup>1</sup> This chapter seeks to explore a key aspect of fifteenth-century political culture, namely the attitudes of the political community (particularly the landed classes) towards the authority and sovereignty of the king. In the 'profoundly visual culture' of late-medieval England,<sup>2</sup> the particularly ubiquitous problem of the use and abuse of livery will provide a major focus. Although the collar was the most prestigious form of livery, it is necessary to examine it within the greater context of complaints surrounding livery and the associated abuse of maintenance, in the form of robes and badges, which provided the focus of attention for a succession of ordinances and statutes from the middle of the fourteenth century, laws which permitted the crown to increase its monopoly over the livery system as the fifteenth century progressed. The result was hundreds of Lancastrian and Yorkist royal livery collars displayed on church monuments and in stained glass across the realm, and a striking visual display of crown presence in the localities.

It was Quentin Skinner and the 'Cambridge School' of intellectual historians who emphasised the importance of understanding political history through the ideas and principles of contemporaries. A series of 'accepted principles' provided a boundary for

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the evolution of the term and its relevance for historians, see C. Carpenter, 'Introduction: Political Culture, Politics and Cultural History', in Clark and Carpenter (eds.), *Political Culture*, pp. 1-19; G. Gendzel, 'Political Culture: Genealogy of a Concept', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 28 (1997), 225-50.

<sup>2</sup> Keen, 'Introduction', p. 2.

political actions and discourse, and a forum in which political ideas were formulated.<sup>3</sup> One particular accepted principle addressed in this chapter is loyalty to the king, and acceptance of his authority and sovereign power. Things were not, of course, as straightforward as this, and if there was a shared political language, and a set of shared assumptions, it will be demonstrated that their meanings and articulation differed in various political spheres.<sup>4</sup>

### Segges in collars

If one of the purposes of the livery collar was to provide a striking visible sign with which to attract the attention, then it was successful. Collars and other insignia such as badges were subject to scrutiny from contemporaries from the late fourteenth century. Writers and magnates alike would draw attention to the use, or indeed misuse, of livery. The wearing of 'Signe, Lyverey or Token', as such ensigns were increasingly referred to,<sup>5</sup> would also come under criticism from the parliamentary Commons. Paradoxically, they themselves were often the wearers of the very signs they were attacking. Within the wider context of a variety of forms of livery and badges, the issue of what the collar represented, and its connection to the bastard feudal malpractice of livery and maintenance, were key issues for debate. The collar was nothing if not controversial.

On the afternoon of 20 February, 1377, Sir Thomas Swinton, a Scotsman and household knight of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster,<sup>6</sup> was riding through the streets of London flaunting the duke's collar ('collum signum ducis'), evidently to the dismay of the populace.<sup>7</sup> This was presumably the collar of SS, given by Gaunt to members of his affinity

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<sup>3</sup> See Q.R.D. Skinner, 'The Principles and Practice of Opposition: the Case of Bolingbroke vs. Walpole', in N. McKendrick (ed.), *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb* (London, 1974), pp. 93-128; Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), i, pp. ix-xv.

<sup>4</sup> G.L. Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy, Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud and New York, 1995), pp. 1-20.

<sup>5</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of June 1467 to June 1468, mem. 39.

<sup>6</sup> One of Gaunt's chamber knights was Sir John Swinton, also a Scotsman. The chronicler was probably referring to this individual: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 12, 282.

<sup>7</sup> E.M. Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae ab anno domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388* (London, 1874), pp. 121-6, at p. 125. Thomas Walsingham is regarded as the principal authority for the period, despite his partiality towards the Ricardian and Lancastrian regimes, and his prejudice against the 'masses': J.G. Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St. Albans', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 832-60, at

from the early 1370s, and perhaps the earliest form of livery collar.<sup>8</sup> Swinton's actions were not prudent, to say the least. He was abruptly thrown down from his horse and his collar violently torn from his neck by the enraged citizens. If it was not for the swift intercession of the mayor, he may well have been killed. When hearing news of this event, other retainers of Gaunt swiftly took the decision to hide their own collars from view. These individuals, who had hitherto proudly displayed their collars, which had apparently bestowed on them the riches of heaven and earth, were now forced to conceal them to avoid being lynched.<sup>9</sup> It seems that Swinton was unlucky. Evidently it did not appear to matter who he was as an individual (although being a Scot may not have helped his cause), for he was attacked for wearing an ensign that represented the duke, or at least his affinity to the duke.

The events of that day must be placed in the wider context of February 1377, when the atmosphere in London was tense and hatred for Gaunt had reached new heights.<sup>10</sup> The previous day, Gaunt had introduced a bill in parliament that proposed to shift the reins of authority in London from the mayor to a captain appointed by the royal court. It also authorised the marshal of England, Gaunt's associate Henry Percy, to make arrests in London as he did in the rest of the country. The Londoners, seeing their liberties threatened, were livid, and set out to find Gaunt and his followers. The same day John Wyclif, Gaunt's clerk, appeared before convocation in the Lady Chapel at St Paul's to answer charges of heresy. Gaunt, Percy and a host of their supporters were on hand. The meeting quickly turned into a slanging match between Gaunt and Percy, and the bishop of London, William

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833; N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1999), p. 437; A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford and New York, 1999), pp. 25-7; Strohm, *England's Empty Throne*, pp. 81-3.

<sup>8</sup> Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 246; Fletcher, pp. 191-2. Sir John Swynford (d. 1370) in St Andrew's Church, Spratton (Northamptonshire) wears the earliest example of an SS collar. He was probably a kinsman of the Lincolnshire Swynfords, retainers of Gaunt in his capacity as earl of Richmond. Katherine Swynford, Gaunt's third wife, was a member of the Lincolnshire branch. Another early representation of this collar can be found on the brass of Sir Thomas Burton of Toilethorpe (d. 1381) in All Saints Church, Little Casterton (Rutland). His father, William, held the manor of Woodhall in Essex of Gaunt, and it is probable that it was Sir Thomas who was created governor of Gaunt's son Henry in 1374: A. Hartshorne, *The Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire* (London, 1876), pp. 33-4; S. Armitage-Smith (ed.), *John of Gaunt's Register 1372-76*, Camden Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 20-1 (London, 1911), ii, pp. 225, 281.

<sup>9</sup> Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> For what follows, see J. Dahmus, *William Courtenay Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396* (London, 1966), pp. 31-43.

Courtenay.<sup>11</sup> Amid rioting, Gaunt and Percy managed to escape up the Thames to Kennington. Courtenay arrived at Gaunt's palace of the Savoy just in time to save it from being destroyed by the populace, who were apparently intent on killing the duke, 'had thei not be lettid be her bischop'.<sup>12</sup> In the absence of the duke, they proceeded to attack any symbol representing him in the city. Wherever they found his arms they were reversed, implying that he was a traitor.<sup>13</sup> The duke's collar was apparently just as potent and tangible a representation of Gaunt as his coat of arms, and evidently the Londoners were more than aware that it was the badge of the duke.<sup>14</sup> The recipient of an SS collar, normally expecting to reap political as well as psychological benefits,<sup>15</sup> and gaining what was virtually an element of ennoblement by wearing it, was for a short period wearing what was a liability. Anyone wearing the collar was potentially in danger that day. It appears that the power derived from wearing the device was not enough to overbear the Londoners, at least for a short period. The chroniclers were not the only individuals who commented on the appearance of the collar in London. William Langland was also to address the situation.

The 'Rat Parliament' passage in the prologue to Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman* elucidates the scene in London in the mid-1370s. A rat describes the situation:

'I haue ysein segges,' quod he 'in the cite of London  
 Beren bizes [necklaces] ful brizte abouten here neckes,  
 And some colers of crafty werk; vncoupled thei wended  
 Bothe in wareine and in waste where hem leue lyketh;  
 And otherwhile thei aren ells-where as I here telle'.<sup>16</sup>

In the C-text the author revises the wording:

'Ich haue yseie grete syres in cytees and in tounes

<sup>11</sup> Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae*, pp. 119-21.

<sup>12</sup> F.C. Hingeston (ed.), *The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, Rolls Series (London, 1858), p. 232.

<sup>13</sup> V.H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimale Chronicle 1333 to 1381*, Rolls Series (Manchester, 1927), pp. 102-3; Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 125.

<sup>14</sup> Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, p. 246.

<sup>15</sup> J.M.W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron* (Manchester, 1989), p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> The text used here is W.W. Skeat (ed.), *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman in three parallel texts*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1886), ii, pp. 14-15; B.Prol. 158-64.

Bere byzes of bryzt gold al aboute hure neckes,

And colers of crafty werke bothe knyzttes and squiers'.<sup>17</sup>

The change in the text reflects the changes in context and circumstance in which the collars were being worn. It is traditionally thought that the B-text was written during the period between the Good Parliament of 1376 and the Bad Parliament of the following year, although it could have been written after both, with the purpose of highlighting the author's exacerbation at the Commons' failure to carry through the good work of 1376 in the following year.<sup>18</sup> In this version, the problem appears to be concentrated in and around the capital, where the men, alluded to as dogs, are uncoupled and allowed to roam wherever they wish, outside the confines of the royal household.<sup>19</sup> It is probable that here Langland is making reference to the pervasive presence of Gaunt and his retainers, including Swinton, in London during the period between the Good Parliament and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Gaunt's affinity cannot, it appears, be kept on a leash and under control; they are left to lord over and terrorise the populace under the ownership, or protection of their master. It is plausible that the 'segges' may also have included the retainers of Gaunt's son, Henry, earl of Derby. The earl had adopted the collar of SS by the early 1390s, when his wardrobe accounts reveal that he paid £23 10s. 10d. 'for a gold collar of SS ... with seventeen letters of S of gold in the fashion of feathers, with scrolls and words in the same and a swan on the tirt of the same'.<sup>20</sup> The earl is known to have used collars of other devices,<sup>21</sup> perhaps featuring

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<sup>17</sup> C.Prol. 176-79. It is worthwhile noting that the individuals are described wearing not only fine collars, which were evidently pleasing to the eye, but also necklaces. Presumably these too are livery. If this is the case, we have an indication that the thinner, more delicate livery necklaces (also referred to as 'collars'), as depicted in Petrus Christus' 1446 portrait of Sir Edward Grimston, may have been used in the late fourteenth century, earlier than once thought.

<sup>18</sup> J.A.W. Bennett, 'The Date of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman*', *Medium Ævum*, 12 (1943), 55-64; A. Gross, 'Langland's Rats: A Moralists' Vision of Parliament', *Parliamentary History*, 9 (1990), 286-301, at 290; G. Dodd, 'A parliament full of rats? *Piers Plowman* and the Good Parliament of 1376', *Historical Research*, 79 (2006), 21-49.

<sup>19</sup> See K.E. Kennedy, 'Retaining Men (and a Retaining Woman) in *Piers Plowman*', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 20 (2006), 191-214, at 208-14.

<sup>20</sup> Purey-Cust, *The Collar of SS*, p. 17; Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iv, p. 161.

<sup>21</sup> 'ad modum de snagge': TNA, DL 28/1/2 fol. 14v; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 94.

Lancastrian badges such as the swan and the fox's brush,<sup>22</sup> in the previous decade. In this context, however, the collar referred to may be that of a link of white greyhounds, another of the earl's devices. The earl's use of a collar of greyhounds was commented on by Adam of Usk who, when referring to the earl's usurpation of Richard II in 1399, stated that Henry became known as 'the dog, because of his livery of linked collars of greyhounds ... and because he drove utterly from the kingdom countless numbers of harts'. The white hart was the badge adopted by Richard.<sup>23</sup>

The more generalised handling of the passage in the C-text, written later in the 1380s, refers directly to the changes in retaining policy adopted by Gaunt and Richard II, changes which, as we shall see, were to cause anxiety in the Commons. Those in positions of authority were now not only retaining knights, but also those from lower down the social spectrum, the esquires. It appears the problem was no longer confined to London, as they were now to be seen wearing their collars (now made of bright gold) in towns and cities across the kingdom. By calling them 'grete syres' the author may be sarcastically referring to the perceived empowering effect that wearing such a device could lend to the wearer; another cause of anxiety. The Commons became increasingly concerned with eradicating the evils of maintenance, in particular the problem of retainers harassing and extorting their communities under the auspices of their lord's authority.<sup>24</sup> To some of those present at the Rat Parliament, the only answer to the worsening problems was to attempt to collar the cat.

The fable of the rats and mice trying to bell the bullying cat had earlier precedents and would have been well known to contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> The specific link to livery collars has not hitherto been acknowledged by historians, although literary scholars have been more

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<sup>22</sup> See J.R. Planché, 'On the Badges of the House of Lancaster', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 6 (1851), 374-93.

<sup>23</sup> C. Given-Wilson (ed. and trans.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421* (Oxford, 1997), p. 53; H. Stanford London, 'The Greyhound as Royal Beast', *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959), 139-63, at 155.

<sup>24</sup> For concerns over the detrimental effect of maintenance on litigation during Richard's reign, see *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Richard II c.3, 1 Richard II c.7, 8 Richard II c.2.

<sup>25</sup> Gross, 'Langland's Rats', 286; M.A. Devlin (ed.), *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)*, Camden Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 85-6, (London, 1954), p. 317.

explicit in making the connection.<sup>26</sup> Traditionally the cat has been interpreted as Gaunt.<sup>27</sup> More recently it has been suggested that the meaning of the Rat Parliament passage evolves from the B to the C recensions, reflecting changes in contemporaries' attitudes towards maintenance. The identification of the cat may also be attributed to several individuals throughout the recensions: Gaunt, Henry Bolingbroke, and Richard II.<sup>28</sup> The rodents (the Commons gentry) complain of the domineering presence of a 'cat of a courte', who 'lauzte hem at his wille, And pleyde with hem perilouslych and possed hem aboute'.<sup>29</sup> A rat proposes that they appease the cat by offering him livery, an intriguing reversal of the accepted practice of the lord giving his household retainers his livery, and perhaps also an allusion to the frowned-upon practice of lesser gentry retaining their own men.<sup>30</sup> Several suggestions are then proposed to control the cat. The rodents could attempt to attach a bell 'of brizt syluer' to the cat's collar, a reference to the pendants worn on livery collars, but this is considered too dangerous. A mouse then suggests feeding the cat venison in order to distract his attention away from them. Any attempt to kill the cat would be fruitless, as there are many more to take his place: 'Thou3 we culled the cat, 3ut sholde ther come another'.<sup>31</sup> By the C recension, changing attitudes are reflected in the rodents' acceptance of their role as retainers, despite their continued hostility towards maintenance. The mouse suggests that the best policy is to 'soffren and siggen nouht and so is the beste'.<sup>32</sup> If the cat in the C-text does represent Richard, then the suggestion is that the Commons had at least begrudgingly accepted his authority, and their position. Without the bell to control him, he was free to act as he wished, and to develop his own affinity. Indeed, this is what he attempted to do, but the Commons were not finished yet. A flurry of petitions and legislation attempting to control livery and maintenance began to appear during his reign.

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<sup>26</sup> For example Kennedy, 'Retaining Men', 208-14.

<sup>27</sup> Bennett, 'The Date of the B-Text', 55-64.

<sup>28</sup> Kennedy, 'Retaining Men', 208-9.

<sup>29</sup> B.Prol. 149-50.

<sup>30</sup> Kennedy, 'Retaining Men', 209.

<sup>31</sup> B.Prol. 185.

<sup>32</sup> C.Passus I.210.

## Legislation

Richard's reign witnessed a proliferation of parliamentary condemnation of the wearing of badges and its perceived link to the evils of livery and maintenance. Concomitantly badges, or 'signes' as they were usually referred to, began to attract the interest of writers of political verse. From at least the late fourteenth century some badges were worn around the neck and were referred to as collars. Indeed, collars became a more prestigious hybrid of the badge. As regards the legislation, unless collars were referred to explicitly, which was infrequent, they came under the badges category.

In 1377 a statute outlawed the distribution of livery of hats, and in an angry rebuke to parliament in 1384 John of Gaunt defended the lords' ability to control their own retinues, in the face of fresh criticism of the uncontrollable behaviour of liveried retainers.<sup>33</sup> The matter resurfaced in 1390 when the king issued an ordinance permitting the distribution of livery of cloth to secular peers, their knights and esquires retained for life, and their household servants only.<sup>34</sup> The legislation was not effective. Petitions continued throughout the reign complaining of lords distributing 'livery of signes' to their retinues, particularly those below the rank of esquire, 'in order to have power to perform their false treasons'.<sup>35</sup> The retainers, seemingly emboldened by their lords' badges, and inflated with 'insolent arrogance', were left to oppress their localities under their lords' protection.<sup>36</sup> In his revised version of *Confessio Amantis*, John Gower lamented Richard's half-hearted attempts to control the problems. The knightly retinues were serving only their self-interests:

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<sup>33</sup> PROME, Richard II, Parliament of February to June 1388, mem. 4; L.C. Hector and B.F. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 81-2.

<sup>34</sup> See A.R. Myers (ed.), *English Historical Documents: 1327-1485* (1969), no. 655; R.L. Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace 1388-90', in F.R.H. Du Boulay and C.M. Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II: essays in honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), pp. 143-7; N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History*, 9 (1990), 302-3.

<sup>35</sup> PROME, Richard II, Parliament of January to February 1393, mem. 1; Parliament of January to March 1394, mem. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Hector and Harvey (eds.), *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 354.



The lond is ful of maintenue,  
 Which causith that the commune right  
 In fewe contress stant upright.<sup>37</sup>

The Commons petitioners probably had their own interests at heart. Perhaps their principal concern was a perceived challenge to their established pre-eminence in their own 'countries'. Condemnation of those below the rank of esquire suggests that their anxieties focused on those 'second kings' in the shires, individuals such as William Chorlegh, Lancastrian steward for Penwortham (Lancashire), accused of a series of oppressions and extortions, who donned their lord's livery and acted above the law. They were tempted to act above their station, and this was not going to be permitted by those above them in the pecking order.<sup>38</sup> The problems over the distribution of livery robes continued throughout the century. In 1481 Robert Hawtmount of Watlington (Oxfordshire), a tenant of Edward, Prince of Wales, complained to the prince's council that a John Abrey was committing robberies, acts of felony, and other 'great extortions' in the shire whilst wearing the prince's white and green livery robes.<sup>39</sup>

Amidst the tensions earlier in the century, the king had plans for creating an affinity of his own. From 1390 Richard began a recruitment drive, with over 80 knights being retained, most of them for life.<sup>40</sup> Prior to introducing his infamous white hart badge, Richard had unsuccessfully attempted to adopt other insignia. In 1387 he sent one of his sergeants-at-arms into East Anglia to distribute badges of silver and gilt crowns to the local gentry, in return for their armed support when required. This was not a success, and the individual was arrested.<sup>41</sup> It was at the Smithfield tournament in October 1390 that Richard introduced the

<sup>37</sup> Macaulay (ed.), *John Gower*, ii, pp. 469-71.

<sup>38</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 260; S. Walker, 'Lordship and Lawlessness in the Palatinate of Lancaster, 1370-1400', *The Journal for British Studies*, 28 (1989), 336-9; *CPR, 1370-74*, p. 107; Saul, 'Abolition of Badges', 313.

<sup>39</sup> TNA, SC 8/344/E1306.

<sup>40</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity. Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986), p. 214.

<sup>41</sup> Hector and Harvey (eds.), *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 187, 355-9.

white hart badge.<sup>42</sup> His propensity for using visual imagery to promote his regal and sacerdotal qualities can be seen on his tomb at Westminster, in Westminster Hall, and on the Wilton Diptych, where the attendant angels and the king himself wear his badge. The king is also depicted with a collar of broom cods around his neck, emphasising his Plantagenet ancestry.<sup>43</sup> What was at first a reasonably successful attempt to create a personal, loyal affinity – something successfully implemented by later monarchs – soon backfired. After 1397 the king began recruiting lesser gentry, focusing his attentions on Cheshire, where he created a personal bodyguard of 311 archers devoted to his safety day and night, in addition to a wider affinity of between 700 and 2,000 men.<sup>44</sup> The Cheshire affinity was despised, and was a political miscalculation, not least because the band of men had been recruited in such a concentrated geographical area that it could hardly be seen to be in the realm's interests. The badge of the white hart came to represent not the power and majesty of the king – its intended original purpose – but the inflated attitudes of the king and of those who wore it. By limiting the recipients of his badge to a select band of followers, Richard had alienated the hearts of his subjects. The author of *Richard the Redeless* sums this up:

For on that ye merkyd ye myssed ten schore

Of homeliche hertis that the harme hente.<sup>45</sup>

He then proceeds to criticise the king's retinue, and exposes the signs as empty and meaningless, now that what they represented - the king - no longer demanded respect:

Thane was it foly in feith, as me thynketh,

To sette siluer in signes that of nought serued.

But moche now me merueilith and well may I in soothe,

Of youre large leuery to leodis aboute,

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<sup>42</sup> G.B. Stow (ed.), *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Pennsylvania, 1977), pp. 131-2.

<sup>43</sup> See D. Gordon, *The Wilton Diptych* (London, 1993). For an exploration of Richard's use of visual media see Goodman and Gillespie, *Art of Kingship*.

<sup>44</sup> 'Dycun, slep sicury quile we wake', a comment on the Cheshire bodyguard from the Kenilworth chronicle: R.R. Davies, 'Richard II and the Principality of Chester 1397-9', in Du Boulay and Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II*, p. 273; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 222-3. See TNA, E 101/402/10 for a list of individuals receiving an annuity from Cheshire.

<sup>45</sup> H. Barr (ed.), *The Piers Plowman Tradition* (London, 1993), pp. 101-33; Passus Two, ll. 42-3; H. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 13-16.

That ye goodliche gaf but if gile letted,  
 As hertis y-heedyd and hornyd of kynde  
 No lede of youre lond but as a liege aughte.<sup>46</sup>

Richard had failed to 'control' the badge, as befitting his royal dignity. Adam of Usk proposed that it was ultimately the formation of the Cheshire retinue that caused the king's downfall, and he was possibly correct.<sup>47</sup> It is left to Gower, with further allusions to badges, to illustrate Richard's demise. Referring to the Ovidian story of Acteon beholding the naked Diana, he describes how the protagonist is turned into 'the likenese ... of an Hert', which is put to the chase and torn apart by 'his oghne houndes'.<sup>48</sup>

During the first years of the reign of Henry IV further attempts at restricting the distribution of badges were undertaken. In October 1399 a statute prohibited lords from giving out livery badges, with the king being excepted.<sup>49</sup> He was permitted to give his livery to all lords, and to knights and esquires who were in his household or who were his life retainers. They were only to wear the livery in the king's presence. Presumably the items of jewellery taken from Eleanor Welle and delivered to the king in 1406, including a collar of gold 'of the livery of the duke of Norfolk', and another collar of the livery of 'Bromcoddess', were technically now forbidden from being distributed to followers.<sup>50</sup> The king may have had political as well as monetary gain in mind when receiving them, particularly as his predecessor had favoured the broom cod collar. A small number of other 'private' collars appearing on brasses from the late fourteenth century would also have been deemed illegal

<sup>46</sup> Passus Two, ll. 44-50. For a development of these ideas see T. Ostrom, "'And he honoured that hit hade euermore after": The Influence of Richard II's Livery System on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', University of Florida, unpublished MA dissertation (2003), pp. 45-8.

<sup>47</sup> Given-Wilson (ed. and trans.), *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp. 48-9, sentiments reflected by Walsingham in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*: C. Given-Wilson (ed. and trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 73-4.

<sup>48</sup> It will be recalled that Henry Bolingbroke was referred to as the hound in the 1390s in a reference to one of his badges. From Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, quoted in A.W. Astell, *Political Allegory in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca and London, 1999), p. 92.

<sup>49</sup> PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of October to November 1399, mem. 14. Thomas, Lord Despenser, and the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon and Somerset, known supporters of Richard II, were ordered to 'gyf no Liverees of Sygnes' to anyone again. The legislation may have been prompted by their activities: PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of October to November 1399, mem. 2; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 240.

<sup>50</sup> CPR, 1405-8, p. 277.

to distribute.<sup>51</sup> The 1399 statute also forbade Henry from using his livery of the crescent and star, worn by his yeomen and valets, no doubt as it was reminiscent of his predecessor's use of a 'lesser' livery for his Cheshire contingent. In 1401 the Commons attempted once more to outlaw all livery badges, with the significant exception being that of the king, called 'le Coler'. This is the first explicit reference to the livery collar in legislation, and suggests that it was now seen as a separate entity from other forms of badges. The royal livery was becoming a more prestigious item, worthy of different treatment. Henry was also granted more concessions: his knights and esquires could wear his livery when travelling to and from his household, those of a superior rank were allowed to wear his livery throughout the realm, and his son Prince Henry was permitted to use a swan pendant on his SS collars.<sup>52</sup> Efforts were made to enforce the legislation: Raulyn Govely, an esquire of the earl of Huntingdon was brought to task for refusing to remove his lord's livery collar shortly before Huntingdon's death in January 1400.<sup>53</sup> Civic officials were also encouraged to outlaw the giving of livery, which was seen as particularly divisive in close-knit urban communities, although many officials continued to receive annuities from their local lords.<sup>54</sup> It appears that, in general, the statutes were reasonably successful in achieving their goals, although not everyone was willing to adhere. Janico Dartasso, one of Richard II's retainers, refused to remove his master's badge when ordered to by Henry, evidence of the strong loyalty evinced by the

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<sup>51</sup> These include a collar of ragged staffs with a dog pendant set within a crown on a now lost brass (c. 1390) once in St Mary's and St Andrew's, Mildenhall (Suffolk). This may have been an example of the collar of John, duke of Brittany. The brass of Thomas Markenfield at Ripon Cathedral, dating from the late fourteenth century, wears a collar of park palings with a front enclosure housing a hart. The emparked stag was a badge of Henry Bolingbroke, and the white hart was Richard II's primary cognizance. Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland and his sons wear similar collars in a manuscript illumination in a Book of Hours (c. 1427) now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. His wife Joan and his daughters wear SS collars in an accompanying miniature: P. Sheppard and R. Knowles, 'The Markenfield Collar', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1990), 133-40. The brass of Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1417) at St Mary's, Wotton-under-Edge (Gloucestershire) appears to include a collar of seated mermaids, the Berkeley family badge. However, it is likely that this was not intended to depict a collar and is merely a decorative feature added to the canopied tomb. It should be stressed that it would not have been illegal to wear one's own family collars; the statute banned the distribution of them. That said, private collars such as these all but disappear from church monuments after the early fifteenth century.

<sup>52</sup> PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of October to November 1399, mem. 14; Henry IV, Parliament of January to March 1401, mems. 1-2; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 240-1; Bean, *Lord to Patron*, pp. 205-8.

<sup>53</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, vii (1399-1422), no. 88.

<sup>54</sup> R. Horrox, 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century', in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 145-66.

wearing of a lord's livery, even if this lord was apparently dead.<sup>55</sup> In 1461 the Yorkist government confirmed a statute of 1429 permitting lords to give livery, on the king's bequest, 'to raise people for the king's aid'.<sup>56</sup> The 1468 statute, perhaps prompted by unrest in Derbyshire provoked by the murder of Roger Vernon,<sup>57</sup> targeted life retaining by peers, and was the first act to distinguish between 'Signe, Lyverey or Token'.<sup>58</sup> In a further example of royal concessions, a statute of 1475 allowed Prince Edward to retain and give out his livery and sign 'at his pleasure'.<sup>59</sup>

This succession of acts can be interpreted as an attempt by the king to secure for the royal livery badge - the collar - a distinction from other livery badges. In this regard the attempts were successful, demonstrated by the exemption of the king's 'Coler' from the 1401 legislation. If the Commons had wanted to curtail the use of the king's livery, as was probably the case, they did not achieve their goal. The events of 1468 in particular have been interpreted as an attempt by Edward IV to bolster the king's authority, and it is argued here that this was the motive behind all the statutes.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the wording of the 1468 statute makes it clear that it was in fact a personal statement of the king's intent rather than a Commons petition.<sup>61</sup> Although the sporadic reappearance of statutes in the fifteenth century suggests that problems of illegal distribution of livery continued to some extent, it is telling that the livery collar is not mentioned, the reason being that they were permitted and were under the control of the king. By 1401 the Lancastrian livery collar of SS had been transformed into the *royal* livery collar. Subsequent acts served to maintain the distinction

<sup>55</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup> PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of September to November 1402, mems. 18-19.

<sup>57</sup> J.G. Bellamy, 'Justice under the Yorkist kings', *American Journal of Legal History*, 9 (1965), 151-4.

<sup>58</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of June 1467 to June 1468, mem. 39; M. Hicks, 'The 1468 Statute of Livery', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), 15-28.

<sup>59</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of October 1472 to March 1475, mem. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Bean, *Lord to Patron*, pp. 216, 225.

<sup>61</sup> 'The Kyng, remembryng that heretofore dyvers Estatutes for punition of such persones that gyven or resceyven Lyverees, with dyvers peynes and forfaitours in theym comprised, have be made, and that yet dyvers persones in grete nombre, not dredyng thoo peynes nor forfaitours, daily offenden ayenst the fourme of the same, hath, by th'advys and assent of the Lordis Spirituell and Temporell, and of the Comons of this his Reame, in this Parlement beyng, and by auctorite of the same, ordeyned and stablISHED; that all Statutes and Ordenaunces, before this tyme made ayenst eny persones for gvyng or resceyvng of Liverees or Signes, be plainly observed and kepte': PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of June 1467 to June 1468, mem. 39.

and authority of the royal livery. The process was augmented by Henry VII with a further statute of 1504, and licences issued by signet letter to those requesting retinues.<sup>62</sup> As in 1468, some 'illegal' retaining could be permitted.<sup>63</sup> Given the king's approval, retinues had in fact become 'a weapon of royal authority'.<sup>64</sup>

'Might I but know thee by thy household badge'. Thus Lord Clifford addresses the earl of Warwick in Act V, Scene 1 of *Henry VI, Part II*. The earliest badge to be recorded was the swan, used by the de Bohuns at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and adopted by the Lancastrians after the marriage of Henry Bolingbroke to Mary de Bohun in 1380. It was distributed to ladies in the court of Henry IV, and is depicted on the brasses of Joan Peryent (d. 1415) at Digswell church, Hertfordshire, and Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester in Westminster Abbey.<sup>65</sup> A lingering Lancastrian attachment to the badge can be seen through Margaret of Anjou's distribution of it on behalf of her son Prince Edward to retainers in Cheshire in the late 1450s.<sup>66</sup> It is likely that the widespread use of badges had been developing from the beginning of the reign of Edward III.<sup>67</sup> By the turn of the fourteenth century badges and their more prestigious hybrid the collar were linked inextricably with the retinue, being the visible expression of one's connection to a lord, and, as we have seen, of a lord's worship.<sup>68</sup> Subject to increasing regulation as we have seen, they were usually given

<sup>62</sup> Henry was particularly keen to punish George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, who received a £5,000 fine for illegal retaining during the 1490s: A. Cameron, 'The Giving of Livery and Retaining in Henry VII's reign', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 18 (1974), 17-35.

<sup>63</sup> Licences were granted throughout the century. On 23 July 1454 the duke of York was granted permission to give the king's livery to 80 gentlemen. As this was during a period of the king's insanity, it appears that York, as protector, was taking advantage of his position to retain his own men in the king's name: Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Council*, vi, p. 209; Dunham, pp. 80-2.

<sup>64</sup> Bean, *Lord to Patron*, p. 217.

<sup>65</sup> Both are similar in shape and design to the Dunstable swan jewel in the British Museum: J.A. Goodall, 'Heraldry Depicted on Brasses', in Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses*, p. 51; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 173. For examples of a variety of badges including the swan, see Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, pp. 278-332.

<sup>66</sup> J.S. Davies, *An English Chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, Camden Society, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 64 (1856), pp. 79-80.

<sup>67</sup> Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford (d. 1322) left his son a bed decorated with white swans: T.H. Turner, 'The Will of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, with Extracts from the Inventory of His Effects, 1319-22', *Archaeological Journal*, 2 (1845); A.R. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959), 127-38; Hector and Harvey (eds.), *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 357.

<sup>68</sup> Bean, *Lord to Patron*, p. 21; D. Starkey, 'The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts, c. 1350-c. 1550', in S. Medcalf (ed.), *The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 264-8.

only to household members, legal advisers, and those retained in their lord's service. In 1469 John Paston noted that he and two associates were given 'no gownys at thys seson, wherfor I awaytyd not on hym'.<sup>69</sup> They were 'a spectacular but hopeful means of collecting members of an affinity',<sup>70</sup> and could be distributed wholesale when widespread support was required. In 1403 it was reported that the Percies were giving out their badge of the crescent moon to their supporters. The following year the earl of Northumberland was forced to defend himself over charges of breaking several laws, in particular the 'gevyng of liverrees'.<sup>71</sup> Early in 1454 the duke of Buckingham apparently intended to produce 2,000 badges, possibly in the form of a collar, of his cognizance of 'bendes with knottes',<sup>72</sup> and in 1483 Richard III ordered 13,000 cloth boar badges for the investiture of his son as the Prince of Wales, an incident that no doubt prompted the antiquary John Rous to comment that, during that turbulent summer, he had not witnessed so many men wearing the same badge since the days of the Kingmaker.<sup>73</sup> There are many examples in contemporary literature of allusions to individuals through their personal cognizances and heraldic devices. A poem dating from c. 1449, lamenting the English disasters in France, refers to several magnates through their devices:

The Rote is ded, the Swanne is goone,  
 The firy Cressett hath lost his lyght;  
 ...  
 The castelle is wonne where care begowne,  
 The Portecolys is leyde adowne;  
 ...

<sup>69</sup> N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (1971-6), i, p. 545. This measure was probably a result of the livery legislation of the same year, which targeted the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk in particular: Hicks, '1468 Statute', pp. 23-4.

<sup>70</sup> Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism', 175.

<sup>71</sup> F.C. Hingeston (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth*, 2 vols. (1860), i, p. 206; PROME, Henry IV, Parliament of January to March 1404, mem. 16.

<sup>72</sup> i.e. the Stafford knot: *PL*, ii, p. 297.

<sup>73</sup> The white boar being Gloucester's personal cognizance. G.L. Harriss, 'The King and his Subjects', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes, Perceptions of Society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 21; *Harleian 433*, ii, p. 42; T. Hearne (ed.), *Historia Regum Angliae* (Oxford, 1745), p. 216.

The White Lion is leyde to slepe,  
 Thorou3 the envy of the Ape clogge;  
 And he is bownden that oure dore shuld kepe,  
 That is Talbott oure goode dogge.<sup>74</sup>

A lord's badge was particularly useful on the battlefield, but on occasion it could be more of a hindrance than an aid. Amongst the mist at the battle of Barnet (1471), the earl of Warwick's troops mistook the earl of Oxford's badge of a silver star for the Yorkist sunburst, and proceeded to attack their allies, turning the course of the battle.<sup>75</sup> In the not uncommon event of an individual belonging to the affinities of several lords, one would suppose that this would create a degree of confusion, but this was not so. On the battlefield, a soldier could effectively only be part of one retinue. Off the battlefield, it appears that an order of precedence was adopted. During the duke of Gloucester's usurpation in 1483, a contingent from York decided to wear their city badge until they reached Pontefract, and from there they added Gloucester's boar badge.<sup>76</sup>

During a period of fluid allegiances, it was of course possible that one's lord, and therefore badge, could change. This was the case with those serving in the Calais garrison in 1470, shortly after Henry VI had been restored to the throne with the support of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, once Edward IV's closest ally. The diplomat Philippe de Commines noted that John, Lord Wenlock, hitherto a staunch Yorkist, had swiftly replaced his white rose badge with a gold hat badge of the Neville's ragged staff. The rank and file were wearing similar cloth badges.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly, they were not wearing a Lancastrian device; perhaps that was considered a step too far. After the duke of Clarence's reconciliation with

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<sup>74</sup> Wright (ed.), *Political Poems*, ii, pp. 221-5. The 'Rote' is John, duke of Bedford (d. 1435), the 'Swanne' is Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (d. 1446), who took the Lancastrian badge of the swan as his cognizance. The 'Cressett' is John Holland, duke of Exeter (d. 1446), the 'Portecolys' is Edmund Beaufort, earl (later duke) of Somerset. The 'White Lion' refers to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (d. 1432), the 'Ape clogge' is the much maligned duke of Suffolk, killed in 1450 (he was also commonly referred to as Jack Napes due to his device). The 'goode dogge' is John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, whose device was a dog.

<sup>75</sup> J.O. Halliwell (ed.), *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, by John Warkworth, Camden Society, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 10 (London, 1839), p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> D.M. Palliser, 'Richard III and York', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North* (Hull, 1986), p. 72.

<sup>77</sup> B. de Mandrot (ed.), *Mémoires de Philippe de Commines*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1901-03), i, pp. 212-3.



his brother Edward IV in 1471, James Gresham reported to John Paston that the duke's men 'have the Gorget on their breests, and the Rose over it'.<sup>78</sup> The gorget was one of Clarence's badges,<sup>79</sup> with the white rose being Edward's principal badge. In the politically volatile atmosphere surrounding Edward's return to England in the spring of 1471, badges were being utilised to make an explicit visual statement of not only the newfound affection between the brothers, but also of the allegiance of those wearing them: they were Clarence's men, but the fact that Edward's badge was placed 'over' Clarence's, with the rose either obscuring the gorget or actually placed above it, an order of precedence was made so the soldiers knew who they were really fighting for. Of course, the white rose was a generic badge of the House of York, not just Edward, so those who wore it were fighting for both dynasty and king. It is of course unlikely that in normal circumstances individuals would have worn a mass of badges, in a similar manner to pilgrims, but the circumstances of late-fifteenth century England were not necessarily normal.

We have seen how, with the help of legislation, particular personal badges were transformed into royal badges, in the form of the SS collar and then the collar of suns and roses. With the accession of the Yorkist dynasty came a proliferation of royal servants, administrators and messengers, and an expansion of the royal household centred on the knights of the body. The crown badge was adopted for yeomen of the crown and serjeants-at-arms.<sup>80</sup> Badges were now being used as an 'official' governmental device, with the SS collar slowly evolving into an official crown symbol under the Tudors. An act of 1487 stipulated that royal tenants were to wear only the king's 'livery and sign'.<sup>81</sup> Those not lucky, or worthy, enough to receive a collar from the king were given his badge of the red rose. The bastard feudal device had been utilised by the crown as a device for propaganda.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *PL*, v, pp. 96-7.

<sup>79</sup> As depicted in the Rous Roll: BL, Additional MS 48976. See **Fig. 13**.

<sup>80</sup> Yeomen of the crown wore a silver gilt crown badge on their left shoulders, as can be seen on a brass commemorating an unknown knight from c. 1475, now at the Society of Antiquaries, London. See **Fig. 19**.

<sup>81</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, 3 Henry VII c. 15.

<sup>82</sup> Watts, 'Looking for the State', pp. 266-7; Starkey, 'Age of the Household', pp. 264-76.

## Bastard feudalism

It is now accepted that bastard feudalism was not the 'evil' that Plummer once thought.<sup>83</sup> It was integral to society, woven into its fabric, and was not in itself to blame for the lawlessness and civil war of the second half of the fifteenth century. Even though livery and maintenance was not deemed acceptable, most retaining was. It was actively sought-after by lords and prospective servants alike.<sup>84</sup> Although the suggestion that 'only the unimportant would be without a lord' is a little too strong,<sup>85</sup> it was natural for a society, in an age of deference, to look upwards for support, protection, patronage, and for the chance to improve one's prospects for social advancement.<sup>86</sup>

The first example of a contract for service (as opposed to the traditional tenurial relationship between lord and vassal) dates from at least the thirteenth century, a century which also witnessed the first problems over the giving of livery. In 1218 a robber from Yorkshire was accused by Lady Stenton of clothing his conspirators in livery, 'as if he had been a great lord'.<sup>87</sup> The problems over livery and maintenance had not abated by the fifteenth century. Livery, the 'visible expression of service',<sup>88</sup> was linked to the malpractice of maintenance. Many localised issues were brought to the attention of the courts, one example of many being Sir Edward Stanley, indicted for distributing the 'eaglesfoot' badge of his kinsman the earl of Derby throughout Lancashire in the 1490s.<sup>89</sup> As was so often the case during the second half of the century, some localised incidents would quickly take on a national significance. What is interesting is the fact that in several of the incidents, livery and maintenance played a key role. During his family's feud with the Nevilles in 1453, Lord

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<sup>83</sup> Fortescue, *Governance*, p. 16.

<sup>84</sup> C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 514; J.G. Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (1989), p. 7; Hicks, '1468 Statute', 15.

<sup>85</sup> Carpenter, 'Beauchamp', 515.

<sup>86</sup> P. Coss, 'An age of deference', in R. Horrox and W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *A Social History of England 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 31-73.

<sup>87</sup> S.D. Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade, 1270-2: Its Setting and Significance', in J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (eds.), *War and Governance in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 120-33; P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, 125 (1989), 32-4; D.M. Stenton, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire in 3 Henry III*, Selden Society, 56 (1937), p. xxxviii.

<sup>88</sup> Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>89</sup> TNA, KB 9/434, mems. 27, 28, 38; 435; mems. 9-11.

Egremont was accused of illegally giving his red and black livery robes to several yeomen. The duke of Exeter's involvement in the feud escalated to the extent that at Spofforth on 21 May, 1454 he offered to give the red and white livery of the duchy of Lancaster to anyone who would join him, 'take here the duc of Lancastres lyverey', in flagrant, and not untypical, disrespect of royal authority.<sup>90</sup> Wearing the livery robes of a lord formally identified the individual with that lord. You were 'one of his men'.<sup>91</sup> As demonstrated above, different colours were used by individual lords: the retainers of Richard, duke of York wore his livery of blue and white, whilst the followers of his son the duke of Clarence wore green. From the middle of the fourteenth century badges were used in addition to, and sometimes as a replacement for, livery robes. At the first battle of St Albans in 1455, the protagonists wore their lords' badges so 'that every man myghte knowe his owne feleschippe by hys lyverey'. In addition the Lancastrians donned the livery of Prince Edward: 'a bende of crymesyn and blacke with esteryge ys fetherys'.<sup>92</sup> By the onset of civil war in the 1450s, robes and badges had become a ubiquitous feature across the realm, leading William Paston to accuse lords of spending 'alle the good they have on men and lewery gownys'.<sup>93</sup>

In the localities it was the baronial affinity which was expected to provide the basis of political authority, although this was not always the case. In areas such as Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire where there was no strong baronial presence during the period, the prominent local gentry took it upon themselves to provide leadership.<sup>94</sup> Under an effective monarch these affinities could be used to the benefit of the crown. Ultimately the loyalty of the lord was needed, and indeed expected.<sup>95</sup> In the same way that a member of the gentry would bring their own servants into his lord's affinity, as made explicit in the 1476 indenture

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<sup>90</sup> TNA, KB 149/7/2; R.A. Griffiths, 'Local Rivalry and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles, and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-55', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 602, 615.

<sup>91</sup> G.A. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility in 14<sup>th</sup> Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 59.

<sup>92</sup> The ostrich feather was another popular Lancastrian device: M. Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 63-5; Gairdner (ed.), 'Gregory's Chronicle, 1461-1469', in his *Historical Collections*, p. 212.

<sup>93</sup> *PL*, ii, p. 330.

<sup>94</sup> Payling, *Political Society*; P.D. Russell, 'Politics and Society in Nottinghamshire, 1327-1360', University of Nottingham, unpublished PhD Thesis (2007); *Derbyshire Gentry*. For a discussion of the 'county community' debate, see the following chapter.

<sup>95</sup> Pollard, 'Introduction', pp. 6-10.

signed between the duke of Gloucester and Lady Scrope on behalf of her son Thomas,<sup>96</sup> the lord himself would bring his affinity to the king. The most impressive retinue of the late medieval period was that of John of Gaunt. His 200 and more knights and esquires, retained primarily for military purposes, not least to promote his aspirations as the King of Castile and Leon, was unprecedented and formed the core of the political retinue which brought his son to the throne in 1399.<sup>97</sup> In comparison, his brother the duke of York seems only to have recruited some forty knights and esquires.<sup>98</sup> The incentives for joining Gaunt were multiple: he offered high fees, and a level of prestige was attached to becoming a member of the most powerful of affinities.<sup>99</sup> It was, however, important for the lord to control his retinue, and even for Gaunt this was not easy, despite his claim to the contrary in 1384.<sup>100</sup> The accusation that Gaunt was an oppressor who lorded over his estates without due regard for law and order was not entirely accurate.<sup>101</sup> In actuality, it was nigh impossible for him to control all his squabbling retainers and secure effective local authority even in Lancashire.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, no lord could have a monopoly of control in the provinces, where authority lay between the crown, the magnates and the local gentry.<sup>103</sup> A successful lord (whether king, magnate, or gentry) would skilfully maintain the equilibrium, thus building on his reputation as a 'good lord'.

Good lordship could be advantageous for the local gentry. Indeed the relationship between lord and retainer was one of mutual convenience and profit.<sup>104</sup> In return for a £100

<sup>96</sup> 'Thomas her Sone now lord Scrope shall frohensfurth be byleftte witholde and Reteyned with the seid duc and hooly be at his Rule and gudyng And also þat all her seruauntes tenauntes and inhabitantes in and vpon any of the lands late her husbondes shalbe herafter at all tymes belongyng to the seid duc', printed in L.C. Attreed, 'An Indenture between Richard Duke of Gloucester and the Scrope Family of Masham and Upsall', *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 1025. For gentry retinues see P.W. Fleming, 'Household Servants of the Yorkist and Early Tudor Gentry', in D. Williams (ed.), *Early Tudor England* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 19-36.

<sup>97</sup> T.B. Pugh, 'The magnates, knights and gentry', in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 107-8.

<sup>98</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, p. 262.

<sup>99</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 9-10, 36, 257, 260.

<sup>100</sup> See above, ref. 33.

<sup>101</sup> Hector and Harvey (eds.), *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 518.

<sup>102</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 246-7; Walker, 'Lordship and Lawlessness', 325-48.

<sup>103</sup> G. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 138 (1993), 32; Walker, 'Lordship and Lawlessness', 327.

<sup>104</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 113.

loan from Sir John Say, the duke of Gloucester promised him his 'good lordship in that matter that ye labour to me for'.<sup>105</sup> A good lord also offered a central point of focus in his 'country', and could open up links to the wider political stage.<sup>106</sup> He offered support and protection, not least in legal disputes, and was a source of patronage and profit in the form of annuities and office. Many individuals, in particular lawyers, developed links with several lords. Here there was not, in theory, any question of divided allegiances; one could have a multitude of masters, but an order of precedence would have to be adhered to.<sup>107</sup> Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton's numerous fees, bringing him an income of £71 per annum, were noted by McFarlane. He was even willing to accept Lord Sudeley's livery without being retained by him; exactly the type of behaviour which attracted complaints.<sup>108</sup> Sir Sampson Meverell's tomb inscription in Tideswell church, Derbyshire, celebrated his service to various lords:

'... he came to the service of the noble John Montagu, earl of Salisbury, the which ordained the said Sampson to be a captain of divers worshipful places in France; and after the death of the said earl, he came to the service of John duke of Bedford and so being in his service, he was at XI great battles in France within the space of two years ... and after that he abode under the service of John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury ...'<sup>109</sup>

To avoid confusion Meverell evidently chose to serve one lord at a time. Those higher up the social scale were also retained by many. John Howard, created duke of Norfolk in 1483, was retained by several masters: he was the king's carver and chamberlain to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk in the early 1460s, in addition to acting as steward for the duchess of York at Clare, and for the dowager duchess of Suffolk at Harwich. In addition he was also given

<sup>105</sup> BL, Cotton MS Vespasian FIII, fol. 19. The quote is from a postscript to the letter in the hand of the duke, printed in P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III* (London, 1973), p. 66.

<sup>106</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 281-346.

<sup>107</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 103.

<sup>108</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>109</sup> The original inscription was stolen in 1688, but replaced in 1702. Printed in J.M.J. Fletcher, 'Sir Sampson Meverell of Tideswell, 1388-1462', *DAJ*, 30 (1908), 1-22.

livery robes by the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence.<sup>110</sup> But retainers did not have it all their own way as their lords' expectations had to be met. Sir William Skipwith had his annuity cancelled by the duke of York for not fighting for him at the first battle of St Albans.<sup>111</sup> In 1478 Lord Strange advised Sir William Stonor, who had recently requested that he become one of Strange's feed men, to be on good behaviour: '... I woll not be ovirmastred with none of my feed men ... yf ye dele as ye owght I wolbe your goode lord, and eke I dare better displese yow than ye me'.<sup>112</sup> The belief that the gentry could pick and choose their lords at a whim with little respect for loyalty and deference, something suggested frequently in recent historiography, should perhaps be restrained. There was not a 'free market' in political loyalties.<sup>113</sup>

Examples of effective 'good lords' included Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Richard, duke of Gloucester. Beauchamp's Warwickshire affinity provided a 'unifying force' in the region, the earl's firm grip on local government ensuring the good rule of the shire. For some members of the affinity such as Thomas Porter the earl opened the door to crown patronage. As a result of his success, the earl gained 'worship', an enhanced reputation which in turn attracted more followers.<sup>114</sup> The larger the retinue, and the more men seen wearing his livery, the further the lord's worship was enhanced, and worship clearly mattered. In October of 1465 the duke of Norfolk wrote to John Paston requesting his attendance on him in London, asking 'that ye doo warne our ffeede men and servaunts, suche as be nye too yow, that they be ther thann in owr leverey'.<sup>115</sup> In January 1471 the duke of Suffolk failed to appear at court as his affinity had been greatly reduced due to the Christmas period: he 'might not come at London himself pis time to his worship', as 'his

<sup>110</sup> A. Crawford, *Yorkist Lord: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, c.1425-1485* (London and New York, 2010), pp. 30, 145.

<sup>111</sup> *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 552-3.

<sup>112</sup> C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series*, 2 vols. (London, 1919), ii, p. 70.

<sup>113</sup> R. Horrox, 'Personalities and Politics', in Pollard (ed.), *Wars of the Roses*, p. 95.

<sup>114</sup> Conversely, a lack of worship could have a negative impact on one's fortunes. In October 1468 Thomas Stonor expressed his relief that 'myne adversari of Devenshere [Richard Fortescue] hathe had no wurshyp ... and he is shamyd and nonsuyd in the cort to his great shame': Kingsford (ed.), *Stonor Letters*, i, p. 97.

<sup>115</sup> *PL*, iv, pp. 200-1.

servants [were] from him'.<sup>116</sup> Liveried retainers, in essence the physical manifestation of their lords' power, and evidently seen as a barometer of his worship, were clearly fundamental in an age of spectacle and outward display.

The crown could benefit from a good lord. A trustworthy and competent magnate could effectively 'run' a region for the king.<sup>117</sup> During the 1470s Edward IV allowed his brother the duke of Gloucester to develop a large retinue based around the lordship of Middleham, in effect delegating royal authority in the region to the duke.<sup>118</sup> Gloucester retained the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and the Lords Scrope (two), Dacre, Greystoke and Neville, en-route to becoming the 'Lord of the North'. There was, of course, a potential problem in placing such power in the hands of one man. Unfortunately, and unknowingly, for Edward, his brother would become the archetypal 'overmighty subject', using the affinity to take the throne in 1483.<sup>119</sup> Gloucester's predecessor as the most powerful magnate in the realm, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, used his vast influence and resources to 'fee as many knights, squires and gentlemen, as he might, to be strong', when the relationship between him and the king began to wane in the mid-1460s.<sup>120</sup> A lord who failed to fulfil his duties could be a threat, even if he was of royal blood. The duke of Clarence's rule of the north Midlands in the 1470s proved to be ineffective, much to the frustration of the king. With the loss of Tutbury honour to William, Lord Hastings – another favourite given the opportunity to build up a retinue on behalf of the king - in 1474, Clarence's authority was dealt a serious blow. The king steadily took over his retinue, with his brother's own household servants Roger Harewell and John Tapton betraying him before his death in 1478.<sup>121</sup> Henry VI was not as decisive, allowing William de la Pole and his servants Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon to dominate and oppress East Anglia

<sup>116</sup> Kingsford, *Stonor Letters*, i, p. 117.

<sup>117</sup> Carpenter, 'Beauchamp', 514-32; McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 113-4.

<sup>118</sup> See Horrox, *Richard III*.

<sup>119</sup> C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 424-6.

<sup>120</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>121</sup> C. Carpenter, 'The Duke of Clarence and the Midlands: A Study in the Interplay of Local and National Politics', *Midland History*, 11 (1986), 23-48; M. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence 1449-78* (Gloucester, 1980), pp. 151-2.

unchecked during the 1440s, through manipulating their positions at court.<sup>122</sup> The Pastons were particularly affected. In April of 1449 Margaret Paston noted that a claimant to their manor of Oxnead 'hath my lord of Suffolkes good lordschip, and he wol ben his good lord in that mater'.<sup>123</sup> For those being retained, good lordship meant obtaining the support of one's lord in the courts. According to the Commons the duke had failed in his primary responsibilities, conserving the peace, and upholding justice and the law.<sup>124</sup> He had failed to carry out his duties as king's representative in the region.

How important was loyalty and cohesion to an affinity? Certainly for a retainer, fidelity to one's lord was expected and could benefit his own reputation. The lord would thus benefit from an affinity which was united in shared honour and common profit.<sup>125</sup> For the gentry in particular, pragmatism often appeared to be the best policy, and there are many who swapped sides, such as Sir John Barre (d. 1483), who in 1459 switched his allegiance to the Lancastrians despite having received an annuity of £20 from the duke of York since 1433.<sup>126</sup> There were however examples of loyalty to a particular estate or lordship, as demonstrated by the Richmondshire community of gentry, whose sense of duty to the lords of Middleham became an important factor in both local and national politics.<sup>127</sup> Up to the reign of Henry V, and after 1471 when the duke of Gloucester re-imposed active, personal lordship, the tenants of the honour of Pontefract also demonstrated a degree of loyalty to their lord as duke and then king.<sup>128</sup> Though the 'cohesive and exclusive' honour of the early medieval period was now the exception rather than the norm, a degree of cohesion may have been sustained through loyalty and continuity of service to an honour, particularly if there was effective, personal lordship, and the distribution of its manors formed a geographically

<sup>122</sup> R.L. Storey, *The End of The House of Lancaster* (Stroud, 1986), p. 54. But also see H. Castor, 'The Duchy of Lancaster and the rule of East Anglia, 1399-1440: A Prologue to the Paston Letters', in R.E. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud and New York, 1995), pp. 53-78.

<sup>123</sup> *PL*, ii, p. 100.

<sup>124</sup> PROME, Henry VI, Parliament of November 1449 to June 1450, mem. 18.

<sup>125</sup> M.H. Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', *History*, xlvii (1962), 14-17; G.L. Harriss, 'Introduction', in K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London, 1981), p. xviii.

<sup>126</sup> *CPR*, 1452-61, p. 548.

<sup>127</sup> Pollard, 'Richmondshire Community', pp. 37-59.

<sup>128</sup> Rose, 'The Honour of Pontefract', pp. 38-57.



compact estate.<sup>129</sup> This may have been the case with the gentry of south Derbyshire, whose durable connection to the eminent duchy honour of Tutbury (and thus to the crown) up to and beyond the Yorkist accession in 1461 generated a unity expressed through the depiction of livery collars on church monuments in the area into the sixteenth century.<sup>130</sup>

Personal and/or local considerations and practicalities often dictated the degree of loyalty, particularly if this was expected to be translated into military support. Although many would prudently choose to sit still and do nothing, as one chronicler put it,<sup>131</sup> there were still those who proved to be loyal servants to a political cause or dynasty, as the Beaufort family and their supporters demonstrated, even after offers of reconciliation from Edward IV.<sup>132</sup> But it must be stressed that they were refusing to reconcile themselves to a king who in their eyes had usurped the throne. Sir Thomas Tresham, when attainted for his opposition to Edward at Towton in 1461, cited his lifelong loyalty through his service to Henry VI, something he 'durst not disobey',<sup>133</sup> a loyalty which clearly impressed the new king: he was subsequently pardoned. The distribution of badges and collars was intended to instil a sense of unity and group identity among a lord's affinity.<sup>134</sup> We have witnessed Henry Bolingbroke acquiring 200 collars of his livery, made of silver and silver gilt, to distribute to his retinue on his arrival in England in 1399.<sup>135</sup> The livery collar of SS, and the Yorkist equivalent of alternate suns and roses, could therefore be utilised as a symbol of honour, pride, fidelity and comradeship.<sup>136</sup> The prestige associated with receiving such an expensive item must surely have impressed contemporaries. There are examples of family mausolea where the

<sup>129</sup> D. Crouch, D.A. Carpenter and P. Coss, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, 131 (1991), 185-8.

<sup>130</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>131</sup> J. Bruce (ed.), *Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward IV*, Camden Society, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 1 (1838), pp. 20-1.

<sup>132</sup> M.A. Hicks, 'Edward IV, the Duke of Somerset and Lancastrian Loyalism in the North', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 23-37. For lingering loyalty to the Beauforts in the south west and south east, which surfaced particularly during periods of Yorkist instability, see M. Mercer, 'Lancastrian Loyalism in the South-West: The Case for the Beauforts', *Southern History*, 19 (1997), 42-60; M. Mercer, 'Lancastrian Loyalism in Kent during the Wars of the Roses', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 119 (1999), 221-43.

<sup>133</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of June 1467 to June 1468, mem. 29. He was pardoned in 1464 and in 1467. Unfortunately his unswerving sense of obedience led to his death in 1471.

<sup>134</sup> J. Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl: Court Poetry in the Age of Richard II* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 95.

<sup>135</sup> TNA, DL 28/4/1, fol. 13v.

<sup>136</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 94-5.

same collar is portrayed on monuments to several generations, for example the array of Vernon tombs at Tong, Shropshire, and the Cockayne chapel at Ashbourne, Derbyshire.

When considering the power of magnate affinities 'versus' an independent county community of gentry in the fifteenth century, both propositions are acceptable and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As noted above, in areas with a powerful magnate presence such as Warwickshire in the first half of the fifteenth century, Richard Beauchamp proved successful in working with the local gentry to his advantage, whilst the gentry themselves benefited from his patronage and connections. A successful affinity had to satisfy the interests of king, magnates and gentry.<sup>137</sup>

### **The authority of the crown**

There is a conspicuous absence of individuals wearing their lords' badges and personal livery collars on church monuments from the fifteenth century. This was accompanied by a slow decline in complaints over illegal distribution of livery in parliament.<sup>138</sup> Although problems continued to arise intermittently throughout the century, the suggestion is that the 1390 ordinance and the statutes from 1399 to 1401 were effective, especially with regard to the livery collar.<sup>139</sup> The large number of royal livery collars of SS and suns and roses on monuments is likely a consequence of the crown's tightening grip over the livery system, a system which it came to dominate by the end of the century. They can be seen as a tangible and visible reflection of the crown's attempts to increase its presence and authority in the localities.<sup>140</sup> It is important not to dismiss the political significance of a livery collar, however it is equally important not to over stress this in some cases. Although it is axiomatic that, in a

<sup>137</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>138</sup> Although there are examples, particularly among the aristocracy, of individuals wearing their own personal badges, this was not an issue as there is no implication that they were being distributed to others. Examples include the Stafford knot on the tomb of the earl of Wiltshire (d. 1499) at Lowick (Northants), who also wears an SS collar, and Richard Willoughby's whelk shell badge on his brass at Wollaton (Nottinghamshire). Interestingly, in neither case are the badges being worn by the commemorated: University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Middleton Collection, Mi 5/168/34; Saul, 'Contract'.

<sup>139</sup> Harriss, 'Introduction', p. xxiii.

<sup>140</sup> The laments for the death of Edward IV noted that during his reign his badges could be seen on buildings and clothes, and his livery was virtually omnipresent: BL, Additional MS 29729, fols. 8-9v; BL, Harleian MS 4011, fols. 169v-170v; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Eng. 113, fol. 3, printed in A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (Bury St Edmunds, 2005), pp. 75-92.

period of civil war, a proportion of examples do represent political allegiance to Lancaster or York, it must be stressed that livery collars were essentially distributed for service to the crown, whether it was in the hands of Lancaster or York. It may be that, in some cases, it was this service to the crown that meant most to contemporaries. There are countless examples of individuals, particularly amongst the gentry, who were willing to support both Lancaster and York, depending on who was in the ascendancy. Equally, there are many whose pragmatism ensured they quickly reconciled themselves with the Tudor regime in 1485. The inscription on the tomb of Sir Marmaduke Constable (d. 1520) in Flamborough church (Yorkshire) lists his offices and achievements under Edward IV and Henry VII, but fails to mention his duties as knight of the body to Richard III, for whom he was a loyal servant.<sup>141</sup>

The king was, after all, the 'good lord of all good lords'.<sup>142</sup> Crown service could reap financial rewards and facilitate a rise in a family's fortunes. It could, of course, prove to be a poisoned chalice. The earl of Warwick's jealousy of 'parvenus' such as the Herberts of Raglan, who benefitted enormously from King Edward's patronage, resulted in their annihilation at the battle of Edgecote in July 1469.<sup>143</sup> The role of patronage and service in the late-medieval polity, the central focus of historians following the Namier tradition, has been more recently challenged by those suggesting that principle was just as important to contemporaries. It is true that political allegiance could be induced through effective crown patronage at the centre and in the regions, with local offices awarded to loyal servants, but there were shared accepted principles, perhaps the most important being loyalty and respect for the monarch. Patronage and principle were not incompatible.<sup>144</sup> Advice literature such as the *De Re Militari*, popular with nobility and gentry alike, stressed their partnership with the king in the governance of the realm.<sup>145</sup> Political society was not permanently at odds with the

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<sup>141</sup> K. Dockray, 'Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough', *The Ricardian*, 5 (1979-81), 265-6.

<sup>142</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 119.

<sup>143</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>144</sup> Powell, 'After "After McFarlane"', pp. 1-16; Pollard, 'Introduction', pp. 11-12.

<sup>145</sup> F. Vegetius Renatus, *Knyghthode and Bataile*, eds. R. Dybosky and Z.M. Arend, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 201 (London, 1936).

king. They shared with him assumptions, ideas, principles and prejudices, particularly regarding their position at the head of the political system. The four political units: the landed gentry, the court, parliament, and the wider populace, were held together by an effective sovereign, or at least they were expected to be. Sir John Fastolf noted in 1435 that the king 'hath no souerayne in erthe that may be his juge'. Further up the seigniorial hierarchy the aristocracy, despite underlying tensions which could bubble to the surface, saw it as their duty to support their king and uphold his authority, which of course served their own interests.<sup>146</sup> Writers of political verse such as John Gower, Thomas Hoccleve, John Lydgate and George Ashby skilfully employed rhetoric to refer to political events and assumptions in order to reach various levels of audience.<sup>147</sup> All levels of society shared an acceptance that the king was their leader.

The king enjoyed sovereign power at the heart of the polity, and no constitutional procedure was able to remove him: 'The king did not have a limited area of absolute liberty; there was one jurisdiction, it was his, and it ranged with equal fullness over all the causes in his realm'.<sup>148</sup> As Bracton noted in the thirteenth century, 'the king has no equal within his realm'. He was under no man, although he was subject to God and the law, both of which justified his power and existence. As *rex et sacerdos* he was ordained by God to exercise his authority on earth. He was compared to rain: he could engulf all with his power, which could do both great harm and great good for his subjects. Although the king was expected to take heed of advice from those close to him, it was God who was his ultimate guide. The numerous 'Mirrors for Princes' and books of nurture read by the aristocracy and gentry stressed the importance of preserving and exercising the king's independent will.<sup>149</sup> Henry VI

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<sup>146</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 120-2; M. Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (London and New York, 2002), p. 36; P. Fleming, 'Politics', in R. Radulescu and A. Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester and New York, 2005), p. 58; J.L. Watts, 'Ideas, Principles and Politics', in Pollard (ed.), *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 110-33; Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', pp. 6-7; Harriss, 'The Dimensions of Politics', pp. 1-20; J. Stevenson (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, Rolls Series, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1861-4), iii, p. 185.

<sup>147</sup> Astell, *Political Allegory*, pp. 4-6.

<sup>148</sup> Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 17. Much of what follows is indebted to Watts' work.

<sup>149</sup> Henry de Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. G.E. Woodbine, trans. S.E. Thome, 4 vols. (London, 1968-77), ii, p. 33; Harriss, 'The King and his Subjects', pp. 13-4; Hicks, *English Political Culture*, pp.

was presented with his own copy in the late 1440s.<sup>150</sup> Of the body politic, in which all sections of society were compared to a part of the anatomy, the king represented the head, as explained in *The Descryuyng of Mannes Membres*: 'For he is lord souereyn of al'. Bishop Russell developed the theme in 1483: 'What ys the bely or where ys the wombe of thys grete publick body of Englonde but that and there where the kyng ys hym self, hys court and hys counselle?'<sup>151</sup> But the king was not simply an inaccessible, inanimate object. His rule was personal, and he was expected to protect his people in return for their obedience, as Edmund Dudley noted whilst awaiting execution in 1510, 'god hath ordeyned ther prince to protecte them and thei to obey ther prince'.<sup>152</sup> Dudley may have been writing in the hope that he would be spared the death penalty, but his views were shared by political thinkers of the epoch. Sir John Fortescue echoed the sentiments in his *Governance of England*. Though the king was the supreme temporal figure in the land, and his people should sustain his estate, his duties were to protect the realm and ensure that justice prevailed.<sup>153</sup> For the peasants of Wessex in 1462, the king's removal was justified if he failed to keep his side of the bargain:

We commons have brought King Edward to his prosperity ... and if we will not [be] ruled after us as we will have him, as able we were to make him king, as able we be to depose him.<sup>154</sup>

So there was, to some extent, a degree of reciprocity between the king and his subjects.

They did not, of course, have the power to dethrone their sovereign, but it was used to justify

21-7; PROME, Henry VI, Parliament of February 1445 to April 1446, mems. 10 and 11; R.R. Steele (ed.), *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 74 (London, 1898), pp. 16, 209; F.J. Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works*, iii. *The Regement of Princes*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 72 (London, 1897), lines 4872-6. For language and ideas employed by the 'mirrors' being emulated in the courtesy books used by the nobility and gentry see R. Radulescu, 'Literature', in Radulescu and Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture*, pp. 100-118. The gentry were encouraged to consider their own localised experiences of politics, but the same discourse was employed.

<sup>150</sup> B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 14-15; BL, Cotton MS Cleopatra A xiii.

<sup>151</sup> L.K. Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals', *Speculum*, 3 (1928), 470-504; A.J. Gross, 'K.B. McFarlane and the Determinists: the Fallibilities of the English Kings, c. 1399-c. 1520', in Britnell and Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy*, pp. 49-76; V.J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971), pp. 268-9; S.B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 174-6.

<sup>152</sup> Edmund Dudley, *The Tree of Commonwealth*, ed. D.M. Brodie (Cambridge, 1948), p. 31.

<sup>153</sup> Fortescue, *Governance*, pp. 116, 127.

<sup>154</sup> Storey, *End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 197.

rebellion, and the support of the commoners was frequently sought after by the magnates, not least for their manpower during civil war. The earl of Warwick was particularly adept at securing the assistance of the commons through invoking their grievances,<sup>155</sup> appealing to the notion that the cardinal duty of the king was to uphold the common weal of his realm. As they were reminded in their 'mirrors', the leaders of society had a responsibility to listen to the voice of their subjects: 'Loose not the loue of alle þe commynalte',<sup>156</sup> sentiments reflected in the popular proclamation, 'vox populi vox Dei'. Their duty was to govern, but to govern responsibly.<sup>157</sup>

Yet the body could not live without its head. The king was supreme, and his subjects were expected to be loyal. Indeed the 'ineradicable authority' of the English monarchy meant that popular opposition was not likely to succeed,<sup>158</sup> as alluded to by Fortescue in his *De Laudibus*, 'the beginning of all service is to know the will of the lord whom you serve'.<sup>159</sup> It was the king who was lord of all, and in return for his good rule, his subjects were expected to love and 'drede' him.<sup>160</sup> Bishop Russell noted that 'Drede is the begynnyng of wyse demenyng', and connected the respect the populace had for their sovereign with his own particular form of justice, 'so terrible and precise in processe that alle the pertees and persones adioignaunt quake and tremble for fere'.<sup>161</sup> For Russell at least, the king's justice meant tough justice. Deference - obedience and 'love' - were the accepted norms of behaviour. This would apply to a lord and a king, and being obedient to both could prove difficult. Despite receiving several letters from the duke of Clarence asking for his assistance before the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471, Henry Vernon used a variety of excuses to avoid committing himself. Typical of many gentry during the period, he

<sup>155</sup> Hicks, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 151-2; 167-8.

<sup>156</sup> From *Advice to the Court* (c. 1450) in Robbins (ed.), *Historical Poems*, p. 85.

<sup>157</sup> J.P. Genet (ed.), *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, Camden Society, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, 18 (London, 1977), p. 189.

<sup>158</sup> Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 127.

<sup>159</sup> Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Anglie*, ed. S.B. Chrimes (Cambridge, 1942), p. 5.

<sup>160</sup> 'Tractatus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Henricum Sextum', in Genet (ed.), *Four English Political Tracts*, p. 72; Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, pp. 29, 59, 61.

<sup>161</sup> Chrimes, *Constitutional Ideas*, pp. 171-3.

chose to eschew involvement in politically sensitive issues.<sup>162</sup> His lord had proven to be a volatile figure over the previous months, and Vernon was perhaps not entirely sure who he would be fighting for by joining him. At least by avoiding involvement, Vernon's loyalty to the king would not be openly questioned. It was this loyalty to the king which was frequently expressed, the extent of sincerity being open to question, although Skinner would argue that sincerity did not really matter. What did matter was to publically justify one's actions. As one of the 'accepted principles' of political society, loyalty to the king had to be expressed.<sup>163</sup> As it had done in 1381, opposition to the government therefore focused its attention on the king's 'evil councillors', something stressed by those involved in the Cade rebellion of 1450. Despite calling for the destruction of 'the fals progenye and affinite of the duc of Suffolke', they remained true liegemen of the king:

Desiring of our saide souveraigne lorde and of all the trewe lordis  
of his counsel he to takeinne all his demaynes that he may reigne  
like a king roiall according as he is borne oure trewe christen king  
anoynted.<sup>164</sup>

The same sentiments were echoed by the petition of 'Robin of Redesdale' in 1469.<sup>165</sup> The grievances expressed by Cade were fundamental to the duke of York during the early 1450s. He constantly reiterated their principal points: he was the king's 'trewe liegeman and humble subgiet',<sup>166</sup> he called for governmental reform, he was merely petitioning the king and did not seek to replace him, and he wanted the 'traitors' in the royal council (now led by

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<sup>162</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G. preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols. (London, 1888-1905), p. 188.

<sup>163</sup> 'Politicians do not have to be personally committed to the principles they propound in order for their political behaviour to be influenced by them': Watts, 'Ideas, Principles and Politics', p. 117; Skinner, 'Principles and Practice of Opposition', pp. 93-128.

<sup>164</sup> From 'Articles of the Captain of Kent' (1450), printed in I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 82-4. The rebels called for the return from virtual exile in Ireland of the duke of York.

<sup>165</sup> C. Richmond and M.L. Kekewich, 'The Search for Stability, 1461-1483', in *John Vale's Book*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>166</sup> From the 'Stow Relation' of the Yorkist sponsored account of the battle of St Albans (1455): BL, Harley MS 545, fols. 134v-136; J. Stow, *The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1600), pp. 658-61.

the duke of Somerset) removed.<sup>167</sup> In 1459 the *Somnium Vigilantis*, issued in support of the attainder of the Yorkists, reiterated the importance of obedience to the king, 'to whom alle honoure and dredfulness be du with lauly subjeccioun ... with fayithfull and voluntarie honoure and thair appertenance to be yolden to pe soverain in the sayd royame and that none incompatible astat be usurped by ony persone'.<sup>168</sup> The defence of the common weal was now overshadowed by a more vigorous assertion of royal authority.<sup>169</sup> After York claimed the throne in 1460, the majority of the lords remained loyal to Henry VI until the Lancastrian cause was irrevocably lost at Towton in 1461.<sup>170</sup> The weak and ineffectual personal rule of the king had ultimately stretched loyalty to the limit. With the head of state now unable to rule effectively he was replaced, with the expectation that royal authority would once again be capably asserted. This did not, of course, bring an end to the fighting, although it is significant that the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence still thought it necessary to stress their 'fervente zeele, love and affeccion' for the crown and the common weal during their rebellion in 1470.<sup>171</sup> Although addressing the commons of England, it was still evidently necessary to stress obedience to the 'crown', although they astutely avoided reference to the 'king', whether Henry or Edward.<sup>172</sup>

As acknowledged above, the livery collars featured on church monuments, stained glass and in works of art from the fifteenth century overwhelmingly depict the royal collars of the Lancastrian (and then Tudor) SS and the Yorkist suns and roses. Evidently the majority of those individuals who chose to have them depicted on their memorials saw royal service as important enough to leave to posterity. It is often royal service which is mentioned on epitaphs, the antiquary John Weever noted many examples in the seventeenth

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<sup>167</sup> The duke issued a succession of statements declaring his loyalty to the king, and was forced to swear several oaths of allegiance throughout the 1450s. The majority of these are printed in *John Vale's Book*, pp. 185-95.

<sup>168</sup> Printed in J.P. Gibson, 'A Defence of the Proscription of the Yorkists in 1459', *The English Historical Review*, 26 (1911), 512-25.

<sup>169</sup> Watts, *Politics of Kingship*, p. 39.

<sup>170</sup> Pugh, 'Magnates, knights and gentry', p. 90.

<sup>171</sup> *John Vale's Book*, pp. 218-20.

<sup>172</sup> Warwick was particularly astute at winning the support of the commoners by pandering to the 'public weal', something which was said to have instilled jealousy in his one-time ally Edward IV: *Philippe de Comynnes: The Reign of Louis XI 1461-83*, ed. and trans. M. Jones (London, 1972), p. 195.



century.<sup>173</sup> Royal servants were wont to remember their past masters in their wills, and some, such as Nicholas Southworth, asked to be laid to rest near to their lord, 'my body to be buried in the colege of Wyndesour be side my old maister King Edward'.<sup>174</sup> Service was a defining characteristic of gentry status, and as the fifteenth century progressed service took on a more domestic feel.<sup>175</sup> Holding office from a lord or the king, as a household servant, lawyer, counsellor, or working in local government positions such as a sheriff, JP or escheator, gave them a place in society and offered opportunities to climb the social ladder.<sup>176</sup> Malory's *Morte Darthur* stressed the importance of 'jantyllmannys servyse' as a marker of gentility and dignity,<sup>177</sup> and the highest degree of dignity would be derived from serving the king. Blondell noted that his service to various royal masters had improved his living 'better thenne I coud deserve'.<sup>178</sup> The king would also offer the biggest benefits; crown patronage was sought after most.<sup>179</sup> A popular ballad recounting the bestowing of a livery collar by Edward IV describes (perhaps with a hint of irony) the effect of such a gift: 'A collar a collar our King gan call / Lo here I make thee the best Esquir / in all the North Countrie'.<sup>180</sup> Magnate service was of course sought after, and local offices would more often than not be provided by the local lord. But in areas with little magnate influence the 'greater gentry' would serve as crown agents.<sup>181</sup> Nearer the centre, the splendour and majesty of the king's household, the heart of social life and source of lavish patronage, could rub off on those

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<sup>173</sup> Such as Sir John Scott, who recorded his duties as controller of Edward IV's household, and William Wake, yeoman of the horse to John, duke of Bedford, and surveyor for Henry VI, among many other examples: Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, pp. 269, 324, 326, 397, 482, 515, 542.

<sup>174</sup> In his will of 1496, Jacques Blondell asked for prayers for Edward IV and his queen, and Henry VI's queen Margaret of Anjou, all of whom he had served during his career: TNA, PROB 11/11, fol. 93v. For Southworth see PROB 11/8, fol. 154v; Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 25.

<sup>175</sup> The abundance of SS collars on monuments from earlier in the fifteenth century may have carried a more militaristic significance, with many of the wearers having fought in France.

<sup>176</sup> Fleming, 'Politics', pp. 52-6.

<sup>177</sup> E. Vinaver and P.J.C. Field (eds.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Oxford, 1990), pp. 375, 682-3.

<sup>178</sup> TNA, PROB 11/11, fol. 93v.

<sup>179</sup> In the 1450s William Worcester noted a rise in the number of gentry who were utilising their legal and estate management skills to advance themselves: J.G. Nichols (ed.), *The Boke of Noblesse* (London, 1860), p. 77; R.A. Griffiths, 'Introduction', in his (ed.) *Patronage, The Crown and the Provinces*, p. 13.

<sup>180</sup> John Danter, *A merrie pleasant and delectable Historie betweene King Edward the fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth* (London, 1596).

<sup>181</sup> Fleming, 'Politics', p. 56; *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 60-145.

attached to it.<sup>182</sup> King's servants could, of course, be despised, but they did carry with them a degree of their master's authority. In a letter to John Paston, John Pampynge thought it necessary to note that 'Wymondham is here ... and the King's livery about his neck'.<sup>183</sup> The collar attracted the attention, and immediately the link between the wearer and the king had been made; Wymondham was identified and authenticated through the king's collar.<sup>184</sup> It was important for the king's presence to be felt in the localities, and this was given a visual dimension with the royal livery collar, whether it was on a messenger arriving at the door, or on a tomb effigy or memorial brass in the parish church. In the latter instance, the effect was of course more permanent, and would be seen regularly by the community.

The appearance of the livery collar on monuments may therefore be linked with the efforts of the crown to extend its influence in the localities, first attempted by Richard II in East Anglia and Cheshire, but more successfully implemented by the Yorkists alongside their expansion of the royal household into the provinces, a process continued (some may say completed) by the Tudors.<sup>185</sup> Several hundred knights, esquires and gentlemen, wearing the king's livery, were used to undertake royal duties in the provinces. Edward IV was particularly astute in bringing local gentry into royal governance, and he realised the need for a working partnership in the regions. The *Black Book* of 1478, a collection of household advice and regulations, stressed that his esquires should 'be of sondry sheres, by whome hit may be knowe the disposicion of the cuntries'. They were explicitly instructed to wear the

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<sup>182</sup> Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household*, pp. 258-60.

<sup>183</sup> H.S. Bennet, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 29.

<sup>184</sup> Friar, p 45.

<sup>185</sup> Walker, 'Lordship and Lawlessness', p. 346; R. Virgoe, 'The Crown and Local Government: East Anglia under Richard II', in Du Boulay and Barron (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II*, pp. 218-41; Harriss, 'The King and his Subjects', p. 20; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 322-3; D.A.L. Morgan, 'The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (1973), 1-25; E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961), p. 645; Starkey, 'The Age of the Household', pp. 264-87; M.E. James, *A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State: Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland*, Borthwick Papers, 30 (York, 1966), pp. 15-24. An act of 1487 stated that royal tenants were to lose their leases if they were retained by another lord. Two years previously Richard III had instructed Sir Marmaduke Constable to ensure that his royal tenants at Tutbury and Tonbridge were not retained by others, a measure that may have been concerned with applying royal control rather than as a result of disloyalty: Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 206; *Statutes of the Realm*, 3 Henry VII c. 15; *Harleian* 433, iii, pp. 116-7.

king's livery collar, 'for the more glory and in worshipp this honorable houshold'.<sup>186</sup> In the autumn of 1468 the king was already sending his household yeomen into various counties to seek out and arrest troublemakers.<sup>187</sup> The Croyland chronicler commented on the success of Edward's policy after 1471:

... he had taken care to distribute the most trustworthy of his servants throughout all parts of the kingdom, as keepers of castles, manors, forests, and parks, no attempt whatever could be made in any part of the kingdom, by any person, however shrewd he might be, but what he was immediately charged with the same thing to his face.<sup>188</sup>

We have already witnessed contemporaries commenting on the ubiquitous presence of his badges and livery in the shires. Although the relationship between the crown and the provinces may well have been 'direct, immediate and crucial',<sup>189</sup> the relationship could not be one sided. It was crucial for the monarch to understand that the connection between centre and shire needed to be equal. Successful governance resulted from a dialogue between the king and the political community, where mutual benefits were fully realised.<sup>190</sup> Ignoring the often delicate balance of power in the localities, and demonstrating a particularly partisan attitude, could result in the alienation of the locals, something which may have precipitated the conflict between Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon and William, Lord Bonville in the 1450s. Courtenay, feeling that his rightful place in his 'country' had been denied by the king, resorted to armed conflict as a last resort. The lack of support from the court had stretched his loyalty to the limit.<sup>191</sup> Henry VII's failure to reward his loyal supporters in the south west with adequate patronage after they had fought for him at Bosworth in 1485 resulted in their

<sup>186</sup> Myers, *Black Book*, p. 127.

<sup>187</sup> T. Stapleton (ed.), *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Society, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 4 (1839), p. 20.

<sup>188</sup> H.T. Riley (ed.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (London, 1854), p. 480.

<sup>189</sup> Griffiths, 'Introduction', p. 10.

<sup>190</sup> Harriss, 'Political Society', 28-57; J.B. Gillingham, 'Crisis or Continuity? The Structure of Royal Authority in England, 1369-1422', in R. Schneider (ed.), *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich* (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 59-80; M.J. McIntosh, 'Local Change and Community Control in England, 1465-1500', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 49 (1986), 219-42.

<sup>191</sup> M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-fifteenth-century Devonshire', in Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces*, pp. 123-44; M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late-Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97.

unexpected involvement in the 1497 rebellion.<sup>192</sup> Despite the symbols of his authority being visible throughout the realm, the king was not omnipresent, and had to trust his agents to implement his policies and exercise his authority. For some, this trust had to be won. Indeed, as has been argued, in some instances the giving of a livery collar could well have been an attempt to win favour or secure services.

## Conclusions

For many, it was service to the king,<sup>193</sup> and an avoidance of politically sensitive information, that was left to posterity. We have already seen the selective memory of Marmaduke Constable, or at least of his family, when it came to compiling his tomb inscription. Particularly for high profile figures, the volatile situation in England during the Wars of the Roses could dictate the extent to which one's political persuasions were depicted on a tomb.<sup>194</sup> There are of course exceptions to the rule. The brass commemorating John Sacheverell in St Matthew's Church, Morley (Derbyshire), records his death fighting for Richard III at Bosworth in 1485. The brass, however, dates from c. 1525, so perhaps the passage of time had made his link with the tyrant less sensitive. There are examples of Yorkist livery collars on church monuments which were evidently erected after the Tudor accession to the throne, one example being the tomb effigy of Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499), at St Edmund's, Holme Pierrepont (Nottinghamshire). The reasons for this particular instance may include the fact that he had no heir to face any potential repercussions.<sup>195</sup>

Richard Clervaux of Croft, a member of the Richmondshire community of gentry, clearly felt it best to be a loyal subject to the king, whether Lancastrian, Yorkist, or Tudor. He began his career as a Lancastrian, became a supporter of the House of York and then

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<sup>192</sup> D. Lockett, 'Patronage, Violence and Revolt in the reign of Henry VII', in Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People*, pp. 145-60.

<sup>193</sup> Or in the case of John Manners (d. 1492), service to the Kingmaker, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick: BL, Harley MS 3607, fol. 17.

<sup>194</sup> There may of course have been political reasons for choosing *not* to represent a collar on one's memorial.

<sup>195</sup> M. Ward, 'The Life and Death of Sir Henry Pierrepont, 1430-1499: A Search for Identity and Memorial', *The Ricardian*, 20 (2010), 80-93.

served the Tudor dynasty, perhaps as early as 1487 when other members of his community were hesitating to shed their Yorkist sympathies. His epitaph in Croft Church reads:

Here buried beneath this marble lies Richard Clervaux,  
 One time lord of Croft, God have mercy on him;  
 He was esquire to the body of King Henry the sixth,  
 Whom God brought to the stars of high heaven;  
 Next he was of the blood of both Edward the fourth,  
 And of Richard the third in the third degree;  
 Who died in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and ninety.<sup>196</sup>

His reconciliation to the Tudor regime was expressed through the depiction of an SS collar surrounding the coats of arms which once adorned the sides of the tomb.<sup>197</sup>

The amount of attention given to livery from the late fourteenth century points to a realisation among contemporaries of not only the potential danger, but also the benefits of distributing and wearing livery, be it in the form of robes, badges, or collars. The collar certainly polarised opinion. Wearing the item could bestow an immense sense of pride on the recipient, although the level of pride could reach arrogance in some, and lead them to oppress and bully their neighbourhoods under the supposed protection of their lord. But the collar also reflected the current 'character' of the donor, even if their reputation was on the wane. As was the case with Thomas Swinton, it was viewed as such a tangible link to the recipient's lord that it could be torn from the recipient's neck, an act which is reminiscent of other symbolic actions such as the reversal of a lord's heraldic arms.

But if controlled, in both a legislative and symbolic sense, the livery collar could be a useful tool for any lord, especially for the king. It could be utilised as a symbol of his authority, a 'cut above' other livery badges. The extent to which successive statutes were

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<sup>196</sup> The translation is taken from A.J. Pollard, 'Richard Clervaux of Croft: A North Riding Squire in the Fifteenth Century', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 50 (1978), 166-9. For the Latin inscription see BL, Harley MS 3607, fol. 15.

<sup>197</sup> Another example among many who reconciled themselves with the Tudor regime is Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough (Lincolnshire), d. 1496, master of the horse to Edward IV, Knight of the Garter under Richard III, and later given a barony by Henry VII: R.L. Storey, 'Lincolnshire and the Wars of the Roses', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 14 (1970), 64-83, at 71-4.

successful in restricting the livery badge and collar to members of the royal family and favoured followers can perhaps be judged by the virtual monopoly of royal livery collars on tombs and monuments from the fifteenth century. Although complaints over the illegal distribution of other forms of livery such as badges and robes continued as the century progressed, the lack of references to problems over the distribution of collars suggests the separate trajectory of the collar from other livery had been successfully established by the crown. Whilst being mindful of the political statements that some collars undoubtedly were, it is suggested here that a significant proportion of those who depicted them on their memorials did so primarily to express their past service to the king, whoever he was and whichever regime he represented.<sup>198</sup> Indeed it is argued that reaping the benefits of the prestige associated with royal service was at least an important facet in the vast majority of examples. For this reason it is therefore not surprising that, in the relatively rare instances where livery collars are mentioned in wills, it is often stipulated that they are collars 'of the king's livery'.<sup>199</sup> In 1485 the Croyland chronicler lamented the attainder of those who had served their king at Bosworth: 'Oh God! What assurance from this time forth are our kings to have that in the day of battle they will not be deprived of the assistance of even their own subjects when summoned at the dread mandate of their sovereign'. Perhaps the king was listening. In 1497 Henry VII declared that henceforth no individual who fought for the king could subsequently be attainted for treason.<sup>200</sup> Finally, it is important to reflect that livery collars would have served as a visible expression of the authority and presence of the king across his realm, from Ireland to Northumberland, from Cornwall to Kent.

Whilst this chapter has focused on the links between the livery collar and the crown, and the motivations behind the use of the item in England, there is another side to the story: the motivations which lay behind individuals choosing to depict them on their memorials. The expression of political conviction and demonstration of royal service may

<sup>198</sup> As was the case with the Derbyshire gentry: see chapter 4.

<sup>199</sup> Lichfield Record Office [hereafter LRO], B/A/1/13, fols. 245v-248v (Anne Kniveton, 1488); TNA, PROB 11/8, fols. 162v-163r (Thomas Fetherston, 1489); TNA, PROB 11/11, fol. 250r (Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, 1498).

<sup>200</sup> Riley (ed.), *Croyland*, pp. 511-12; Morgan, 'The King's Affinity', 8.

well have been important motivating factors, and were no doubt the primary reasons why collars were distributed. Their appearance on tombs for this reason would certainly have served as a useful tool of visual propaganda for the respective regime and the crown in general. But other factors should be considered. Where geographically clustered groups of 'collared' tombs appear in the localities, it will be argued that they were being interpreted and utilised in additional ways. Other explanatory factors should therefore be investigated; this will be addressed in the two final chapters. Before then the theme of the construction and articulation of shared identities will be addressed, in particular its relation to those who were awarded a collar: landed society.

## Chapter 3

# Medieval Identities

Although interest from medieval historians in the construction and expression of identities perhaps reached its apogee a decade ago, the concept justifiably continues to be utilised by sociologists, anthropologists and historians alike. Scholars of late-medieval 'communities', whether they were peasant villagers or gentry networks, have appropriated the concept in their work: examples of these are addressed later in the chapter. The intrinsic importance of articulating one's identity during life and formulating an identity for the afterlife cannot be denied, particularly for those whose income permitted some form of commemoration, whether that was on a prayer roll or a church monument. This chapter discusses various identities, associations and networks which the livery collar might have been thought of as representing, and the various ways in which the item was appropriated. In order to fully comprehend the collar's role in constructing identities, it is advantageous to view the item as a cultural rather than exclusively political or economic entity. It was after all awarded to an array of individuals from the rank of esquire or merchant to royal princes, for a variety of purposes. Regarding the collar as a cultural construct is particularly pertinent when one considers that historians have in recent times been encouraged to view social groups as cultures, focusing on the agency of individuals in addition to institutions.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will therefore focus on the cultural identities of groups, and the use of visual and material culture, in the form of the livery collar, to formulate these identities, whether they were implicit or explicit.<sup>2</sup> The approach will be broadly followed in chapters 4 and 5.

Firstly, the theory of semiotics will be introduced as an aid to correctly interpreting the livery collar and to help place it in its contexts. It will become clear that several terms used

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<sup>1</sup> K. Mertes, 'Aristocracy', in Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Attitudes*, pp. 42-60; R. Radulescu, 'Introduction', in Radulescu and Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> See T. Tolley, 'Visual Culture', in *ibid.*, p. 167; D. Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', in *ibid.*, p. 127.



by semiotic theorists are applicable when interpreting the livery collar. The collar will then be investigated as a symbol of the king and royal power and honour, and its role in expressing the collective identity of its recipients will be addressed. Finally, the applicability of the concept of fictive kinship will be appraised for exploring networks and identities, followed by a brief study of social network theory and its use for the medieval historian.

## Semiotics

Certain aspects of semiotic theory can help provide a framework for understanding the ways in which a collar was employed. Originally developed as a linguistic model by Saussure, who appropriated structuralist methodologies to analyse the use of signs in language, the study was elaborated to encompass images, gestures, sounds and objects: 'a sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else'.<sup>3</sup> Two strands dominate the field: the Saussurean dyadic model with its 'signifier' (the form which the sign takes, in this case the livery collar), and the 'signified' (the concept which it represents, principally the king and royal authority); and Peirce's semiotic model of the 'representamen' (the form which the sign takes), 'interpretant' (the sense made of the sign), and the 'object' (to which the sign refers). The interaction between the three is termed 'semiosis'. It is Saussure's simpler model of signifier and signified which is still usually referred to today. Crucially for the present study, the process of signification, the interpretative response of the addressee to the sign, is of tantamount importance. 'Nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted',<sup>4</sup> and as we have seen throughout this study, the collar as a sign could be interpreted differently by individuals in various contexts. One further term is applicable to the present study: the 'symbol', another less complicated and more frequently used term for the form which the sign takes.<sup>5</sup> The symbol does not physically resemble the signified, but refers to it. The relationship must therefore be learned. As with national flags or political symbols and

<sup>3</sup> R. Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. A. Lavers and C. Smith (London, 1967), p. 9; U. Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington, 1976), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> C.S. Peirce, *Collected Writings*, eds. C. Hartshorne, P. Weiss and A.W. Burks, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1931-58), ii, pp. 172, 228.

<sup>5</sup> For this reason the livery collar is predominantly referred to as a symbol in this study.

slogans, there is scope for variant interpretations.<sup>6</sup> This was certainly the case with medieval badges. Many had an elusive quality, utilising emblems and symbols (perhaps deliberately) which may not have been entirely understood by a cross section of society; take for example the abundance of meanings apportioned to the Lancastrian SS device. Although their primary role - association with the individual or group they represented - was usually readily understood, the elements within the sign, frequently containing veiled visual or textual messages pertinent only to the upper echelons of society, were open to a multitude of interpretations and understandings. This 'negotiability' of badges opened up a potentially vast array of shared, albeit vague, meanings between donor and recipient, thus providing more scope for common ground between them.<sup>7</sup> It should not be forgotten that this could of course open up the possibility for misinterpretation on behalf of the recipient.<sup>8</sup> Finally, some semioticians have proposed that the physical properties of the symbol are crucial interpretative factors.<sup>9</sup> This too is applicable to the livery collar, which could predominantly take the form of the Lancastrian collar of esses or the Yorkist suns and roses, and whose composition varied from silver to silver gilt or gold depending on the rank of the recipient, or indeed their estimation in the eyes of the donor.

### **The king's collar**

Livery collars were regarded as potent symbols of royal power and majesty, even as physical embodiments of the king's dignity and honour. Livery collars would, as it were, translate that essence to the wearer. As Margaret Aston has noted, 'it was accepted that the signifying image was worthy of the honour of the signified',<sup>10</sup> and honour was particularly due to the most potent of secular signs: the images, seals and banners of the king, which included his royal livery. The maltreatment of such images was considered a personal insult

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<sup>6</sup> C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (London, 1923), p. 14; Peirce, *Collected Writings*, ii, p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> C.W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), pp. 11, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> V.N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (New York, 1973), pp. 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> M. Aston, 'The use of images', in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds.), *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), p. 69.

to the king's dignity. In 1451 William Tresham was murdered, and his son Thomas wounded, by supporters of Lord Grey of Ruthin at Thorpland. The resulting petition to the king singled out the victims' livery collars among several items which were stolen, as the petitioners put it, 'ayenst youre peas, your corone and your dignite'.<sup>11</sup> Although the livery collar would perhaps not elicit the same response as the great seal, with individuals doffing their caps in its presence, an appropriate level of decorum and respect was evidently required. They represented a certain 'presence-in-absence' of the king's essence.<sup>12</sup> Initially serving as personal devices to distinguish lords and their retinues, certain badges slowly came to be associated with the crown, the most significant of which was the livery collar. As we have seen, those permitted to distribute a collar were restricted to members of the royal family after the legislation of 1401, thus initiating the process of the conversion of the SS collar from a personal device used by John of Gaunt and his son Henry Bolingbroke, to a badge associated with the crown. Although the process was slow and not infrequently abused,<sup>13</sup> the collar, in addition to the less omnipresent crown device worn by yeomen of the crown (Fig. 19), had become a crown symbol by the late fifteenth century. In a process begun by Edward IV, the 'signs of kings became the signs of kingship' under Henry VII.<sup>14</sup> Alongside the Tudor rose, the SS collar had been transformed into an official crown badge, graphically distributed throughout the kingdom on the personages of royal agents and administrators.

Although it seems natural today to describe the livery collar as a symbol, contemporaries, for whom the distinction between representation and presentation was not as definite, may have interpreted the collar as something more powerful and tangible.<sup>15</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum has discussed the materiality of late-medieval holy images and objects, arguing that they went beyond simply signifying what they represented, by in a sense becoming what they represented. For contemporaries relics *were* the saints; the

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<sup>11</sup> PROME, Henry VI, Parliament of November 1450, mems. 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Aston, 'The use of images', p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Although complaints focused on the illegal distribution of other forms of livery such as robes and badges. See above, pp. 76-84.

<sup>14</sup> Watts, 'Looking for the State', p. 267.

<sup>15</sup> Aston, 'The use of images', p. 69; Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 117.

matter which constituted the image was in a sense living.<sup>16</sup> Though we must of course be cautious when appropriating concepts of the materiality and animation of religious images to those of a secular nature, it can be argued that royal badges such as the livery collar had a similar effect on contemporaries. Although they would not have been regarded as having the same potential for animation as some statues of the Virgin, we should interpret them as did contemporaries: powerful representations of the dignity and honour of the king, representations which appeared to a degree to have contained his essence. Any abuse of the symbol was, as we have seen, considered an insult to the king's authority and majesty.

Although this would at first appear to somewhat undermine the theory that the livery collar served as a symbol of the king, rather than actually *being* the king or at least aspects of his essence, both Bynum's model and that provided by semiotics theorists are applicable. To an extent, the livery collar did appear to be treated by contemporaries as an extension, as it were, of the king's dignity and honour, as demonstrated with the William Tresham case. Utilising semiotics theory and viewing the collar as a symbol allows for the agency of the recipient and a greater variety of interpretations of the artefact; a process which will become more apparent in chapters 4 and 5.

### **Collective identity**

In 1860 Jacob Burckhardt famously declared that during the middle ages, 'man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation – only through some general category'.<sup>17</sup> The possibilities for self-expression and individualism were simply not available until the sixteenth century as one was first and foremost a member of a group. This statement has both influenced and been challenged by historians ever since. Indeed, the debate as to whether members of medieval society saw themselves essentially as members of groups, or as individuals, is on-going. A useful concept to employ when considering medieval identities is the 'social self'. Originally used by George H. Mead, the term discourages the historian from adopting the notion of the individual 'versus' the

<sup>16</sup> Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 22-65; 104-21; 280-6.

<sup>17</sup> J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of The Renaissance in Italy*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn. (London, 1960), p. 81.

community, by considering the individual *within* the community.<sup>18</sup> The 'self', it is suggested, was constructed in society; the social group was equally as important as the individual.<sup>19</sup> One's behaviour is therefore a means of identity construction, as identity can only be formed and articulated within social spaces.<sup>20</sup> The creation of identity was thus 'the result of a complex interplay between personal and social forces, or between the individual and the community'.<sup>21</sup> The notion that the individual was able to mould their various identities within the social milieu – within groups – informs this chapter. The decision (which was probably made by an individual in the first instance, whether by the commemorated or by a relative) to depict the livery collar on a memorial placed the deceased (and perhaps their immediate family) within a group. Whether the visual device was used to place the commemorated within a relatively small, localised context of like-minded acquaintances,<sup>22</sup> within a larger group of Lancastrian or Yorkist servants or supporters with the emphasis on 'political' association,<sup>23</sup> but also within the broader 'elite' class where their gentility was enhanced through the intimate association with a royal symbol, was determined by the individual or their family. Indeed, it is not implausible that in some cases the meaning behind the depiction of such a device could be multi-layered and was intended to perform all of the above functions.

It is not possible to talk of an individual's single 'identity'. There were a multiplicity of medieval identities an individual could choose to associate with, as will be demonstrated in the next two chapters. One had various identities: religious, social, ethnic, national, professional, familial, political, that evolved, were accumulated, and were negotiated over a lifespan. These identities were pronounced through various associations and affinities,

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<sup>18</sup> G.H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, ed. Charles Morris (Chicago, 1934), pp. 178-86; D.G. Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England* (New York and Basingstoke, 2005), p. 3. Whilst it must be conceded that opportunities for self-expression during the medieval period were not as abundant as in later periods, there were opportunities for individual expression and contemplation, particularly through religion.

<sup>19</sup> Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, pp. 3, 4, 9, 12, 15, 19.

<sup>20</sup> R.C. Trexler, 'Introduction', in his (ed.), *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghamton and New York, 1985), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> M. Rubin, 'Identities', in Horrox and Ormrod (eds.), *Social History of England*, p. 412.

<sup>22</sup> As was the case in Derbyshire: see chapter 4.

<sup>23</sup> See chapter 5.

voluntary and involuntary, some of which could be adjusted according to circumstances.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, members of late-medieval landed society were particularly prone to switching their allegiances as and when it suited. Contemporaries were themselves aware of the variety of social associations they were part of. The thirteenth-century friar John of Wales described the array of categories each person could belong to, according to gender, age group, social status, religion, prosperity, and so on.<sup>25</sup> Identity formation was relational, manifested through connections with others, and could be made more explicit when defined against the 'other'. The 'boundary', the differentiation made between one group and another, is thus a significant factor for creating and strengthening identities.<sup>26</sup> This is usually articulated through social interaction, but it is suggested here that it could also be achieved through symbolism, with an obvious 'other' available where Lancastrian and Yorkist livery collars were juxtaposed. Through the visual representation of the Yorkist badge of the *rose-en-soleil*, for example, in some circumstances one could explicitly identify oneself against the other, the Lancastrian device of SS.

Identities were expressed through a variety of features, through both written and visual media such as literature, prayers, wills, clothes, and on various forms of architecture.<sup>27</sup> One's identities could also be formulated through actions and connections. Both individual and group identities could be forged through religious participation, with fraternities such as the Corpus Christi guilds allowing for associations, often between members of landed society, to be formed.<sup>28</sup> Kinship ties were another important arena in which identities were articulated. As is made clear on the many extant examples of funerary sculpture in churches and cathedrals, familial bonds – particularly if one was associated to

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<sup>24</sup> Rubin, 'Identities', p. 383; M. Rubin, 'Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages', in J. Kermode (ed.), *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth Century England* (Stroud, 1991), p. 141; D. Woolf and N.L. Jones, 'Introduction', in Jones and Woolf (eds.), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke and New York, 2007), pp. 1-18.

<sup>25</sup> J. Swanson, *John of Wales: a Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth Century Friar* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 142-58.

<sup>26</sup> Woolf and Jones, 'Introduction', p. 8; A.P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London and New York, 1985), p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Long Grove, 1998), p. 14; Rubin, 'Identities', p. 386.

<sup>28</sup> Rubin, 'Small Groups', p. 140.

an honourable 'name' – were considered important, dynastic identity being perpetuated through the use of heraldic insignia on a variety of memorials. The visual representation of estate could also be made explicit on monuments, inscriptions advertising the fact that the deceased had been a knight (*miles*) were common. Names (both names determining ethnicity such as 'Welsh', and more abstract terms such as names of social classes) could therefore be used to construct collective identities, and inform the historian of the self-perception of the individuals and groups concerned.<sup>29</sup> National and, perhaps more importantly for our period, regional and local identities were also relevant to medieval society, particularly for those whose horizons did not extend beyond their place of origin. Indeed, geographical constructions such as liberties could act to bolster the feeling of unity within a locality or region, with all residents living under the control of a single ecclesiastical or secular lord.<sup>30</sup> The work of Rees Davies and Susan Reynolds has highlighted the importance of ethnicity and lay collective action on medieval identity construction, with 'collectives' and 'solidarities' being formed by all levels of the laity. The traditional emphasis on vertical authority and royal and seigniorial power has been challenged by Reynolds, who stresses the impact of horizontal ties on medieval society, which could transcend hierarchical divides themselves, for example with lords and peasants reacting together against oppression.<sup>31</sup>

It is worth briefly addressing the concept of the 'community' at this juncture. The notion of the medieval cohesive community has been questioned by several historians. Though there were opportunities to enter into communal ventures such as guilds and royal

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<sup>29</sup> See R.R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400: II. Names, Boundaries and Regnal Solidarities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, 5 (1995), 1-20.

<sup>30</sup> K. Stringer, 'States, Liberties and Communities in Medieval Britain and Ireland (c. 1100-1400)', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 5-36. Note that Stringer stresses the complexity of such groups, with several variables affecting the patterns of authority and solidarity (such as other hierarchical attachments, cultural geography, and the interaction of local and national politics) in a given liberty. For loyalty to a particular lordship see M. Devine, 'The Lordship of Richmond in the Later Middle Ages', in *ibid.*, pp. 98-110; Pollard, 'Richmondshire Community', pp. 37-59.

<sup>31</sup> P. Stafford, J.L. Nelson and J. Martindale, 'Introduction', in Stafford, Nelson and Martindale (eds.), *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 1-11; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984).

and noble retainers, one must be careful not to overuse or misapply the term.<sup>32</sup> One has only to consider the debate over the existence of the 'county community' in late-medieval England to understand the difficulty the term has caused for some historians,<sup>33</sup> although the term has been used in several of the articles and books cited above to describe liberties, for example. As regards this research project, the term 'community' does not suffice on its own to describe localised, or indeed national groups of individuals who share a common badge of identity. Other terms such as affinity have therefore been used where more applicable here and in subsequent chapters.

### Royal service

It is argued here that the choice to place the livery collar on one's memorial, at a time when such secular imagery was not abundant on monuments, served to enhance the dignity of the deceased and their family. A liveried retainer was regarded as a gentleman, the wearing of livery robes being one of the ways to express their *gentillesse*.<sup>34</sup> Livery, whether in the form of robes or badges and collars, served to derive a degree of authority and worship from a more prestigious person or dynasty, bolstered the status of the wearer, marked their political identity through association, and displayed their prestigious associations. It enabled some to 'acquire' gentility. Traditional interests and pursuits such as hunting, knowledge of chivalry, military activity, wise governance and prudence, upholding justice, keeping the laws of God and advancing the common weal, were still regarded as the defining characteristics of *gentillesse* and *noblesse*. Despite protestations from individuals such as William of Worcester, who particularly lamented gentlemen who wasted their talents by pursuing a career in law and bureaucracy, by the fifteenth century it was widely accepted that magnate and royal service was one of the elements which engendered gentility and nobility. This was

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<sup>32</sup> J.C. Calhoun, 'Community: towards a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research', *Social History*, 5 (1980), 105-29; Rubin, 'Identities', p. 402; Rubin, 'Small Groups', pp. 132-5.

<sup>33</sup> See below, pp. 130-1.

<sup>34</sup> R.L. Storey, 'Gentleman-bureaucrats', in C.H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England* (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 90-109; E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community, Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422 – c.1485* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 30; F.R.H. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition, English Society in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1970), pp. 65-75.



particularly pertinent for those who did not inherit their status through blood.<sup>35</sup> Naturally, one's honour would be enhanced all the more if the decision was taken to depict the king's livery on one's monument, thus celebrating past royal service.<sup>36</sup> It was as if the dignity of the king had to some extent rubbed off on the wearer of his livery, all the more so if the livery was his collar. At the same time it acted to advertise the honour and worship of the master; a 'symbolic unity' was created.<sup>37</sup> It was accepted that a king's esquire was in some cases more distinguished than a conventional esquire.<sup>38</sup> The enhanced honour bestowed on an individual who wore a royal livery collar is neatly summed up in a 1436 case from the Year Books. It was argued that, even though an individual was a serjeant of the kitchen in the royal household and should technically be described as a cook, as he wore the king's livery collar and served in his household he should also be styled a gentleman. Indeed, Chief Justice Inyn declared that individuals serving in the king's household would be affronted at being described simply by their occupation.<sup>39</sup> Evidently it was royal service, represented by his livery collar – explicitly highlighted by the judges - which transformed a cook into a gentleman.<sup>40</sup>

The wearing of a livery collar could in some contexts signify a more tangible association, being used to exhibit personal identification between the recipient and donor. We have witnessed Richard II wearing the collar of John of Gaunt to disclose the 'good love' between them, and the broom-cod collar of his father-in-law, Charles VI of France (along with his own personal device of the white hart), included in the Wilton Diptych. The depiction of a livery collar on a tomb also signified a tangible, personal relationship with the king or dynasty. Although the association between donor and recipient was in most cases less commensurate than that between royal princes, it still represented a degree of attachment

<sup>35</sup> Nichols (ed.), *Boke of Noblesse*, pp. 76-7; 'The Book of St Albans', in E.F. Jacob, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (Manchester, 1968), pp. 195-213, at p. 208; *English Church Monuments*, pp. 166, 234, 237, 259.

<sup>36</sup> See Coss, 'An age of deference', p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, p. 152.

<sup>38</sup> Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>39</sup> G. Sawbridge, W. Rawlins and S. Roycroft, *La Premiere Part des Ans du Roy Henry le VI* (London, 1679), 14 Henry VI, no. 51; Storey, 'Gentleman-bureaucrats', p. 92.

<sup>40</sup> Although Keen describes this type of conferred gentility as more 'precarious' than, for example, the right to bear coat armour: M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud, 2002), p. 139.

between the commemorated and the king. As we shall see in the Derbyshire case study, in some cases it did not necessarily matter which particular king.

### A shared culture

During the past decade historians have considered the cultural aspects of the aristocracy in its broadest sense: all those of gentle status.<sup>41</sup> In a society defined through the three estates those of the status of esquire and above constituted the fighting order; the magnates, gentry and from the twelfth century the bourgeoisie, were all part of a privileged social 'class'. The system of social honour extended beyond the peerage to all landowners, all of whom appropriated the term 'gentility', which was in some contexts equated with 'nobility' when defined as a set of assumptions as opposed to a group.<sup>42</sup> Though an internal hierarchy existed, as laid out in the *Book of St Albans*, the gentry and nobility shared common values, interests, education, traditions, assumptions, beliefs and behaviour that provided the context for a 'common world'.<sup>43</sup> There were many opportunities to interact on a personal level too. Although local government was more immediately relevant to the county gentry than their peers, together the gentry and nobility ruled the shires through the county bench and in the county courts. Contact with individuals higher up the social spectrum was available on other local commissions of array and oyer and terminer, and more regular contact was on hand for those who sought to undertake estate administration, legal duties and military service in a lord's retinue. The wider political stage was another arena in which the gentry could interact with the nobility. Particularly under Edward IV, the gentry were encouraged to involve themselves more with the royal court, where the cultural tastes of their superiors were digested and introduced into their localities.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Keen, *Origins*; J. Denton, 'Image, Identity and Gentility: The Woodford Experience', in L. Clark (ed.), *'Of Mice and Men': Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England, The Fifteenth Century*, V (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 1-18. For problems over definition see J. Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 6-14.

<sup>42</sup> J. Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain* (London and Basingstoke, 1982), pp. 4-30. For nobility as an ideology see A.J. Duggan, 'Introduction', in A.J. Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 1-14.

<sup>43</sup> 'Book of St Albans', p. 202; Mertes, 'Aristocracy', pp. 42-3.

<sup>44</sup> P. Fleming, 'Politics', pp. 50-62.

So despite the peerage essentially being set apart from the gentry, as was manifested in the two houses of parliament, both lords and non-lords shared the attribute of gentility. Indeed, in January 1465 Henry Beaufort, late duke of Somerset was accused of neglecting the 'gentilnes and the noble honour that oweth to be grounded in every gentilman', by turning his back on the king's grace and rebelling at Hexham the previous year.<sup>45</sup> The principal differences between them were predominantly of scale, not of interests or ideologies. Maurice Keen has talked of a process of acculturation between the 'squirearchy' and gentry, and those above them in the social hierarchy. As we have seen, the designation of 'gentleman' was something of a catch-all term, used by wealthy yeomen, esquires and dukes alike. In an age of aspiration, the county gentry emulated their social superiors' interests, conduct and lifestyles. As John Trevisa noted in the late fourteenth century, 'a yeman arraieth hym as a squyer, a squyer as a knyghte, a knyghte as a duke and a duke as a kyng'.<sup>46</sup> All were occupied with dynasty and lineage: the creation of false family genealogies was not confined to gentry parvenus such as the Pastons. By the fifteenth century a group consciousness had developed between lords and non-lords.<sup>47</sup> If resources allowed, those of a lower status could match or even better their superiors. Take for example residences such as Wingfield manor and Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, erected by powerful magnate and local gentry respectively. Wingfield, constructed in the mid-fifteenth century and home to Ralph, Lord Cromwell, is no bigger than Haddon, built by the Vernon family in the fourteenth century, and augmented in the fifteenth. Houses, alongside a multitude of other cultural pursuits and interests, are examples of the shared social and political outlooks of those who shared gentle status.<sup>48</sup> We should not, therefore, overemphasize the cultural differences between gentry and lord. Although tastes were not infrequently popularized from

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<sup>45</sup> D.A.L. Morgan, 'The Individual Style of the English Gentleman', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 15-35, at p. 16; PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of April 1463 to March 1465, mem. 11.

<sup>46</sup> C. Babington and J.R. Lumby (eds.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis, together with the English translation by John Trevisa*, 9 vols. (1865-86), ii, p. 171.

<sup>47</sup> Keen, *Origins*, pp. 22, 80-1, 102, 131-7, 163-5.

<sup>48</sup> A. Emery, 'Late-Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 140-61, at 145.

the aristocracy downwards, there was in reality a two-way process of cultural diffusion: in addition to imitating the assumptions and activities of social superiors, the elites were not averse to adopting the cultural tastes of their inferiors.<sup>49</sup>

Take, for example, literature. Through a generally competent level of literacy, gentlemen were able to 'learn' gentility. The reading habits of the county gentry mirrored those of the nobility and peerage, with a shared interest in chivalric and romance literature, histories, courtesy books, and treatises on hunting and good governance, all of which could be applied to the disparate social contexts of gentry and peer. British history such as the *Brut*, advice manuals such as Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* and Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, Arthurian romance such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, and 'mirrors' primarily written for royals such as versions of the *Secreta Secretorum* and *The booke of the ordre of Chevalrye or knyghthode*, printed by Caxton in 1484, made their way into the manuscript collections of the gentry, nobility and peerage.<sup>50</sup> Printers such as Caxton and Shirley addressed a broad readership encompassing all those of gentle status. The St Albans Chronicles of England, printed by Caxton in 1480 and containing advice on a range of pursuits applicable to lord and non-lord alike including hawking, hunting and heraldry, was written 'at the request of dyvers gentylymen'.<sup>51</sup> Similarity in tastes encouraged reading networks of a diverse membership, often through and between households. John Paston II is known to have shared books with fellow gentry and those above, including the earl of Arran.<sup>52</sup>

As with literature, the gentry's use of visual culture such as church monuments differed little from the nobility.<sup>53</sup> Resources may have dictated the scale of the commission, but members of the aristocracy such as Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (d. 1483) could

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<sup>49</sup> G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', *Past & Present*, 39 (1968), 3-10; P. Coss, 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: the Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood', *Past & Present*, 108 (1985), 35-79.

<sup>50</sup> R. Radulescu, 'Literature', pp. 100-18; Nichols (ed.), *Boke of Noblesse*, p. liv.

<sup>51</sup> 'Book of St Albans', pp. 196-208. The tract on hunting was a version of the British translation of *Le Art de Venerie*, originally written for Edward II.

<sup>52</sup> Coss, 'Cultural Diffusion', 55.

<sup>53</sup> Tolley, 'Visual Culture', p. 167.

favour the less expensive memorial brass, whereas the Derbyshire Fitzherbert family opted for the more extravagant alabaster tomb and effigy. The medium of monument was not entirely dictated by monetary resources, however. Local trends in monument style and what 'message' the commemorated wished to communicate may have in some cases been more influential factors. When searching for the various identities which were represented through late-medieval tombs, monuments and other church fittings such as stained glass, perhaps the most fundamental was one's identity as a member of landed society.<sup>54</sup> Through the use of visual cues such as dress and jewellery, and of course livery collars, gentlemen were able to maintain their cultural dominance.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps livery collars can therefore be regarded as examples of 'cultural capital'. This sociological concept, developed by Pierre Bourdieu, refers to material and symbolic goods that are considered worthy of acquisition in order to promote one's social mobility and prestige. Cultural capital, along with social and economic capital, is distributed by the dominant classes in order to maintain their autonomous position at the apex of society. Bourdieu subdivided cultural capital into three spheres: 'embodied', the consciously and sub-consciously inherited properties of one's character and disposition, usually acquired through the family; 'institutionalised', referring to institutional recognition; and 'objectified', physical objects which are frequently appropriated for their symbolic worth.<sup>56</sup> The livery collar would fall into the latter category. Although the item had tangible, occasionally exorbitant, monetary value, the properties used for their components were chosen primarily to reflect the symbolic value of the artefact.

Through the use of distinguishing marks and through their associations and actions, members of the landed classes were able to assert their identity and superior status over the commoners, in life and in death. By being depicted in armour and using a rich array of heraldry, and indeed through the proclamation of service to the king by placing a livery collar

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<sup>54</sup> Whilst acknowledging that smaller, localised affinities were also represented through the shared use of the livery collar, as may be the case with the members of the Tutbury group. See chapter 4.

<sup>55</sup> T. Reuter, 'Nobles and Others: The Social and Cultural Expression of Power Relations in the Middle Ages', in Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility*, pp. 85-98, at pp. 91-2.

<sup>56</sup> P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, 1986), pp. 241-58. Also see P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (New York, 1977).

on one's effigy, individuals were using their prosperity to help attain 'exclusionary closure'; their superiority and exclusivity over those who were not of gentle status was visually affirmed.<sup>57</sup> During the late-medieval period, and particularly after the Black Death, greater social mobility provided more opportunities for those not of gentle birth to enter the landed classes. As a result, the stratification within landed society became more complex. Anxieties were created as some individuals began to utilise the trappings of the wealthy, anxieties which resulted in the sumptuary regulation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup> The rise of the lawyers and other parvenus, who advertised their new-found gentility on their tombs to the extent that some depicted themselves as members of the second estate, caused consternation. The use of heraldry and the depiction of livery collars may have helped those within the gentle ranks to reassert their status over such intruders.

Paradoxically, the same trappings could be used by those very intruders from lower down the social spectrum who wished to pronounce their arrival on the scene, and to enhance their dignity. It is indeed the case that individuals of relatively low status (although the evidence suggests that the majority were from armigerous families) did choose to depict their livery collars on their memorial brasses, which were less costly than tombs, but still affordable only to those with a reasonable degree of disposable income. Equally, those individuals or families who were facing some crisis of identity such as the extinction of the male line, may have used such trappings on their monuments in an attempt to hide their insecurities.<sup>59</sup> So when talking of a 'gentle' identity represented on monuments, it is equally applicable to talk of social identity – the role of the deceased in society – being exhibited.

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<sup>57</sup> For social closure theory see S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (Basingstoke and London, 1995), pp. 1-14; R. Murphy, *Social Closure. The Theory of Monopolization and Exclusion* (Oxford 1988). Pierre Bourdieu talks of 'strategy': the various strategies of distinction used by the bourgeoisie to differentiate themselves from their 'inferiors', see P. Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 57. For a useful discussion of the uses of heraldry and the trappings of the landed classes in the fourteenth century, see P. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', in *Heraldry*, pp. 39-68.

<sup>58</sup> M.T. Rosenthal, 'Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39 (2009), 459-81.

<sup>59</sup> For 'last of the line' monuments see B. and M. Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice'; Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*; Ward, 'Sir Henry Pierrepoint'.

They were making a statement about their social roles in life and their social and cultural capital.<sup>60</sup>

Some art-historical interpretive phrases are applicable here. 'Self-fashioning' was originally used by Renaissance literary scholars to describe the ways in which writers used techniques to formulate and express their identities.<sup>61</sup> It is now used to assess how individuals displayed themselves to the wider society through the use of various representational means, such as language, public behaviour, and choice of attire.<sup>62</sup> It is suggested that the depiction of collars and badges on church sculpture and in stained glass can be seen as one aspect of 'self-fashioning', an attempt to advertise their status and wealth, and to maintain their standing within society. Of course, other identities were at play, such as familial, dynastic (or political), religious, and, as was the case with the Derbyshire group discussed in the following chapter, localised networks of affinity.

Art historians of Renaissance Italy have studied the ways in which material representation was used to construct identities.<sup>63</sup> Whilst the historian must be sensitive to the differences between the Italian city states of the sixteenth century and fifteenth-century England, not least in architectural style, it can be argued that from the late middle ages there was a pan-European elite culture, of which the English landed classes played no small part. Influences and ideas permeated geographical boundaries through an interactive court culture. The Yorkist regime under Edward IV had strong political and cultural ties with the Burgundian court, for example. Art historians use terms to describe the ways in which elite families used material and visual culture to legitimise and enhance their authority and identity. 'Visual controls' were imposed by the families through imagery on buildings,

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<sup>60</sup> For the social body, see Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, pp. 47-9. The term 'social identity' here carries a different nuance to that used by social psychologists, particularly social identity theorists, who interpret social identity as 'a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group'. See J.E. Stets and P.J. Burke, 'Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63 (2000), 224-237, esp. 224-6. Social identity theory is used predominantly to examine inter-group relations.

<sup>61</sup> S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London, 1980), pp. 1-5.

<sup>62</sup> Rubin, 'Identities', p. 396; S. Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, 2002).

<sup>63</sup> See A. Patterson, "'The face divine": Identity and the Portrait from Locke to Chaucer', in S. McKee (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries: Issues of Cultural and Individual Identity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 155-86.

furniture, paintings and sculpture through the use of colour, heraldic symbolism, and badges and collars. The 'cultural pre-eminence' of the dynasty would be articulated, and the political allegiance of the wearer of such imagery was made explicit through these visual signs of affiliation.<sup>64</sup> For those connected to the court, such visible association provided them with a source of cultural capital which served to maintain their standing.<sup>65</sup> Many of the visual and political references in such imagery would be understood only by those close to the court; the significance would have to be explained to visitors. In this way, the exclusive identity of the dynasty would be upheld.

It is proposed here that the livery collar was a mark of gentility, honourable service, and an example of an artefact used to portray a shared gentle culture.<sup>66</sup> A collar served the same purpose as the wearing of a lord's arms and livery on his clothing: it represented an association with a superior and an association with other individuals who wore it. By the early fifteenth century the livery collar represented an association with the king. We have seen how it was awarded to individuals from many levels of society, from esquire and merchant to prince, although the constitution of the collar did depend on rank: esquires typically received leather collars with silver components, while those given to those of knightly status or above were composed of silver-gilt or gold. The addition of precious jewels and pearls would signify a higher rank. Although some were evidently given for service in battle or for diplomatic purposes, at least on the more exalted stage of the princely courts of Europe, on a fundamental level the majority of collars signified the same thing: royal service, or some form of association with the king. In this respect the collar was a visual representation of a shared identity. This is undoubtedly one of the ways in which the king would have wished the collar to have been interpreted. However, as will be demonstrated in

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<sup>64</sup> E.S. Welch, *Art and Identity in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 6-7. Welch stresses that, in the case of Milan, the strenuous efforts of several dynasties to legitimise their authority actually hid their many insecurities. The impression of control through such projects did not reflect the reality of tension between the court and the wider community. It is also noted that, in order for this type of self-fashioning to be successful, the viewer's response was crucial; it had to be accepted (pp. 30, 46).

<sup>65</sup> S.J. Campbell, 'Introduction', in Campbell (ed.), *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550* (Boston, 2004), p. 10; W. de Clercq, J. Dumolyn and J. Haemers, "'Vivre Noblement': Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 38 (2007), 1-31.

<sup>66</sup> Keen, *Origins*, pp. 117-20.



the subsequent case studies, groups could appropriate them for their own ends when choosing to include collars on their church monuments.

### Fictive kinship

Kinship terminology and symbolism is frequently employed in hierarchical societies. This was particularly true for late-medieval society, when seigniorial relationships were often described in 'familial' terms. One only has to examine contemporary correspondence to find an abundance of examples of a lord addressing servants as his 'welbelovoid Fren-dis'. 'Trust' was another common facet adopted when addressing family members, servants and acquaintances alike.<sup>67</sup> The relationship was two way, with servants addressing their masters in a similar idiom.<sup>68</sup> In reality, of course, the use of such language was frequently nothing more than the application of a common gentlemanly etiquette. The relationship between some who addressed one another in such terms could be far from cordial. But even in these cases we have here another example of a 'class' adopting similar modes of address in order to define themselves as superior to those below them in the social spectrum: it was another means of seeking social closure. In other cases, however, particularly when employed by members of a group such as a household or a lord's retinue, the use of such language at least refers to the way in which the individuals perceived themselves, and the way in which they wished to be perceived by others.<sup>69</sup> Put simply, it served as a social bonding mechanism, and referred to the support and protection such a bond was expected to elicit. Late-medieval understandings of 'family' and 'affinity' extended beyond blood ties to include servants, third cousins, godparents, and even followers and friends. The Latin *famulus* was originally used to denote a servant or retainer, this developed into *familia* although the term retained its emphasis on a servant group. Other religious and secular affinities such as chivalric orders would also employ affective terminology. The household, and perhaps to a

<sup>67</sup> John Paston writing to John Daubeney and Richard Calle in 1465. Edward IV addressed Paston using similar terminology in a letter of 1468, calling him his 'trusty and welbelovoid': *PL*, pp.121, 296.

<sup>68</sup> Compare the similar manner in which Margery Paston and Roger Taverham address John Paston: 'ryth worchepfull husbond', and 'ryght reverent and most trusted maister': *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>69</sup> J. Bestard-Camps, *What's In a Relative? Household and Family in Formentera*, trans. R. Pitt (Oxford and New York, 1991), p. xv.

lesser extend the retinue, was frequently interpreted as a family, and in some circumstances association between lord and servant could be as earnest and affective as those engendered within a family unit.<sup>70</sup>

Theorists have approached the definition and role of 'kinship' in broad terms, proposing that we should think of kinship not only in biological or genealogical terms, but also social. In various societies the distinctions between biological and social kinship become blurred, with 'relatedness' constructed through social statements and practices as much as through family ties. Broader socio-economic and political contexts can therefore be used by groups to nurture and express their relatedness.<sup>71</sup> Is it possible to utilise this approach to late medieval society, in particular to suggest that the visual statement of wearing a livery collar, and the representation of the item on funerary monuments, helped to produce a consciousness of 'relatedness' among the individuals and families concerned? Firstly, to use the term 'fictive kinship' may be too strong in this context. We must ask ourselves at what level of grouping would this be applicable? When considering all those individuals who were awarded a collar, and those who opted to place them on their memorials (amounting to several hundred extant examples from the period 1400 to 1540) as a homogenous group, the most appropriate interpretation would be to view the use of the collar as a means of identifying with a broader 'class' of gentility, and a group who all shared a connection to the king in some form. However, on a more localised level, it will become apparent that many of those 'collared' individuals *were* in fact kin. This is indeed one of the most striking patterns revealed through researching the appearance of livery collars on memorials, and will be examined in greater detail in the next two chapters.

It is therefore informative to draw out the distinction between conceptual or 'imagined' communities,<sup>72</sup> and actual communities. In the broadest sense, all collar wearers would have

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<sup>70</sup> Powis, *Aristocracy*, pp. 51-3; I. Davis, 'Introduction', in I. Davis, M. Müller and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 1-13.

<sup>71</sup> J. Carsten, 'Introduction: cultures of relatedness', J. Carsten (ed.), *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-36.

<sup>72</sup> Cohen argues for the interpretation of 'community' as an idea or symbol, as opposed to a social or geographical reality: Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, pp. 18-21.

shared a common bond, and perhaps identified themselves as part of a wider symbolic 'community' comprising fellow collar recipients. As there were both Lancastrian and Yorkist collars during the period associated with the Wars of the Roses, which in some cases primarily served to denote the political conviction of the recipient, this assumption should be more nuanced. For those individuals who had remained loyal to one particular regime, and therefore primarily placed political meaning on their livery collar, it would have been difficult to have felt a degree of association with wearers of the opposing regime's collar.<sup>73</sup> But for those who placed more of an emphasis on the fact that they were wearing the royal livery collar, perhaps there was a common association in the king. On a more localised level, and in particular concerning those individuals who depicted the item on their memorials, many were in fact related by blood or marriage, some very closely. Although the term may not be entirely applicable to the present study, to view collar wearers as something akin to 'fictive kin' at least helps us to comprehend some of the motives at play. These individuals and their families were concerned with being portrayed as part of a group.

### **Social network analysis**

Social network analysis is a paradigm developed by anthropologists who saw individuals as interconnected, and interacting, social beings. In addition to fictive kinship, it is another theoretical model which has been successfully appropriated by historians studying groups of connected individuals. Network analysis focuses on these interactions, and attempts to identify and investigate groups, assess their strengths, and examine the roles between individuals. The methods of network analysis may be used by a medieval historian who wishes to identify and study the attributes of particular groups. In this case, it may be used to confirm (or indeed disprove) the existence of localised, or wider, 'networks' of individuals who shared the livery collar on their funerary monuments.

During the 1960s and 1970s, social anthropologists began to show an interest in the ties between individuals – 'networks' - within society, in an attempt to understand the

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<sup>73</sup> Take, for example, the Herbert affinity examined in chapter 5.

structure of social relations.<sup>74</sup> The notion of the social network was a response to the traditional structural-functional interpretation of society, which concentrated on ties created by territorial or institutional systems: a factory, mine, or a political party, for instance.<sup>75</sup> This approach was considered inadequate, particularly when analysing more complex, ever-changing societies. It was a group of social anthropologists at Manchester University, notably John Barnes, John Clyde Mitchell and Elizabeth Bott, who first developed the social network analysis paradigm in the 1960s. They encouraged an approach which emphasised informal, interpersonal ties of friendship, kinship and neighbourhood ('social networks'), as opposed to the institutions ('groups'), of society. The patterns of interaction between individuals formed the basis of network analysis.

During the 1970s, sociologists at Harvard developed the Manchester model and called for the inclusion of the institutional 'groups' themselves in network analysis, alongside the more informal relationships that had been the focus of the Manchester scholars. The shift enabled researchers to look at 'total', rather than 'personal', networks. Today, the term 'network', which had previously been used metaphorically, has now been given a more formal definition. An advanced analytical methodology has also been developed, and various mathematical techniques are utilised to interpret data. Specific computer programs have been developed to store and display research data, although a spreadsheet can be used for data storage and manipulation. A variety of terms are used, many taken from graph theory. The 'sociogram' is a diagrammatical device used to depict networks of individuals using points and lines. Network 'density' is used to describe the level to which the network can be

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<sup>74</sup> For what follows, see J. Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London, 2000); J.C. Mitchell, 'The Concept and Use of Social Networks', in J.C. Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Manchester, 1969), pp. 1-50; J. Boissevain, 'Preface', in J. Boissevain and J.C. Mitchell (eds.), *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction* (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. vii-xii; J.C. Mitchell, 'Networks, Norms and Institutions', in *ibid.*, pp. 15-25; A. Blok, 'Coalitions in Sicilian Peasant Society', in *ibid.*, pp. 151-65; E.R. Wolf, 'Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies', in M. Banton (ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies* (London, 1968), pp. 1-22; S. Leinhardt (ed.), *Social Networks: A Developing Paradigm* (New York, San Francisco and London, 1977), pp. xiii-xxxiv; J.A. Barnes, 'Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish', *Human Relations*, 7 (1954), 39-58; M.S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973), 1360-80; R.V. Gould, 'Power and Social Structure in Community Elites', *Social Forces*, 68 (1989), 531-52; A. Macfarlane, 'History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities', *Social History*, 2 (1977), 631-52.

<sup>75</sup> Medieval parallels might include the manor or the household.

considered complete, and concerns the amount of linkages among the various points in a graph. 'Intensity' describes the strength of the ties within a network.<sup>76</sup> A distinction has been made between 'simplex' and 'multiplex' relationships.<sup>77</sup> For the medieval historian studying gentry society, the multiplex system – in which individuals had a number of varying relationships - is the primary concern.<sup>78</sup> Anthropologists now distinguish between 'strong' and 'weak' ties within a network,<sup>79</sup> and are able to establish the boundaries of a given network.<sup>80</sup> In addition, network analysis allows for the researcher to identify 'clusters' within a network (smaller subgroups with strong ties), and to establish which individuals act as 'brokers' (those who communicate or negotiate between subgroups and networks).<sup>81</sup>

Limited evidence does not usually permit the historian to use many of these methods in the ways in which they were intended by social network theorists, and the complicated diagrams and use of graph theory is therefore not feasible. Some scholars have, however, been able to use the methodologies employed in social network analysis to investigate their own groups. Communal patterns in a thirteenth-century village in Suffolk have been examined using manorial records. The roles of kinship and other local ties were investigated through analysing 112 individuals and their ego-centric networks. The author came to the conclusion that the notion of the tightly-knit rural village community was in this case a fallacy and a much looser network was identified.<sup>82</sup> David Gary Shaw utilised network analysis to study the relationships between the burgesses of Wells in the fourteenth century. Using arbitration and litigation proceedings from the borough records, he was able to explore the relations and interactions between 98 individuals. He was able to identify the 'inner' and 'outer' circles of influence, and to calculate the density and intensity of the network.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, pp. 118-9.

<sup>77</sup> Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, p. 29.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, D. Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986), 38-69.

<sup>79</sup> See Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', 1360-80.

<sup>80</sup> Cohen, *Symbolic Construction*, p. 12.

<sup>81</sup> Gould, 'Power and Social Structure', 531-52.

<sup>82</sup> R.M. Smith, 'Kin and Neighbours in a Thirteenth-Century Suffolk Community', *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979), 219-56.

<sup>83</sup> Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions*, pp. 117-9.

Christine Carpenter proposed the use of network analysis in an influential 1994 article.<sup>84</sup> She was encouraging the use of social network analysis in order to critique advocates of the gentry 'county community' among medieval historians at the time. Whilst pointing out that the term 'community' could be suitable for those studying the medieval village,<sup>85</sup> it is not, she suggested, appropriate for studying those members of society whose horizons were much wider than the village.<sup>86</sup> Although the debate is not the primary concern here, Carpenter's article has informed much of what follows. It is the level of landed society that formed the focus of Carpenter's article which provides the principal focus for this thesis. She suggests that the use of network analysis provides the historian with a method and framework in which to examine the horizontal and vertical links among gentry society, to identify groups, and to assess the strength of ties between the networks. More generally, it also enables historians to explore the identities of the late-medieval gentry, and to investigate the nature of power in the localities. For Carpenter, 'friends of friends' were an important aspect of nobility-gentry relations (for example through retaining) during the period;<sup>87</sup> these were ties which could be called upon as and when needed – by both parties. Although many of the terms used by social anthropologists can be used more generally,<sup>88</sup> and the mathematical language is not applicable, the methodology of network analysis permits the historian to focus on how to ask the relevant questions, and to come to more concrete conclusions.<sup>89</sup>

Carpenter uses the term 'weak ties' in a general manner to describe intergroup connections. She splits these into ties centred round the family and the property. Ties with the government and nobility can be deduced through grants, service on crown estates, and

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<sup>84</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 340-80.

<sup>85</sup> For an exploration of the use of the term for modern rural society, see A.P. Cohen (ed.), *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures* (Manchester, 1982). An excellent overview of the (mis)uses of the term 'community' is provided in S. Wright, 'Image and Analysis: New Directions in Community Studies', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 195-217. Wright is equally as reticent as Carpenter in using the term.

<sup>86</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 343-4.

<sup>87</sup> See J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 71-2.

<sup>88</sup> Shaw and Carpenter have interpreted some of the above-mentioned terms differently.

<sup>89</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 366.

service for the royal household. Records of feoffees and witness lists provide important evidence of trust and personal connections.<sup>90</sup> Acting on commissions can also be included in the analysis, as an example of institutional ties.<sup>91</sup> All the above activities acted to bring members of the gentry in touch with one another.

Carpenter provides a case study by examining the personal network of Philip Chetwynd (d. 1307). His strong ties are listed, which include his direct ties, and then his indirect ties. The weak ties are then listed - those who were associated with Chetwynd on only one occasion. It is perhaps not surprising that a strong kinship element was evident in his network as his in-laws the Pulestons feature heavily in his deeds. The 'brokers' within the network are also identified by adding together the number of 'second-order' connections – those individuals associated to Chetwynd at one remove from his direct ties.<sup>92</sup> Although there appears to have been a more than adequate amount of primary material for Carpenter to work with for this case study, she stressed that the preliminary research carried out for the paper did not allow her to make any definite conclusions. Her study of the connections between the Warwickshire landed society in the first half of the fifteenth century likewise only 'scratched the surface of a complex set of social relationships about which we know very little'.<sup>93</sup> Day-to-day communication in the form of verbal contact has obviously not been recorded.

Despite this, the methodologies used by sociologists and anthropologists can be of use here. They do not have to be followed rigorously, and many of the terms can be used to test their applicability for the medieval historian. Indeed they need to, as the nature (and paucity) of evidence will determine this. By following the various terms and methodologies the historian is able to research networks in a structured manner, and may be able to come to some firmer conclusions. The method allows for the historian to provide some dependable answers regarding the role of kinship, friends, and political ties in the construction of

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 368-9.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 373. See Gould, 'Power and Social Structure', for a more detailed discussion of the term. Note that Carpenter has used the term in a more general sense.

<sup>93</sup> Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 621.

networks during the period. The various interconnections can be identified and investigated, the strength of the ties can be confirmed, and the role of brokers can be examined.<sup>94</sup>

Regarding the present study, a very broad usage of the approach used in network analysis has confirmed the existence of local 'cluster groups', or networks, which gave rise to the shared depiction of the livery collar on monuments. The approach also allows for the relative importance of the roles of kinship, neighbourhood, and political affiliation in the creation of networks to be examined in a methodical manner. It should be noted that many medieval historians have in fact used the methods discussed above, albeit less rigorously than social scientists.<sup>95</sup> This will be the case in the following two chapters.

## Conclusion

Gerd Althoff has stressed the importance of non-verbal forms of communication in expressing bonds: a ceremony, gesture, and a visual cue could all express association with others.<sup>96</sup> This chapter has sought to place the livery collar in the context of identity construction, in particular the formation of identities of association. In attempting to elucidate how the collar was 'read' by late-medieval society, it has proposed that the artefact was used to construct group identities, whether it was the larger group of all collar wearers, or smaller groups where the various individuals had a greater level of personal contact. This was applicable both during life, and in a commemorative context. If one collar wearer came into contact with another there would have been an immediate sense of concordance, both individuals being linked through a degree of affinity to the king, perhaps in some cases through a member of the aristocracy. A group of collar wearers would have felt a degree of

<sup>94</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 374.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 368. They may in fact have adopted older methods developed in other contexts, such as prosopography. See *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 54-5; Payling, *Political Society*, pp. 83-6; M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 24-6, 31-3; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 110-13; C. Moreton, *The Townshends and Their World: Gentry, Law, and the Land in Norfolk, c.1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 23-7; N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 62-3; P. Maddern, 'Best Trusted Friends': Concepts and Patterns of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry', in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, IV (Stamford, 1994), pp. 100-17.

<sup>96</sup> G. Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. C. Carroll (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 162-3.



solidarity, or at least similarity, if they were undertaking royal duties, for example. We have previously witnessed a correspondent of the Pastons noting that one of his visitors was wearing the 'king's livery'. Several individuals wearing the livery would have served to enhance the impact. On the battlefield the effects would surely have been more profound, perhaps eliciting a consciousness of 'brotherhood' during the fight.<sup>97</sup> But livery collars could also be utilised to construct identities after the death of an individual, through their depiction on church monuments and in stained glass. It is in this context that the next two chapters will analyse the livery collar.

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<sup>97</sup> See below, pp. 192-7.

## Chapter 4

# ‘A coler of the kynge lyverey’: Depictions of the livery collar on church monuments to the Derbyshire gentry, 1465 to 1500

The county of Derbyshire has left us one of the greatest legacies with regards to depictions of livery collars on monuments from the period traditionally associated with the Wars of the Roses. A total of 11 collars can be found on tomb effigies and memorial brasses from 1465 to 1500.<sup>1</sup> This can be compared to neighbouring Leicestershire, which has no extant examples from the same period, and Nottinghamshire, which has only two.<sup>2</sup> Eight of the monuments feature a collar of the Yorkist device of alternating suns and roses, adopted by Edward IV after his victory at Mortimer’s Cross in 1461, and the remaining three represent the Lancastrian collar of esses, revived by Henry Tudor after his victory at Bosworth in 1485. The inclusion of livery collars on tombs in Derbyshire tallies with the national picture: the appearance of the Yorkist collar soon after 1461 following an extended period of the use of the Lancastrian collar, followed by a reasonably swift reintroduction of the Tudor SS collar after 1485.

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the various motivations behind the choice to depict the livery collar on a memorial. Despite the apparently obvious interpretation of the collar representing Yorkist or Lancastrian (or after 1485, Tudor) political allegiance, there were other factors specific to Derbyshire. Firstly, the gentry whose monuments are the focus of this study were linked first through geographical proximity; the majority of the monuments are located in the south west of the county, clustered within a radius of approximately 12 miles (see **Appendix 2**). Save for the tombs in Sawley, Barley and Youlgreave, there is little

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<sup>1</sup> This is surpassed only by Yorkshire, which has 12 extant depictions of livery collars on church monuments from 1450 to 1500.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499), at St Edmund’s, Holme Pierrepont, and a mutilated effigy at St Anne’s, Sutton Bonington, thought to represent Thomas Staunton (d.c. 1486).

more than five miles separating each burial location. Even the three aforementioned villages were by no means far away and were within easy travelling distance. The families concerning this case study were therefore well known to one another, and no doubt conversed on a regular basis. They were, in effect, neighbours. The individuals were also brought together through strong ties of affinity to the duchy of Lancaster, in particular Tutbury honour, whose pervasive presence was felt throughout the county during the late medieval period. On examining the map, it is noticeable that the locations of the majority of the monuments form an umbrella to the north and east of Tutbury castle, home of the honour, and centre point of royal power and influence in the area. Many gentry were also retained by William, Lord Hastings, during the 1470s. A further, and perhaps most important, consideration must be kinship ties: every one of the individuals commemorated was closely related to at least one other individual. This case study will therefore attempt to interpret the appearance of the livery collar on tombs in the context of collective identity. It is suggested that they, or their families, were consciously choosing to adopt the collar as a group symbol, a durable declaration of their affinity. On another, more universal level, these members of the county elite were using the symbol to bestow an element of dignity and honour on themselves, in order to set them apart from their social inferiors.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore appropriate to investigate various strata of influence: from the closer familial ties to the wider bonds created through service to the duchy of Lancaster, which was, it must be emphasised, in the hands of the Yorkist king during most of our period, and the various political ties.

The individuals to be examined are:

Nicholas Fitzherbert (d. 1473), St Mary's and St Barlok's, Norbury

Ralph Fitzherbert (d. 1483), St Mary's and St Barlok's, Norbury

Roger Bothe II (d. 1478), All Saints', Sawley

John Bradbourne (d. 1488), St Oswald's, Ashbourne

Robert Barley (d. 1467), St Lawrence's, Barlow

Thomas Cockayne (d. 1488), All Saints', Youlgreave

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<sup>3</sup> See *English Church Monuments*, pp. 137, 233-4, 371.

Thomas Fraunceys (d. 1482), St Wystan's, Repton

Nicholas Montgomery (d. 1465), St Andrew's, Cubley

Ralph Pole, (d. 1492), St Andrew's, Radbourne

John Curzon III, (d.c. 1492), All Saints', Kedleston

Nicholas Kniveton, (d. 1500), All Saints', Mugginton

The first group feature the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, the second the Lancastrian SS collar. In addition, Sir Henry Vernon (d. 1515), at St Mary's and St Bartholomew's, Tong (Shropshire), Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499), and Sir John Savage IV (d. 1495), at St Michael's, Macclesfield (Cheshire) will be considered, as they shared strong tenurial and kinship ties with those listed above.

All these families had enjoyed a long association with the county, some holding lands there since the Conquest. The wealthier knightly families such as the Vernons, the Curzons and the Montgomerys had enjoyed a privileged position within the county for a substantial time, enjoying the rights of free warren, for example.<sup>4</sup> Other families developed close tenurial ties with these wealthier families. For example, the Fitzherberts were under-tenants to the Montgomerys in several of their estates.<sup>5</sup> If one takes the list compiled by Susan Wright of the 32 most prominent knightly families in the county in the fifteenth century, then all the individuals concerned were members of the political and landed elite.<sup>6</sup> This distinct group developed their ties through inter-marriage, and through filling the major local offices such as sheriff or justices. Peter Pole of Radbourne was almost ever-present on the bench until 1450, after which his son Ralph and John Curzon of Kedleston carried out much of the work until the early 1460s. During the latter part of the century, John and William Bothe regularly

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<sup>4</sup> William de Montgomery was granted free warren on his manor at Cubley in 1249: TNA, C 60/47, mem. 5. The Montgomery family were closely related to the Ferrers, who were granted extensive estates in Derbyshire following the Conquest. See D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire* (London, 1817), p. 94. The Curzon family possessed their principal estate at Kedleston in the twelfth century: M. Wiltshire and S. Woore, *Medieval Parks of Derbyshire, A Gazetteer with Maps, Illustrations and Historical Notes* (Ashbourne, 2009), p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 4-5; appendix 2.

sat on the bench, frequently alongside Nicholas Fitzherbert.<sup>7</sup> Some also served further afield by representing their shire in parliament.<sup>8</sup>

The Derbyshire gentry also developed a close affinity with the duchy of Lancaster (in the hands of the king from 1399), through their association with the Tutbury honour.<sup>9</sup> They were certainly loyal to their Lancastrian lords, playing an influential part in the coup of 1399, fighting for Henry IV at Shrewsbury in 1403 – a battle in which Edmund Cockayne was killed – and for Henry V at Agincourt in 1415, where members of the Cockayne and Fitzherbert families were present.<sup>10</sup> Both Henrys were to reward the loyalty of their Derbyshire supporters with local offices, consequently many of the special commissions in the period 1400 to 1420 were dominated by their duchy servants.<sup>11</sup> This cohesive network, centred on south-west Derbyshire and east Staffordshire, can still be observed into the 1440s, although it had begun to wane, chiefly due to the weakness of Henry VI. Although the retinues of local magnates such as Henry, Lord Grey and Humphrey Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in 1444,<sup>12</sup> kept some members of the gentry network together, they were not successful in creating an effective affinity.<sup>13</sup> Troubles came to a head when members of the Derbyshire gentry attacked the property of Walter Blount in 1454. Led by the Longford family, the attackers, apparently numbering over 1,000, raised the Lancastrian standards and ransacked Elvaston Hall, with the accusation that Blount had 'gone to serve traytors', referring to Blount's support for Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, and Richard, duke of York.<sup>14</sup> The following year Roland Blount was killed at Derby.<sup>15</sup> A reconciliation was

<sup>7</sup> G. Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, 4 vols. (Cardiff, 1999), ii, p. 661.

<sup>8</sup> See *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a for a list of Derbyshire justices of the peace during the period 1430 to 1509. The majority of individuals listed above served on the county bench at some point. Those who did not had close relatives who did. Appendix 10 provides a list of sheriffs and knights of the shire and again many of the individuals are present.

<sup>9</sup> Examined in more detail below.

<sup>10</sup> J.C. Cox, 'Political History', in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History of the County of Derby*, 2 vols. (London, 1905-7), ii, pp. 106-7.

<sup>11</sup> Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy*, pp. 200-6.

<sup>12</sup> C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 19-20. Buckingham's retinue numbered 80 men at its apogee.

<sup>13</sup> Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy*, p. 262.

<sup>14</sup> See A. Carrington and W.J. Andrew, 'A Lancastrian Raid in the Wars of the Roses', *DAJ*, 34 (1912), 33-49.

<sup>15</sup> A. Carrington and E.M. Poynton, 'A Lancastrian Raid in the Wars of the Roses', *DAJ*, 35 (1913), 207-46.

eventually achieved and by 1460, when Buckingham and another local Lancastrian magnate, John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, were killed fighting at Northampton, the Derbyshire gentry were no longer die-hard Lancastrians. The previous year they had avoided fighting at Blore Heath and Ludford Bridge. Indeed, with the lack of strong royal or magnate authority they had resorted to self-regulation, attempting to reconcile their recent differences.<sup>16</sup> Although trouble would still arise into the 1460s,<sup>17</sup> the gentry network continued to work together. Both before and after the Yorkist accession in 1461, families such as the Blounts, Cockaynes, Fitzherberts, Fraunceyses, Bradbournes, Montgomerys and the Vernons can be seen co-witnessing charters.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, many of the families involved in the attack on Blount's property feature among those individuals who from 1465 were to be depicted wearing Yorkist livery collars on their monuments: Nicholas Montgomery, John and Edmund Cockayne, and Nicholas and Ralph Fitzherbert were all included on the list of those indicted.<sup>19</sup> It is argued here that they had not, however, forgotten their duchy links. With the accession of Edward IV in 1461, the duchy had been detached from the Lancastrians and was now in the hands of the Yorkist king. The depiction of the Yorkist suns and roses livery collar on their memorials, however, could still be a statement of their strong ties with the Tutbury honour. In some respects their loyalty was still directed towards the duke of Lancaster, who now happened to be the Yorkist king.

## Chronology

If the suggestion is that all those individuals depicted wearing a livery collar were influenced by others in the group, then a brief discussion of chronology is warranted. Despite the inevitable difficulties dating the construction of several of the memorials, it is possible to

<sup>16</sup> Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy*, pp. 302-5.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, trouble in 1467 culminated in the murder of Roger Vernon by retainers of Henry, Lord Grey of Codnor, prompting Edward IV to order a commission of oyer and terminer: Hicks, '1468 Statute', 15-28.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office [hereafter DRO], 231 M/T150; I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in the Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms* (London and Derby, 1906), 1395, 1596, 1597, 2678 [hereafter Jeayes].

<sup>19</sup> TNA, KB 9/12/1, mems. 13a, 15, 24. The names of Nicholas and John Fitzherbert were subsequently crossed out. *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 135; Carrington and Poynton, 'A Lancastrian Raid', 44.

make some observations.

The earliest monuments are those commemorating Nicholas Montgomery (d. 1465) and Thomas Fraunceys (d. 1482). It is suggested that these two tombs were constructed during the mid-1460s. Next comes the memorial brass to Robert Barley (d. 1467), which was probably also made during the late-1460s, possibly after his death. It is likely that the brass to Roger Bothe II at Sawley was erected shortly before or after his death in 1478. As will be addressed below, there is doubt as to when the two Fitzherbert tombs were constructed. A period of between the early-1480s and the early-1490s is feasible. The tomb of John Bradbourne (d. 1488) is likely to have been built a short time before his death, perhaps c. 1485.<sup>20</sup> The monument of Thomas Cockayne (d. 1488) was probably made during the same period, before 1490.<sup>21</sup> We now come to the two effigies featuring the SS collar: Ralph Pole (d. 1492) and John Curzon III (d.c. 1492). It is suggested that both tombs were made during the period 1490 to 1500.<sup>22</sup> Finally, it is probable that the brass commemorating Nicholas Kniveton (d. 1500) at Mugginton was erected shortly before or after his death.

It can be suggested that, although the group were influencing one another as an entirety, it may have been from the closest family associates (in most cases in-laws, see **Appendix 1**) that the strongest motivation to depict a collar was derived. If this was the case, then it is interesting to note the dates between the various 'pairs' of influence. The tombs of Montgomery and Fraunceys were constructed at approximately the same time. The gap between the construction of the Bothe brass and the Fitzherbert monuments could have been as little as a couple of years. Equally, the Bradbourne tomb was probably erected at about the same time as the Fitzherberts'. The tombs of Pole and Curzon, which are very similar in appearance, were likely to have been built during the same period, with Kniveton's brass erected at approximately the same time. The only discernible long gap is that between the construction of the Barley incised slab and his son-in-law Thomas Cockayne's tomb: between ten and fifteen years. When pairing the monuments to their closest family

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<sup>20</sup> M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales*, 8 vols. (Shrewsbury, 2010-13), i, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 131.

associates, there does not therefore appear to have been a substantial lapse of time between their construction.

### **Ties of locality: kinship, tenure and office**

As will be demonstrated in this section, many of the individuals commemorated had strong kinship ties, some with more than one family, as outlined in the genealogies in **Appendix 1**. It is also possible to illuminate local connections through deeds, especially feoffments to uses, and wills.<sup>23</sup> Although there are problems with definition, it may be possible to describe the links between some of these individuals as friendships. There is also evidence of close ties between several generations of families and there was clearly an element of mutual trust and responsibility involved in these relationships.<sup>24</sup> It is therefore appropriate to provide a prosopography of the individuals and their families, examining their position within the county gentry and their ties with other collar wearers. The analysis will begin with the 'Yorkists' and conclude with the 'Lancastrians'. Other contexts will then be examined, such as the families' association to the Tutbury honour and William, Lord Hastings, followed by a description of each church monument.

It is worth noting that Derbyshire has an abundance of alabaster tombs and effigies. The principal alabaster quarries during the medieval period were located in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. In Derbyshire the gypsum ridge can be found along the whole of the Trent Valley, but is most easily worked at Chellaston, where it lies near the surface.<sup>25</sup> Chellaston lies approximately ten miles east of Tutbury, and lay within the honour. Records show that alabaster was being quarried there from at least 1374.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the Chellaston workshop of

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<sup>23</sup> For the importance of choosing reliable and trustworthy feoffees, see Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life*, p. 62.

<sup>24</sup> Maddern, "Best Trusted Friends", pp. 100-17; C.E. Moreton, 'A social gulf? The upper and lesser gentry of later medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 255-62, at 257-8. For the historical application of the term 'friend', and an discussion of trust, see J. Haseldine, 'Friendship, Intimacy and Corporate Networking in the Twelfth Century: The Politics of Friendship in the Letters of Peter the Venerable', *English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), 251-80, at 253-6; G. Hosking, 'Trust and Distrust: A Suitable Theme for Historians?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series, 16 (2006), 95-115.

<sup>25</sup> R. Lethbridge Farmer, 'Chellaston Alabaster', *DAJ*, 38 (1916), 135; F. Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 12-13.

<sup>26</sup> N. Ramsay, 'Alabaster', in J. Blair and N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), p. 31. Also see W.H. St. John Hope, 'On the Early Working of Alabaster in England', *Archaeological*



Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton was one of the most important and well documented in the first half of the fifteenth century, when they were contracted to produce effigies for such prestigious families as the Montagu earls of Salisbury.<sup>27</sup> The 1419 contract for one of their tombs, that of Ralph Grene (d. 1417) and his wife Katherine at Lowick, Northamptonshire, still survives, as does the tomb.<sup>28</sup> It appears that Nottingham was also home to a number of alabastermen, particularly after the 1470s.<sup>29</sup> In 1496 it was a Nottingham craftsman, Walter Hylton, who was contracted to make the tomb for Richard III.<sup>30</sup> Jane Crease has recently identified at least one Yorkshire workshop contemporary to the Prentys and Sutton enterprise at Chellaston.<sup>31</sup> Although it is not certain that these workshops were based in York itself, there is evidence to suggest that alabaster was being worked in the city by the second half of the fifteenth century, as several alabasterers are mentioned in the Freemens' rolls from 1456.<sup>32</sup> Later in the century the alabaster trade moved to Burton-upon-Trent;<sup>33</sup> a 1508 contract with Burton alabastermen Henry Harpur and William Moorecock can be linked to the Montgomery tomb at Cubley.<sup>34</sup> The monuments at Norbury, Radbourne, Kedleston, Repton, Youlgreave and Ashbourne, all discussed below, are fine examples of alabaster workmanship.<sup>35</sup>

By the fifteenth century, the Fitzherbert family had resided at Norbury for several hundred years, having been granted the manor by Tutbury Priory in 1125 for an annual rent

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*Journal*, 61 (1904), 221-40; P. Lindley, 'Introduction', in P. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 23-9.

<sup>27</sup> Bayliss, 'Indenture', 22-9.

<sup>28</sup> Printed in Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 30. A full transcript and translation, along with a detailed discussion of Prentys and Sutton, can be found in Badham and Oosterwijk, "Cest Endenture Fait Parente", pp. 217-18.

<sup>29</sup> Ramsay, 'Alabaster', p. 35.

<sup>30</sup> R. Edwards, 'King Richard's tomb at Leicester', *The Ricardian*, 3 (1975), 8-9.

<sup>31</sup> J. Crease, "Not Commonly Reputed or Taken for a Saincte": the Output of a Northern Workshop in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in *Monumental Industry*, pp. 136-60.

<sup>32</sup> Ramsay, 'Alabaster', p. 34; Crease, "Not Commonly Reputed or Taken for a Saincte", p. 156.

<sup>33</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>34</sup> Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, pp. 179, 231. See below, pp. 182-3.

<sup>35</sup> H. Lawrance and T.E. Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies, III', *DAJ*, 48 (1926), 38-9.

of 100s.<sup>36</sup> The family were granted free warren at their Norbury estate in 1252, and this was re-confirmed in 1330. In 1451 a settlement was reached with Tutbury Priory whereby the yearly rent was released in exchange for the Fitzherbert lands in Osmaston, Foston and Church Broughton.<sup>37</sup> One of the arbitrators in the 1451 settlement was a member of the Bothe family, with whom the Fitzherberts had enjoyed close ties for several decades, after Nicholas had married Alice, daughter of Henry Bothe of Arleston (Derbyshire), in 1416.<sup>38</sup> Her father presented to the living at Norbury in 1424, and remained patron until 1461.<sup>39</sup> In addition to their manor at Norbury, the Fitzherberts also held land at Birchwood, Snelston and Cubley, where they were neighbours to the Montgomery family.<sup>40</sup> In his will of 1483, Ralph Fitzherbert left 6s. to the churches at Snelston and Cubley, where the mausoleum of the Montgomery family was situated.<sup>41</sup>

Although Nicholas Fitzherbert (d. 1473) served as sheriff for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and as an MP under the Lancastrians, it is clear that by the 1460s he had reconciled himself to the Yorkists, serving as JP and sitting on various commissions until his death in 1473, and being selected as sheriff in 1465. He was regularly named as a tax collector in the county, a task he would often carry out with John Curzon, Thomas Fraunceys and Robert Barley.<sup>42</sup> In the early 1460s, Nicholas and other local gentry, including members of the Blount and Curzon families, were ordered to arrest the troublesome John and Roger Vernon, and their close associate John Cockayne.<sup>43</sup> In 1471 and again the following year,

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<sup>36</sup> Stafford Record Office [hereafter SRO], D641/5/T20/2. A copy of the original grant is also kept in a two volume history of the family, compiled by Michael Jones in 1829, in the possession of Lord Stafford at Swinnerton Park [hereafter Swinnerton MSS].

<sup>37</sup> SRO, D641/5/T20/11; Swinnerton MSS, i, nos. 11 and 12; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory*, ed. A. Saltman (London, 1962), no. 89.

<sup>38</sup> Alice is commemorated by a floor slab in front of the north choir stall.

<sup>39</sup> L.J. Bowyer, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury* (Ashbourne, 1953), p. 71; Jeayes, 1769.

<sup>40</sup> A.D. Smith, *Derbyshire Landholdings in the Fifteenth Century, The Lay Subsidy of 1431* (Privately published, 1999), appendix, table II; Swinnerton MSS, ii, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> SRO, D641/5/T(S)/4/1. In his will, Ralph's son and heir John (d. 1531) left bequests to Repton church, where Thomas Fraunceys lay buried: LRO, B/A/1/14, fol. 106v.

<sup>42</sup> He was sheriff in 1447 and 1458, and sat as MP for Derbyshire in 1447 and 1453: J.C. Wedgwood (ed.), *History of Parliament 1439-1509*, 2 vols. (London, 1936-8), ii, *Biographies of Members of the Commons House*, p. 42; E.A. Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire in the Fifteenth Century', University of Nottingham, unpublished MA Thesis (1956), pp. 229-37; *CFR, 1461-71*, pp. 100, 105, 106.

<sup>43</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 31, 102, 135, 304.

alongside the duke of Clarence, William, Lord Hastings and Walter Blount (by then Lord Mountjoy) and John Bothe, he sat on commissions of array in Derbyshire.<sup>44</sup> Together with members of the Bothe and Fraunceys families, he was a regular presence on the quorum during the 1460s. His training as a lawyer brought him into contact with other local gentry, and with other members of his family he carried out various legal duties for families including the Cockaynes.<sup>45</sup> In May 1475 a Nicholas Fitzherbert was awarded for life a tun of red wine annually from Edward IV 'in consideration of his expenses in the king's service', although this was probably a different individual.<sup>46</sup> The evident Yorkist sympathies of Nicholas, and indeed his son Ralph, are compounded by their association with Thomas Powtrell from the 1470s. Powtrell provided a strong Yorkist administrative presence in Derbyshire. He worked in local government, employed by Walter Blount, the only member of the county gentry who could be described as a staunch Yorkist, and was created deputy steward of Tutbury in 1480.<sup>47</sup> He was named as a feoffee by Elizabeth Fitzherbert, Ralph's widow, in 1484.<sup>48</sup> Although Nicholas's son Ralph was not such a ubiquitous figure, he did join several commissions of the peace during the 1470s and early 1480s, frequently alongside representatives of the Fraunceys and Curzon families.<sup>49</sup> Ralph died ten years after his father.<sup>50</sup>

Ralph's son John Fitzherbert led a rather unfortunate life and certainly had difficulties with various individuals, not least his wife. John had married Benedicta, the daughter of John Bradbourne, in the late fifteenth century. By the time he made his will in 1517, however, they had parted. Benedicta had, according to John, been unfaithful: 'And furthermore I will that wher bennett my wyff hath byn of lewde and vile disposicion and cowde not be content with me but forsacon my howsolde and company & lyffed in oder placez where yt pleses hyr ...

<sup>44</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 284, 350.

<sup>45</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 60, 102; TNA, E 159/234 mems. 112, 121, 181, 182.

<sup>46</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 518. Nicholas had been dead two years in 1475.

<sup>47</sup> G. Wrottesley, 'Extracts from the Plea Rolls, Temp. Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, New Series, 6, Part I, (1903), 135; Will of Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, 1474, TNA, PROB 11/6, fol. 132v; *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 88, 91, 102.

<sup>48</sup> SRO, D641/5/T(S)/4/2.

<sup>49</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 408; *1476-85*, pp. 395, 557.

<sup>50</sup> *CFR, 1471-85*, p. 260.

and yet dooth to my grate rebuke & hers'.<sup>51</sup> He ensured that she received no property or dower. He meticulously passed on his goods and chattels to his relatives and friends in order that she would receive nothing.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, John declared his eldest daughter Anne, who had married John Welles, illegitimate and disinherited her. This led to problems at John's funeral on 25 July 1531, when members of the Welles family arrived uninvited to demand their part of the inheritance. A riot promptly ensued, with John's younger brother and heir, Anthony, being ushered away by relatives fearing for his life.<sup>53</sup> By the time he made his will, John had settled his past grievances with Anthony in order to perpetuate the Fitzherbert name. When added to several pardons he received at the turn of the fifteenth century, it appears John had a rather troubled life.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps the lavish expenditure on the tombs of his father and grandfather masked his personal troubles. With no male heir to contribute to the family's succession, the expensive tombs commissioned by John for his father and grandfather moved the focus away from his own failures and stressed family continuity. His own memorial, in stark contrast to his relatives', is a simple table tomb with brass inscription on top.<sup>55</sup> It lies under the arch in his south-west chapel.

Before leaving the Fitzherbert family, it is worth considering John of Etwall, a younger son of Nicholas, and uncle to John (d. 1531). Having connections with the Yorkist court, he may have had an influence in commissioning the tombs of his father and brother. The two livery collars on the effigies of Nicholas and Ralph are not in fact the only suns and roses collars in the church. On the north tomb chest panel of Nicholas's tomb are depictions of eight sons from his first marriage. The seventh and eighth both wear the Yorkist livery collar, and perhaps one of these represents John of Etwall. Owning land at Etwall and Ash in Derbyshire, where he was neighbour to the Bothe family, John's work brought him more often than not to London, where he held property in Hackney, and where he requested to be

<sup>51</sup> LRO, B/A/1/14, fol. 109v.

<sup>52</sup> *Benedicta* died shortly before her estranged husband in 1531.

<sup>53</sup> For the court proceedings relating to this incident, see TNA, STAC 2/22/159; 2/25/19.

<sup>54</sup> SRO, D641/5/T20/14; Swinnerton MSS, i, no. 14; ii, p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> The inscription was translated in the eighteenth century: 'Here lies the body of John Fitzherbert, esquire, formerly Lord of this Manor, who died on the Vigil of St James the Apostle in the year of our Lord 1531, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen': SRO, D1217/2/9.

buried in St Bartholomew's, Smithfield.<sup>56</sup> His career centred on the exchequer; working as a teller by the 1470s, he was granted the office of king's remembrancer on 31 May 1480.<sup>57</sup> His position clearly brought him benefits. As early as 1461 he was granted a piece of land called 'Prince Fee' in Derbyshire, for twelve years. In December 1470 he and William Knyvet were granted the same land for seven years, to be farmed at 22s. 4d. a year. The grant was reissued the following year to Fitzherbert and Thomas Thwaytes, the chancellor of the exchequer.<sup>58</sup> He was also granted the manor of Rotynge in Kent for a yearly rent of 15s.<sup>59</sup> His work took him around the country,<sup>60</sup> and in 1475 he and John Sorell, another teller, travelled on Edward IV's French expedition, where they were responsible for paying the soldiers' wages.<sup>61</sup> His connections with the Yorkist court are confirmed by a medical prescription for his weeping eyes in British Library Harleian MS 1628, a collection of medical recipes for individuals associated with Edward IV's court.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps the Fitzherberts' attachment to the House of York was therefore a little stronger than we may at first expect. It should, however, be stipulated that there is no evidence to suggest that the family were politically active supporters of the regime; they are not recorded as having participated in any military encounters, for example.

Due partly to the scant records of the Bothe family, there is confusion over the relationship between Roger Bothe II and Nicholas Fitzherbert. They have been described as

<sup>56</sup> In his 1502 will he left his grandson Eustace an estate in Etwall and Ash: TNA, PROB 11/13, fol. 158v. For the conveyance of lands in Etwall and Ash to John's son-in-law, John Porte, see Derby Local Studies Library, Derbyshire Deeds, 716, 721, 1863; Jeayes, 1203, 1204; *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, no. 631.

<sup>57</sup> *CPR*, 1476-85, p. 202. He was reappointed king's remembrancer for life in September 1485: *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> *CFR*, 1461-71, pp. 35, 288; *CFR*, 1471-85, p. 59; D. Grummitt, 'Public Service, Private Interest and Patronage in the Fifteenth-Century Exchequer', in L. Clark (ed.), *Authority and Subversion*, The Fifteenth Century, III (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 152.

<sup>59</sup> *Harleian* 433, i, p. 209.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, *Harleian* 433, iii, pp. 128, 130, 155; *CPR*, 1467-77, pp. 408, 491; *CPR*, 1476-85, p. 563; *CFR*, 1471-85, pp. 159, 263, 283. Alongside Sir Henry Pierrepoint, he sat on a commission to take seisin of the lands of the duke of Clarence in 1474: *CPR*, 1467-77, p. 428. In October 1475 he was granted the wardship and marriage of Cecily Molyneux: *CFR*, 1471-85, pp. 107, 132.

<sup>61</sup> F.P. Barnard (ed.), *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475: The Leaders and their Badges* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 1-2.

<sup>62</sup> T. Lang, 'Medical Recipes from the Yorkist Court', *The Ricardian*, 20 (2010), 100.

brothers-in-law,<sup>63</sup> although this could not have been possible, as Alice Bothe's father was Henry of Arleston (as the inscription on her memorial at Norbury testifies), and Roger's father was Roger I (d. 1467). It is possible that Alice was sister to Roger I. Either way, the Arleston and Sawley branches of the family were closely related, stemming from the Dunham Massey Bothes in Cheshire.<sup>64</sup> The Bothes and Fitzherberts shared close family ties, and their links were certainly durable. Alice's father Henry Bothe acted as guardian to Nicholas Fitzherbert, and their close affinity is still observable in 1451, when Henry's son John awarded in favour of his in-laws in their dispute with Tutbury Priory.<sup>65</sup> Nicholas and Ralph Fitzherbert acted as feoffees for the Bothes in the 1430s.<sup>66</sup> In 1470 William Bothe was acting as a feoffee for Ralph Fitzherbert, and in 1517 another William Bothe, chantry priest at Norbury, witnessed John Fitzherbert's will.<sup>67</sup> In addition, the two families held land in the same areas, for example at Hilton.<sup>68</sup> John and William Bothe sat on several commissions in the county from the 1460s, accompanying the Fitzherberts and Thomas Fraunceys, among others.<sup>69</sup> The Bothes also regularly sat on the county bench during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

Roger Bothe's interests also took him further afield, and it is perhaps in this context that we can interpret the Yorkist collar on his brass. In c. 1473 his sister Isabel married Ralph Neville, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Westmorland. Although the Westmorland Nevilles had avoided committing themselves politically during the early years of Edward IV's reign, by the 1470s Ralph was currying favour. Created Knight of the Bath in 1475, he was serving the duke of

<sup>63</sup> J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, 4 vols. (Chesterfield and London, 1875), iii, p. 235.

<sup>64</sup> L.M. Angus-Butterworth, *Old Cheshire Families and their Seats* (Manchester, 1932), pp. 159-74; L. Jewitt, 'The Booths or Bothes, Archbishops and Bishops, and the Derbyshire family to which they belonged', *The Reliquary*, 25 (1884-5), 33.

<sup>65</sup> DRO, D31M/E451; Jeayes, 1769.

<sup>66</sup> Derby Local Studies Library, Sir Edward Every Deeds [hereafter Every MSS], 3184, 3196, 3538. Also see 3544, which included other individuals relevant to this study, including Henry Vernon, John Curson and Thomas Fraunceys (dated 1469).

<sup>67</sup> Swinnerton MSS, i, no. 15; SRO, D641/S/T20/15; LRO, B/A/1/14, fol. 110v.

<sup>68</sup> C. Glover and P. Riden (eds.), *William Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, Derbyshire Record Society, 4 (Chesterfield, 1981), p. 108. The Wynter family granted land to Ralph Fitzherbert in 1462, and William Bothe of Arleston in 1494: SRO, D(W)1734/J/986 and 987. In 1475 John Fitzherbert of Etwall and John Bothe of Arleston were involved in a land transaction with John Wyttyngtone of Derby: Jeayes, 279.

<sup>69</sup> CPR, 1461-67, p. 102; 1467-77, p. 350; 1476-85, p. 557.

<sup>70</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a.

Gloucester by 1477,<sup>71</sup> and in the following year the duke stayed at the Nevilles' home Raby Castle.<sup>72</sup> The tomb effigy of Ralph's uncle, the second earl (d. 1484) who was buried at Brancepeth, County Durham, bore a Yorkist livery collar with Richard III's boar pendant, possibly another aspect of his nephew's strategy to win Yorkist favour.

Roger's links to the Westmorland Nevilles undoubtedly stemmed from his uncle Laurence, bishop of Durham from 1457 to 1476, when he was translated to the archbishopric of York. Though at first a Lancastrian (he had been chancellor to Margaret of Anjou in the 1450s), he eventually reconciled himself with the House of York. Becoming guardian to the young Prince of Wales in 1471, he was created Lord Chancellor two years later and enjoyed the king's favour until his death in 1480.<sup>73</sup> Despite earlier tensions, relations between Bishop Bothe and the Westmorland Nevilles had improved by the time his niece married Ralph, and in 1482 several of the Bothes were named as feoffees by Ralph and Isabel.<sup>74</sup> Laurence's nephew John, bishop of Exeter, had closer links with the Yorkists, serving as secretary to Edward IV. In 1463 the king wrote of his 'honour and plesur, as to the prudence sadnesse and gret fame, off our right trusty and entyereley belovette clerck, maister John Bothe oure Secretery', for whom he held 'very trew hert zele and affeccion'.<sup>75</sup> Roger's illustrious clerical relatives clearly had close links to the Yorkist government. Indeed it has been suggested that it was his uncle Laurence who commissioned his and his father's brasses at Sawley. If so, it was perhaps his uncle's decision to depict the Yorkist collar on his nephew's memorial.<sup>76</sup>

Before moving on it is worth noting that Catherine Bothe of Barton (Lancashire), a cousin of the Bothes of Sawley, and her husband, probably Sir Richard Radcliffe, also share

<sup>71</sup> J. Petre, 'The Nevills of Brancepeth and Raby 1425-1499, Part II 1470-1499: Recovery and Collapse', *The Ricardian*, 6 (1982), 2-13.

<sup>72</sup> R. Davies (ed.), *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York, during the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III* (London, 1843), pp. 98-9.

<sup>73</sup> E. Axon, 'The Family of Bothe (Booth) and the Church in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Trans. Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 53 (1938), 49-56.

<sup>74</sup> HMC, *Rutland*, iv, p. 87.

<sup>75</sup> C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 5 vols. (1842-1908), i, p. 210. For further crown links see *CCR, 1461-68*, p. 307; *1476-85*, p. 114.

<sup>76</sup> Jewitt, 'The Booths', 37.

a livery collar link. Their tomb effigies at St Mary Magdalene, Clitheroe (Lancashire) feature Yorkist collars (Catherine's is a necklet of roses).

By the fifteenth century the Bradbournes had long held land in Bradbourne, and by the early fourteenth century they had acquired the manor of Heage in Derbyshire.<sup>77</sup> The location of their estates not surprisingly brought them into contact with their fellow gentry families in south-west Derbyshire: the Vernons, Cockaynes, Fraunceys, Montgomerys and Fitzherberts were closely associated throughout the century.<sup>78</sup> In addition, alongside Henry Bothe, the Poles of Radbourne and the Curzons of Kedleston, Henry Bradbourne (John's father) had been a member of Henry, Lord Grey's retinue in the 1430s. The majority of the retinue was absorbed into Humphrey Stafford's affinity after Grey's death in 1444.<sup>79</sup>

As noted above, John Bradbourne's daughter Benedicta married John Fitzherbert some time before her father's tomb was built. Despite the subsequent difficulties between Benedicta and her estranged husband, the two families appear to have remained close. Isabel, the widow of John Bradbourne's grandson (another John), left estates in Netherton and Hampstall Ridware to the Fitzherbert family for the kindness and friendship they had shown towards her and her late husband, and in 1510 John and Anthony Fitzherbert, and Humphrey and John Bradbourne were named feoffees by Sir Ralph Longford.<sup>80</sup> In 1500 Anne, the widow of John (d. 1488), bequeathed to Anne Fitzherbert a 'coler of the kyngge lyverey wt a flor of golde at hyt'.<sup>81</sup> Although it is tempting to postulate that this is the same collar depicted on John Bradbourne's monument, it is unlikely. The description of the flower of gold may refer to the Tudor rose, which can be seen on the pendants to the SS livery collars depicted on the effigies of Ralph Pole at Radbourne and John Curzon at Kedleston (see Figs. 41-3).

<sup>77</sup> D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. 141; Wiltshire and Woore, *Medieval Parks*, p. 96.

<sup>78</sup> See SRO, D641/5/T for land transactions and charters between these families throughout the fifteenth century. Also see *CCR*, 1441-47, p. 289; Jeayes, 2678, 2394; Every MSS, 3167, 3244.

<sup>79</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 66-8; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, appendix D; A. Compton Reeves, 'Some of Humphrey Stafford's Military Indentures', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 16 (1972), 80-91. Sir Richard Vernon, another Stafford annuitant, was John Bradbourne's father-in-law. Bradbourne was thus also related to John Cockayne (d. 1505), who married another of Vernon's daughters.

<sup>80</sup> Swinnerton MSS, ii, p. 17; Jeayes, 1359.

<sup>81</sup> LRO, B/A/1/13, fols. 245v-248v. Anne had since married John Kniveton.



Bradbourne played little part in local government, although he did undertake some administrative duties for the Yorkists. In 1468 he was a tax collector in Derbyshire, but perhaps more significant is a grant of several manors in Essex by Thomas Ferrers in March 1459. The other grantees included the duke of York, the earl of Warwick and Henry, Viscount Bourchier.<sup>82</sup> Although this is evidence of an early association with the Yorkist hierarchy, it appears to be the extent of his relations with York. His absence from the records may be explained by the fact that he spent a period of time fighting for Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, where it is probable he was awarded the Order of Granada. On his wife's effigy is displayed a necklace of cockleshells, evidence that she too travelled with her husband, evidently undertaking a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James at Santiago de Compostella.<sup>83</sup>

Robert Barley, whose main residence at Barlow lay in the north of the county,<sup>84</sup> has perhaps rightly been labelled a trimmer.<sup>85</sup> He served as a JP during the 1450s, on the Lancastrian commission of array in December 1459, and returned to the Lancastrian parliament at Coventry in November the same year. He was also named as a knight of the shire in the predominantly Yorkist parliament of July 1455. After December 1460 it appears that he retired from the bench, although he was a tax collector, alongside representatives from the Fitzherbert and Fraunceys families, in July 1463.<sup>86</sup> It is unlikely that he was ever a staunch Lancastrian, however, as he had served as a squire to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester during the 1430s.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps it was his son (another Robert) who bore a stronger allegiance to the House of York. In 1469 he enfeoffed his estate to, among other individuals who owned land in the north of the county, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick. It

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<sup>82</sup> *CFR*, 1461-71, p. 230; *CCR*, 1454-61, p. 324.

<sup>83</sup> The badge of the Order of Granada can be seen on the effigy of Humphrey Bradbourne, John's great grandson, which lies next to John's tomb.

<sup>84</sup> J. Tilley, *The Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire*, 4 vols. (London, 1892-1902), i, p. 204.

<sup>85</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 115.

<sup>86</sup> *CPR*, 1452-61, pp. 663-4, 558; *CFR*, 1476-85, pp. 100, 105; Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation', pp. 243-4.

<sup>87</sup> W.C. Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees contained in the Visitations of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611', *The Genealogist*, New Series, 7 (1891), 5; Wedgwood (ed.), *History of Parliament*, ii, p. 42.

is possible that he was a retainer of Clarence.<sup>88</sup> In 1473 Henry, Lord Grey, by then a supporter of the House of York, quitclaimed the manor of Stoke in Derbyshire to Robert for 200 marks, perhaps having been persuaded by the king.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps the suns and roses collar on Robert senior's tomb is therefore more an assertion of his son's Yorkist connections than his own.

In addition to the above associates, the Barleys were linked with the Fitzherbert family. Both acted as feoffees for Alfred Longford in 1434, and the two families were plaintiffs in an action against Richard Paynell over land in Derby in 1528.<sup>90</sup> A strong, durable association with the Cockaynes was forged after Robert's daughter Agnes married Thomas, son of John Cockayne in c. 1458.<sup>91</sup> In 1506 the inquisition post mortem of William Basset referred to an enfeoffment involving a marriage contract between the Bassets and one of Thomas Cockayne's daughters, in which a Barley was named.<sup>92</sup> Not surprisingly, the Cockayne arms featured prominently in the glass of Barlow Hall and in the church; Chaloner's 1611 visitation noted that several of the shields on Robert's memorial celebrated the union between the two families.<sup>93</sup> Another compelling link, this time from further afield, attracts attention, namely Nicholas Stafford of Shrewsbury. In 1479 Robert Barley of Barlow was named executor of Nicholas Stafford, 'late of Shrewsbury'.<sup>94</sup> In addition, Tilley cites an enfeoffment between a John and Johanna Stafford and Robert Barley the elder and the younger, of land in Youlgreave and Little Longstone in Derbyshire.<sup>95</sup> Appropriately, a Nicholas Stafford of Shrewsbury (d. 1471) has an incised slab memorial featuring a suns and roses collar in St Mary's church, Shrewsbury (Shropshire). Could this be another example of close associates wearing the Yorkist livery collar on their monuments?

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<sup>88</sup> Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, Portland Collection, DDP/CD/111. In June 1478 a William Barley was paid an annuity of 5 marks for his services as a minstrel to the duke of Clarence: *CPR, 1476-85*, p. 100.

<sup>89</sup> TNA, CP 25/1/39/46.

<sup>90</sup> Jeayes, 1395; TNA, CP 25/2/6/29.

<sup>91</sup> See Jeayes, 236 for Robert and Thomas witnessing a charter in 1459. Thomas Cockayne, another 'collared' individual, is considered next.

<sup>92</sup> *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, no. 198.

<sup>93</sup> M. Barlow, *Barlow Family Records* (London and Derby, 1932), plate 7.

<sup>94</sup> J.P. Yeatman, *The Feudal History of the County of Derby*, 6 vols. (London and Birmingham, 1886-1907), iv, section viii, p. 422.

<sup>95</sup> Tilley, *Halls, Manors and Families*, iii, p. 135. It is unfortunately undated.

For several members of the Hertfordshire and Essex branch of the family, it was seemingly difficult to come to terms with the Tudor regime. In 1496 John Barley, his brother-in-law Sir Robert Clifford, and William Barley of Aldbury became entangled in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy. The Barleys were attainted, but William was pardoned in 1498. Members of the Derbyshire branch were also apparently involved, as the names of Robert Barley of Barlow and Margaret Barley of Stoke appear on the 1509 pardon roll. John Barley's son, Roger, wisely decided to travel to Spain during the same period, where he was employed in the court of Charles V. He eventually settled in Pembrokeshire.

The Cockayne family, who owned several estates in the county including Middleton by Youlgreave and Clifton, came into possession of their chief seat at Ashbourne in the fourteenth century, which they held under the duchy of Lancaster until the seventeenth.<sup>96</sup> They were a prominent Derbyshire family. Sir John Cockayne served as sheriff and MP during the first half of the century, and regularly sat on the county bench. His uncle, John of Bury Hatley (Bedfordshire), was created Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1400.<sup>97</sup> Sir John's son and heir, another John (d. 1505), did not, however, enjoy his ancestors' success. No doubt irritated by his mother's longevity (she outlived her husband by some 30 years, retaining the majority of the family's inheritance), John was regularly in trouble for much of his life, with violence erupting with his stepfather Thomas Bate, the Shirleys, the Okeovers and the Bassetts at various times.<sup>98</sup> With the death of his son Thomas in 1488, John was forced into a rather one-sided marriage arrangement between his grandson, another Thomas (d. 1537), and a daughter of John Fitzherbert of Etwall.<sup>99</sup> This Thomas, knighted at the siege of Tournai in 1513, revived his family's fortunes, referred to on his epitaph in Ashbourne Church: 'And did his house and name restore / Which others had decayed

<sup>96</sup> Smith, *Derbyshire Landholdings*, p. 8; table 5; D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire*, pp. 6-11.

<sup>97</sup> *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (London, 1898), pp. 102-6; Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation', pp. 44-54. Sir John's (d. 1438) tomb lies in the Cockayne mausoleum in Ashbourne Church, where he is depicted with the Lancastrian SS livery collar. See Wilson-Lee, 'Dynasty and Strategies of Commemoration, part 1', 85-104, at 92; J.R. Planché, 'Monuments of the Cockayne Family in Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 7 (1852), 379.

<sup>98</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 134. See TNA, KB 9/250 mem. 45; KB 9/12/1 mem. 10; G. Wrottesley, 'Extracts from the Plea Rolls, 34 Henry VI to 14 Edward IV', *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, New Series, 4 (1901), 110-11.

<sup>99</sup> *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, no. 832.

before'.<sup>100</sup>

As explored above, the Cockaynes had a close association with the Barleys, particularly after Thomas married Agnes Barley in the late 1450s. This association was proclaimed through the depiction of the Barley arms on the tomb of Thomas at Youlgreave, and on the tomb of his son Sir Thomas, at Ashbourne.<sup>101</sup> The arms of Fitzherbert also appear on the Ashbourne tomb: as referred to above, Sir Thomas married Barbara Fitzherbert in the 1490s. It appears that, by this time, any old wounds between these two families had begun to heal. The Fitzherberts and Cockaynes had earlier connections: Sir John Cockayne had been a feoffee of Nicholas Fitzherbert's estates during his minority.<sup>102</sup> But trouble flared up during the second half of the century over the possession of 500 acres of land at Clifton, only to be rectified through the arbitration of William, Lord Hastings in 1481.<sup>103</sup> Subsequently it seems the relationship became more amicable. Four members of the Fitzherbert family were mentioned as feoffees by John Cockayne in c. 1500,<sup>104</sup> and in the 1531 riot at Norbury Sir Thomas Cockayne was on hand to protect Sir Anthony Fitzherbert from the Welles aggressors.<sup>105</sup> The Cockaynes also had a long standing association with the Vernon family throughout the fifteenth century, particularly after John (d. 1505) had married Agnes, daughter of Sir Richard Vernon.<sup>106</sup> John Cockayne was frequently on hand to witness Vernon land grants, and the families frequently witnessed deeds together.<sup>107</sup> As will be seen, the Vernons joined the Cockaynes in developing a reputation for being a rather volatile family during the century. The two families did, however, nurture a spiritual bond. In the last decade of the century Thomas and John Vernon, younger sons of

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<sup>100</sup> T. Bateman, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire, and the Sepulchral Usages of its Inhabitants, from the Most Remote Ages to the Reformation* (London, 1848), p. 181; E.A. Sadler, 'The Ancient Family of Cockayne and their Monuments in Ashbourne Church', *DAJ*, 55 (1935), 23-8.

<sup>101</sup> Sadler, 'Ancient Family of Cockayne', pp. 23, 25-6.

<sup>102</sup> DRO, D231M/E451; D231M/T308; Jeayes, 1769. For earlier links see Jeayes, 2678; Saltman (ed.), *Cartulary of Tutbury Priory*, no. 317.

<sup>103</sup> *CCR*, 1476-85, p. 223.

<sup>104</sup> *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, no. 832. Also see no. 631, and Jeayes, 90.

<sup>105</sup> TNA, STAC 2/22/159; 2/25/19.

<sup>106</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 67, 132.

<sup>107</sup> Jeayes, 2394, 1394; *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 6; TNA, CP 25/39/47. For other deeds involving the families, see Stafford, William Salt Library, S. Ms. 459/3.

Sir Henry (d. 1515), founded a chantry dedicated to St Mary in the south aisle of Youlgreave church. It was either in or near this chapel that Thomas Cockayne had been buried several years before.<sup>108</sup>

Was Thomas Cockayne a Yorkist? There are some connections. He was one of many local gentry to be retained by William, Lord Hastings (see below), and in 1469 Isabel, the widow of Sir John Cockayne, enfeoffed the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, so the family had some connection with the Yorkist hierarchy.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps the link with his father-in-law Robert Barley is more pertinent. As was the case with all the individuals examined here, it is possible that the Cockayne family were emulating a close relative by depicting the same livery collar on Thomas's effigy.

The Fraunceys family had several landholdings in the county. In 1431 Isabell Fraunceys, widow of Sir Robert, was assessed at £22 33s, with the manor of Foremark, purchased from the Vernons in 1387, being the family's principal residence.<sup>110</sup> Another branch of the family had resided at Ticknall in Derbyshire since at least the thirteenth century. In 1710 Bassano noted a large alabaster memorial slab in the old chapel at Ticknall (destroyed in the 1840s to make way for the new church), commemorating the brothers Thomas, Richard and William Fraunceys of Ticknall, who died in the early sixteenth century.<sup>111</sup> The Foremark branch inherited this estate in the sixteenth century. Another manor, Stanton, was held in moieties by both branches of the family during the fifteenth century.<sup>112</sup> With their main interests lying in the south-west of the county, the Fraunceyses were in close contact with the Fitzherberts, Montgomerys, Bradbournes and Cockaynes, and with Robert Barley in the 1440s.<sup>113</sup> They undertook important administrative duties within Derbyshire and, alongside the Montgomerys in Staffordshire, particularly in the first half of

<sup>108</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii, p. 317.

<sup>109</sup> BL, Harleian MS 1096, fols. 24b-28.

<sup>110</sup> Smith, *Derbyshire Landholdings*, table 5; appendix, table 2; Tilley, *Halls, Manors and Families*, iv, p. 65.

<sup>111</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, pp. 461-2.

<sup>112</sup> J. Sinar, 'Calke and Ticknall', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, 8 (1979), 153-5; D. Hillyard, 'Stanton by Bridge: Some Early Incumbents', *DAJ*, 66 (1946), 40-7; DRO, D2375M/53/6.

<sup>113</sup> Every MSS, 3163, 3167, 3271, 3454, 3544; CCR, 1441-7, pp. 30, 34.

the century.<sup>114</sup> Though perhaps not as prominent in the county as his father, who was elected to parliament in 1437,<sup>115</sup> Thomas regularly sat on the quorum from 1458 until his death, and in July 1463 he was chosen as a tax assessor alongside Nicholas Fitzherbert and Robert Barley.<sup>116</sup>

The Fraunceys family shared strong kinship ties with the Somersall branch of the Fitzherberts. Robert Fraunceys, the father of Thomas, married as his second wife Elizabeth, the widow of John Fitzherbert, shortly before 1460,<sup>117</sup> and on 3 July of that year he granted to his Fitzherbert stepson all his land entitlements in Somersall Herbert.<sup>118</sup> In addition, Margaret and Cicely, Robert's daughters from his first marriage to Anne Clinton, married Nicholas and William Fitzherbert (the sons of John of Somersall) respectively. It was through his marriage to Margaret that Nicholas Fitzherbert inherited Tissington.<sup>119</sup> Thomas Fraunceys took as his wife Isabel, daughter of Nicholas Montgomery of Cubley.<sup>120</sup> As there were a succession of Montgomery heirs named Nicholas, it is difficult to ascertain who the father of Isabel was. The two most likely candidates are Sir Nicholas (d. 1435), or his son Nicholas (d. 1465).<sup>121</sup>

The Montgomerys were well established in Derbyshire. Their descendant, Roger Montgomery, was a kinsman of William the Conqueror. They held their principal manor of Cubley under the Ferrers from as early as the twelfth century, with additional estates at Snelston, Sudbury, Rodsley and Marston Montgomery.<sup>122</sup> As mentioned above, they had close ties with the Fitzherberts,<sup>123</sup> in addition to being their overlords at several of their

<sup>114</sup> Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy*, pp. 210-11.

<sup>115</sup> Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation', pp. 197-201.

<sup>116</sup> *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 663-4; *1467-77*, pp. 248, 408; *1476-85*, p. 557; *CFR, 1461-71*, p. 100.

<sup>117</sup> Swinnerton MSS, ii, p. 226; *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 5a.

<sup>118</sup> Jeayes, 2166.

<sup>119</sup> Tilley, *Halls, Manors and Families*, iv, p. 65. This is confirmed in a roll of arms compiled by Christopher Bassano in 1742, in the possession of Sir Richard FitzHerbert at Tissington Hall. Also see DRO, D239.

<sup>120</sup> Lawrance and Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies', 43; *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 5b.

<sup>121</sup> See the family tree in Derby Local Studies Library, A900, Mundy MS: H.G. Mundy's additions to Lyson's *History of Derbyshire*, iii, pp. 94-94B [hereafter Mundy MS].

<sup>122</sup> D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. 94; Wiltshire and Woore, *Medieval Parks*, pp. 58, 116, 146, 162, 170.

<sup>123</sup> See TNA, C 140/17/20. For later ties see Jeayes, 2288; *CIPM*, Henry VII, ii, no. 628. For links with the Cockayne, Bradbourne and Vernon families, see Jeayes, 2394, 2398, and for involvement with the Bothe family see Jeayes, 1874, 2081.

estates such as Sudbury.<sup>124</sup> The families also shared a mutual associate in Thomas Powtrel, the prominent Yorkist administrator in the area.<sup>125</sup> Their interests expanded into Staffordshire, where they received extensive lands after 1066.<sup>126</sup> The heads of the family regularly served as sheriff in both Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and as knight of the shire during the first two decades of the century.<sup>127</sup> Sir Nicholas and his son John sat on the county bench and various other commissions in Staffordshire and Derbyshire from the 1480s to 1510.<sup>128</sup> Sir Nicholas (d. 1494) continued a family tradition of royal service by being named an esquire of the body to the Yorkist kings. It is possible that he was one of the very few Derbyshire gentry who fought for Richard III at Bosworth, although the fact that he quickly found favour with Henry Tudor is confirmed by his knighthood at the inauguration of the Prince of Wales in 1489.<sup>129</sup>

Nicholas Montgomery ends the examination of those featuring Yorkist livery collars. It is now time to investigate those depicted wearing the Lancastrian or, to be more precise, Tudor livery collar of SS. Here we have a smaller group, again with discernible links, although this is not to say they were not associated with the families considered above. Were they 'Lancastrians'? Some certainly became trusted servants of Henry Tudor, while others were perhaps reflecting on their family's past service to the House of Lancaster when they contemplated their tomb designs.

The Poles inherited Radbourne manor through the marriage of Peter, Ralph's (d. 1492) grandfather, to Elizabeth, niece and heiress of Sir John Chandos (d. 1370).<sup>130</sup> The family also gained a moiety of the manor and advowson of the church at Mugginton through

<sup>124</sup> Yeatman, *Feudal History*, iv, section vii, p. 145; HMC, *Hastings*, i, p. 348.

<sup>125</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 88.

<sup>126</sup> T. Harwood, *A Survey of Staffordshire: Containing the Antiquities of that County by Sampson Erdeswick, Esq.* (Westminster, 1820), p. 1.

<sup>127</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, pp. 102-6; J.C. Wedgwood, *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (1912), pp. 272-94;

Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation', pp. 91-100; 114-22.

<sup>128</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a; *CPR, 1476-85*, pp. 393, 396, 401, 491, 573; *1485-94*, pp. 178, 318, 354; *CCR, 1476-85*, p. 431.

<sup>129</sup> *Harleian 433*, iii, p. 12. He had been summoned to be knighted at the aborted coronation of Edward V in 1483. His kinsman, Sir Thomas Montgomery, had been created a Knight of the Garter in 1476; W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1916), i, pp. 16, 140, 143.

<sup>130</sup> I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the possession of Reginald Walkelyne Chandos-Pole Esq., at Radbourne Hall* (London, 1896), p. xv; Wiltshire and Woore, *Medieval Parks*, p. 138.

the Chandos inheritance, thus connecting them with the Knivetons.<sup>131</sup> With several generations of the family providing lawyers during the fifteenth century, it was natural that their skills were utilised in the county and also by the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>132</sup> Peter (d.c. 1444) followed his father into the legal profession and entered the duchy council in 1402. He was also closely involved in the administration of the county, and performed duties as an attorney. His son Ralph (d.c. 1460) continued the tradition; named chief justice at Lancaster in 1456, he later became a justice of the King's Bench.<sup>133</sup> Alongside John Curzon, Ralph carried out the majority of the work on the county bench until 1460, and made regular appearances on commissions.<sup>134</sup> Despite being appointed sheriff in 1476, his son Ralph (d. 1492) is conspicuously absent from the records. He failed to sit on the county bench (he may not have been a trained lawyer, of course), and was not named on any of the Derbyshire commissions. Ralph's kinsman, John Pole of Hartington, enjoyed the favour of Edward IV for a brief period, and was knighted in the late 1460s. His privileged position did not last, however. In 1478 he was forced to sell his manors of Hartington and Sheen, perhaps due to his involvement in the Readeption in 1470.<sup>135</sup> His reputation was hardly helped when he was accused of acting as an accessory to the murder of John Meycok in the early 1470s. In addition, Ralph of Radbourne was sued by Sir John Gresley and Sir William Trussell (both in Yorkist favour at the time) for forcible entry into land at Rugeley, Staffordshire.<sup>136</sup>

The Poles were close companions of the Curzons of Kedleston throughout much of the century. In the 1430s Ralph Pole and John Curzon formed part of Henry, Lord Grey's retinue in the region, and both entered Humphrey Stafford's affinity on Grey's death.<sup>137</sup> Both individuals can regularly be found co-witnessing charters together, and their heirs were still

<sup>131</sup> See Mundy MS, v, pp. 215-232A; Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 470.

<sup>132</sup> The gentry's associations with the duchy are examined in more detail below.

<sup>133</sup> R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 2 vols. (London, 1953-70), i, pp. 453, 451, 469.

<sup>134</sup> *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 107, 153, 300-6, 557, 564, 663. On March 13, 1460, he sat on a Lancastrian commission to investigate all the lands owned by Richard, duke of York and Richard, earl of Salisbury: *CPR, 1452-61*, p. 562.

<sup>135</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 10, 24; *CCR, 1468-76*, p. 144; *1476-85*, p. 139.

<sup>136</sup> Wrottesley, 'Plea Rolls, 34 Henry VI to 14 Edward IV', 174, 190.

<sup>137</sup> Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 221, 237; Compton Reeves, 'Military Indentures', 83-4.



working together, alongside Nicholas Kniveton, into the 1490s.<sup>138</sup> In June 1453 Pole and Curzon were granted the manor of King's Newton in Derbyshire by the king, and before his death in 1492 Ralph had enfeoffed John Curzon in the manor of Radbourne to the use of his will.<sup>139</sup> In return, Richard Curzon enfeoffed Kedleston manor to the Poles and the Knivetons before he died in 1496.<sup>140</sup> The relationship between the two families continued into the sixteenth century, when German Pole was granted the wardship and marriage of Richard Curzon in 1517.<sup>141</sup> It is to the Curzon family that we now turn our attention.

By the fifteenth century the Curzons' connection with Derbyshire spanned several hundred years. Their main residence, Kedleston, came into their hands during the reign of Henry I, and had been part of the Ferrers' vast estates in the region. Their other manors included Weston Underwood and Wingerworth, and another branch of the family had their residence at Croxall.<sup>142</sup> They were a prestigious family with a proud history of service to the House of Lancaster. John's grandfather (another John, d. 1405) was one of Henry IV's esquires of the body, and a member of his privy council. The family's importance in the county continued under his son, who served as sheriff, was knight of the shire on several occasions, and frequently sat on the county bench.<sup>143</sup> His son John (d.c. 1492) also served as sheriff on two occasions, in 1472 and 1486, and sat on various commissions within the county, and either he or his father were appointed to the Lancastrian commission of array against the Yorkists in December 1459.<sup>144</sup> He sat on the county bench from 1475 until his death in c. 1492.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Every MSS, 3163, 3235, 3244, 3519 (members of the Vernon family were also included); Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 572, 575, 615, 660, 666, 667; Derbyshire Deeds, 2082.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR, 1452-61*, p. 82; *CIPM*, Henry VII, i, no. 776.

<sup>140</sup> *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, no. 1040.

<sup>141</sup> Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 714.

<sup>142</sup> Glover and Riden (eds.), *Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, pp. 96, 166-7; Smith, *Derbyshire Landholdings*, p. 11.

<sup>143</sup> Ayres, 'Parliamentary Representation', pp. 12, 170-8; *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a.

<sup>144</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, pp. 102-6; *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 408, 588.

<sup>145</sup> I. Rowney, 'The Curzons of Fifteenth-Century Derbyshire', *DAJ*, 103 (1983), 111. There is some confusion over exactly which John Curzon served as JP during this period. Wright suggests it was John of Croxhall (see *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a) but this is unlikely, as it was Thomas of Croxhall who headed the family from the death of his father John in 1450 to his own death at Bosworth in 1485 (see Rowney, 'The Curzons', 113). John of Kedleston sat on various other commissions during the period after 1460, although it cannot be

In addition to the Pole family, the Curzons were associated with the Kniveton.

Margaret, the sister of John (d.c. 1459) married as her second husband Thomas, head of the Kniveton family, before 1443.<sup>146</sup> Though the evidence for the association between these two families is not as copious as that with the Poles, they co-witnessed several land transactions and acted as feoffees together from the date of that marriage.<sup>147</sup>

The Mercaston branch of the Kniveton family to which Nicholas (d. 1500) belonged made the manor their main residence during the mid-fourteenth century, with the senior branch continuing to live at Bradley. The family also held land at Kniveton, where they were neighbours of the Cockaynes.<sup>148</sup> It was either Nicholas or his father, also Nicholas (d.c. 1494), who made extensive additions to the church at Mugginton, including the upper portion of the tower and the south aisle chapel, in which they were buried. In addition, Nicholas installed the east window in the chapel which once contained the figures of him and his wife, and an inscription asking the onlooker to pray for their souls.<sup>149</sup> The shields on the tomb reflected their close alliances. On the south side of the tomb chest was a shield depicting the arms of Kniveton impaling Curzon: it will be recalled that Thomas Kniveton (Nicholas's grandfather) had married Margaret Curzon in the early 1440s. On the tomb slab is a shield featuring the arms of Kniveton impaling those of Montgomery: John, son and heir of Nicholas, married Joan, daughter of Sir Nicholas Montgomery of Cubley.<sup>150</sup> The family shared in the patronage of the church at Mugginton with the Poles of Radbourne, after the latter inherited a moiety of the advowson early in the fifteenth century (referred to above).<sup>151</sup>

It is difficult to distinguish between Nicholas (d. 1500) and his father, also Nicholas (d.c. 1494). This is compounded by the fact that their dates of death were so close.

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suggested that he a Yorkist supporter: *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 31, 135; *1467-77*, p. 408; *1476-85*, p. 395; *CFR, 1461-71*, p. 100.

<sup>146</sup> Rowney, 'The Curzons', 108.

<sup>147</sup> Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 568, 587, 589, 663. Kniveton charters are to be found in abundance in the Radbourne Hall collection.

<sup>148</sup> Nicholas's son John inherited an estate there on his death: Glover and Riden (eds.), *Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, p. 210.

<sup>149</sup> Mundy MS, v, p. 216.

<sup>150</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, pp. 219-20.

<sup>151</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 215.

Occasionally, one is helped by the records identifying the son as Nicholas 'the younger'. We can therefore be certain that it was he who served as sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1493. Equally, it was his father, 'the elder', who served in the same capacity in 1489, and this was probably his final role in local government. It was probably also the father who served as sheriff in 1466.<sup>152</sup> It is therefore safe to assume that it was his son who sat on the county bench from the mid to late 1490s.<sup>153</sup> It is clear that the Knivetons were held in reasonably high esteem by the Yorkists: in May 1483 it was probably the son who was appointed bailiff of Chesterfield and Scarsdale.<sup>154</sup> It was, however, in the service of Henry Tudor that he thrived. Now an esquire for the body, he was created steward of Tickhill in 1488 for life. Named parker of Shottle in 1492, he and his father had been parker of Ravensdale since 1485. He was also awarded the stewardship of Scarborough in September of the same year.<sup>155</sup> The representation of the portcullis as a pendant to his SS collar suggests that he owed his rewards to the patronage of Margaret Beaufort, mother to Henry VII.

Three other individuals, who were not buried in Derbyshire but who had strong associations with the county gentry and whose effigies also feature a livery collar, will now be briefly examined. It is suggested that, as may have been the case with those individuals examined above, the decision to depict a collar on their memorial was motivated by their connections with other 'collared' individuals with whom they were closely related or affiliated.

The Vernons were the only Derbyshire family who could be labelled staunch Lancastrians in our period. Henry's father, Sir William (d. 1467), who was at one time treasurer of Calais and Constable of England, saw his role in Derbyshire politics lessen with the accession of the Yorkists in 1461,<sup>156</sup> and proceeded to involve himself in various troubles

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<sup>152</sup> *List of Sheriffs*, pp. 102-6.

<sup>153</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a.

<sup>154</sup> *CPR, 1476-85*, p. 351; *Harleian 433*, i, p. 36.

<sup>155</sup> TNA, DL 42/21 fols. 67v, 98, 99v; *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 6, 252. Much of his work was therefore in duchy service.

<sup>156</sup> He also lost his family's stewardship of the duke of Norfolk's Bretby Castle to John Fitzherbert of Etwall, although his tenure was brief, as in July 1468 the Vernons were re-granted the office for an annuity of 40s. to Fitzherbert: *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 139.

in the county, either directly or indirectly, until his death.<sup>157</sup> The Vernons' fortunes improved somewhat during the 1470s, with his son Henry sitting on the Derbyshire peace commissions, and serving as MP in 1478.<sup>158</sup> He was also made an esquire of the body for Edward IV, and re-granted some of the High Peak offices which had been taken away from his family. He refused, however, to answer the calls for support from the duke of Clarence, Edward IV and Richard III when requested.<sup>159</sup> Before Bosworth in 1485, Richard sternly wrote to him asking for men: 'geve with us your attendaunce without failing, all mere excuses sette apart, uppon payne of forfaicture unto us of all that ye may forfaict and loose'.<sup>160</sup> In fact, Vernon probably joined his brother-in-law Talbot and fought against Richard at Bosworth. It was in the service of Arthur, Prince of Wales in which he excelled from the 1490s. He was named comptroller of his household in April 1492, and from 1494 acted as governor to the prince. He was also dubbed a knight of the Bath at the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales in 1489, and created steward of the High Peak in 1507.<sup>161</sup> With their main residence being Haddon Hall, Henry's family were closely involved with the Derbyshire gentry, indeed they were related to several of the families including the Bradbournes and the Cockaynes, a family with whom they shared a close affinity.<sup>162</sup> It is clear, however, that the Vernons' interests increasingly lay beyond the county boundaries and were focused on a higher social milieu, particularly after Sir Henry entered the Tudor court.<sup>163</sup> This is confirmed by his marriage into the Talbot family,<sup>164</sup> and his decision to be buried alongside his

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<sup>157</sup> See, for example, *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 31, 135, 304 for rioting in Derbyshire in the early 1460s. Also see Wrottesley, 'Plea Rolls, 34 Henry VI to 14 Edward IV', 110-11. Other members of the family were to continue causing trouble into the 1480s: Wrottesley, 'Plea Rolls, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III', 150-1. Interestingly, William's brass memorial at Tong, perhaps prudently, does not feature a livery collar.

<sup>158</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 116; appendix 10; *CPR, 1476-85*, pp. 395, 400.

<sup>159</sup> See, for example, HMC, *Rutland*, iv, p. 188.

<sup>160</sup> H. Kirke, 'Sir Henry Vernon of Haddon', *DAJ*, 42 (1920), 9-11.

<sup>161</sup> H. Gilderdale Scott, "this little Westminster": The Chantry-Chapel of Sir Henry Vernon at Tong, Shropshire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 158 (2005), 46-81, at 48; Kirke, 'Sir Henry Vernon', 13-15. He was also named as sheriff in 1503: *CFR, 1485-1509*, p. 354.

<sup>162</sup> See above, p. 152; Jeayes, 2394, 2398; William Salt Library, S. Ms. 459/3. The Cockaynes shared the Vernons' reputation as political outsiders during the 1460s: *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 67, 103, 132.

<sup>163</sup> Gilderdale Scott, "this little Westminster", 47-8.

<sup>164</sup> There are stylistic similarities between the effigies of Vernon and his grandfather-in-law John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1453), whose freestone tomb was erected at St Alkmund's in Whitchurch, Shropshire: Gilderdale Scott, "this little Westminster", 62.

ancestors at the family mausoleum at Tong, where both his grandfather, Sir Richard (d. 1451), and his son Richard (d. 1517) wear a collar of SS on their effigies.

Sir Henry's will provides us with another mention of a collar. Although he does not state whether it was a *livery* collar, this was probably the case, as many testators refer to 'chains' in their wills, possibly to distinguish them from livery collars.<sup>165</sup> Among his bequests Henry states, 'I wyll my eldest son have my Coler of gold'.<sup>166</sup> As was the case with Anne Kniveton, here a livery collar was deemed worthy of being bequeathed to a loved one. It was clearly an expensive item. Made of gold, this was a prestigious example, awarded to the king's most trustworthy associates. Perhaps this was the SS collar worn by Henry on his effigy, no doubt awarded in connection to his service to Prince Arthur.

Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499) was a Yorkist supporter, fighting for Edward IV at Tewkesbury and being knighted after the battle. Though his principal estates lay in Nottinghamshire, Pierrepont had significant interests in north Derbyshire, particularly around Chesterfield.<sup>167</sup> He regularly witnessed charters with a group of gentry from the area, including the Frechevilles, Bullocks, Foljambes and Barleys. It seems to be with the Barleys that Henry was most involved, as for several decades in the middle of the century their names appear together in land transactions.<sup>168</sup> Robert Barley (d. 1467) and Henry were also both members of the guild of the Holy Cross in All Saints Church, Chesterfield.<sup>169</sup>

It was for the Yorkist regime that Sir Henry was most active, serving in various local offices in Nottinghamshire, although he evidently reconciled himself to Henry Tudor as he sat on the county bench until 1493. For much of his life Sir Henry sought to revive his family's fortunes, fighting to win back several manors which Ralph, Lord Cromwell had

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<sup>165</sup> See, for example, the 1489 will of Sir Henry Pierrepont, who left his 'old cheyne' to his nephew and heir: University of York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, Archbishops Register, 23, fol. 370v.

<sup>166</sup> TNA, PROB 11/18, q. 9. The will was made on 18 January 1515, and proved on 5 May. A full transcript can be found in D.G. Edwards (ed.), *Derbyshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1393-1574*, Derbyshire Record Society, 26 (Chesterfield, 1998), pp. 44-50.

<sup>167</sup> See Ward, 'Sir Henry Pierrepont'.

<sup>168</sup> See Jeayes, 2475, 2521, 2564.

<sup>169</sup> Jeayes, 849. Barley and Henry's grandfather (another Sir Henry, d. 1452) were aldermen of the guild: P. Riden and J. Blair (eds.), *Records of the Borough of Chesterfield and related documents 1204-1835* (Chesterfield, 1980), pp. 176-7; Jeayes, 2317.

claimed during the 1440s. It appears that towards the end of his life Sir Henry was a rather isolated figure. He died childless, and it appears that his wife predeceased him. Unlike other monuments from the period in Nottinghamshire, there is no extant heraldry or inscription on Pierrepont's tomb, and his will, written in 1489, makes no mention of other local gentry. The Yorkist collar on Henry's effigy is also a rarity in the county. It appears that he could not entirely distance himself from his past Yorkist sympathies. As mentioned above, this is one example of several tombs erected after the Tudor accession to the throne in 1485 which depict a livery collar expressing allegiance to the previous regime. His will, dated 23 October 1489, states that his executors were to erect a suitable monument at Holme Pierrepont, 'if I make it not in my life days'.<sup>170</sup> It is clear from the wording that the tomb had not yet been constructed.

Despite the family settling in Cheshire, the Savages had land interests in Derbyshire, including the manor of Stainsby with which they were connected since the thirteenth century.<sup>171</sup> During the late fifteenth century they were steadily building up their interests in the county, for example at Pinxton.<sup>172</sup> The family were Derbyshire gentry, with close links with the Fitzherbert family in particular. Both Ralph and Elizabeth Fitzherbert bequeathed items of clothing to John Savage (probably the father) in their wills of 1483 and 1490.<sup>173</sup>

### **A homogenous group?**

As has been alluded to throughout this study, perhaps not surprisingly, there were links between those individuals who are depicted wearing a Yorkist collar, and those wearing the Lancastrian collar, particularly earlier and later in the century. This can be seen in several marriages between 'Yorkist' and 'Lancastrian' families, such as those between John Pole of Radbourne (Ralph's son and heir) and Jane, daughter of John Fitzherbert of Etwall, in

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<sup>170</sup> See below, p. 178.

<sup>171</sup> D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. cxlv; D. Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess: The origins and early history of the Hardwick family and their estate', *DAJ*, 107 (1987), 41; C. Kerry, 'The Ancient Painted Window, Hault Hucknall Church', *DAJ*, 20 (1898), 49.

<sup>172</sup> Derby Local Studies Library, Brookhill Hall Collection, Calendar of Deeds, 16962, 16963, 16964.

<sup>173</sup> SRO, D641/5/T(S)/4/1; D641/5/T(S)/4/2.

1473,<sup>174</sup> and John Kniveton (son and heir of Nicholas, d. 1500) and Margery, daughter of Sir Nicholas Montgomery, although this marriage probably occurred in the early sixteenth century.<sup>175</sup> Further links can be identified through land transactions, with members of the Curzon and Vernon families witnessing deeds with the Fitzherberts, among others.<sup>176</sup> Another example of several families from the south-west of the county acting together, some of them putting aside past differences, is the Bradbourne chantry foundation in St Oswald's, Ashbourne. Anne Kniveton (John Bradbourne's widow), Henry Vernon, Nicholas Montgomery, John Cockayne, John Fitzherbert, and several members of the Kniveton family (chiefly from the Bradley branch into which Anne had married), obtained a licence in May 1485 to found a perpetual chantry for two priests at St Oswald's altar in Ashbourne church, to pray for the souls of the king, the Bradbournes and their close associates.<sup>177</sup> In 1500 the same individuals were mentioned in Anne's will, in which lands were enfeoffed for the chantry.<sup>178</sup>

With these examples in mind, and whilst still acknowledging the influence of the closer family ties between the individuals investigated above, it is also appropriate to consider another, broader perspective and see the two groups of Yorkist and Lancastrian collar wearers as a whole, linked through a mutual pride in royal service whether it was under the Lancastrians or the Yorkists. As has been discussed, the appearance of a livery collar on a monument was a distinguishing mark of honour, which created a distinct gentry group within the county, a livery collar 'club' as it were. It is therefore now appropriate to look for wider ties which brought all those above individuals together. Such ties can be identified in their service to the duchy of Lancaster's honour of Tutbury.

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<sup>174</sup> Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 638. On John's death in c. 1491 Jane married Sir John Porte.

<sup>175</sup> Mundy MS, v, p. 216B.

<sup>176</sup> See Jeayes, 1596, 1597, 1600.

<sup>177</sup> *CPR*, 1476-85, pp. 524-5; *Harleian* 433, i, p. 277. A similar chantry was established in the chapel of St Mary at Heage, which had recently been erected by the Bradbournes.

<sup>178</sup> LRO, B/A/1/13, fols. 245v-248v. Anne left bequests to the Fitzherberts and John Cockayne, and named her son Humphrey Bradbourne, Roger Vernon, and John Fitzherbert of Norbury among her executors.

## The Tutbury honour

In the great east window of St Oswald's, Ashbourne, are featured several coats of arms of families who held land within the honour of Tutbury during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1611 a total of 61 coats of arms were recorded. Of the remaining arms the majority are still in the east window, with the rest now in the clerestory windows of the north transept. The glass, most of which dates from the 1390s, included the arms of the duchy of Lancaster, John of Gaunt as duke of Lancaster, and other familiar families including Montgomery, Bradbourne, Curzon, Pole, Fraunceys, Cockayne and Fitzherbert of Norbury.<sup>179</sup> The heraldic arms in the stained glass remain a vivid, powerful testament to the pride of these local families in their long lasting association with the duchy.

The Tutbury honour formed part of the vast earldom of Lancaster and became the largest receipt in the duchy. Formed from the Ferrers estates in the region, which were confiscated by the crown in 1269, the castle at Tutbury was at the heart of an estate which covered much of east Staffordshire and south-west Derbyshire, although the majority of its lands lay in the latter county. Including the chases of Needwood and Duffield Frith, Tutbury honour dominated south-west Derbyshire, with High Peak being another duchy influence further north. The duchy was the largest landholder in the county.<sup>180</sup> John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster in 1362, and his wife Blanche held Tutbury close to their hearts; they made extensive alterations to the castle, and Gaunt regularly used its vast hunting chases. With the coronation of Henry IV in 1399 the Lancastrian estates, including Tutbury honour, merged with the crown. Henry would nurture a close association with the Derbyshire gentry. In 1399 his retinue included members of the Cockayne, Montgomery, Bothe, Curzon, Bradbourne and Fraunceys families.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> K.M. Hollick, *The Parish Church of Saint Oswald, Ashbourne* (1959), p. 10; F. Jourdain, 'The Heraldic Stained Glass in Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire', *DAJ*, 3 (1881), 90-4.

<sup>180</sup> Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy*, pp. 194-6; J.R. Birrell, 'The Honour of Tutbury in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', University of Birmingham, unpublished MA Thesis (1962), pp. 1-2; N.J. Tringham, 'Honour of Tutbury', in *The Victoria County History of the County of Stafford*, 14 vols. (1908-2013), x, pp. 9-20; O. Mosley, *History of the Castle, Priory, and Town of Tutbury in the County of Stafford* (London, 1832), pp. 19, 38, 61, 121.

<sup>181</sup> Castor, *The King, The Crown, and the Duchy*, p. 202.



Given the pervasive presence of the honour in the county, it is not surprising that the Derbyshire gentry were heavily involved with the duchy. Many of the families we have been considering were duchy tenants,<sup>182</sup> they also held duchy offices. From the steward, constable and receiver of the honour, to the various local bailiffs, reeves, forest officials and keepers of fees and franchises, there was an abundance of offices to be filled by the local gentry.<sup>183</sup> From the Poles, Curzons and Montgomerys holding the major offices of steward and constable of Tutbury castle (with the Vernons dominating the office of steward of High Peak until the 1450s), to the Cockaynes being granted the stewardship of Ashbourne and the Barlows, Bradbournes and Knivetons enjoying an hereditary right to the office of foresters of fee in Peak forest and Duffield Frith, many of the families in this study served the honour. Several families were also employed as keepers of the duchy parks. Deer caught in the forests were often given to favourites such as the Poles, and pasture would be leased off to trustworthy duchy servants.<sup>184</sup> Many had been associated with duchy service since the fourteenth century; the gentry connection with the duchy was close and longstanding.

Under Henry V, Lancastrian allegiance within the duchy became subservient to *crown* allegiance. Although the duchy remained an important presence in the region, Henry sought to bring the affinity under his authority as king, rather than as duke of Lancaster. After the weak royal leadership of Henry VI, Edward IV continued the trend, and with the control of royal favourites such as William, Lord Hastings, a direct link to the Yorkist crown was forged. Under Edward, the duchy lands were no longer treated as the private possession they had

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<sup>182</sup> One of many examples were the Bothes, who held Arleston of the Tutbury honour: *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 57. See Yeatman, *Feudal History*, ii, section ii, pp. 489-90 for a list of local gentry whose names were included in the Feodary of Tutbury, drawn up early in the reign of Henry VI. For a list of the towns and villages held within the honours of Tutbury and High Peak, taken from the Tutbury 'Coucher' of 1414/15, see Mosley, *Tutbury*, pp. 336-44. Also see S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1798-1801), i, p. 43. A total of 236 villages in Derbyshire were held under the honour.

<sup>183</sup> I.S.W. Blanchard, *The Duchy of Lancaster's Estates in Derbyshire 1485-1540*, Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 3 (1971, for 1967), pp. 16-19.

<sup>184</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 381-83, 539-57; Mosley, *Tutbury*, p. 366; Birrell, 'Honour of Tutbury', pp. 110-22; Tilley, *Halls, Manors and Families*, ii, pp. 202-4; *The History and Topography of Ashbourn, the Valley of the Dove, and the Adjacent Villages* (No author, Ashbourne, 1839), pp. 12-15; J.C. Cox, 'Forestry', in Page (ed.), *VCH Derbys*, i, pp. 397-426.

been by Henry IV, but were held under the crown.<sup>185</sup> Particularly from the 1470s, a stronger crown presence in the area developed, with the king showing a particular interest in the duchy affinity. He gathered the local gentry together at Burton Abbey in March 1474, appointed Hastings as steward, and made Nicholas Montgomery his deputy.<sup>186</sup> Edward also reorganised the duchy administration, with Thomas Tremayl, the attorney general, spending over a month in the area identifying improvements and drawing up a new rental in the High Peak.<sup>187</sup> Edward also ordered extensive repairs to property. In the late 1470s £75 was spent on restocking the deer and rebuilding the hunting lodges in Needwood forest and Duffield Frith, and £12 was spent on building barns for customary tenants.<sup>188</sup> Though the larger duchy affinity in the area was beginning to break down from the 1430s, and the local connection gradually weakened, the gentry of south-west Derbyshire, regardless of their inevitable disagreements, would continue to serve the duchy, and continue to be duchy tenants. Their loyalty was directed towards the honour rather than any particular steward, and through the honour to the crown.<sup>189</sup> Perhaps some of the Yorkist collars shown on the monuments of the local gentry from 1465 onwards can be regarded as an assertion of their continuing duchy connections. The honour of Tutbury was effectively brought under crown control, with the crown being in the hands of the Yorkists from 1461 to 1485,<sup>190</sup> with the duke of Clarence acting as lord of Tutbury from 1464 until the 1473 Act of Resumption. The livery collar thus represented the enhanced importance of those gentry associated with the duchy.<sup>191</sup> It is not implausible to suggest that King Edward, on his visit to Burton Abbey, distributed some of the livery collars which were then depicted on the local monuments.

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<sup>185</sup> Castor, *The King, The Crown, and the Duchy*, pp. 232-3, 305-12.

<sup>186</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 88. Hastings was also made High Peak steward in August of the same year: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, p. 551.

<sup>187</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 250-1.

<sup>188</sup> I.S.W. Blanchard, 'Economic Change in Derbyshire in the late Middle Ages, 1272-1540', University of London, unpublished PhD Thesis (1967), p. 78; Birrell, 'Honour of Tutbury', pp. 119, 237.

<sup>189</sup> Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 46, 212; I. Rowney, 'The Hastings Affinity in Staffordshire and the Honour of Tutbury', *Historical Research*, 57 (1984), 42, 45; *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 92. Also see Pollard, 'Richmondshire Community', pp. 37-59. It should be stressed that the duchy association was primarily an administrative one. As far as can be deduced, most of the families chose not to serve in the military campaigns between 1455 and 1485.

<sup>190</sup> With a brief interlude from 1470-1, when Henry VI was restored to the throne.

<sup>191</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', 362.

Equally, after 1485 the SS collars seen on the Curzon, Pole, Kniveton and Vernon monuments may also be partly explained as an assertion of their duchy service, the duchy now being under the control of the new Tudor regime. The dynastic, or political, significance of the livery collars to the Derbyshire group should therefore not be over emphasised. Other, more localised, considerations were apparently more applicable to these individuals and their families.

Although the principal local duchy appointments increasingly went to court favourites such as Hastings and Walter Blount, created Lord Mountjoy in 1465, the gentry of south-west Derbyshire continued to work for the duchy, with some families developing a more prominent connection than previously. These connections usually continued into the sixteenth century. With Nicholas Montgomery created deputy steward of Tutbury in 1474, the family's traditional association with the duchy was renewed.<sup>192</sup> The Bradbournes continued their involvement with Duffield Frith: John was a forester of Hulland Ward in 1472, and his family were parkers of Mansell into the 1490s.<sup>193</sup> Sir John Savage (d. 1495) was created steward at Halton in 1465, and another family to benefit from the Yorkist accession were the Fitzherberts, with Nicholas, Ralph and John working for the duchy as bailiffs and feodaries from the 1460s. Their kinsman William Bothe also worked his way up the duchy hierarchy, being named deputy constable of Melbourne in 1495.<sup>194</sup> In a 1482 list of the offices and fees of the Tutbury honour John Fitzherbert was named as parker of Mansell, John Fraunceys and John Curzon as parkers of Postern, and Nicholas and Walter Fitzherbert of Somersall as parkers of Colebrook Ward in Duffield Frith.<sup>195</sup> With the Tudors securely on the throne, the Vernon family were finally re-granted their major duchy offices in the county, with Sir

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<sup>192</sup> The family were constables of Tutbury castle in the earlier part of the century: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 540-1. The Montgomerys held Cubley, Rodsley, Marston and Sudbury under the duchy: Glover and Riden (eds.), *Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, p. 121.

<sup>193</sup> Cox, 'Forestry', p. 418. The family held land in severalty in Duffield: TNA, DL 29/375/6229; Blanchard, *Estates in Derbyshire*, p. 96.

<sup>194</sup> Ralph was named bailiff of the New Liberty in Derbyshire in 1461, and was re-granted the office for life in 1474. His son replaced him on his death in 1483, and John was also working as a feodary well into the next century: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 511, 547-9, 557; *Harleian 433*, i, p. 110. In 1483 William Bothe, as king's servant, was given a four marks annuity from the honour of Tutbury: *Harleian 433*, i, p. 175.

<sup>195</sup> *Harleian 433*, iii, pp. 199-203.

Henry appointed as High Peak steward for life in 1507.<sup>196</sup> Other individuals to benefit from Henry VII's favour included Sir John Savage (d. 1492), awarded many offices including High Peak steward for his loyalty at Bosworth, and Nicholas Kniveton (d. 1500), made Tickhill steward in 1488.<sup>197</sup>

Another aspect of duchy patronage favoured by Edward IV and Hastings was leasing duchy lands and rights. Used as a form of reward for trusted servants, leasing 'implicitly carried with it a delegation of royal power',<sup>198</sup> and a degree of honour was thus bestowed on the lessee. Alongside leases, another area from which the gentry benefited was the lead trade. Derbyshire was a major exporter of lead to Europe in the later middle ages, with the mines at Wirksworth and High Peak forming part of the estates of the duchy, which claimed the mineral duties of lot and cope. The duties were farmed out to favoured individuals from the middle of the fifteenth century,<sup>199</sup> and several families including the Foljambes, Vernons and the Fitzherberts competed to obtain the leases. A lease of the Wirksworth mines was made to John and Robert Fitzherbert in 1461 for ten years, and from 1474 to 1486 John and Ralph Fitzherbert, as a reward for their good service, were farming the same mines, with John Fitzherbert and John Savage the lessees from 1486 to 1491.<sup>200</sup> The relatively small number of families who were closely involved in duchy service certainly constituted a close-knit group, and included the Fitzherberts, the Montgomerys and the Agards of Foston, who filled many duchy offices throughout the century.<sup>201</sup> In his will of 1516, John Agard remembered his past duchy lords and colleagues, asking for prayers for the duke of

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<sup>196</sup> He had, however, worked in the lesser role as bailiff since 1481: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 551-2.

<sup>197</sup> For Savage see TNA, DL 29/22/389; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 528-9, 550-1. The Kniveton was also been parkers of Shottle and Ravensdale. A Nicholas Kniveton was appointed lieutenant of Kinver forest in 1477 for his good services to Edward IV on the 1475 French expedition: CPR, 1476-85, p. 47. This may have been the father (d.c. 1494).

<sup>198</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 89.

<sup>199</sup> J.H. Lander, 'Lead Mining', in Page (ed.), *VCH Derbys*, ii, pp. 323-48; Blanchard, 'Economic Change', pp. 273-88; D. Kiernan, *The Derbyshire Lead Industry in the Sixteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1989), pp. 3-10.

<sup>200</sup> TNA, DL 42/20 fol. 85v; DL 37/54 mem. 2r. See DL 29/403/6468-76, DL 29/184/2932-39 for Ralph Fitzherbert's payments from 1474 to 1484. The total value of lot and cope from the Wirksworth wapentake from 1474 to 1484 was £26 13s. 4d.: Blanchard, 'Economic Change', pp. 289-307.

<sup>201</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 89-92. John Agard was deputy receiver of Tutbury honour from 1476 to 1486, and receiver from 1486 to 1507. The family were feodaries of the honour from the beginning of the century: Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, pp. 543, 547.

Clarence, William, Lord Hastings, and Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy. John and Anthony Fitzherbert also got a mention, and were named as witnesses.<sup>202</sup> When Hastings began to build up his retinue in the early 1470s, it was to the pre-existing duchy affinity that he turned. It is now time briefly to examine this affinity.

### William, Lord Hastings

King Edward's leading magnate was clearly a prominent figure in Tutbury. Hastings retained at least 90 individuals during the period 1461-83, with 32 coming from Derbyshire, making it the county from which the largest percentage was drawn.<sup>203</sup> Of the individuals and families discussed above, the following were retained by Hastings (in chronological order): Nicholas Kniveton, Ralph Fitzherbert, Ralph Pole, Thomas Cockayne, Humphrey Bradbourne,<sup>204</sup> Henry Vernon and Nicholas Montgomery. In addition, Hastings retained Thomas and John Curzon of Croxall, eschewing the Kedleston branch of the family.<sup>205</sup> Although the families of Bothe and Fraunceys appear not to have been retained, they were certainly in favour with Hastings, as evidenced by their regular appearance on the county bench.<sup>206</sup>

Much has been written on the Hastings affinity.<sup>207</sup> What is important for this study is the fact that a significant proportion of our 'collared' individuals joined the Hastings affinity. He may have acted as a focus for the duchy affinity, which had begun to lose its connection to the crown under Henry VI, a connection which was bolstered through the Hastings link.<sup>208</sup> Hastings, it will be remembered, became Tutbury steward in 1474, with Edward having an influence in the creation of the affinity and the restructuring of the honour's administration.<sup>209</sup> The crown link can hardly have been lost on the Derbyshire gentry. The loyalty of the affinity

<sup>202</sup> LRO, B/C/10ii/1.

<sup>203</sup> Dunham, p. 28; appendix B.

<sup>204</sup> Son and heir of John (d. 1488). John may not have been retained due to his long absence overseas.

<sup>205</sup> Dunham, appendix A; appendix B.

<sup>206</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 107.

<sup>207</sup> The definitive study being Dunham's *Indentured Retainers*. For a discussion of the effectiveness of the Hastings affinity see Rowney, 'The Hastings Affinity', 35-45, and Acheson, *Gentry Community*, p. 202. For a more positive stance on the nature of Hastings' power in the region, see T. Westervelt, 'The Changing Nature of Politics in the Localities in the Later Fifteenth Century: William Lord Hastings and his Indentured Retainers', *Midland History*, 26 (2001), 96-106.

<sup>208</sup> Westervelt, 'Changing Nature of Politics', 102.

<sup>209</sup> J. Rowney, 'The Hastings Affinity', 35-45; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 254; *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 88.

towards Hastings himself has been questioned, although it has been argued more recently that he successfully re-established stability in the Tutbury honour after a period in which the old affinity had begun to break down.<sup>210</sup> But the emphasis should perhaps be placed on Hastings's link with the Tutbury honour; he may have simply used the pre-existing network as the basis of his affinity. As has been suggested, the core of his affinity lay in the honour, indeed the majority of his retainers were from those Derbyshire and Staffordshire families connected with the duchy. On his death in 1483, it is perhaps not surprising that Simon Stallworth, when writing to Sir William Stonor, stated: 'All the lord Chamberleyne mene be come my lordys of Bokynghame menne';<sup>211</sup> Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham was created Tutbury steward soon after Hastings's demise.<sup>212</sup>

When considering the abundance of extant Yorkist collars on Derbyshire monuments, it is tempting to speculate that this may be due to the prevalence of Hastings's retainers in the area. However, they are collars which frequently depict the lion (or, in one case, the boar) pendant, not Hastings's badge of the black bull's head. They are therefore depicting their association with the crown (in this case Edward IV), rather than a magnate.

### **Evidence of absence: monuments which have no livery collar**

This study has naturally focused on church monuments which feature the livery collar. Not unexpectedly, however, there are several examples of monuments in the county from the period which do not have a collar. These will now be briefly investigated, in order to ascertain whether these individuals shared the same close ties as those whose memorials do feature a collar. The first thing to note from the outset is that the majority of the families came from the north of the county. Though this does not preclude them from having a collar on their tombs and brasses (see Robert Barley), it places them further away geographically from the main cluster of 'collared' individuals, whose land interests lay in the south of the county.

<sup>210</sup> He even retained old enemies such as Henry Vernon: Westervelt, 'Changing Nature of Politics', 99-102.

<sup>211</sup> C. Carpenter (ed.), *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 160-1.

<sup>212</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, p. 540.

The only military tomb effigy in the county from this period which has not been examined in detail is that thought to represent Richard Barley, in the church of St John the Baptist, in Dronfield. He is thought to have died in c. 1491, and his tomb appears to date from the period 1490 to 1500.<sup>213</sup> Very little is known of this individual, other than the fact that he came from a collateral branch of the Barley family from Barlow, the family settling at Dronfield Woodhouse early in the fifteenth century. It is possible that Richard was a cousin of Robert Barley (d. 1467).<sup>214</sup> Apart from these details, the local records have unfortunately left no trace of Richard Barley. This is not the case, however, for the next two families to be examined.

In the chancel of the church of St Michael and All Angels in Hathersage are the brasses to three members of the Eyre of Padley family: Robert Eyre I (d. 1459, and therefore before the first 'collared' tombs featured in this study appear) and his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Robert Padley; Robert II (d.c. 1500) and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Fitzwilliam of Mablethorpe; and Ralph Eyre, a younger son of Robert I, and his wife Elizabeth, coheir of the Oxspring family in Yorkshire.<sup>215</sup> The family were prominent in the county during the fifteenth century. Robert I served as MP, and Robert II sat on the county bench during the 1480s and early 1490s, and was picked for sheriff in 1480.<sup>216</sup> This Robert was also in the retinue of William, Lord Hastings.<sup>217</sup> The family were, however, most closely linked to the earls of Shrewsbury during the second half of the century. Robert I and Robert II served as the earl's stewards for his Derbyshire manors, and the latter can be found acting as seneschal at the earl's court in Baslow in 1483. The family held a fourth of the manor of Hathersage of the earls.<sup>218</sup> So the Eyres were certainly involved in the county administration during the period concerning this study. One observation must be made, however. They did

<sup>213</sup> Downing, *Military Effigies*, i, p. 113. There is no evidence to suggest that this individual was knighted.

<sup>214</sup> Barlow, *Barley Family Records*, p. 68; Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, i, p. 209.

<sup>215</sup> W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield, and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire* (London, 1999), pp. 111-4.

<sup>216</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a; appendix 10.

<sup>217</sup> Dunham, appendix A; appendix B.

<sup>218</sup> R. Meredith, 'The Eyres of Hassop, 1470-1640. Part I: The First Hundred Years', *DAJ*, 84 (1964), 1-2; *CIPM*, Henry VII, iii, no. 819.

not share close kinship ties with any of the families whose members were depicted wearing livery collars on their memorials.<sup>219</sup> Robert I had married the Padley heiress, Robert II married a member of the Lincolnshire gentry, and his heir, Robert III, would marry Elizabeth Huddleston, daughter of Nicholas of Sawston (Cambridgeshire). An association with the Plumpton family of Yorkshire, who held several manors in the High Peak, was cemented with the marriage of the young Arthur Eyre to Margaret Plumpton in 1500.<sup>220</sup>

In St Matthew's church at Morley can be found the mausoleum of the Stathum family, with memorial brasses commemorating John Stathum (d. 1454) and his wife Cecily (Cornwall), Sir Thomas Stathum (d. 1469) and his wives Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Langley, and Thomasine, daughter of John Curzon. Henry (d. 1480), brother and heir to Sir Thomas, is also represented in a brass, alongside his three wives: Anne, daughter of Thomas Bothe of Dunham Massey (Cheshire); Elizabeth, daughter of Giles St Lowe; and Margaret, daughter of John Stanhope.<sup>221</sup>

The Stathums moved to Derbyshire in the fourteenth century when they inherited the manor of Morley through the marriage of Ralph de Stathum to Goditha, daughter of Roger de Massy of Sale.<sup>222</sup> They quickly built up their prominence in the county. Henry served as sheriff in 1474, and in 1466 Sir Thomas became another of the many Derbyshire gentry retained by Hastings.<sup>223</sup> Both brothers served infrequently on the county bench during the 1460s. Although none of the family with monuments in Morley church were closely involved with the Tutbury honour, Nicholas, a younger brother of Sir Thomas and Henry, briefly served as attorney general to the duchy of Lancaster until his death in 1472.<sup>224</sup> If there was a memorial erected to commemorate this individual, unfortunately it no longer survives. The male line ended with the death of Henry in 1485, when the Sacheverell family acquired the

<sup>219</sup> Ann and Margaret, daughters of Robert III, both married into the Barley family of Dronfield Woodhouse when they were both children. These marriages occurred after the period concerning this study, however.

<sup>220</sup> Stapleton (ed.), *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 143.

<sup>221</sup> Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, pp. 84-5; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 146-51.

<sup>222</sup> See S.P.H. Stathum, 'An enquiry into the origin of the Family of Stathum', *DAJ*, 45 (1923), 76-90.

<sup>223</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 9a; appendix 10; Dunham, appendix A; appendix B.

<sup>224</sup> Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, i, p. 406.



manor of Morley through the marriage of John Sacheverell (d. 1485) to Henry's daughter and heir Joan Stathum.

The only link with 'collared' individuals is the marriage between Sir Thomas Stathum and Thomasine, a daughter of John Curzon (d.c. 1459). In addition, Henry married as his first wife Anne Bothe, who was a member of the Dunham Massey branch of the family. The Bothes of Sawley originated from this line, although Anne was not from the Derbyshire branch. The link is therefore tenuous. A limited involvement with other Derbyshire gentry referred to in this study may be the reason why none of the families are mentioned in Sir Thomas Stathum's detailed will of 1469. His executors are his wife and two brothers, Henry and Nicholas, and Henry Killingworth, abbot of Darley, is named supervisor.<sup>225</sup> There may be an explanation as to why three generations of the Stathum family (four if one includes the 1525 brass to John Sacheverell and Joan Stathum, also in the church) are depicted without livery collars on their church monuments. The memorials have been interpreted as a coherent group. All are figure brasses, and all share a similar composition. It appears those members of the family who commissioned the memorials were following the pattern set by John (d. 1454), with the repetition of the Morley family arms (*argent, a lion rampant double queued sable crowned or*) stressing the continuity of lordship.<sup>226</sup> In his will, Sir Thomas was explicit in his instructions for the composition of his brass, adopting a pattern that followed his father's memorial, which was subsequently copied by his brother Henry.<sup>227</sup> Perhaps the absence of collars on any of these memorials is not entirely a coincidence. It is possible that the family made a choice not to include depictions of them on their monuments. The will of Sir Thomas is evidence that the family closely involved themselves in the composition of their memorials. In addition, it should be noted that in 1466 Sir Thomas was indicted for illegally distributing his own livery to several Derbyshire individuals.<sup>228</sup> Perhaps the whole issue of depicting livery of any kind on his brass was therefore thought best avoided.

<sup>225</sup> TNA, PROB 11/6, fol. 1. A complete copy of the will can be found in Edwards, *Derbyshire Wills*, pp. 4-8.

<sup>226</sup> J. Denton, 'Genealogy and Gentility: Social Status in Provincial England', in R. Radulescu and E.D. Kennedy (eds.), *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 143-58.

<sup>227</sup> TNA, PROB 11/6, fol. 1.

<sup>228</sup> TNA, KB 29/77 fol. 29r.

Several other individuals who have extant memorials in the county (all, but one, brasses) should be mentioned. The first is the brass to Richard Curzon (d. 1496) and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Willoughby of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, in All Saints' church, Kedleston. Richard was the son and heir of John III (d.c. 1492). Dying some four years after his father, Richard had little chance to leave a mark in the county. Unlike his predecessors he did not take on any prominent local administrative posts, serving only as escheator in 1473-4, and his marriage drew him away from the county into Nottinghamshire.<sup>229</sup> In St James's church, Swarkestone, can be found the incised slab commemorating John Rolleston (d. 1482) and his wife Suzanne, who predeceased him by some twenty years.<sup>230</sup> Rolleston has left no evidence of involvement in the administration of the county, although his family were named in the Bothe enfeoffment of the 1430s.<sup>231</sup> It appears that the family eschewed marriage into any of the families examined above; although Isabel, the sister of John Bradbourne, may have taken a Rolleston as a husband, he was from the Nottinghamshire branch of the family,<sup>232</sup> and Alice Fraunceys, daughter of John of Ticknall (as opposed to the Foremark branch to which Thomas belonged) married Henry Rolleston, son of John.<sup>233</sup> An unusual brass which features no figure, but a central Trinity surrounded by four scrolls and five shields, commemorates Sir Sampson Meverell (d. 1462) in St John the Baptist church, Tideswell. The brass lies over a stone cadaver.<sup>234</sup> Although Meverell's death brings him close to the time period covered here, his career encompassed an earlier period. He did not hold any offices within the county.<sup>235</sup> Finally, the brass to Peter Frecheville (d.c. 1504, but whose memorial dates from the late 1490s) in St

<sup>229</sup> Rowney, 'The Curzons', 112.

<sup>230</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 497. See Figs. 17 and 18.

<sup>231</sup> Every MSS, 3184, 3196; DRO, D5236/3/66, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 81, 82.

<sup>232</sup> Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees contained in the Visitations of Derbyshire', 12.

<sup>233</sup> John was the favoured name of the heirs of the Ticknall branch of the Fraunceys family during the fifteenth century, whereas the Foremark branch preferred Robert: 'On the descent of Meignell and Clinton', *The Topographer and Genealogist*, 1 (1846), 361; Mundy MS, vi, p. 242A; DRO, D5236/15/1.

<sup>234</sup> Another memorial brass, commemorating Robert Lytton (d. 1483) and his wife, dating from c. 1500 can be found in the south aisle of this church. Robert is depicted in civilian dress: Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 87; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 201-2.

<sup>235</sup> His son Thomas married a Montgomery daughter in 1447: BL, Additional Charters, 27512. No monument survives for Thomas.

John the Baptist church, Staveley, should be mentioned.<sup>236</sup> The head and shoulders of the figure of Frecheville are now unfortunately missing, so we have no idea whether the memorial once featured a livery collar. The family were minor Derbyshire gentry, Peter possibly marrying Maud, daughter of Thomas Wortley.<sup>237</sup>

The salient observation to make is that, although some may have held the local offices one would expect of families of gentry status, the majority of the individuals with no collar on their monuments did not appear to share the close kinship ties which have been identified among the 'collared' individuals. Indeed, with reference to the Stathum family, it may be possible that they chose to avoid depicting the livery collar on a succession of their memorials. In addition, the above individuals did not appear to have had close ties with the Tutbury honour. None of the families had their arms depicted in the window at Ashbourne church. It will be recalled that a significant proportion of the collared individuals worked for the honour, this being another characteristic which acted to bolster their sense of group identity.

## **The monuments**

### **Yorkist collars**

#### **Nicholas Fitzherbert (d. 1473) and his son and heir Ralph Fitzherbert (d. 1483), St Mary's and St Barlok's, Norbury**

Nicholas: single tomb in the south side of the chancel with a recumbent effigy lying on top, the feet resting on a lion with an angel holding a shield on its back. He wears a Yorkist collar of three-dimensional suns and roses, with a lion pendant (the White Lion of March being Edward IV's cognizance; also see Thomas Cockayne and Thomas Fraunceys).<sup>238</sup>

Ralph: tomb in north side of the chancel with the effigies of him and his wife Elisabeth,

<sup>236</sup> Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 192-3.

<sup>237</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, appendix 5b. Another tomb, commemorating John Foljambe (d. 1499) at Sutton Scarsdale lies within the period under investigation, however he died as a child and therefore has no livery collar.

<sup>238</sup> This badge is depicted in BL, Additional MS 40752, fol. 8, a collection of badges of the nobility, c. 1470. Also see Stanford London, *Royal Beasts*, pp. 29-31.

heir of John Marshall of Upton, Leicestershire, lying on top. He wears a similar collar to his father, but has a boar pendant (the White Boar being the cognizance of Richard III).<sup>239</sup>

The westernmost weeper on the south side of the tomb chest, wearing similar armour to his father, with the inclusion of a long cloak, is probably his son and heir John (d. 1531) (Figs. 20-4).

Nicholas carried out extensive building in the church and hall at Norbury.<sup>240</sup> This was acknowledged by the now lost inscription which once adorned the east end of his tomb, recorded by Peter Le Neve:

An MCCCC seventy and three  
 Yeres of our Lord passed in degree  
 The body that beried is under this stone  
 Of Nicol Fitzherbert Lord & Patrone  
 Of Norbury with Alis the daughter of Henry Bothe  
 Eight sonnes & five daughters he had in sothe  
 Two sonnes & two daughters by Isabel hys wyfe  
 So seventeen children he had in hys lyfe.  
 This church he made of his own expense  
 In the joy of Heaven be his recompense  
 And in the mooneth of November the nineteenth day  
 He bequeathed his soule to everlasting joy.<sup>241</sup>

In fact, Nicholas built the north aisle and the south-east chapel of the church. It is also possible that he began work on the tower and the south-west chapel, the building being completed by his grandson John (d. 1531) towards the close of the century. John also raised

<sup>239</sup> This is the only surviving example of Richard's boar pendant on a livery collar. The figure of Ralph Neville (d. 1484) at Brancepeth, Durham, also featured this pendant, but the wooden effigy was destroyed by fire in 1998. An illustration of the effigy can be found in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 100.

<sup>240</sup> See J.C. Cox, 'Norbury Manor House and the Troubles of the Fitzherberts', *DAJ*, 7 (1885), 221-59.

<sup>241</sup> BL, Harley MS 3606, fol. 21. For Ralph's inscription see BL, Harley MS 3607, fol. 8.

the nave walls and added a clerestory.<sup>242</sup> His tomb is situated in the south-west chapel, as requested in his will, '... my body to be buried in the pareth church of Norby afore leyde undre the newe arche beneathe the stepull or ells wher God shall otherwyse dispose it'.<sup>243</sup>

The monuments of Nicholas and Ralph are not in their original positions. That of Nicholas once stood under the arch in the south-east chapel, and the tomb of his son sat opposite, inside a carved oak screen at the east end of the north aisle.<sup>244</sup> They were moved to their present positions in c. 1842.<sup>245</sup>

In addition to the splendid tombs there are remnants of fifteenth-century glass in the church windows. The large east window houses fragments once contained in the nave and includes heraldic arms celebrating links with various local families such as the Montgomerys of Cubley and the Poles of Radbourne. In addition, the initials F, N, A, I and J (representing Fitzherbert, Nicholas, his first wife Alice, and John) appear alongside several golden suns. These could be interpreted as Yorkist symbols, the sun in splendour motif being adopted by Edward IV early in his reign. It is perhaps more prudent to suggest that they were intended to convey a dual meaning: the religious significance of the sun should not be disregarded. If it is the case that they were to be viewed as 'Yorkist' emblems, through explicitly linking the initials of family members with the symbol, the Fitzherberts were displaying their reverence to the dynasty, and symbolically associating themselves with the royal house. For a gentry family such as the Fitzherberts, depicting royal symbols in their churches served to emphasise their honour and status. Another subtle reference to the Yorkist sympathies of the family can be found in the depiction of St Antony in the south window of the south-east chapel. Antony is represented in traditional style, with a hog (sometimes referred to as a pig) standing at his feet with a bell around its neck. It has been suggested that the saint may have had a particular significance to the House of York. In the north transept window at

<sup>242</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 233. Bowyer suggests that the tower would have been built by Henry Fitzherbert in c. 1400: Bowyer, *Norbury*, pp. 40-1.

<sup>243</sup> LRO, B/A/1/14, fol. 106v.

<sup>244</sup> For the original positions of the tombs see Bateman, *Antiquities of Derbyshire; History and Topography of Ashbourn*, pp. 231-2.

<sup>245</sup> Bowyer, *Norbury*, pp. 42-3.

Canterbury, which features the daughters of Edward IV, Antony was included among the various attendant saints.<sup>246</sup> The same saint features on the tomb of the Yorkist supporter Sir Richard Croft (d. 1509) at Croft Castle in Herefordshire.<sup>247</sup> It is also worth noting that the in-laws of Nicholas, the Bothes, used as their family arms three boars' heads. In the east window of the south-east chapel is a depiction of Alice Bothe and her children, complete with arms of Fitzherbert impaling Bothe.<sup>248</sup>

It has been suggested that the tombs of Nicholas and Ralph and his wife were commissioned by John Fitzherbert after the death of his mother in 1491.<sup>249</sup> It is interesting that the tombs feature such a prominent expression of Yorkist allegiance, considering the possibility that they were commissioned some time after the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485. They are not, however, the only local examples. The tomb effigies of Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499) at Holme Pierrepont in neighbouring Nottinghamshire,<sup>250</sup> and Sir John Savage (d. 1495) at Macclesfield also feature the livery collar of suns and roses.<sup>251</sup> As noted above, it is clear from Pierrepont's will that his monument was not begun until after 1489, when it was written.<sup>252</sup> Perhaps in choosing to depict the Yorkist symbol these individuals were 'hedging their bets'. After all, Henry Tudor had been in power for only a short period, and the political situation had hardly been stable over the previous decade. Who was to say that the Yorkist faction would not soon return to power? Perhaps such a depiction was deemed acceptable because the individuals were dead after all. It should also not be

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<sup>246</sup> Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, p. 18.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. It may also be worth noting that Richard III's badge was the white boar, although a direct link with St Antony's boar cannot be proven. I am grateful to Geoffrey Wheeler for his helpful comments on this subject.

<sup>248</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 246.

<sup>249</sup> Bowyer, *Norbury*, p. 85; K. Wilson-Lee, 'Representations of Piety and Dynasty: Late-Medieval Stained Glass and Sepulchral Monuments at Norbury, Derbyshire', *DAJ*, 131 (2011), 226-44, at 229-34. For an earlier date of c. 1480-85 see Downing, *Military Effigies*, i, p. 127. For the purpose of this study a date of the mid-1490s, after the death of Ralph's wife Elizabeth, is accepted. If the tomb was made between Ralph's death and Elizabeth's (1483-91), and was commissioned by her, then it is likely that she would have depicted herself as a widow.

<sup>250</sup> See Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, p. 31 and plate 87.

<sup>251</sup> The short hair cut on the Savage effigy (a style that was considered out of date by the 1490s) suggests that this monument was an earlier model, commissioned during the individual's lifetime. I am grateful to C.E.J. Smith for bringing this to my attention. Mark Downing provides a date of c. 1470-83 for the effigy: Downing, *Military Effigies*, i, p. 75.

<sup>252</sup> Borthwick Institute for Archives, Archbishop's Register, 23, fol. 370r.

forgotten that Henry had married Elizabeth of York, and that something of a spirit of reconciliation was in the air. However, the new Tudor king was apparently unwilling to show leniency to those with an affinity to the previous regime. He frequently punished traitors with the death penalty, his agents abroad sought out and eliminated exiled Yorkists, and he coerced his subjects into obedience through his much criticised system of bonds and recognisances.<sup>253</sup> This does not suggest that Henry was a monarch prepared to tolerate expressions of Yorkist allegiance on his subjects' memorials. Such depictions of Yorkist collars are therefore significant, and warrant further research.<sup>254</sup>

### **Roger Bothe II (d. 1478), All Saints', Sawley**

London style 'D' brass, of Roger and wife Margaret (Stanley), above three sons (now lost) and six daughters, on a Purbeck slab, in the north east side of nave. The marginal inscription is now partly erased although a fuller inscription was recorded by Bassano in 1705.<sup>255</sup> He has a suns and roses collar around his neck. On the tomb panels, just below the tomb slab, are several roses and what appear to be the remnants of a *rose-en-soleil* badge. A similar altar tomb to his father, Roger I (d. 1467) lies in the chancel. They were probably commissioned at the same time (Figs. 25-7).<sup>256</sup>

### **John Bradbourne (d. 1488),<sup>257</sup> St Oswald's, Ashbourne**

Tomb chest with recumbent effigies in prayer of John and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Vernon, in the Lady Chapel, among many other monuments to the Cockayne and Boothby families (Figs. 28-9). Only the north panel of the tomb is original, it features angels

<sup>253</sup> Hicks, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 255-7; J.R. Lander, 'Bonds, Coercion and Fear: Henry VII and the Peerage', in J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (eds.), *Florilegium Historiale: Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 327-67.

<sup>254</sup> The present author is currently researching this topic, with the intention of publishing the outcomes.

<sup>255</sup> 'Hic jacent Robtus [sic] Bothe Armiger filius et heres Rogeri Bothe in cancello sepulti frater Magistri Johannis Bothe Archidiaconi Dunelm et Magistri Radulphi Bothe Archidiaconi Ebor et Margareta uxor ejus qui quidem Robtus [sic] obiit vicessimo sēdo die mensis february Anno dni M<sup>o</sup>CCCC septogessimo octavo et p<sup>o</sup>dicta Margareta obiit ..... mēs ..... A<sup>o</sup> dni millimo CCCC ..... quor aiabus ppicietur deus Amen'. Quoted in Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iv, p. 390.

<sup>256</sup> Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 179-83; R.R. Rawlins, *Churches and Chapels in the County of Derby*, 3 vols. (1819-23), iii, p. 374; Jewitt, 'The Booths', 36.

<sup>257</sup> *CFR*, 1485-1509, p. 71.

holding frontal shields. Until c. 1840 the tomb stood in the family's chantry chapel in the south transept, founded by John and Anne in 1484. Around John's neck is an almost completely worn collar, once of suns and roses; one rose can still be discerned.<sup>258</sup> The slender collar shares similarities with those depicted on the effigies at Melbury Sampford, Dorset (c. 1470), thought to represent members of the Browning and More families.<sup>259</sup>

### **Robert Barley (d. 1467), St Lawrence's, Barlow**

Full-length incised effigies of Robert and wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Delves of Doddington (Cheshire), on an alabaster slab in the Lady Chapel. Now a mural, the slab was once set into the floor. Robert wears a much worn collar of suns and roses around his neck. A visitation of the church in 1611 recorded the inscription and details of the original five shields which once adorned the memorial (**Figs. 30-1**).<sup>260</sup>

### **Thomas Cockayne (d. 1488), All Saints', Youlgreave**

Small effigy (3ft 6in. in length) on a modern tomb chest in the centre of the chancel. Until c. 1835 it was situated in the Lady Chapel in the south aisle. Thomas wears a suns and roses collar around his neck with a lion pendant. The tomb was restored in c. 1870, when the anachronistic moustache was added to the effigy.<sup>261</sup>

In 1488 Thomas was killed in a fight with his friend, Thomas Burdett, on his way from his family's residence at Pooley (Warwickshire), to Polesworth Church.<sup>262</sup> Many have speculated on why the tomb is so small. The usual explanation of this being a child's tomb can be discounted as Thomas was of age and had children when he died. One explanation may have been a lack of disposable income. The family were in a precarious financial

<sup>258</sup> E.A. Sadler, 'The Family of Bradbourne and their Monuments in Ashbourne Church', *DAJ*, 57 (1936), 114-5; Lawrance and Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies', 45. For a description of the tomb in its original location see *History and Topography of Ashbourn*, pp. 67-9.

<sup>259</sup> See Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, plate 231.

<sup>260</sup> Derby Local Studies Library, MS 6341, fol. 33v, J. Chaloner's 1615 compilation of the heralds' visitations of 1569 and 1611.

<sup>261</sup> Lawrance and Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies', 47-8; Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 322-8; A.E. Cockayne, *Cockayne Memoranda: Collections towards a Historical Record of the Family of Cockayne* (Congleton, 1869), p. 22.

<sup>262</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, p. 809.



position during the late fifteenth century, so this may have dictated the size of the tomb. It is possible that his father also intended to be buried at Youlgreave, and commissioned a smaller tomb for his son in order to distinguish between the two memorials.<sup>263</sup> It should also be noted that Thomas was not buried in the family mausoleum at Ashbourne. This is perhaps evidence that his family did not think him worthy enough to be interred among his more illustrious relatives. It should also be remembered that, unlike his relatives interred at Ashbourne, Thomas was evidently not a Lancastrian supporter. Burial next to his ancestors would perhaps have been considered impolitic, and may explain his burial elsewhere (**Figs. 32-3**).

### **Thomas Fraunceys (d. 1482), St Wystan's, Repton**

Full-length effigy of a knight lying on a tomb chest with some original panels featuring large shields. Now next to the stairway to the crypt, the tomb was originally in the east end of the north aisle, and subsequently placed outside the church, then in the crypt.<sup>264</sup> Thomas wears a suns and roses collar with lion pendant. It has traditionally been thought that the effigy represents Sir Robert Fraunceys, who settled in Foremark in the late fourteenth century.<sup>265</sup> This is not possible, as he died in 1420, decades before the Yorkist accession to the throne. Another candidate is his son, Robert (d.c. 1463). This is more plausible, but the Lion of March pendant on his collar would make this an extremely early example. It is likely, therefore, that the tomb is that of his son Thomas (d. 1482).<sup>266</sup> If this is the case, it is probable that the tomb was made earlier, during the lifetime of the deceased (**Figs. 34-5**).<sup>267</sup>

<sup>263</sup> A double tomb in the chancel at St Mary's, Berkeley (Gloucestershire) depicts James, Lord Berkeley (d. 1463) and his second son (also James), with the son's effigy being smaller than the father's. I am grateful to Sally Badham for this suggestion.

<sup>264</sup> R. Bigsby, *Historical and Topographical Description of Repton, in the County of Derby* (London, 1854), pp. 129-30; H.M. Taylor, *St. Wystan's Church, Repton* (Derby, 1989), p. 20.

<sup>265</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 438.

<sup>266</sup> Lawrance and Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies', 43.

<sup>267</sup> A date of c. 1465 has been suggested by Mark Downing: *Military Effigies*, i, p. 132. I am also grateful to Geoffrey Wheeler for his comments on the dating of this monument.

### Nicholas Montgomery (d. 1465), St Andrew's, Cubley

Tomb chest decorated with angels holding frontal shields in the north side of chancel. His head, which rests on a helm, wears a bascinet with orle, featuring the sacred monogram 'lhc'. A collar of suns and roses is around his neck. Traditionally, this tomb has been attributed to Sir Nicholas Montgomery (d. 1435).<sup>268</sup> This poses problems as the Yorkist collar is from a later period. The figure is therefore more likely to represent his son, Nicholas (d. 1465). Although the armour appears to date from an earlier period, the effigy could well represent this individual.<sup>269</sup> If this is the case, the appearance of a Yorkist livery collar is still rather baffling as there appears to be no evidence of Nicholas supporting the House of York. Perhaps the collar is more an expression of the Yorkist loyalties of his family, rather than the individual it was erected to commemorate. As has been demonstrated, Sir Nicholas (d. 1494) certainly had Yorkist connections. Opposite, on the south side of the chancel, is a panel from the tomb of Sir Nicholas. This is all that remains of his sepulchre, which once featured a memorial brass, recorded by Ashmole.<sup>270</sup> In seven niches on the panel are featured several individuals: in the second niche is the figure of a man in armour wearing a chain with the remnants of what appears to be an animal pendant. In the third is a figure of a man in civilian costume wearing a chain with a rose pendant (**Figs. 36-9**). It is not possible to identify these individuals, although one may depict John Montgomery (d. 1513), son of Sir Nicholas, who was the last male head of the family. It is likely that Henry Harpur and William Moorecock from Burton upon Trent built the tomb;<sup>271</sup> it was these alabastermen who were contracted to make the tomb of Henry Foljambe (d. 1504) and his wife Benedicta in All

<sup>268</sup> H. Lawrance and T.E. Routh, 'Medieval Military Effigies in Derbyshire, II', *DAJ*, 47 (1925), 150.

<sup>269</sup> Personal correspondence with Mark Downing. Part of a now lost inscription from a tomb in the chancel was recorded by Elias Ashmole in c. 1660: 'Hic jacet Dns Nicholas Montgomerie miles qui obit 27 Martii 1435'; Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 98. It is possible that this refers to the tomb in question, in which case it does indeed represent the Sir Nicholas who died in 1435. Equally, it could have been on a now lost tomb as the chancel was once filled with Montgomery monuments: Bateman, *Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 201. Another intriguing explanation has been proposed by C.E.J. Smith: the effigy may have originally been from stock, with a family wide SS collar, which was re-carved at a later date with the Yorkist suns and roses design, as the family allegiance switched (personal correspondence).

<sup>270</sup> Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, p. 60; Derby Local Studies Library, DL84.

<sup>271</sup> S.A. Jeavons, 'The Church Monuments of Derbyshire, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Part 1', *DAJ*, 84 (1964), 53-7.

Saints', Chesterfield. Indeed, Foljambe's executors had Montgomery's memorial in mind when they asked Harpur and Moorecock:

to make a tomb for Henry Foljambe, husband of Bennett, in St Mary's quire, in the church of All Hallows, in Chesterfield, and to make it as good as is the tomb of Sir Nicholas Montgomery at Colley, with eighteen images under the table, and the arms upon them, and the said Henry in copper and gilt upon the table of marble, with two arms at the head and two arms at the feet of the same, and the table of marble to be of a whole stone and all fair marble.<sup>272</sup>

The contract gives us a clear idea of the appearance of Montgomery's tomb and brass. It also serves to remind us that the local gentry were more than aware of the design and appearance of their associates' monuments, and often sought to emulate them.

### Lancastrian/Tudor collars

#### Ralph Pole (d. 1492), St Andrew's, Radbourne

Recumbent effigies of Ralph and wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Reginald Moton of Peckleton, Leicestershire, on a modern plinth in the Pole chapel at the east end of the north aisle. He wears a collar of SS with a rose pendant around his neck. The effigies and collar details are very similar to those of John Curzon and his wife at Kedleston (see below). Some have attributed this tomb to Ralph's son John, and his wife Jane. This is unlikely, as John predeceased his father, leaving his son German as heir.<sup>273</sup> Ralph also founded the chantry chapel, dedicated to St Nicholas, in which he is buried (Figs. 40-1).<sup>274</sup>

St Andrew's Church once had several altars, one of which was dedicated to St Zitha/Sitha to which, in 1516, Humphrey Godhyne left two wax tapers.<sup>275</sup> Although it cannot be proven that this particular dedication was connected to the Pole family, there may be a link with the Fitzherberts, as it is possible that it is the figure of this saint which is depicted in

<sup>272</sup> Contract dated 26 October, 1510, quoted in J.C. Cox, 'Derbyshire Monuments to the Family of Foljambe', in his *Memorials of Old Derbyshire* (London, 1907), p. 108. The cost was £10.

<sup>273</sup> Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, 674; *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 431.

<sup>274</sup> Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, p. xxvi.

<sup>275</sup> Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, p. 260.

the east window of the south-east chapel at Norbury.<sup>276</sup> Incidentally, the same saint also features on the Sir Richard Croft tomb at Croft Castle, Herefordshire, alongside St Antony.<sup>277</sup>

### **John Curzon III (d.c. 1492), All Saints', Kedleston**

Recumbent effigies of John and his wife, Joan (Bagot), on a tomb chest decorated with angels holding frontal shields, saints and kneeling figures, in the south transept. His head rests on a helm and he wears a scull cap.<sup>278</sup> John wears a collar of SS with a rose pendant. The tomb of John's father, John II (d.c. 1459), once stood near his son's monument, but is now situated in the south wall of the chancel. He also wears a collar of SS. Perhaps this influenced his son's decision to depict the same collar on his own memorial (**Figs. 42-5**).<sup>279</sup>

### **Nicholas Kniveton (d. 1500), All Saints', Mugginton**

London style 'D' brass of Nicholas in armour, and wife Joan (Mauleverer), on an altar tomb in the south chapel, erected by the Kniveton family during the late fifteenth century. The tomb originally stood under an oak screen which once separated the south chapel from the chancel. Nicholas wears a collar of SS with Beaufort portcullis pendant. The full marginal inscription was recorded in 1569. The brass was once thought to date from c. 1475, but the portcullis pendant makes it datable to after 1485, as the Beaufort portcullis was adopted by Henry Tudor after his accession to the throne (**Figs. 46-7**).<sup>280</sup>

### **Additional individuals**

#### **Sir Henry Vernon (d. 1515), St Mary's and St Bartholomew's, Tong (Shropshire)**

Although this monument lies outside the period under investigation, the Vernon family were

<sup>276</sup> It is difficult to decipher the lettering under the depiction of the saint. St Edith has been suggested as an alternative attribution. She was sister of King Edgar, and founded the religious house at Polesworth, Warwickshire, in c. 950: Bowyer, *Norbury*, p. 71.

<sup>277</sup> I am grateful to Geoffrey Wheeler for bringing this to my attention. Also see above, p. 177.

<sup>278</sup> A similar piece of headgear is fashioned by the effigy of Sir Roger Tocotes (d. 1492) at St Owen's, Bromham (Wiltshire). He also wears an SS collar with a rose pendant.

<sup>279</sup> Lawrance and Routh, 'Derbyshire Military Effigies', 39, 45-6; Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, pp. 177-9. The tomb of John (d.c. 1459) was still situated next to that of his son when Cox was writing in the 1870s.

<sup>280</sup> Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 156-8; Stephenson, *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 85; Derby Local Studies Library, MS 6341, fol. 15r; MS A726; Mundy MS, v, pp. 215-16B; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), i, p. 137. For the tomb in its original position see Rawlins, *Churches and Chapels*, iii, pp. 333-4.

Derbyshire gentry, and their mausoleum at Tong contains several examples of the SS collar. Sir Henry was buried at Tong alongside his wife, Anne Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, whom he married in 1467. His sandstone tomb is situated beneath a broad arch in the wall between the nave and his chapel. He is depicted wearing a large collar of SS.<sup>281</sup>

#### **Sir Henry Pierrepont (d. 1499), St Edmund's, Holme Pierrepont (Nottinghamshire)**

Sir Henry's superb effigy lies on a tomb chest decorated with cusped lozenge panels containing small shields, next to the south wall of the church. The monument, along with the tomb at nearby Strelley, commemorating John Strelley (d. 1501), was probably the product of a local Nottingham workshop.<sup>282</sup>

#### **Sir John Savage IV (d. 1495), St Michael's, Macclesfield (Cheshire)**

The alabaster effigies of Sir John and his wife Catherine, daughter of Thomas, Lord Stanley, lie next to the south wall of the chancel. Sir John wears a collar of suns and roses, and his wife has a collar of roses about her neck (**Figs. 48-9**). He was created knight of the Bath in 1465. Several other monuments to his family can be found in the church. Although attributing the various effigies to specific family members is open to conjecture, it is possible that this effigy is that of his son, Sir John Savage V, who predeceased his father, dying at the siege of Boulogne in 1492. He joined Henry Tudor at Bosworth, where he commanded his left wing. For his services to Henry, John was granted much of the estate of Francis, Viscount Lovell. He was created knight of the Garter in 1489.<sup>283</sup> It is therefore unlikely that he would have been depicted wearing a Yorkist collar. Another effigy in the church features a collar of

<sup>281</sup> See Gilderdale Scott, "this little Westminster", 46-81.

<sup>282</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, p. 73.

<sup>283</sup> G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 3 vols. (London, 1819), i, pp. 525-8; *Harleian 433*, i, pp. 207, 209; iii, p. 200; Shaw, *Knights of England*, i, pp. 18, 135; ii, pp. 15, 17; Mundy MS, v, p. 270E.

plain chain links, ending in a damaged pendant. It is this figure which is thought to represent Sir John Savage V.<sup>284</sup>

## Conclusions

It would be expected that, at some point, each individual was awarded the collar they were ultimately depicted in. We cannot, however, be certain that this was always the case. Whilst one would expect the likes of a knight of the body such as Sir Nicholas Montgomery to have been presented with a collar, probably by the king, it is hard to imagine others, such as Robert Barley, being awarded such a distinction.<sup>285</sup> On the other hand, it would be surprising if William Vernon, who was not depicted wearing a collar but held several offices of distinction under the Lancastrians, did not receive one. As has been demonstrated in chapter 1, there are occasional examples of testators requesting the inclusion of a livery collar on their memorials. When attempting to interpret the use of livery collars on memorials, it is important to remember that we are considering conscious choices, choices by the individual or family to request a livery collar to be included on a tomb. When looking for links between collar-wearers, which has been the essential purpose of this chapter, we must always remember that it was an intentional decision.

If one sees a Yorkist or Lancastrian livery collar on a memorial, it is apparently obvious that the individual, or the individual's family, is asserting their political allegiance to the respective regime. However, this case study has demonstrated that few of the individuals were either staunchly Lancastrian or Yorkist. Some such as the Vernons may have been, but can we say the same of Robert Barley? Most chose to eschew fighting for either side in the civil wars, indeed many opted for the gentry's typical pragmatic approach and made

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<sup>284</sup> The church attributes this monument to Sir John Savage VI (d. 1527). The monument lying immediately to the east of this is attributed to Sir John V (d. 1492), although it is likely from the earlier style of armour and short haircut (dating from the 1440s) that this represents an earlier member of the family. See Downing, *Military Effigies*, i, p. 73.

<sup>285</sup> In Barley's case, perhaps the motivation to depict his Yorkist collar may have come from his son.

themselves amenable to whichever faction held power.<sup>286</sup> There is no evidence that Nicholas or Ralph Fitzherbert, for example, were members of the Yorkist royal household. Although the land grants and lead leases given to the Fitzherberts and other families were the type of rewards given to members of the household, they were not exclusive to royal servants.

The appearance of the livery collar on memorials in the area is indicative of the collective identity of the local gentry and the nature of political feeling among them. What, for example, happened after the end of Lancastrian rule in 1461? If the appearance of livery collars on monuments is a barometer, then the answer is apparently very little. The practice of placing livery collars on memorials in the county was continued, albeit with Yorkist equivalents, until c. 1485 when they were again superseded by Tudor SS collars. Of those families who attacked the residence of the 'traitor' Walter Blount in 1454, many of the next generation were keen to impress their loyalty to the crown after 1461 through their collars. Yet they had not switched their allegiances. It has been demonstrated that the majority of those individuals who included a Yorkist collar were neither politically active for the Yorkists, nor closet Lancastrians. They were, therefore, continuing to express their service and allegiance to the crown through the livery collar. This may, of course, have been due to their rather partisan behaviour at Elvaston in 1454, although it should be stressed that they were then targeting an individual who in their eyes had withdrawn his support for the king: they were again stressing their loyalty to the crown. Any local disturbances involving 'collared' families such as the Cockaynes cannot be discerned as politically motivated, although the actions of members of the Vernon family in the mid-1460s may have been due to a perceived lack of recognition from Edward IV, particularly from Sir William (d. 1467), whose brass at Tong does not feature a livery collar. The explanation for this group solidarity of crown support may be due partly to the geographical and tenorial context in which the local gentry resided: the influence of Tutbury honour. A geographically compact honour, with several generations of families holding the principal offices, produced a feeling of duty and

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<sup>286</sup> Although some families such as the Barleys and Cockaynes saw military service prior to 1453, this did not continue during the Wars of the Roses: J. Denton, 'The East-Midland Gentleman, 1400-1530', Keele University, unpublished PhD Thesis (2006), pp. 187-99.

pride associated with one of the duchy's more prestigious honours. With the accession of the Yorkists came a new duke of Lancaster: Edward IV.

Although it would be wrong to entirely dismiss the political significance of the livery collar (which, we should remember, essentially represented allegiance to one's lord), when considering the Derbyshire gentry it is essential to consider other ties, which were not necessarily incompatible, to help to explain the appearance of the collar. The political or dynastic significance associated with a livery collar on a church monument is too often assumed in the historiography. This is too basic a premise and other motivating factors must be considered.

Susan Wright stressed that it is difficult to identify relationships between Derbyshire families.<sup>287</sup> It is true that many alliances between families, indeed between a lord and his affinity, were often transient and liable to change at a whim, but it is clear that a marriage constituted an effective relationship. Despite the rather business-like considerations involved in marriage settlements, such an alliance must reflect a degree of trust and mutual understanding between families, as both parties had to work together. With many of the individuals featured here, a connection can be made with another individual, closely related through marriage, who also chose (or at least their family chose) to depict the same livery collar on their monuments. Perhaps here we have a recognition, or statement, of their kinship bonds through a shared symbol. In this respect, the collar represents a moment in time, the relationship between the families at the time the monument was commissioned (not forgetting the more durable ties which could develop between families such as the Fitzherberts and the Bothes). Alongside the use of heraldry, perhaps therefore the collar was being used as an informal way of expressing family bonds. But it is also appropriate to consider the group as a whole. Through their close geographical and professional ties, and particularly their long-standing collective affinity with the Tutbury honour, and despite their disputes during the 1440s and early 1470s, all the families were associated through service to the honour. The depiction of the livery collar literally put into stone their bonds, their

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<sup>287</sup> *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 63.



collective responsibility derived through duchy service. With a stronger crown presence in the area after 1470, albeit in the form of Hastings, a particular pride would have been derived from duchy service, a pride that was to continue into the sixteenth century. Apart from Hastings, who was very much the king's lieutenant in the region, a lack of meaningful magnate power during the period in question would have encouraged the families concerned to feel a closer association to the crown through their duchy service.

This case study demonstrates that when considering the motivations behind the appearance of a livery collar on a monument one must consider a variety of overlapping influences, and several levels of relationships between families. The results of this study also suggest that a researcher who is interested in identifying social networks would benefit from a close consideration of those individuals in a locality whose extant monuments display the livery collar.

## Chapter 5

# Livery collars in Wales and the Edgecote connection

The purpose of this case study is to provide both a comparison and a contrast to the previous investigation of Derbyshire. It shares the same aim: to identify the motivations behind a group of individuals and their families choosing to depict livery collars on their church monuments, and to elucidate the links between the group. Were the same motivations identified in Derbyshire, in particular ties of kinship and geography, present among other 'clusters' of individuals who were depicted with livery collars on their memorials? Were there additional factors specific to the Wales network? The context is again a geographical area, principally the south of Wales, a region which provided the core support for the affinity of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469) during the 1460s. However, this study will also address a supplementary context in the form of an event: the battle of Edgecote in 1469, at which a significant proportion of Herbert's affinity were killed fighting for Edward IV. Did this catastrophic event for the House of York provide an additional stimulus for choosing to depict a livery collar on a memorial? This case study will therefore focus on the collar both as a political statement, and as an affirmation of kinship and geographical ties. In this respect it will serve as a comparison and contrast to the Derbyshire study, by addressing an additional motivation for depicting a collar on one's memorial: political conviction, hitherto the conventional meaning attributed to the livery collar.<sup>1</sup> Firstly, the battle itself will be examined, followed by a comprehensive prosopographical investigation of the relevant individuals through the contexts of

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<sup>1</sup> A meaning which has been acknowledged in this thesis, although other dimensions are discussed here and in the previous chapter.

comradeship, kinship and tenurial ties, royal service and national sentiment, in order to elicit their connections.<sup>2</sup>

Though the English gentry may have sneered at the derivation of their surnames and obsession with 'old pedegris',<sup>3</sup> the Welsh played an integral part in the Wars of the Roses. The contributions of Jasper Tudor, uncle to Henry VII and a constant thorn in the Yorkists' side, and Sir Rhys ap Thomas, whose contingent proved vital to Henry in 1485, have been acknowledged by historians.<sup>4</sup> Up to the accession of Edward IV in 1461, Yorkist military strength was drawn primarily from the Welsh Marches, the duke of York's Mortimer estates providing fertile recruiting territory. It was their Mortimer lineage which drew the people of the Marches to York and his son the earl of March,<sup>5</sup> and it was Marcher men who triumphed at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461, paving the way for the earl's proclamation as king in London.<sup>6</sup> Edward's Mortimer lineage and descent from Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Llywellyn the Great, was celebrated by Welsh bards such as Lewis Glyn Cothi and Guto'r Glyn, who saw him as a Welsh (or British) king and saviour of their nation.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Guto'r Glyn was apparently awarded a livery collar by Edward for his panegyric.<sup>8</sup> It was William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, executed after fighting for Edward at the battle of Edgecote in 1469, who provided the leadership for the Welsh Yorkists during the 1460s.<sup>9</sup> His affinity,

<sup>2</sup> The first occasion this has been attempted in detail for this affinity.

<sup>3</sup> *PL*, iii, pp. 118-9.

<sup>4</sup> R.A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff, 1993). Also see the 'Life' of ap Thomas, written by Henry Rice in the 1620s, an important (albeit excessively salutary) biography: 'A Short View of the Life of Rice ap Thomas', *Cambrian Register*, 1 (1796), 49-144; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, pp. 148-270.

<sup>5</sup> H.T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. v-vi; Edward Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1809), p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> J.H. Harvey (ed.), *William Worcestre Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 203-5.

<sup>7</sup> I. Williams and J.L. Williams (eds.), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (Cardiff, 1939), pp. 157-9; G. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation, Wales c.1415-1642* (Oxford and New York, 1993), p. 211. For a Yorkist celebration of their British descent, see A. Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' in the Reign of Edward IV', in Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power*, pp. 171-92.

<sup>8</sup> According to fellow bard Gutyn Owain: I. Williams, 'Guto'r Glyn', *Welsh Biography Online*, 2009 [<http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-GUTO-GLY-1440.html>, accessed 18 May 2013].

<sup>9</sup> Two sources provide a thorough insight into the life of Herbert: *The Herbertorum Prosapia*, Cardiff Central Library, Philipps MS, 5:7 [hereafter *HP*] is a late seventeenth-century copy of a family history written by Sir Thomas Herbert earlier that century. D.H. Thomas's 1967 unpublished University of Wales MA thesis, 'The Herberts of Raglan as supporters of the House of York in the second half of the fifteenth century' [hereafter 'The Herberts'] was published as a book, *The Herberts of Raglan and the Battle of Edgecote 1469* (Enfield,

which included families such as the Vaughans of Bredwardine (Herefordshire) and the Wogans of Wiston (Pembrokeshire) form the focus of the narrative here. They were closely connected through ties of blood and tenure, considered so important to the Welsh gentry and celebrated by the bards.<sup>10</sup> Many were politically active, serving the House of York in various capacities, some at a national level, and many were to die at Edgecote. Of the church monuments in Wales which feature the Yorkist livery collar, all individuals commemorated either died, or were closely connected to those who died, at the battle. As they were slain fighting for their king, it is proposed here that they were demonstrating their comradeship on the battlefield, articulated through the appearance of the livery collar on their monuments. Although kinship ties and geographical associations were meaningful stimuli for the inclusion of a livery collar on the tomb effigies, the Yorkist collars were also an assertion of political loyalty among the group.

The following individuals and their tombs are the focus of analysis:

William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469), Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire (tomb no longer extant)

Sir Richard Herbert (d. 1469), Priory Church of St Mary, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire

?Sir Richard Herbert (c. 1470-80), St Nicholas's, Montgomery, Montgomeryshire

Thomas Vaughan (d. 1469), St Mary's, Kington, Herefordshire

Sir Henry Wogan (d. 1475), Scolton Manor Museum, Pembrokeshire

William Griffith (d.c. 1483), St Tegai's, Llandegai, Gwynedd

### **Brothers in arms: the battle of Edgecote, 26 July, 1469**

The first context in which the individuals will be examined is comradeship in battle. As many fought alongside one another for their king, perhaps this is an explanatory factor for the

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1994), although this is unreferenced. Also see Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, pp. 444-5; R. A. Griffiths, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (c.1423-1469)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13053>, accessed 12 May 2012]; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 66-187.

<sup>10</sup> R. Biebrach, 'Our ancient blood and our kings': two early-sixteenth-century heraldic tombs in Llandaff Cathedral, Wales', *Church Monuments*, 24 (2009), 73-88, at 75.

appearance of the Yorkist livery collar on their church monuments. The battle of Edgecote should be seen in the context of growing animosity between Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, and the king and his most intimate advisers, including William Herbert. Despite having worked for Warwick earlier in his career,<sup>11</sup> Herbert's favours from the king had steadily angered Neville, most notably the marriage of the queen's sister Mary Woodville to his eldest son William in 1466.<sup>12</sup> The following year, Herbert's involvement in the capture of a messenger whose letters implicated Warwick in a Lancastrian plot involving Margaret of Anjou, further antagonised the earl's relationship with Herbert and the king. In the resulting interrogation the messenger suggested that Warwick had colluded with the Lancastrians, leading the earl to angrily rebuke that those responsible for the arrest were traitors.<sup>13</sup> Herbert was now one of Warwick's primary opponents, alongside his Woodville kinsmen Earl Rivers and Lord Scales.<sup>14</sup> Herbert, once a mere 'meane gentleman', now given an earldom as a result of his close friendship with the king, was one of the obstacles to power Warwick felt necessary to remove.<sup>15</sup>

A series of insurrections in Yorkshire during the spring of 1469 culminated in the 'Robin of Redesdale' rebellion, probably captained by Sir John Conyers, a cousin of the earl of Warwick.<sup>16</sup> On 12 July Warwick and the king's brother the duke of Clarence issued an open letter from Calais, naming 'certeyne ceducious persones', including William Herbert, Humphrey Stafford, recently created earl of Devon, Lord Scales and other Woodvilles. Warwick had married his eldest daughter Isabel to Clarence the previous day, in defiance of

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<sup>11</sup> Warwick had made Herbert sheriff of Glamorgan. See *CPR, 1452-61*, p. 549; J. Beverley Smith and T.B. Pugh, 'The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the Middle Ages', in T.B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History, III, The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 260-1.

<sup>12</sup> The contract is printed in *HP*, pp. 52-4; Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 279-83.

<sup>13</sup> J. Stevenson (ed.), 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales Rerum Anglicarum', in Stevenson (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, ii, part 2, p. 788; Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, pp. 46-9; H.T. Evans, 'William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1908), 163-4; M. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 259; 264-71; Jean de Waurin, *Recueil des Chroniques et anciennes istoires de la Grant Bretagne*, ed. W. Hardy, Rolls Series (1891), p. 545.

<sup>14</sup> *John Vale's Book*, p. 213.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 273; Stow, *Annales*, p. 421.

<sup>16</sup> For details of the battle see P.A. Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...' *The Rebellions of 1469-1470 and the Battles of Edgecote and Lose-Cote-field* (Heckmondwicke, 1997).

the king's wishes.<sup>17</sup> With the king in Nottingham, Herbert and the earl of Devon were ordered to raise reinforcements in Wales and the West Country. Meanwhile the northern rebels travelled south, past Nottingham, in order to meet with the earl of Warwick.<sup>18</sup>

Though contemporary and near contemporary accounts of the battle are occasionally confused and contradictory, it is possible to outline the principal events.<sup>19</sup> The armies met, possibly by chance, near Banbury.<sup>20</sup> There appears to have been an initial skirmish on 24 July, in which a contingent of 2,000 royalist troops led by Sir Richard Herbert and the earl of Devon 'wer clene discomfited and scatered' and returned to the main army.<sup>21</sup> After a second skirmish the following day, in which Warwick's cousin Sir Henry Neville was captured and executed,<sup>22</sup> an altercation occurred between Pembroke and Devon regarding lodging at Banbury, resulting in the latter withdrawing his troops, the majority of which were archers.<sup>23</sup> The main battle was fought the following day, at Danes Moor, near Edgecote, approximately three miles from Banbury.<sup>24</sup> Herbert's troops, 'the beste in Wales' according to Warkworth,<sup>25</sup> without the aid of Stafford's men, acquitted themselves well and at one point were close to victory. However, the arrival of John Clapham with the vanguard of Warwick's army, 'hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle with the white Bere, Cryenge a Warwycke a Warwycke', changed the course of the battle. Thinking Warwick's main army had arrived, the

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<sup>17</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, pp. 6; 46; Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, i, pp. 494-5; Hicks, *Kingmaker*, p. 232.

<sup>18</sup> Riley (ed.), *Croyland*, p. 446.

<sup>19</sup> See Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 129-32 for a discussion of the sources. There has been confusion over the date of the battle, although 26 July is now generally accepted. See W.G. Lewis, 'The Exact Date of the Battle of Banbury, 1469', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), 194-6.

<sup>20</sup> Riley (ed.), *Croyland*, p. 446.

<sup>21</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 275; Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...', pp. 32-4; A. Beesley, *The History of Banbury* (London, 1841), p. 179.

<sup>22</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 274. Another contemporary chronicler, possibly with a first-hand account of the battle, suggests that it was Neville's father Lord Latimer who was executed: 'Hearne's Fragment', in J.A. Giles, *The Chronicles of the White Rose of York*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London, 1845), pp. 5-30, at p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 6; Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 209; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 274. One source suggests that Pembroke's own contingent lacked archers, although this is debatable. If it was the case, this will have contributed to his defeat the following day: 'Hearne's Fragment', p. 24; Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...', pp. 36-7.

<sup>24</sup> The battle is occasionally referred to as Danes Moor or Banbury in the sources: Stow, *Annales*, pp. 421-2; Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...', pp. 37; Beesley, *History of Banbury*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>25</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 6.

royalists were routed. Approximately 5,000 Welshmen were slain.<sup>26</sup> The earl of Pembroke and his brother Sir Richard Herbert were captured along with ten of their captains and beheaded at Northampton in the presence of Warwick on 28 July.<sup>27</sup> The earl had made a codicil to his will shortly before his death, instructing his brother Thomas to take care of his affairs.<sup>28</sup> This wish was not fulfilled, as he was later killed in Bristol, apparently tracked down and murdered, no doubt on Warwick's orders. The Woodvilles were executed at Coventry on 12 August, and the earl of Devon was captured and beheaded at Bridgwater on 17 August. He was buried in the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury, as requested in his will.<sup>29</sup> There was no legal justification for the Herbert executions.<sup>30</sup> Warwick's personal feud with Herbert was now over, his revenge had been taken. With the senior Herberts dead, their place at the centre of the English polity, and their dominance in Wales, had been curtailed.

Herbert's affinity at Edgecote included many members of his own family, including his brother Sir Richard, another Richard, 'bastard', another William, his half-brother, and John, another of his brothers or cousins. Sir Thomas Vaughan of Hergest, Pembroke's half-brother, was the leading representative of his family. The Donnes of Kidwelly were also present, as were members of the Morgan and Havard families of Brecon. Sir Richard Herbert and Sir Thomas Vaughan, both depicted wearing the Yorkist livery collar on their monuments, were killed. The effigy of Sir Henry Wogan (d. 1475) also features the same collar, his son Sir John was also killed. A total of 168 'worthier persons' died fighting for the royalist cause.<sup>31</sup>

It is likely that those who fought at Edgecote, or their surviving kin, saw themselves as brothers in arms. The culture of ritual brotherhood was popular among the gentry and

<sup>26</sup> 'Hearne's Fragment', p. 24; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 274.

<sup>27</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 7; 'Hearne's Fragment', p. 24; Riley (ed.), *Croyland*, p. 446. The *Herbertorum Prosapia* states that the executions of Herbert and his brother took place on a hill to the south of Northampton: *HP*, p. 62.

<sup>28</sup> TNA, PROB 11/5, fol. 216r.

<sup>29</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 7; 'Hearne's Fragment', p. 24; Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...', pp. 55-6. Stafford's will was made on 3 September, 1463: TNA, PROB 11/5, fols. 227v-229r.

<sup>30</sup> Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 132.

<sup>31</sup> Harvey (ed.), *Itineraries*, pp. 340-1; Halliwell (ed.), *Chronicle*, p. 7; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 175-6; Haigh, '...Where both the hosts fought...', pp. 118-9.

aristocracy of Western Europe between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries. The bond was instigated through a reciprocal oath or letter which promised service, counsel and succour. The ritual was frequently accompanied by the exchange of a token such as a necklace, the exchange of a material item confirming the bond. There were often kinship links between sworn brethren, and for those not related the powerful familial nature of the relationship was explicitly expressed through referring to each other as 'brother' or 'frater' in wills, for example.<sup>32</sup> Exceptionally the link was literally put into stone. An inscribed marble slab in Constantinople commemorating Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, who both died in 1391, depicts their two helmets facing one another in an attempt to visualise their friendship.<sup>33</sup> Unusually, their two shields impale the Neville arms with those of Clanvowe. Heraldry was therefore being utilised to 'advertise' their comradeship. Although there is no evidence to support the suggestion that any of the principal players among the Yorkist ranks at Edgecote were sworn brethren, it may be helpful to at least interpret their relationship within this context. Perhaps the inclusion of livery collars on the tombs of those who fought and died at the battle was to some degree inspired by their links through combat, a visual manifestation of their ties in death.

In an earlier chapter we have been introduced to the concept of fictive kinship, and its applicability when viewing groups of collar wearers. In the case of those individuals in Wales and Derbyshire who have been the focus of investigation, all were related: they *were* kin. In these instances it may be more appropriate to interpret the collective inclusion of collars on their memorials as an attempt to affirm, or more appropriately to reaffirm, their ties. For the Herbert affinity, perhaps the collars acted to reinforce long standing bonds of kin and tenure which had been severely traumatised by what was in effect mass death, the core of the affinity had after all been wiped out. In this respect the memorials were just as much a solace for the living as a commemoration of the dead: the style of hair and armour on the

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<sup>32</sup> Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', 1-17; E.A.R. Brown, 'Ritual Brotherhood in Western Medieval Europe', *Traditio*, 52 (1997), 357-81.

<sup>33</sup> S. Düll, A. Luttrell and M. Keen, 'Faithful Unto Death: The tomb slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 174-90, esp. 183-5.



tomb effigies dates them to after 1469. We are therefore brought back to a significant theme which permeates this thesis: the use of livery collars on memorials as a manifestation, and indeed perpetuation, of the collective identity of the deceased and their kin.

Having established the links between the individuals through their involvement in battle, it is now appropriate to examine their 'everyday' ties. As will become clear, they were all associated through royal service, kinship and tenure, involving themselves as witnesses and feoffees to use in deeds and charters with one another throughout the Wars of the Roses period, and in many cases long before. In order to develop a profile of their network and build a sense of the relationships within the group it is necessary to first introduce the leader of the affinity, William Herbert. The group will then be analysed within their various local and national contexts.

### **William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469)**

The purpose here is not to provide a full, detailed biography of William Herbert; this has been done.<sup>34</sup> Instead the focus will be on elucidating the links between his family and the House of York, and introducing links with the other individuals and families featured in the case study. Herbert's links with the House of York were fostered by his father Sir William ap Thomas, who served as Richard, duke of York's chief steward of Usk and Caerleon from the 1430s. In addition he was a member of York's ducal council as early as 1441. He was still working for the duke a year before his death in 1444.<sup>35</sup> The effigies of ap Thomas and his wife Gwladys Ddu lie in the centre of the Herbert chapel at Abergavenny. He is depicted wearing a collar of SS, the first of a succession of Herbert monuments to feature a livery collar on their memorials (**Fig. 50**). As instigator of the family's rise to national prominence it is perhaps fitting that he is the first to feature a royal collar. The tomb was probably commissioned after the death of Gwladys in 1454. Herbert took over his father's

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<sup>34</sup> See above, ref. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales [hereafter NLW], Badminton Deeds, 1044; Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Council, v*, pp. 136-8; P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 17, 240; BL, Egerton Charters, 7358.

responsibilities at Usk and Caerleon in 1450,<sup>36</sup> and his support for York continued throughout the mid-1450s. In May 1454 Sir Walter Devereux, Herbert's father-in-law, wrote to the duke to report that Herbert 'saith he is noo monis mon but only youres'.<sup>37</sup> It can be safely assumed that subsequent violent activities of Herbert had the tacit backing of York.

In 1456 Herbert's affinity, which included members of the Vaughan family and Devereux,<sup>38</sup> were involved in disturbances in Hereford which were instigated by the murder of Watkin Vaughan, eldest son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, on 13 March. Herbert took control of the city two days later and forced the justices of the peace to condemn several burgesses for their supposed murder of Vaughan. They were immediately hanged by Herbert. During this period the Devereux/Herbert/Vaughan affinity carried out several raids in Herefordshire, with Herbert's brothers Richard and Thomas being heavily implicated.<sup>39</sup> In August their 2,000 strong affinity captured and imprisoned Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond at Carmarthen Castle, then under the jurisdiction of the duke of York. They then moved on to Aberystwyth Castle, where York was constable, where they proceeded to hold illegal sessions and release several prisoners.<sup>40</sup> In September Herbert and Devereux were summoned before the great council at Coventry. Devereux was sent to Windsor Castle and the council advised that Herbert be imprisoned in the Tower, but he soon escaped and in October he was coordinating raids in Glamorgan and Llandaff from his base at Abergavenny.<sup>41</sup> He was subsequently declared a rebel with 500 marks offered for his detainment.<sup>42</sup> In May of the following year, as the indictments against him and his affinity continued, Herbert was reconciled with the king at Leicester. He was pardoned alongside his

<sup>36</sup> NLW, Llangibby MSS, C899. Also see NLW, Badminton Deeds, 976, 977: Herbert as steward of Usk witnessing a land grant between the Vaughans and John ap Gwillim of Itton, possibly Herbert's brother, 27 May 1464. The same John ap Gwillim was serving as deputy steward of Usk to Herbert during the period: NLW, Badminton Deeds, 419, 494, 689. For later deeds between the families in the lordship see Badminton Deeds, 930, 421.

<sup>37</sup> BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F VIII, fol. 99r, in Pugh, 'Magnates, knights and gentry', p. 92. Herbert married Devereux's daughter Anne in 1449: *HP*, p. 39.

<sup>38</sup> It was not the first time Devereux had been involved in trouble in Hereford. In 1452 he and Herbert's brother Thomas were indicted for treasonable activity in the town: TNA, SC 8/105/5239.

<sup>39</sup> A. Herbert, 'Herefordshire, 1413-61: Some Aspects of Society and Public Order', in Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces*, pp. 103-22. For the related indictments see TNA, KB 9/35.

<sup>40</sup> Storey, *End of the House of Lancaster*, pp. 179-81; Hicks, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 133.

<sup>41</sup> *CCR, 1454-61*, pp. 158, 174; TNA, KB 9/35.

<sup>42</sup> *CCR, 1454-61*, p. 158.

Herbert kin and his brothers-in-law Thomas and Roger Vaughan at Coventry in June, perhaps in an effort by the court to wrestle his support away from the duke of York.<sup>43</sup>

This was not the first time that Herbert and his brothers-in-law had been involved in riotous behaviour. In July 1453 they appeared before the king's council after involving themselves in the Glamorgan dispute between the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerset. It should be recalled that Herbert was Warwick's sheriff of Glamorgan.<sup>44</sup> It appears the families of Herbert and Vaughan shared a penchant for violent action to attain their goals. The frequent amalgamation of the two families into a formidable affinity, each providing a significant show of manpower, meant that their goals were evidently frequently attained. Well before the fateful battle of Edgecote, the two families evidently shared a close solidarity and sense of loyalty to one another.

If the court had wished to win the support of Herbert they were to be disappointed. After the battle of Northampton on 10 July 1460, and with York and the Nevilles now firmly in control of the government, Herbert, Devereux and Roger Vaughan were ordered to restore order in Wales.<sup>45</sup> After the death of York at Wakefield in December, Herbert and his brother Sir Richard, alongside Devereux and Sir Roger Vaughan, were considered the chief supporters of York's son Edward, earl of March.<sup>46</sup> It was Herbert's affinity which formed the core of Edward's army at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461: William Worcester lists Sir Richard Herbert, Sir Roger Vaughan and Philip Vaughan, singled out as 'the most noble esquire of lances among all the rest', among Edward's leading captains. It is likely that Roger's brother Thomas was also present.<sup>47</sup> At a meeting at Baynard's Castle on 3 March, in

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<sup>43</sup> *PL*, iii, p. 118; *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 353, 360, 367; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 98-100; Storey, *End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 182.

<sup>44</sup> T.B. Pugh, 'The Marcher Lords of Glamorgan, 1317-1485', in Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History*, p. 196; G.T. Clark, *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, 6 vols. (Cardiff, 1910), v, 1634.

<sup>45</sup> For various commissions issued to the Herberts and Vaughans during this period see *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 549, 602.

<sup>46</sup> Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Council*, vi, pp. 304-5; J. Nasmith (ed.), *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (Cambridge, 1778), p. 328.

<sup>47</sup> Harvey (ed.), *Itineraries*, pp. 203-7; G. Hodges, 'The Civil War of 1459 to 1461 in the Welsh Marches: Part 2, The Campaign and Battle of Mortimer's Cross – St Blaise's Day, 3 February 1461', *The Ricardian*, 6 (1984), 330-45.

which the decision was taken that Edward should be made king, Sir William Herbert was present among the Yorkist inner circle. The following day he was at Westminster Abbey to witness Edward's coronation. It is clear that Herbert was by now a trusted and intimate servant of Edward, one of his few 'chosen and faithful'. His military support had given Edward victory over Jasper Tudor's Lancastrian army at Mortimer's Cross. Indeed, Tudor acknowledged the importance of the 'traitors Marche, Herbert, and Dunns with their affinityes' in a letter to Roger Puleston on 25 February.<sup>48</sup> A few months later Lewis Glyn Cothi described how Herbert had 'triumphed with [the] white roses' of Edward in the north of England.<sup>49</sup> Not for the first time, Herbert was being explicitly linked with one of the badges of the Yorkists, thus symbolising his close affinity and loyalty to the royal house.

Herbert's influence at the centre of Edward's polity would increase until his death in 1469. There is no more graphic illustration of his close relationship with the king than an illustration in John Lydgate's 'Troy Book', c. 1461-2 (**Fig. 51**).<sup>50</sup> Herbert and his wife are depicted kneeling before Edward IV. Their arms and mottos, 'e las sy longuement', and 'De toute' are included in the composition. There appears to have been an attempt to show direct eye contact between Herbert and his sovereign, accentuating their close personal relationship. Although neither Herbert nor his wife are depicted wearing livery collars, the two household servants either side of Edward, clad in the red royal livery, are wearing the Yorkist suns and roses collar.<sup>51</sup> Their positions, directly above Herbert and his wife, serve to symbolise their service to the king: they literally sit under the representation of his power and dignity. The individual to the right of the king carries the white staff of office and is therefore

<sup>48</sup> Stevenson (ed.), 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales', p. 777; Gairdner (ed.), *Historical Collections*, pp. 214-5; C.L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 173-4; Rymer, *Foedera*, xi, p. 473. Also see Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, i, pp. 137-52. 'Dunn' was Sir John Donne of Kidwelly (d. 1503), another loyal servant of Edward's. He was an esquire of the body to the king, and shared close connections with the Herberts and Vaughans. His older brother Henry, who was killed at Edgecote, married Maud Vaughan. John has no extant tomb, although he is depicted wearing his Yorkist collar in the Donne Triptych (**Fig. 2**): *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 430; K.B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 1-15; 52-5; 56-7. He was buried near to Edward in St George's Chapel, Windsor, as requested in his will: TNA, PROB 11/13, fol. 94v.

<sup>49</sup> NLW, 6512, 1C, fol. 4: translation of 'Syr Wiliam Herbart', by Lewis Glyn Cothi; W. Davies and J. Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi* (Oxford, 1837), pp. 58-64.

<sup>50</sup> BL, Royal MS 18 D II, fol. 6.

<sup>51</sup> This miniature is the first depiction of the Yorkist livery collar in manuscript form.

possibly intended to represent the king's chamberlain.<sup>52</sup> If this is the case it is likely that this was William, Lord Hastings (d. 1483), made chamberlain of the royal household in July 1461. The positioning of the two livery collars is also perhaps a statement of the nature of royal power. Their position immediately to the left and right of the king is a reflection of the propagation, as it were, of the royal power and majesty outwards from the person of the king. The image is directly comparable to another dating from c. 1490, depicting Henry VII and his courtiers reviewing a book of astrology. In a virtual carbon copy of the miniature in the Troy Book, the figure directly to the left of the king also bears the sword of estate, and he too wears a livery collar, this time that of SS (Fig. 52).

Inevitably Herbert's support for Edward after his coronation resulted in a plethora of commissions and grants in Wales and the Marches. He and Walter Devereux were ordered to rid south Wales of the Lancastrian threat during the spring of 1461, and Herbert was created chief justice and chamberlain of south Wales - an office in which he wielded full authority as principal representative of the king - and steward of the royal counties of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. He and his brothers Thomas and John were commissioned to recover the lands of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and were involved in various other commissions in south Wales during the summer.<sup>53</sup> In September the Herbert brothers and Devereux were granted custody of the lands of the duke of Buckingham during his minority, and Herbert was made steward of Brecon, Huntington and Hay, and effectively given control of the lordship of Newport.<sup>54</sup> In a characteristic act of nepotism on the part of Herbert, his brother Sir Richard was made sheriff of Wentloog and seneschal of Machen shortly after.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the Herberts and Vaughans had been working together to acquire land in Wentloog and Machen since the early 1450s, and this association would continue

<sup>52</sup> Although the chamberlain, constable, marshall, comptroller and treasurer were also given staffs of office. See Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 199, 382.

<sup>53</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 7, 30, 38; R.A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure of Personnel and Government, I. South Wales, 1277-1536* (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 22-30; 155-6. Sir Richard Herbert was made his deputy justiciar, and his bastard brother William was appointed constable of Cardigan Castle.

<sup>54</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 43, 100. Herbert held a session of assize at Newport in March 1466: T.B. Pugh (ed.), *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, Select Documents* (Cardiff, 1963), p. 21.

<sup>55</sup> He was witnessing deeds, some involving the Vaughans, in the fee of Machen in these capacities in 1463 and 1467: NLW, Tredegar MSS, 12/4; NLW, Alice M. Dixon Collection, II, 7, 8.

into the sixteenth century.<sup>56</sup> By September Herbert and Devereux, now Lords Herbert and Ferrers, were hard at work rooting out Lancastrian resistance in Wales. The king's judgement of their abilities was made explicit in a letter written on 9 September: 'As for any grete doing in Wales I trust God we shal not doubte. The Lord Herbert and the Lord Ferrers ... ben gone afore to clense the countrey afore us'.<sup>57</sup> Trust and a supreme confidence now underpinned the relationship between Herbert and the king. They shared a close affinity, and it is not an exaggeration to suggest that they had become close friends.<sup>58</sup>

The next task was to take the remaining Lancastrian castles in Wales. The captain of Pembroke Castle, Sir John Skydmore, surrendered on 30 September 1461, and received a pardon from Herbert. Skydmore was, however, soon relieved of his lands, those in Herefordshire being given to Sir Richard Herbert, thus extending his territorial interests into an area dominated by the Vaughans. It appears that the Herberts had persuaded the king, 'by mervelous pryvat labour', to forfeit the lands, in a gesture suggestive of personal favour.<sup>59</sup> At Pembroke was found the infant Henry Tudor, who was taken to Raglan where he was brought up by Lady Herbert. For a fee of £1,000 her husband was granted Tudor's custody and marriage.<sup>60</sup> Herbert was granted the extensive lands of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke on 3 February of the following year,<sup>61</sup> by which time all the Welsh castles in Lancastrian hands, save Harlech, had surrendered to the king. Herbert had ensured that 'the moost part of gentilmen and men of worship are comen yn to the king and have grace, of all Wales'.<sup>62</sup> The grants continued apace, including that of the lordship of Haverfordwest, thus connecting Herbert to an area in which his kin the Wogans and the Vaughans were closely

<sup>56</sup> NLW, Tredegar MSS, 110/74; Alice M. Dixon Collection, II, 6; Tredegar MSS, 27/23, 27/24, 27/17, 27/28, 90/65, 98/53, 90/96, 90/87.

<sup>57</sup> H. Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 3 vols. (London, 1824), i, pp. 15-16.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 55-6; 82.

<sup>59</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of October 1472 to March 1475, mems. 21-22. A transcript of the pardon is printed in Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 67-8. In 1472 Skydmore successfully petitioned to have the forfeiture reversed: TNA, SC 8/29/1435A, which also contains a copy of the pardon. The Herberts were granted additional lands in Herefordshire, such as the manor of Kilpeck, in February 1462: CPR, 1461-67, pp. 425, 533.

<sup>60</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 285-7; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 192; CPR, 1461-67, p. 114.

<sup>61</sup> CPR, 1461-67, p. 114; D.J. Cathcart King, 'Pembroke Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 127 (1978), 75-121, at 82-3.

<sup>62</sup> PL, iii, p. 312. Letter dated 4 October 1461.

associated.<sup>63</sup> He also acquired the manors of Crickhowell from Thomas Pauncefote, and Tretower. Both were amalgamated to form a separate lordship in 1463. Herbert later entrusted Tretower Court to Sir Roger Vaughan, who made it his chief residence.<sup>64</sup> Raglan, the Herbert *caput honoris*, was elevated into a royal lordship in 1465, in the process becoming the final Welsh marcher lordship to be created. The estate was augmented with land from the royal lordship of Usk.<sup>65</sup> Herbert, already one of Edward's intimates as a king's knight, was created a knight of the Garter in March 1462.<sup>66</sup> His place at the heart of the king's inner circle was secured, and there he would remain until his death at Edgecote seven years later.

The grants, offices and commissions continued to be showered on Herbert into the mid-1460s. Given the stewardships of the duchy of York lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Clifford, and of the lordships of Builth, Dinas and Ewyas, and made chief forester of the royal forest in south Wales, he had secured hegemony in the region.<sup>67</sup> His powers in the north were extended in 1467 when he was made chief justice of north Wales, steward of the lordships of Denbigh and Montgomery, and constable of Harlech Castle, the final Lancastrian stronghold in the country.<sup>68</sup> In July 1468 a commission was given to the Herbert brothers, Sir Roger Vaughan and others to quash the Lancastrian threat in the north. After Sir Richard Herbert defeated a force led by Jasper Tudor at Denbigh the town was devastated, 'clere defacid with fier by hostile'. The Herberts then proceeded to savage Gwynedd. Punitive measures were harsh: seven brothers were executed on Anglesey, despite the protestations of their mother.<sup>69</sup> Harlech Castle, despite it being 'so stronge that

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<sup>63</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 119; NLW, Picton Castle MSS, 12 (for a Thomas Vaughan and his wife renting 'the arch' in Haverford for 6d. per annum, 20 October 1469). For the Wogans' link with the town, see below, p. 208.

<sup>64</sup> *CCR, 1461-68*, p. 149; *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 268; G. Owen, *The Description of Penbrokeshire*, 3 vols. (1892-1906), i-ii, p. 29. The book was originally written in the late sixteenth century.

<sup>65</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 425; Griffiths, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (c.1423-1469)'.

<sup>66</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 119; G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter, from its foundation to the present time* (London, 1841), p. clxiii.

<sup>67</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 526-7.

<sup>68</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 41, 22, 79. He was made chamberlain of north Wales in April 1469: *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 154.

<sup>69</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 102-3; L. Toulain Smith, *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539* (London, 1906), p. 97; Williams and Williams (eds.), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, p. 130; Stevenson (ed.), 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales', p. 791; J.M. Shuttleworth (ed.), *The Life of Edward, First Lord Herbert of*

men sayde that hyt was impossybylle unto any man to gete hyt', finally capitulated on 14 August.<sup>70</sup> Although a pardon was issued by Herbert, several of the garrison were taken to London, where Thomas Elwyk and John Trueblode were executed.<sup>71</sup> Victory had finally been achieved, leaving Herbert 'the onlye and entire comaunder of Wales'.<sup>72</sup> His reward: the earldom of Pembroke, bestowed on him on 8 September 1468. Herbert's final noteworthy acquisition was Chepstow and Gower, from the duke of Norfolk in September.<sup>73</sup> There is no exaggeration in the statement that, by the autumn of 1468, William Herbert had become Edward IV's viceroy in Wales.<sup>74</sup> His influence there was without comparison, his close affinity with the king had been rewarded with unprecedented power in the region and beyond. Of course the relationship was mutually beneficial, the king safeguarded an area in which Lancastrian resistance had lingered, and Herbert's ambitions had been fulfilled.<sup>75</sup>

The Herbert hegemony in Wales declined under William's heir, William (d.1490), although the family's connections to the House York did not entirely diminish. He accompanied the king on his procession in London after the battle of Tewkesbury in May 1471, was present at the Garter feast in 1472, and he travelled with the king's expedition to France in 1475.<sup>76</sup> However, in 1479 Herbert was forced to surrender the earldom of Pembroke in exchange for the earldom of Huntingdon.<sup>77</sup> With the accession of Richard III in 1483, Herbert's fortunes took an upward turn, culminating in his marriage to the king's illegitimate daughter Katherine in 1484. This was followed by several grants, offices and

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*Cherbury, Written by Himself* (London, 1976), pp. 5-6. Herbert's exploits in the north of Wales in the summer of 1468 are discussed in depth in Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 98-109.

<sup>70</sup> Gairdner (ed.), *Historical Collections*, p. 237; *HP*, pp. 43-4; Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, pp. 27-8; J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher, and the Ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog*, 6 vols. (London, 1881-7), vi, pp. 387-8.

<sup>71</sup> NLW, Peniarth Estate MSS, CA1; 'Pardon to Rhys ap Griffith ap Aron, of Peniarth, and others', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 15 (1860), 309-12; Stevenson (ed.), 'Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales', p. 791; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 167-9.

<sup>72</sup> Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 112, 163.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 114-5.

<sup>75</sup> In December 1468 the king owed Herbert £3,168 2s. 8d., a barometer of the military support Herbert had given the king: *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 132.

<sup>76</sup> Wright (ed.), *Political Poems*, ii, p. 280; C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 381; *HP*, p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> *CChR, 1427-1516*, p. 250; *PROME*, Edward IV, Parliament of January to February 1483, mem. 14.



annuities, including the issues of the lordship of Haverfordwest where, as we have seen, the Herberts and Wogans had tenurial interests, and the stewardship of Usk, thus continuing the family's close association with the duchy of York estate.<sup>78</sup> He did not, however, resist Henry Tudor in 1485, and was pardoned in 1486.

### **Kinship and tenurial ties**

As was the case with Derbyshire, the individuals and their families concerning this case study shared close bonds of kinship and tenure. These will now be examined as a second context for the appearance of the livery collar on their memorials. The Herberts and Vaughans had been associated through kinship for several decades before Edgecote. Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine fought at Agincourt in the retinue of David Gam, whose daughter Gwladys Ddu he had married some years before. Both he and his father in law were to die on the battlefield, tradition has it after having been knighted by Henry V.<sup>79</sup> William Herbert's father Sir William ap Thomas (d. 1445) fought alongside them, and later married Gwladys Ddu, Vaughan's widow. She and Vaughan had three sons: Watkin, Thomas of Hergest, and Sir Roger of Tretower, who were brought up with their half-brothers William Herbert and Sir Richard Herbert at Raglan Castle, situated in the duke of York's lordship of Usk.<sup>80</sup> As has been demonstrated, these individuals became close allies. In his will of 16 July 1469, William Herbert referred to Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower as his 'brother', and again as one of his 'brethren', alongside Sir Richard Herbert. They were both to be prayed for second only to his immediate kin.<sup>81</sup> As their fathers had done before them, many members of these two families were to fight and die for their king at the battle of Edgecote.

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<sup>78</sup> *HP*, pp. 71-2; *CPR, 1476-85*, pp. 431, 538; *Harleian 433*, i, pp. 94, 139, 269; iii, pp. 105, 193. For deeds involving the earl in the lordship of Usk during the 1470s, some of which were witnessed by his brother Sir Walter Herbert, see NLW, Badminton Deeds, 495, 587, 1446, 1523, 1558, 1600.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas and Thornley (eds.), *Great Chronicle*, p. 93; *HP*, pp. 36-7; Thomas, 'The Herberts', p. 2; R.W. Banks, 'On the Family of Vaughan of Hergest', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 26 (1871), 23-4; C.J. Robinson, *A History of the Castles of Herefordshire and their Lords* (London, 1869), p. 23.

<sup>80</sup> For the Herberts' association with Raglan see I. Gardner, 'Raglan Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 70 (1915), 40-46.

<sup>81</sup> Vaughan was named an overseer: *HP*, p. 56; Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 288-9.

Despite tension during the 1470s between some members of the families, the Herberts' close relationship with the Vaughans continued. Any lingering tensions had apparently healed by 1484, when William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon enfeoffed his estates to his mother, John Herbert, Sir Thomas Vaughan, Thomas Vaughan of Bredwardine, Walter Vaughan of Kington and William Vaughan of Clifford. In 1478 Sir Thomas and John Vaughan were also included in an enfeoffment of Dunster and Minehead.<sup>82</sup>

Thomas and Sir Roger Vaughan (d. 1471), step-brothers to William Herbert, were crucial members of his affinity. Their support extended Herbert's influence eastwards into England, with their wider kinship network providing additional manpower for his affinity. From their early mutual links with the duke of York, dating back to the 1430s,<sup>83</sup> to their support at Edgecote, the two families were closely allied, their ties of kinship and tenure securing a close and durable bond. From the 1430s members of the various branches of the Vaughan family were involved in land transactions with the Herberts, and the two families regularly co-witnessed deeds. The Vaughans were also employed by the Herberts as stewards, bailiffs and reeves on their estates.<sup>84</sup> The bonds continued into the sixteenth century.<sup>85</sup> The relationship was not, of course, one sided. Through Herbert's influence both Vaughan brothers and their kin were able to secure favour with the king in the form of offices and grants. From his main residence at Hergest Thomas Vaughan's influence stretched into Wales, where he served as receiver of the Stafford lordships of Brecon and Hay, in addition to Huntington (where he was also constable), in the 1450s.<sup>86</sup> An early indication of his loyalty to Edward IV came in the autumn of 1461 when he was reappointed receiver of these

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<sup>82</sup> *HP*, pp. 68, 72-3, 77. In addition, on 9 January 1485 the earl of Huntingdon granted the manor of Troy to William Herbert, esquire. John Vaughan was appointed to deliver seisin: NLW, Badminton Deeds, 798, 880.

<sup>83</sup> They were tenants of the duke, served as his offices, and co-witnessing deeds during this period: NLW, Badminton Deeds, 1044, 1103, 1742.

<sup>84</sup> NLW, Badminton Deeds, 10, 11, 12, 1103, 1105-6, 1519 (early lands grants with the Herberts); Tredegar MSS, 27/24, 12/5, 90/87, 110/74; Badminton Deeds, 1521, 235, 1261, 569, 976, 977, 811, 1710, 1711, 798, 880, 690, 987, 236, 95, 693, 695, 238, 930, 14056; Badminton Manorial, I, 6, 23/24 (Crickenhowell and Tretower duties); I, 1577, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1587 (Raglan and other estates); I, 1501-3, 1509-10, 1560a, 1561-2, 1564, 1568, 2610 (Newport, Penros, Chepstow and elsewhere).

<sup>85</sup> NLW, Tredegar MSS, 27/28 (release of lands in Machen involving Sir Walter Herbert, John ap Gwilym Vaughan and Philipp Vaughan, 26 October, 1504).

<sup>86</sup> C.J. Robinson, *Herefordshire Mansions and Manors* (London, 1872), pp. 184-5; Pugh, *Marcher Lordships*, p. 246.

lordships during the minority of the duke of Buckingham. Along with his Herbert kin, he remained a staunch Yorkist throughout the 1460s.<sup>87</sup> Herbert, it will be recalled, was made steward of the Stafford lordships at the same time. Here we have one of numerous examples of the two families being entrusted to work together for the crown, emphasising their evidently effective working relationship with not only one another, but also their king. Vaughan was also made mayor of Newport by 1459, and made deputy receiver, then receiver, of Newport by Herbert after he took custody of the lordship in 1461.<sup>88</sup>

In addition to being William Herbert's brother-in-law through his marriage to Herbert's sister Margaret, Sir Henry Wogan (d. 1475) was also closely related to the Vaughans through the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Watkin Vaughan (d. 1456).<sup>89</sup> When compared to his in-laws, Sir Henry has left little impression in the records. Alongside William ap Thomas, he was a prominent member of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester's retinue and, with Thomas Herbert, was arrested with him in 1447. It may have been that Wogan and ap Thomas developed a close bond through their service on Gloucester's council, a relationship which resulted in the marriage between Wogan and ap Thomas's daughter.<sup>90</sup> It was probably as a result of Gloucester's favour that Wogan served as deputy justiciar of south Wales between 1442 and 1446, and again in 1455. He also served as seneschal of Pembroke and Haverford during the 1440s and 1450s.<sup>91</sup> It is probable that he fought alongside Herbert at Mortimer's Cross in 1461, and his son John fought and died at Edgecote.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> He was included in theoyer and terminer commission in North Wales in August 1467, alongside his brother Sir Roger and the Herbert brothers: *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 54.

<sup>88</sup> NLW, Tredegar MSS, 62/34; Monmouthshire County Record Office, Man/B/90/004; NLW, Badminton Manorial, 1503 (Thomas Vaughan as receiver, 1467-8). Another Thomas Vaughan served as bailiff for Newport in the late-1460s: NLW, Badminton Manorial, 1502.

<sup>89</sup> P.C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400-1500*, 18 vols. (Aberystwyth, 1983), iii, p. 451; G.T. Clark, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae* (London, 1886), pp. 280-1; F. Green, 'The Wogans of Pembrokeshire', *West Wales Historical Records*, 6 (1916), 169-232, at 194-5. Also see H. Owen, *Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke* (London, 1902), pp. 35-45; D.E. Lowe, 'The Council of the Prince of Wales and the Decline of the Herbert Family during the Second Reign of Edward IV (1471-1483)', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 27 (1978), 278-97, at 279-81.

<sup>90</sup> Kingsford, *Historical Literature*, p. 363; Thomas, 'The Herberts', p. 15. For links with ap Thomas in March, 1441 see *CPR, 1435-41*, p. 468.

<sup>91</sup> Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 150-1; NLW, Badminton Manorial, 1561; BL, Sloane Charters, xxxii, 5, 20.

<sup>92</sup> Harvey (ed.), *Itineraries*, pp. 340-1.

The Herberts shared landed interests with the Wogan family in the Haverfordwest area and, particularly after William Herbert's grant of the lordship in 1462, his family were brought into close contact with the Wogans and Vaughans.<sup>93</sup> In 1422 Henry, Margaret and a John Vaughan, chaplain, granted a burgage in 'le Marketstreet' in Haverfordwest, and Henry was renting out lands in Corby (near Wiston) during the 1450s.<sup>94</sup> The link with the Herbert family was long-standing. During the 1470s Henry Wogan of Boulston served as steward of Haverfordwest for the earl of Huntingdon.<sup>95</sup>

As with Wogan, there is a paucity of source material regarding William Griffith in the records. Although there is no evidence that William fought at Edgecote, Henry Griffith, probably a relative, was regularly associated with the Herbert affinity from the 1450s.<sup>96</sup> Despite the apparent lack of military activity there is, however, once again a kinship link with the Herberts. William's granddaughter Jane married Sir William Herbert (d.c. 1518), son and heir of Sir Richard of Coldbrook (d. 1469),<sup>97</sup> thus expanding the Griffiths' interests into the south of Wales. During the 1480s Sir Walter and William Herbert served as witnesses to deeds concerning their new Griffith kin. Sir Walter Herbert was also involved in the recovery of lands by Joan Griffith, Jane's mother, in 1506.<sup>98</sup>

These individuals and their families therefore shared close kinship ties. In some cases familial connections were continued over several generations, this was particularly the case with the Herberts and the Vaughans. The family tree on p. 250 demonstrates that each

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<sup>93</sup> The Boulston branch of the Wogan family held lands in Haverfordwest. Boulston mansion, which once sat on the north side of the river in Haverfordwest, was inhabited by the family until c. 1750: R. Fenton, *A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* (Brecknock, 1811), p. 129. For links with Haverford also see *CPR*, 1446-52, p. 272; 1452-61, p. 561. In February 1457 Sir Henry Wogan served as a feoffee to the use of William Herbert of land in Wellington (Herefordshire): *HP*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>94</sup> NLW, Picton Castle MSS, 19; Eaton Evans and Williams Collection, 22 (rent agreement with Robert Widdiston of Crumdale, April 30, 1450); Prendergast, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, HDX/337/42 (grant of land in Corby with William Sever, 30 June, 1455).

<sup>95</sup> H. Owen (ed.), *A Calendar of the Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 3 vols. (London, 1911-18), i, pp. 53-4; 134.

<sup>96</sup> BL, Additional Charters, 1816 (as steward of Usk and Caerleon, witnessing a release of land by William Herbert, 1451); *CFR*, 1452-61, pp. 36-7 (alongside Thomas Herbert, serving as mainprise in an enfeoffment of land from Edmund Cornwaile to Walter Devereux and William Mayell, 1453); *CPR*, 1467-77, p. 54.

<sup>97</sup> *HP*, p. 102; Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies*, viii, pp. 1265-7; J. Williams (ed.), *Llyfr Baglan, or, the Book of Baglan, Compiled between the years 1600 and 1607* (London, 1910), pp. 183, 205.

<sup>98</sup> NLW, Badminton Deeds, 978; Powis Castle Deeds, 11137.

family was to some extent related to every other family included in the case study. It should not therefore be surprising that they would want to celebrate or at least acknowledge their close ties in some form. This was achieved through the inclusion of a livery collar on their memorials. But the collars signified other shared facets, not least service to the Yorkist king. Indeed, in some cases it becomes apparent that a personal bond was nurtured with Edward IV.

### **Royal service and favour**

In a royal act of favour, many of Herbert's associates were exempted from the act of resumption in the parliament of 1467-8: Thomas Herbert and his son Thomas, esquires of the body; Sir Richard Herbert, 'our well beloved knight'; William Herbert, esquire; Sir Roger Vaughan; 'our most trusty and well-beloved' Thomas Vaughan, esquire of the body; Thomas Vaughan, esquire (son of Watkin Vaughan, d. 1456); and another Thomas Vaughan, yeoman of the crown.<sup>99</sup> The strong household connection within the affinity is immediately apparent. The inclusion of livery collars on the effigies of Sir Richard Herbert at Abergavenny and Thomas Vaughan at Kington supports the theory that members of the royal household were awarded them.<sup>100</sup> As will be seen below, we know that the earl of Pembroke, an eminent member of Edward IV's household as a king's knight, was the recipient of several collars, although we do not know whether he was depicted wearing one on his tomb effigy as it is no longer extant. In an inventory of the goods of Sir Walter Herbert (d. 1507) found at Raglan Castle after his death, 'two slender collers of cours gold enameled' were listed among the items.<sup>101</sup> Sir Walter continued the family's close association with the royal household, serving as knight of the body to Henry VII.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *CChR, 1427-1516*, p. 225; Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 170-2; PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of June 1467 to June 1468, mems. 6-20. Herbert's son Lord Dunster, along with John Herbert and Thomas Vaughan, served on a commission in December 1468 to grant the reversion of the manors of Joan, widow of Sir William Beaumont on her death to the earl and others: *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 132.

<sup>100</sup> See above, pp. 59-62.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 603.

<sup>102</sup> NLW, Badminton Deeds, 347. He also continued a family tradition by serving as steward of Usk during the 1490s: NLW, Badminton Deeds, 569 (witnessing a grant of land in Wolvesnewton from John Vaughan of Strigull, to Thomas Herbert and his wife, 2 April 1490. For the Wolvesnewton enfeoffments involving the

The Welsh bards, not surprisingly, praised Herbert, elevating the earl to almost mythological proportions. Most pertinent for this study are the frequent references to the close links between Herbert and his king. Lewis Glyn Cothi provides a valuable example:

Edward is a Charlemagne, by St Martin's grace!

Herbert is Rolando, the liberal one

Edward is like Arthur, as it beseems him

Herbert like Julius Caesar with his black spear.<sup>103</sup>

Glyn Cothi goes on to affirm that Herbert, Edward's 'master-lock', will 'keep all the men with the crown'.<sup>104</sup> Guto'r Glyn also celebrated the inseparable bond between Herbert and his king: 'Edward and his supporter, Herbert, are united as one. He is his limb and his elbow, his arm and his foot whenever a battle is fought. In the council he is consulted on all matters'.<sup>105</sup>

The message could not be more explicit: the earl not only provided the practical military strength that brought Edward to the throne, but he was also an intimate associate of the king, giving advice whenever required. The loyalty of the Welsh people to King Edward is a reflection of the unswerving loyalty of Herbert.

The earl's kin shared in his favour with the House of York. His brother Thomas was a servant to Richard, duke of York, with whom he fought in France. Alongside his father Sir William ap Thomas and Sir Henry Wogan, he was also a member of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester's retinue and was one of those arrested on his death.<sup>106</sup> He was closely involved with his brother in the disturbances in the Marches in the late-1450s, and was included in the pardons issued to many of his Herbert and Vaughan kin in June 1457 and June 1460.<sup>107</sup> An esquire of the body to Edward IV in 1461,<sup>108</sup> Thomas enjoyed the favour of the king, sitting

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Vaughans and Herberts during the late-1480s and 1490s also see Badminton Deeds, 690, 987, 236, 95, 693, 695, 238).

<sup>103</sup> NLW, 6512, 1C, fol. 6; Davies and Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, p. 63.

<sup>104</sup> NLW, 6512, 1C, fols. 5; 7.

<sup>105</sup> Williams and Williams (eds.), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, p. 136; translation in Thomas, 'The Herberts', p. 121.

<sup>106</sup> Harvey (ed.), *Itineraries*, p. 341; J. Gairdner (ed.), *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, New Series, 28 (London, 1880), p. 65.

<sup>107</sup> *CPR, 1452-61*, pp. 367, 594. For a detailed examination of the various members of the family who served the House of York see Thomas, 'The Herberts', pp. 221-77.

<sup>108</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 8, 15.

on various commissions, many with his Herbert and Vaughan kin, and receiving various offices and grants throughout the 1460s, many associated with Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.<sup>109</sup> In September 1462 he also travelled to Spain on an ultimately fruitless ambassadorial mission with Dr Thomas Kent and Peter Taster for discussions with Henry the Impotent.<sup>110</sup> John Herbert, possibly a brother but more likely a cousin of the first earl, was also involved in several commissions, many of which involved his family. In addition he was a prominent member of the Prince of Wales's council in the 1470s, and served as deputy chamberlain to William Herbert II in south Wales in 1472 and 1475, and deputy justiciar in 1475.<sup>111</sup> Several other Herberts also served the Yorkists. William Herbert, esquire, possibly half-brother to the first earl, became the constable of Cardigan Castle in August 1461, and as the 'king's servitor' was appointed escheator of Caernarvon in 1464. It was probably the same William who was deputy chamberlain of south Wales between 1465 and 1468. A William Herbert served as treasurer to the earldom of Pembroke in the mid-1460s, and was receiver of Haverfordwest lordship between 1472 and 1475.<sup>112</sup> William Herbert (d.c. 1518), son of Sir Richard (d. 1469) and esquire of the body to Richard III, received an annuity of 40 marks for his services against the duke of Buckingham in 1483. He may well be the same William Herbert who served as secretary to the Prince of Wales.<sup>113</sup> It is clear that the route into the Yorkist royal household forged by the earl of Pembroke during the

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<sup>109</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 30, 38, 65, 74, 99, 151, 197, 424, 523; *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 24 (chancellor of the earldom of March, August 1467), 614; *CFR, 1461-71*, pp. 190; 178-80, 217-18 (collector of subsidies and customs in Bristol, where he was killed in 1469). An intriguing link with the Fitzherberts of Norbury, Derbyshire, was also formed when Thomas Herbert and John Fitzherbert were granted 'Le Holynerst' and 'Prince Fee', in Derbyshire, in 1461, confirmed for life in 1465: *CFR, 1461-71*, p. 50; *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 422-3. The two may have become acquainted through their service to the king. It is possible that the Herbert family, in an attempt to extend their family's history back to the Conquest, encouraged the belief that the Fitzherberts were their progenitors.

<sup>110</sup> Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, i, pp. 260-1.

<sup>111</sup> Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 135, 228; *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 30; *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 54, 288 (commission to ascertain what lands Sir Richard Herbert had held in Herefordshire, July 1471); Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 158-9; 186-8. John Herbert was probably the John 'Raglan' referred to in some records: Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, p. 541.

<sup>112</sup> *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 42, 340; NLW, Badminton Deeds, 1501, 1502, 1503; Badminton Manorial, 1564; Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 186-8.

<sup>113</sup> His cousin, William Raglan, was granted an annuity of £20: *Harleian 433*, i, pp. 94-5, 109, 143, 190, 275; TNA, DL 42/20, fol. 10; Somerville, *History of the Duchy*, p. 646.

late-1450s was followed by many of his kin before and after his death. The Herberts' ties with the House of York were robust and durable.

Sir Richard Herbert, whose principal residence was Coldbrook House near Abergavenny,<sup>114</sup> was an early adherent to the Yorkist cause along with his older brother. He was connected with the duke of York during the mid-1450s, and was closely associated with the earl of Warwick by 1460.<sup>115</sup> His services towards Edward, earl of March continued after his accession to the throne. His inclusion in various commissions during the early-1460s, many alongside his brothers William and Thomas, secured his position as a pre-eminent political figure in south Wales. He was included in the September 1461 commission to take custody of the Buckingham lands, in June 1463 he and his brother were instructed to receive various rebels in Wales, and he sat on the oyer and terminer sessions in north Wales in 1467 and 1468, alongside his brothers William and Thomas and Sir Roger Vaughan. He was also militarily active. In May 1462 a force of 200 men commanded by Herbert and Vaughan secured the surrender of Carreg Cennen Castle, after a hard-fought defence from the garrison,<sup>116</sup> and as we have seen he was instrumental in the brutal campaign in north Wales in 1468. In addition to his roles in the lordship of Newport, he served as deputy justiciar of south Wales under his brother, sitting on the great sessions of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire in 1464 and 1466. He was appointed constable of Cardigan on 5 October 1463.<sup>117</sup> In February 1462 his estates were augmented with the confiscated lands of Sir John Skydmore and Thomas Fitzharry in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire (including the lordship of Fenn), and Wales. Three years later he received additional Skydmore lands in Herefordshire, including the manor of Grove.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *HP*, p. 51; Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, p. 292. For a description of Coldbrook House see C. Heath, *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Ancient and Present State of Ragland Castle* (Monmouth, 1829), unpaginated.

<sup>115</sup> Letter from Margaret to John Paston, 29 October 1460: *PL*, iii, pp. 245-6. It appears Herbert was an associate of the Pastons.

<sup>116</sup> *CPR*, 1461-67, pp. 100, 280; *CPR*, 1467-77, pp. 54, 102; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 28; J.M. Lewis, *Carreg Cennen Castle* (London, 1960), p. 6.

<sup>117</sup> Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 156, 540.

<sup>118</sup> *CPR*, 1461-67, pp. 77, 372.



Thomas Vaughan's younger brother Sir Roger (d. 1471) is more conspicuous in the records than his sibling, perhaps because Herbert and the king saw him as a more effective administrator and military commander.<sup>119</sup> He resided at Tretower Court, which had been acquired by Herbert and was probably given to his step-brother as a gift.<sup>120</sup> It was certainly a generous gift, one which reflects their close affection. Along with the Herberts, Vaughan developed early ties with the duke of York, serving as his receiver at Builth during the early-1440s.<sup>121</sup> In March 1464 Vaughan, alongside John Donne, crushed a Lancastrian force at Dryslwyn for which they were richly rewarded. The estates supplemented those in the West Country which had been granted to Vaughan in 1462.<sup>122</sup> He sat on a multitude of commissions alongside the Herberts throughout the 1460s, although he appears to have maintained closer ties with the earl of Warwick than his kin. As late as the summer of 1468 he witnessed a charter to Neath Abbey alongside the earl, in his capacity as Warwick's chancellor of Cardiff.<sup>123</sup> These connections may explain his apparent lack of involvement at Edgecote, or if he had been involved, his escape from punishment. The links did not appear to be detrimental to his relationship with the king. After the battle Vaughan was entrusted with several offices in Wales, including the constableness of Cardigan Castle.<sup>124</sup> After the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 Vaughan was sent to confront Jasper Tudor, who had escaped to Chepstow Castle. However, the plan backfired and Vaughan was captured and executed by Tudor.<sup>125</sup>

In an ode to Watkin Vaughan, son of Sir Roger, Lewis Glyn Cothi urged the family to remain loyal to Edward IV.<sup>126</sup> Led most notably by Thomas (d. 1493), another of Roger's sons, they continued to serve the Yorkists in household and administrative roles during the

<sup>119</sup> He did not, as has often been supposed, die at Edgecote: H.F.J. Vaughan, 'The Vaughans of Herefordshire', in C. Reade, *Memorials of Old Herefordshire* (London, 1904), pp. 79-94, at p. 85.

<sup>120</sup> T. Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock*, 2 vols. (Brecknock, 1909), i, p. 105.

<sup>121</sup> Johnson, *Richard of York*, p. 239.

<sup>122</sup> PROME, Edward IV, Parliament of April 1463 to March 1465, mem. 11; *CPR, 1461-67*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>123</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 54, 57, 58, 102; W. de Gray Birch, *A History of Neath Abbey* (Neath, 1902), pp. 138, 321-31.

<sup>124</sup> *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 183.

<sup>125</sup> R. Merrick, *A Book of Glamorganshire's Antiquities by Rice Merrick, Esq. 1578* (Broadway, 1825), p. 34.

<sup>126</sup> Davies and Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, pp. 51-7. He is described as a household servant of Edward.

1470s and 1480s.<sup>127</sup> When the duke of Buckingham rebelled against Richard III in October 1483, Thomas chose not to support his lord but with his relatives raided Buckingham's residence Brecon Castle, apparently under the instructions of the king. For this act he was granted the stewardship of Brecon. Watkin Vaughan, (d. 1504), son of Thomas (d. 1469) was also made steward and receiver of Huntington by William Herbert, earl of Huntington after Buckingham's lands were forfeited. Whether Sir Thomas's actions were motivated more by loyalty to his king or by local grievances cannot be ascertained, although judging by the family's past service to the Yorkist regime it appears a degree of genuine duty to the king was involved. In April 1486 Vaughan again rebelled against Tudor. Lingering tensions between the two families may have been at the forefront of this action, particularly after Jasper Tudor had beheaded Vaughan's father in 1471.<sup>128</sup> The family had remained loyal to Richard, many did not join Henry Tudor in 1485, and they were apparently not easily won over by the Tudor regime.

A marriage match between such geographically distant families as the Herberts and Griffiths would perhaps be surprising for gentry families but, alongside several of the Herbert family, William Griffith was a prominent member of the Yorkist household. The marriage may therefore have been a result of a relationship between the two families which developed through the household. Griffith served as marshal to both Edward IV and Richard III, and was a gentleman usher to the former. In 1483 he was made chamberlain of north Wales by Richard III, a role taken over by his son, another William, after his death.<sup>129</sup> Richard's favour towards Griffith parallels that which he showed to the Vaughan family. Griffith was an early, possibly the first, retainer of William, Lord Hastings, the indenture dating from 6 November,

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<sup>127</sup> Thomas was made coroner of Gwent with an annuity of £40 in 1480. Other members of the family to receive offices and annuities included John Vaughan, Richard Vaughan (probably the son of Thomas, d. 1469), another son Roger, another Thomas, yeoman of the crown, William Vaughan and Watkin, who was granted lands in Dorset: *CPR, 1476-85*, p. 222; *Harleian 433*, i, pp. 95, 137, 196, 197, 280, 285; ii, pp. 25, 123; iii, p. 154. John Vaughan, possibly a son of Watkin (d. 1456) was serving as constable of Dinefwr Castle in the mid-1470s: Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, p. 252.

<sup>128</sup> A 1575 account of Buckingham's rebellion is printed in Robinson, *Castles of Herefordshire*, pp. v-vi; *Harleian 433*, i, p. 139; Pugh, *Marcher Lordships*, pp. 241, 298; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, pp. 4-5, 47, 196.

<sup>129</sup> *CCR, 1476-85*, 1098; *CPR, 1476-85*, p. 18; *Harleian 433*, ii, p. 90; Lloyd, *Powys Fadog*, iv, p. 342; T.A. Glenn, *The Family of Griffith of Garn and Plasnewydd in the County of Denbigh* (London, 1934), pp. 195, 208b.

1461.<sup>130</sup> Initially, therefore, his duties and connections would have been forged around this affinity, rather than William Herbert's in the south of Wales. However, their duties would have brought them together more frequently after Herbert's remit was extended into the north of Wales in the mid-1460s.

### National sentiment

The final context to be examined concerns the articulation of Welsh national pride in the works of the bards, and the references to Herbert and his affinity in their songs. Pembroke and his brother Sir Richard were treated as national heroes, martyrs to their nation and their king, particularly by the bards who sung numerous elegies for the brothers and their comrades. Ieuan Deulwyn lamented the loss of a Welsh hero in Sir Richard, dying in a battle that constituted a national calamity.<sup>131</sup> In his elegy to Thomas ap Roger Vaughan, Lewis Glyn Cothi reflected on the 'great slaughter to great Cambria', in the battle, urging his three sons to take revenge on the treacherous English. In a fitting reference to the political turmoil of the time, he also refers to the various battle cries of the participants: 'Some, Herbert! Some, our Edward! / Earl Warwick! others, Harry!'.<sup>132</sup> It is noteworthy that some evidently thought they were fighting for the restoration of Henry VI, despite this not being Warwick's intent. It may however have proved useful in persuading some to fight against the royalist army at the battle.

The bards, themselves no lovers of the English, praised the Herberts' close connections with, and staunch loyalty to, Edward IV. After all Guto'r Glyn stated that, despite the hatred he engendered in England, the earl of Pembroke's principal goal at the battle was to protect his king from the earl of Warwick.<sup>133</sup> How was this Welsh nationalism reconciled with the Herberts' close links with the English crown? Quite simply, the king, through his

<sup>130</sup> This is the first surviving indenture between Hastings and one of his retainers: Dunham, pp. 119, 123.

<sup>131</sup> I. Williams (ed.), *Casgliad O Waith Ieuan Deulwyn*, Bangor Welsh MSS Society, iv (Bangor, 1909), pp. 54-6; 93-4; Lewis, 'Exact Date', p. 195. Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (d. 1648), a descendant of Sir Richard, unsurprisingly testifies to his bravery: Shuttleworth (ed.), *Life*, p. 5-6.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas's brother, Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, was also urged to take vengeance on the English: Davies and Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, pp. 16-19; 24; translations in Beesley, *History of Banbury*, pp. 185-6.

<sup>133</sup> Evans, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 174-5.

Mortimer descent, was seen as 'Welsh'. Those who fought for Edward at Edgecote believed that the ancient prophecy that the descendants of the Britons would finally secure the sovereignty of England would finally be delivered.<sup>134</sup> Though this was not to be, in the aftermath of the battle the bards urged their compatriots to support their king, reminding them that he had descended 'from the trunk of old stocks'.<sup>135</sup> Both Hywel Swrdwal and Guto'r Glyn pleaded with Edward to release their nation from their oppression.<sup>136</sup> Edward was, after all, their king, and the fact that he had Welsh blood in his veins added more pertinence. The articulation of loyalty to the king would be reflected in the appearance of Yorkist livery collars on several of the tombs of the deceased.

The Welsh bards eulogised Sir Richard Herbert for his generous hospitality, physical prowess, and his leadership, bravery and strength on the battlefield.<sup>137</sup> His alleged great height, praised by Guto'r Glyn, is apparently reflected in his tomb effigy which measures well over six feet long.<sup>138</sup> He was seen as a national hero, perhaps more so than his older brother: there could, after all, only be one soul of the Welsh nation.<sup>139</sup> As with the earl, Richard's exploits for his country are paired with commendations of his loyalty to Edward IV, the 'kingly Welshman'. He is described by Lewis Glyn Cothi as Edward's ally, his seal in the royal councils.<sup>140</sup>

The bards, it should be kept in mind, were very much singing for their supper. Travelling from court to court and singing for their subsistence, whether that was money, a fresh horse, or food for the night, they would be expected to eulogise their hosts. Despite this, their regrettably under-utilised work has a lot to offer the historian. The content of their songs and poems is a reflection of the tastes of the Welsh gentry. More importantly, they are

<sup>134</sup> Riley (ed.), *Croyland*, pp. 446-7.

<sup>135</sup> W.L. Richards (ed.), *Gwaith Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn* (Cardiff, 1964), pp. 73-4; translation in Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, p. 211.

<sup>136</sup> E.D. Jones, *Beirdd y Bymthegfed Ganrif a'u Cefndir* (Aberystwyth, 1984), p. 37; Williams and Williams (eds.), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, pp. 157-9; translations in Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 205; 211.

<sup>137</sup> See 'I Syr Rhisiart Herbart', in Davies and Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, pp. 65-9, an ode written during the 1460s. Translation in NLW, 6512, 1C, fols. 9-13.

<sup>138</sup> 'I Blas Sir Risiart Herbart, Colbrwc', in Williams and Williams (eds.), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, p. 132; translation in Thomas, 'The Herberts', p. 223.

<sup>139</sup> NLW, 6512, 1C, fol. 9.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 12.

a direct illustration of how their local patrons wished to be portrayed: in the case of the Herberts and Vaughans, as loyal subjects and politically active supporters of the House of York. The fact that the king himself had Welsh blood, albeit rather diluted, running through his veins aided the causes of both the Herberts and the bards, who were particularly successful in pairing the two themes. For the Herberts, the bards' panegyric was another medium, alongside artwork and tomb sculpture, in which to express their associations with the king. They were particularly adept at utilising a variety of artistic forms for their own political agenda.

After the death of Edward IV the bards turned to Henry Tudor. Unfortunately, despite his greater propensity to appeal to his Welsh roots, particularly to win support in 1485, their dreams were dashed. As Edward before him, Henry failed to transform the fortunes of the Welsh nation, and bring them to the forefront of the English polity.

## **The monuments**

### **William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469), Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire, no extant monument**

There are ambiguities in the earl's will and codicil as regards his intended resting place. In his will of 16 July, 1469 Herbert requested to be buried in St Mary's Priory at Abergavenny, situated close to his stronghold at Raglan and resting place of his father, 'in the ile in the arch between my fathers chapple and the high altar of the said priory, somewhere neare unto the said altar, thereby neare to my father's tombe; and the tombe to be of the same height as my father's and somewhat more'. The chancel and his father's chapel were also to be extended eastwards.<sup>141</sup> However, later he adds, 'at my tomb at Tinterne two priests yearly to befound till mine entombe be builded there', and later still: 'Item, where I have strucken out there I purposed to ly at the priory of Bergaveny, I will ly in the church of Tintern, and my wife in the same tomb with me'. He asks for his lands in Abergavenny, alongside his salt

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<sup>141</sup> *HP*, p. 55.

kept in store at Chepstow, to be sold for the erection of his tomb and chapel at Tintern, and to build new cloisters at the abbey.<sup>142</sup> Either the earl anticipated the erection of two tombs, one at Abergavenny and one at Tintern, or his intentions altered during the course of the will's composition. Herbert added a codicil on 27 July, 1469, shortly before his execution.

Here his intentions are clearer; he plans to be interred at Abergavenny:

Item, I to [be] buried in the priory of Bergavenny undre charge bytwene my fader's tounge and ye chauncell, and the cost þ at shuld have be [at] Tyntaurn to be set uppon the chauncell as my confessor maister John Dezman shall say ... Item þ at maister John Dezman have £20 to remembre me, and £20 to the Grey freres wher my body shall lygh and þ at my body be sent fore home in alle hast secretly by maister Leison and certeyn freres with him.<sup>143</sup>

However, after his execution at Northampton, William Herbert's body was taken to Tintern Abbey and buried 'in ye quire before ye high aulter'.<sup>144</sup> The earl was patron of the abbey as lord of Chepstow, and his interment there continued a tradition of the abbey being the favoured burial place of the earls of Pembroke.<sup>145</sup> Though there is no trace of the tomb today, an illustration in the *Herbertorum Prosapia* apparently provides an insight into its appearance (Fig. 53). The effigies of the earl and his wife, both wearing coronets, are depicted on a tomb chest, the panels of which feature six daughters and three sons above their respective coats of arms. An inscription is depicted on the bottom of the tomb. Hitherto,

<sup>142</sup> *HP*, pp. 57-8. There is no evidence that any words were deleted earlier in the will. The new cloisters took some time to complete. Herbert's son the earl of Huntingdon, who also requested burial in the abbey, left 40s. towards the cloisters work in his will of 21 July, 1483: *HP*, p. 74.

<sup>143</sup> TNA, PROB 11/5, fol. 216r.

<sup>144</sup> William Fellows' 1530 visitation of Tintern Abbey, which also provides information on the location of the tombs of Herbert's sons. The bodies of his heir William, earl of Huntingdon, and his brother Sir George Herbert lay in one tomb to the north of their father, and Sir Walter Herbert lay buried in the chapel of St John the Baptist on the north side of the church: London, College of Arms, MS H.8, fols. 4v-5r. The earl's intended place of burial at Abergavenny was taken by his brother Sir Richard Herbert.

<sup>145</sup> W. Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801), p. 375; O.B. Craster, *Tintern Abbey* (London, 1956), p. 6; C. Heath, *Descriptive Account of Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire* (Monmouth, 1793), p. 30; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols. (London, 1693), i, p. 91. According to Fellows, Gilbert de Clare, 'Strongbow', earl of Pembroke (d. 1148) was buried in the chapterhouse in the abbey: College of Arms, MS H.8, fol. 5r.

the drawing has been accepted as an accurate reproduction of the original tomb.<sup>146</sup>

However, there are problems with this interpretation. Firstly, the monument had disappeared by the seventeenth century, evidently when the abbey was suppressed in the previous century.<sup>147</sup> As the *Herbertorum Prosapia* is a copy of an original manuscript written in the seventeenth century, it is unlikely that the author of the original or the copy saw the tomb in its original state. There may have been an earlier reproduction of the tomb on which the illustration was based, but if one examines the effigies it is apparent that they are anachronistic. The beards sported by the male effigies and the details of the armour are more appropriate to the Elizabethan period than the late fifteenth century. We must therefore accept that the drawing may be nothing more than the product of the illustrator's imagination.<sup>148</sup> Further doubts are cast if one compares the drawing of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook's monument at Abergavenny to the extant tomb. It bears little resemblance to the actual monument. Among several inaccuracies, the addition of a shield is extraneous (**Figs. 54-5**). Although we have no idea as to whether Herbert's tomb effigy was depicted wearing a Yorkist livery collar, we do at least know that he was given several.<sup>149</sup> In his will he refers to his 'garters and collars of gold', which are differentiated from his other 'wearing chaines'. All were bequeathed to his son Lord Dunster.<sup>150</sup>

### **Sir Richard Herbert (d. 1469), St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire**

The recumbent alabaster effigies of Sir Richard and his wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas ap Griffith, lie on a tomb chest under the arch between the north side of the Herbert chapel and the south side of the chancel (**Figs. 55-6**). The tomb may have been commissioned by Margaret after her husband's death. It has been damaged over time (Sir Richard's right arm is virtually all missing), although the Herbert tombs were intact when Richard Symonds saw

<sup>146</sup> See for example P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), p. 262, fig. 413.

<sup>147</sup> Shuttleworth (ed.), *Life*, p. 6.

<sup>148</sup> Presumably the same applies to the drawing of the earl of Huntingdon's tomb, also in the *Herbertorum Prosapia*, p. 151.

<sup>149</sup> It does not appear to have been unusual for individuals to receive more than one collar. See the example of John Baret: above, pp. 43-4.

<sup>150</sup> *HP*, p. 57.

them in September 1645. It is therefore likely that they were damaged after the siege of Raglan Castle in August 1646. Restorations and reconstructions have been consequently undertaken, particularly to the tomb chest, the most recent being in 1995-8.<sup>151</sup>

We are blessed with an abundance of antiquarian notes on the Herbert monuments at Abergavenny. Thomas Churchyard's 1587 poem, 'The Worthines of Wales' noted the heraldry on Sir Richard's 'sumptuous tombe', most of which has now gone, and Symonds described the effigy as sporting black hair.<sup>152</sup> In his 'General Topography', Richard Gough stated that the effigy of Sir Richard had no collar.<sup>153</sup> This poses the question as to whether the collar may have been a later addition. However, it appears to have been an oversight. John Carter's drawings of the effigy in 1801, made at approximately the same time as Gough was writing, includes a close up of the collar of suns and roses (**Fig. 57**).<sup>154</sup> The collar's presence is confirmed by another drawing in William Coxe's *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (**Fig. 58**).<sup>155</sup> Though the tomb was covered in Edward Blore's 'Monumental Remains', his 1855 drawing was taken from the north side of the tomb, all but obscuring Sir Richard's effigy.<sup>156</sup> The collar was referred to by Octavius Morgan, who correctly associated it with the House of York.<sup>157</sup> Examining the tomb, there is no evidence that the collar was a later addition, and it appears to be contemporaneous with the rest of the effigy.

### **?Sir Richard Herbert (c. 1470-80), St Nicholas's, Montgomery, Montgomeryshire**

Alabaster military effigy, no extant tomb chest, lying on the floor of the south transept, the Lymore chapel. The effigy appears to have been painted at some stage, giving the alabaster

<sup>151</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, p. 95; V. Rock, 'The Medieval Monuments at St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny, Gwent', *Medieval Life*, 3 (1995), 17-24, at 21-2; P. Lindley, 'A Restoration restoration? The Herbert monuments at Abergavenny', in his *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, pp. 199-236. For Richard Symonds's notes see BL, Harleian MS 944, fols. 18v-25v, at 22r-22v; C.E. Long (ed.), *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War* (London, 1859), p. 236; they are collated in Lindley, 'A Restoration restoration?', pp. 226-30.

<sup>152</sup> Churchyard's poem is printed in Octavius Morgan's *Some Account of the Ancient Monuments in the Priory Church, Abergavenny* (Newport, 1872), pp. 15-18.

<sup>153</sup> Bodleian Library, MS 33, fols. 172r-v, in Lindley, 'A Restoration restoration?', pp. 233-4.

<sup>154</sup> BL, Additional MS 29938, fol. 74r. For the full repertoire of Herbert tombs see fols. 63r-87r.

<sup>155</sup> Coxe, *Monmouthshire*, opposite p. 188.

<sup>156</sup> BL, Additional MS 42009, fol. 89r. For his synopsis of the Herbert tombs, see fols. 24r-27r.

<sup>157</sup> Morgan, *Ancient Monuments*, p. 58.



a dark appearance. The effigy wears a Yorkist livery collar of suns and roses with the lion of March pendant.<sup>158</sup> (Figs. 59-60)

There is much doubt as to whom this effigy represents, although it can be confidently identified as a member of the Herbert family. It will be recalled that William Herbert was made steward of Montgomery in 1467, and his brother Sir Richard was also linked with the castle: one of his sons, Sir Richard (d. 1539) resided there.<sup>159</sup> It was to this individual that Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury attributed the effigy. Writing in the early seventeenth century, he reported that his great grandfather 'lyeth buried ... in Montgomery; the upper Monument of the two placed in the Chancell being erected for him'. Evidently the effigy, along with a fourteenth-century military effigy which it sits beside, has been moved since the seventeenth century. Although very little else has been written on the effigy, later scholarly attention has subscribed to this view.<sup>160</sup> There are, however, serious flaws to this argument.<sup>161</sup> Firstly, it is unlikely that an individual who was born in 1468 and died in 1539 would wear a Yorkist collar.<sup>162</sup> Too young to have served the House of York, Sir Richard's career was spent serving Henry VIII's regime.<sup>163</sup> There are no Yorkist collars on tombs dating from the sixteenth century. If the effigy is unlikely to represent Sir Richard, then who exactly does it commemorate? The presence of the collar and the lion pendant indicates service to Edward IV (1461-83), and the long flowing hair is suggestive of a date of at least 1480.<sup>164</sup> There are the remains of a clawed foot on the crest of the helm which may be the wyvern crest used by the Herberts.<sup>165</sup> Because it appears that the Herbert family were associated with Montgomery before Sir Richard (d. 1539), it is possible that the effigy

<sup>158</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, p. 103.

<sup>159</sup> Shuttleworth (ed.), *Life*, p. 4; Coxe, *Monmouthshire*, p. 104.

<sup>160</sup> Shuttleworth (ed.), *Life*, p. 5; 'On the two recumbent figures in Montgomery Church', *Collections historical and archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire and its borders*, Powys-land Club Collections, 6 (1873), pp. 207-14.

<sup>161</sup> 'Notes on the effigies in Montgomery Church', in *ibid.*, pp. 435-9.

<sup>162</sup> Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies*, v, p. 786.

<sup>163</sup> Shuttleworth (ed.), *Life*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>164</sup> Some features, particularly the facial expressions, are rather idiosyncratic.

<sup>165</sup> 'Notes on the effigies in Montgomery Church', p. 438.

represents one of the numerous sons of the earl of Pembroke, rather than the offspring of his brother Sir Richard of Coldbrook.

### **Thomas Vaughan (d. 1469), St Mary's, Kington, Herefordshire**

The alabaster effigies of Vaughan and his wife Ellen 'Gethin' lie on an altar tomb between the north side of the south chapel, erected by Vaughan, and the chancel. He wears a thin collar of suns and roses with a cross pendant (**Figs. 61-2**). The tomb chest and effigies have been heavily restored, including the faces of both effigies, the legs of Vaughan and the hands of his wife. The major restorative work was undertaken in the mid-1840s at a cost of £70. A lion that once rested at the feet of Vaughan was removed during these restorations, 'because it accorded not with the rest of the work'. The tomb has evidently been moved since 1847, when it was situated in the south-east corner of the south chapel.<sup>166</sup>

Unusually, we have a contemporary, albeit characteristically cryptic, description of the tomb, from Lewis Glyn Cothi's elegy.<sup>167</sup> The monument, we are told, was erected by Vaughan's widow and cost more than the walls of a castle. The great 'pillars' of white alabaster are vividly described, as is the 'golden head' of Vaughan. The tomb chest was also richly gilded. An inscription was placed above the tomb featuring the names of Thomas and Ellen and their descendants.<sup>168</sup> This was subsequently added to until 1745, and in 1842 it was replaced by a stone slab.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Historical Monuments Commission, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, 3 vols. (London, 1931-4), iii, p. 90; R.W.B., 'On the Family of Vaughan of Hergest', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 26 (1871), 23-34; W.J. Rees, 'Account of the Restored Tomb in Kington Church, 1847', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3 (1848), 60-5. For a description of the tomb before the restorations see Richard Parry's *The History of Kington* (Kington, 1845), p. 98

<sup>167</sup> 'Marwnad arall ar Thomas ab Rhosser', in Davies and Jones (eds.), *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, pp. 20-3. A translation is printed in Parry, *Kington*, pp. 100-2. We are also told that Richard, one of Thomas's sons, also had a monument in the church. This has now disappeared.

<sup>168</sup> Parry, *Kington*, p. 101.

<sup>169</sup> R.W.B., 'Vaughan of Hergest', 25. The arms on the monument were recorded in 1660, 'sable, a chevron between three children couped at the shoulders argent, their perruques or, enwrapped about the necks with as many snakes proper, by the name of Vaughan': J. Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (1660), p. 247.

### **Sir Henry Wogan (d. 1475), Scolton Manor Museum, Pembrokeshire**

The damaged alabaster effigies of Sir Henry, from the Wiston branch of the Wogan family, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir William ap Thomas and sister to the earl of Pembroke, are now kept at Scolton Manor Museum. Henry has long curly hair, and wears a suns and roses collar with lion pendant about his neck. His wife is depicted in court dress, with long flowing hair. They originally resided under an elaborate canopy in south side of the now ruined Commandery Church at Slebech. Part of the canopy was illustrated in a selection of drawings by John Carter in 1803, which also included a birds-eye view of the effigies and details of Henry's livery collar (**Figs. 63-6**). Although the 'collar of Roses' was noted by the antiquary George Owen during the 1590s,<sup>170</sup> it has been misinterpreted in the past as a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece,<sup>171</sup> leading some to wrongly identify the effigy of Henry as that of Roger Barlow (d. 1558), to whom the Commandery was conveyed in 1546.<sup>172</sup>

### **William Griffith (d.c. 1483), St Tegai's, Llandegai, Gwynedd**

The recumbent alabaster effigies of William Griffith of Penrhyn and his unidentified wife lie on a tomb chest at the west end of the south side of the church. He wears a thin collar of suns and roses, she a choker collar of roses with a rose pendant. His pendant is too worn to be identified. The tomb dates from the early 1480s and is similar in appearance to the effigy of Sir John Saville (d. 1481) at Thornhill (Yorkshire).<sup>173</sup>

### **Conclusions**

A group of alabaster tombs dating from the 1490s and early sixteenth-century, possibly all products of the same workshop, have recently attracted the attention of scholars of church

<sup>170</sup> BL, Egerton MS 2586, fol. 337v.

<sup>171</sup> Established by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1430. A portrait of the duke from c. 1435 shows him wearing the collar. See Boulton, *Knights of The Crown*, pp. 356-96.

<sup>172</sup> An argument first proposed in Fenton's *A Historical Tour*, pp. 160-2. For the correct identification see E. Laws and E.H. Edwards, 'Monumental Effigies, Pembrokeshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 66 (1911), 349-80, at 371-80; F. Jones, 'Some Slebech Notes', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 7 (1951), 199-204. For the Commandery see J. Rogers Rees, *Slebech Commandery and the Knights of St. John* (London, 1900), p. 128.

<sup>173</sup> Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs*, p. 103; plates 64, 234.

monuments. They commemorate Sir John Morgan (d. 1493) at St Woolos Cathedral (Newport), Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d. 1510) at Abergavenny, David Mathew (d. before 1470),<sup>174</sup> Sir William Mathew (d. 1528) and Christopher Mathew (d.c. 1531), all in Llandaff Cathedral (Cardiff).<sup>175</sup> As was the case with the individuals analysed here, those commemorated were connected through kinship and royal service. They also all feature a livery collar, this time the SS collar adopted by the Tudors. They therefore share similarities with the individuals and their memorials which form the basis of this case study, and can perhaps be considered the next generation of gentry monuments, their tombs also being an expression of 'group solidarity'.<sup>176</sup> They can be interpreted alongside a wider introduction of Tudor iconographical motifs in Wales during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Tudor imagery, not least the red dragon favoured by Henry VII, appeared in artwork and in castle and church fittings, and stained glass, during Tudor's reign. Examples can be seen at St David's Cathedral and, interestingly, the Herbert mausoleum at Abergavenny.<sup>177</sup> Perhaps here we have an example of a conscious insertion of the Tudor narrative in order to neutralise, as it were, an area associated with the previous regime. It can be safely assumed that the tombs featuring SS collars were influenced by the style and aesthetics of the tombs of Herbert's affinity, and were perhaps deliberately copying their forbears who had died several decades before. Through the adoption of a similar form of monument and a livery collar, albeit the SS collar, continuity of lineage, royal service and loyalty was being emphasised. But there are subtle differences, in particular the fact that many of the

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<sup>174</sup> David Mathew was a contemporary of William Herbert (d. 1469), and married a Herbert. He was also a prominent Yorkist, having apparently been Edward IV's standard bearer at the battle of Towton in 1461. He died before 1470, and probably before Edgecote the previous year; there is no evidence that he fought in the battle. His monument, however, is retrospective and dates from c. 1500. Although not entirely a reflection of historical fact, the inclusion of the SS collar was probably an attempt by his family to incorporate him into their current position as supporters of the Tudor regime, and to suggest historical continuity in royal service. It certainly fits in to the 'Lancastrian' narrative suggested by the inclusion of SS collars on all three Mathew tombs in the cathedral.

<sup>175</sup> Biebrach, "Our ancient blood", 73-88, esp. 76-81; R. Biebrach, 'Conspicuous by their absence: rethinking explanations for the lack of brasses in medieval Wales', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 18 (2009), 36-42, at 41-2.

<sup>176</sup> Biebrach, 'Conspicuous by their absence', 42.

<sup>177</sup> See J. Morgan-Guy, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty in Wales', in S.J. Gunn and L. Monckton (eds.), *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 50-63.

individuals analysed in this case study died in battle. An element of comradeship, expressed through the shared depiction of the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, is unique to the individuals studied here.

They were, therefore, very much part of a tight affinity. As has been demonstrated, the extensive group of retainers and allies built up by William Herbert constituted a close-knit, politically active affinity from at least the mid-1450s, until its demolition in 1469. Even after Edgecote the association between many of the families continued. This is not necessarily surprising, nor unique. Affinities from the period became accustomed to surviving the death of their lord and continuing their local relationships, which in many cases had existed for decades. We have seen how the members of the Hastings affinity simply switched their services en masse to the duke of Buckingham after the former's execution in 1483.<sup>178</sup> On the whole, the Herberts and their kin found little difficulty in at least tacitly supporting Henry Tudor in 1485 (Walter Herbert probably openly), although members of the Vaughan family continued to trouble the new regime for several months. Whether this was due to lingering Yorkist sympathies, or local grievances with the Tudor family, cannot be fully ascertained. But until the battle of Edgecote the affinity was conspicuous in its durable active support, particularly militarily, for Richard, duke of York, and then his son Edward IV. In this respect they can be contrasted to the group examined in the previous case study, the majority of whom apparently eschewed explicit political support for either 'side' in the wars. The surviving relationship between the families of the deceased after the battle of Edgecote ensured that the Yorkist collars on their relatives' tombs were a lasting testament to their bonds.<sup>179</sup>

Although there are examples of SS collars on church monuments in Wales which pre-date the Wars of the Roses period,<sup>180</sup> there is a distinct break in 'collared' tombs from

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<sup>178</sup> See above, p. 170.

<sup>179</sup> The collection of tombs from this group may well have originally been much larger, reflecting the size of the affinity.

<sup>180</sup> For example Sir William ap Thomas (d. 1446) at Abergavenny and Sir Rowland Bulkeley (c. 1450) at Beaumaris (Anglesey). An alternative identification for this tomb is Sir William Bulkeley (d. 1490), whose wife Ellen was sister to William Griffith (d.c. 1483).

c.1450, until a relative proliferation of examples appear after the battle of Edgecote in 1469.<sup>181</sup> The same situation is discernible in Herefordshire, there being several examples of earlier SS collars such as that featured on the monument of Sir Roger Vaughan (d. 1415) at Bredwardine, although Thomas Vaughan's tomb at Kington is the only surviving memorial to feature a livery collar from the Wars of the Roses period.<sup>182</sup> As has been demonstrated, of those memorials in Wales from the Wars of the Roses period which feature a collar, all were linked, and all wear the Yorkist collar of suns and roses.<sup>183</sup> Whilst allowing for the fact that there may have been additional monuments which have since been destroyed, the evidence from extant tombs indicates that the use of the Yorkist livery collar on tombs in the region was an original and conscious act by the individuals commemorated or, more likely, their families. The same originality was exemplified with the first extant examples of the Yorkist collar in manuscript form, in the Troy Book commissioned by William Herbert in the early 1460s. As the Welsh bards attempted to construct a legend of Welsh bravery and loyalty to the king through their own cultural articulation, so too did the inclusion of a livery collar on the effigies of those commemorated. An affinity built around intimate bonds of kinship, geographical proximity, royal service and military and political unanimity was left to posterity.

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<sup>181</sup> The first Yorkist collars began to appear on church monuments in England in c. 1461.

<sup>182</sup> A brass dating from c. 1470 in All Saints' Church, Clehonger, thought to represent a Lady Aubrey, depicts a collar of roses, but no suns: H. Haines, 'The Monumental Brasses of the Cathedral and County of Hereford', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 27 (1871), 85-99, 198-203, 341, at 198.

<sup>183</sup> The only relevant brass from the period commemorates Sir Hugh Johnys (d.c. 1485) and his wife Maud at St Mary's, Swansea. It does not feature a collar. Johnys, perhaps a descendant of an illegitimate son of the Vaughan family, had connections with both Edward IV and Henry Tudor. Although this may qualify him for inclusion in the group studied here, there is no evidence that he fought at Edgecote, indeed he was admitted to the Poor Knights of Windsor (lay brethren associated to the Garter knights) in January 1469. The brass is also retrospective, dating over 20 years after his death. See W.R.B. Robinson, 'Sir Hugh Johnys: A Fifteenth-Century Welsh Knight', *Morgannwg, Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 14 (1970), 5-34; J.M. Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses* (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 42-3. In addition, the almost identical tombs of Thomas White (1482) and his son John White (c. 1490), are situated in St Anne's Chapel in St Mary's, Tenby. They are depicted as civilians, and neither wear a livery collar.

## Conclusion

In his *Regement of Princes*, Thomas Hoccleve reflected on the efficacy of church images in prompting the viewer to meditate on their subject matter:

When the images they beholden & seen;  
 Where often unsight of them causith restraints  
 Of thoughts good: when a thing depaint is,  
 Or entailed, if men take of it heed,  
 Thought of the likeness, it will in him breed.<sup>1</sup>

The essential purpose of an image is to engender a response; the viewer is encouraged to reflect on why the images are there, and what purpose they carry. In addition, Hoccleve considers the similitude of images. In most cases they are intended as reflections of a reality. Although the poet is primarily concerned with religious works, the image and response process he is essentially describing was applicable to all images: sacred and secular. When the viewer beheld a tomb effigy or memorial brass, for example, they were encouraged to contemplate all the details. Armour, heraldry, representations of spouses and children, religious iconography, and, if one was present, a livery collar, were all included for a reason. Collars in particular were not simply fashion accessories added at a whim. Placed on the most visually prominent part of the body, hung around the neck with a pendant of the lord's badge resting against the heart – a particularly appropriate symbolic position – they were designed to catch the eye. This was not only applicable to the collar's appearance on tombs; the artefact was also a significant aspect of the wearer's life.

The response from an observer today may well be to enquire why livery collars are depicted on church monuments, and ask what their significance was for contemporaries. Have we misunderstood or overlooked the item's significance? Put simply, the livery collar

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hoccleve, *Works*, ed. F. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1892-97), iii, p. 180, stanza 715.

was an integral and significant aspect of the political, cultural and social lives of hundreds, if not thousands of individuals. So significant, in fact, that a correspondent of the Pastons deemed it necessary to mention that a visitor was wearing one.<sup>2</sup> It associated the recipient with the donor, which as a result of the legislation of the beginning of the fifteenth century was frequently the king or a member of the royal family,<sup>3</sup> thus bestowing an element of prestige and gentility on the individual who wore the item. At the same time the collar served to proclaim the authority and worship of the crown: a symbiosis was at work. Through a thorough analysis and appraisal of the livery collar this study has developed a deeper understanding of the utility of visual and material culture, the nature of political conviction and understanding, the character of royal authority, the secular aspects of commemoration, and the construction and expression of group identities in late medieval England.

How should we judge the collar's significance? Hitherto, the item has been referred to by historians, but all too frequently skimmed over without appropriate analysis or scholarly reflection. This is surprising considering the pervasive presence of the collar from the late fourteenth century onwards. Not only is it depicted on hundreds of extant church monuments, but we have references to the collar in an abundance of contemporary sources, from works of art and sculpture to documentary accounts such as probate records, parliamentary proceedings and literature. A rigorous, interdisciplinary methodology has therefore been adopted in order to address each sphere in which its presence was felt. In addition, prosopography has been utilised to elucidate the connections between collar wearers, particularly in the final two chapters. Other disciplines have also been turned to in order to provide a theoretical framework in which to analyse the collar. Semiotic theory, for example, has provided a fruitful interpretative context in which to evaluate the collar's symbolic value as a representation of the authority and dignity of the crown.

The most salient feature of this study has been the extent to which the livery collar was utilised to articulate one's identity as part of a group. On its broadest level this could

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<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Such as Margaret of Anjou, whose accounts reveal that she awarded collars of SS to individuals in her household. See above, p. 37.



mean the recipient's membership of an 'elite' culture. A degree of prestige was bestowed on this large corpus of individuals who were connected to the king, and each other, through their collars. In addition it could of course associate the wearer with the Lancastrian or Yorkist dynasties; in some cases the item could therefore have strong political resonances. In the localities, the collar could be employed on church monuments by a close knit group of individuals and their families associated through bonds of kinship, tenure, and office, in order to reflect their intimate ties. As we are therefore concerned with the motivations which lay behind the distribution and depiction of the collar, some of which may appear contradictory, two broad strands of enquiry have been followed throughout the thesis: the motivations which lay behind the donor giving the collar; and the various ways in which the item was interpreted and 'used' by the recipients.

During the last decade much has been written on the role of church monuments as evidence of group identity, one such example being the Cobham family's adoption of a similar style of memorial brass to stress familial bonds and continuity.<sup>4</sup> The present study has treated the livery collar in a similar manner. Particularly on church monuments, but also during the recipients' lives, here we have an example of a visual artefact deliberately distributed and appropriated as a means of strengthening and demonstrating group identity. The appearance of the collar on the effigies of the deceased was therefore only one, albeit apparently permanent, medium in which group identity and solidarity was expressed. The role of agency has been an important facet here. As the evidence suggests, the livery collar was included on church monuments at the request of the commemorated or their kin, and was not simply included as a workshop stock item. This thesis has demonstrated that the collar meant much more to contemporaries than that.

One of the most striking conclusions reached by this study concerns the political significance of the livery collar, and through it the nature of the political identity of landed society particularly during the second half of the fifteenth century, the period associated with the Wars of the Roses. Historians have all too eagerly assumed that those individuals who

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<sup>4</sup> See Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*.

are depicted wearing a collar in works of art or on church monuments were politically active adherents to either the House of Lancaster or York. The research findings have proven that this was not always the case and they indicate that there is a need to redefine the nature of political conviction, or the ways in which it was expressed, during the period. This thesis has provided an original and significant contribution to the use of the visual medium in expressing political and other identities, but it has offered more. It has considered the interconnectivity between thinking and practicing politics during the fifteenth century, particularly during the Wars of the Roses, and the dynamics involved in the process. The livery collar, hitherto considered the single, most important form of political expression during the period, has been proved to have been a much more nuanced vehicle for expression. It has been demonstrated that livery collars did not necessarily denote Yorkist or Lancastrian sympathies, as has been previously assumed. If these symbols were interpreted differently to what was once thought, then there is a need to develop a different interpretation of what exactly 'politics' was for some contemporaries. It was not simply about dynastic rivalry and association, or switching sides. Some individuals and groups thought differently about politics than was once thought. For some, local kinship, tenure, and office holding amalgamated with politics. Indeed, for some, kinship and tenure was politics: this could even be the case with groups who unquestionably placed a degree of political meaning in the livery collar, such as the Herbert affinity in Wales. The most salient 'politics' for some was the desire to form and express bonds of connectedness, and this did not necessarily have to be in the form of political affiliation: the results of this study suggest that this may now apply to many more people than was once thought. Individuals and groups were affected by degrees of allegiance and influence, and decisions were made depending on geographical nuances. This study has therefore contributed additional methodological tools for examining and gauging political conviction in the future.

Collars can certainly be used to inform us of the political climate, or how the political climate was interpreted at a local level. As we have witnessed in chapter 1, Henry Fotherby bequeathed his collar 'of the lord king Henry VI' to his son John in his will of 4 February

1471.<sup>5</sup> As the will was made during the Readeption of 1470-1 the reference to Henry as king was correct, Fotherby was indeed leaving the king's collar as a bequest. Perhaps this particular collar dated from before 1461 when Henry was deposed. As it is likely that the Lancastrian SS collar was briefly reintroduced during the Readeption, this may be one such example. It may also be the case that Fotherby was, or had been, a Lancastrian supporter, the reference to 'the lord king Henry' being an expression of his loyalty to the king. Every such reference to a collar can help unveil insights into the individual's world, and help us to ask questions concerning the wider political climate.

In some cases livery collars can also, of course, tell us something of the political persuasion of individuals and their families. We have seen examples of William Herbert's affinity being depicted wearing suns and roses collars on their tombs to demonstrate their commitment to the Yorkist dynasty. In some cases there were complexities involved in the depiction of a livery collar. Take, for example, the collar on the now lost effigy of Ralph Neville, 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Westmorland (d. 1484) at Brancepeth, discussed in chapter 4.<sup>6</sup> It featured a Yorkist collar of suns and roses, and included a rare extant example of the boar pendant of Richard III. Yet the earl was no staunch Yorkist. How then can we explain the presence of the collar on his tomb effigy? As it is extremely unlikely that he did not receive a collar, its inclusion may have been at the behest of his nephew, the third earl, who had been associated with Richard as duke of Gloucester and was hoping for his family's fortunes, for so long eclipsed by the younger Neville line, to be revived under the new king. The livery collar can, therefore, be used to develop a more nuanced understanding of an individual's political position and circumstances. Conversely, a detailed investigation into the individual and their family's political, social and cultural contexts can provide more accurate and detailed explanations for the appearance of their collar.<sup>7</sup> The research has therefore added to the more recent historiography which stresses that the political lives of landed society

<sup>5</sup> Lincoln Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter, A/2/35, fol. 131v.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> For an example of re-identifying a tomb effigy through a deeper consideration of the livery collar, see M. Ward, 'The tomb of 'The Butcher'? The Tiptoft monument in the presbytery of Ely Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, 27 (2012), 22-37.

were nuanced, at times complicated, and developed through a variety of contexts.<sup>8</sup>

In some cases we must however proceed with caution when making the assumption that the collar equated to an overt expression of political conviction. In addition, we can glean something of the nature of political loyalty through examining the connections between collar wearers. We have previously discussed John Baret's cadaver tomb in St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds, which features SS collars both on the miniature figure of Baret on the tomb panel, and painted on the roof above the tomb.<sup>9</sup> In the same church can be found a memorial brass to one of Baret's contemporaries and friends, Jankyn Smith (d. 1481).<sup>10</sup> Smith was an alderman and generous benefactor to the town and left money for building work at St Mary's, as Baret had done previously. Smith wears an abraded collar on his brass, although it is clear that it once depicted a Yorkist suns and roses collar with lion pendant. Here we have an example of close associates and friends,<sup>11</sup> buried nearby one another but apparently supporters of opposing regimes. But were they politically active in reality? It is true that Baret's SS collar is a rare example of a Lancastrian collar appearing on a monument apparently dating from after the Yorkist accession in 1461. The fact that the collar is also repeated abundantly on the roof decoration above his tomb suggests that he nurtured a degree of loyalty to the Lancastrian regime.<sup>12</sup> As regards Jankyn Smith, his Yorkist collar, which appears on a brass dating after 1461, may simply have been intended to denote service to the king, Edward IV.<sup>13</sup> It was of course not impossible that close friends could be supporters of opposing regimes, although if Baret and Smith were staunch supporters of the respective regimes it did not apparently affect their friendship. The salient

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, M. Mercer, *The Medieval Gentry: Power, Leadership and Choice during the Wars of the Roses* (London and New York, 2010), especially chapter 3.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> See M. Statham and S. Badham, 'Jankyn Smith of Bury St. Edmunds and his Brass', *TMBS*, 18 (2011), 227-50.

<sup>11</sup> Baret left Smith his coral beads in his will: Tymms (ed.), *Wills and Inventories*, p. 41. For Smith's will see *ibid.*, pp. 55-73.

<sup>12</sup> He was awarded an annuity in 1441, and may have met Henry VI on one of his visits to Bury in 1433 or 1447: *CPR, 1441-46*, p. 28; King, 'The Cadaver Tomb', p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Although Smith included the local Yorkist John, Lord Howard, later duke of Norfolk (d. 1485) as a witness to the foundation deed for a charity he established to pay Bury's taxes, this may have been due to Howard's local prominence rather than any particular shared connection to the Yorkist cause: Statham and Badham, 'Jankyn Smith', 230.

point here is that henceforth we must not simply assume that every collar denoted political affiliation. More immediate considerations and associations were not infrequently more pressing than, and evidently not necessarily eclipsed by, allegiance to Lancaster or York.

Was the appearance of the livery collar on church monuments therefore used to express crown service, whether that was to the Lancastrian or Yorkist king? There is a conspicuous lack of SS collars dating from 1461 to 1485, and after Bosworth the appearance of the Yorkist suns and roses collar declines rapidly. As discussed above, individual circumstances may help explain the lingering presence of some examples,<sup>14</sup> but in the years after 1485 perhaps the new Tudor regime was to some extent willing to accept that the collar had in some cases denoted service to a king, rather than explicitly stating the political conviction of the individual commemorated. The vast majority of Yorkist collars date from the Yorkist period, and the return to Tudor SS collars after 1485 does suggest that the inclusion of the opposing regime's collar was perhaps deemed risky, but that does not mean that their inclusion always equated to an expression of political loyalty. After all, was it at all clear that after 1461 or 1471 the civil wars would continue? More pertinent may have been an acknowledgement of the individual's association to the crown, and the prestige that accompanied this. Although the SS collar may have originally been introduced to help build up the Lancastrian affinity, therefore serving a political purpose to an extent, after the legislation of the beginning of the fifteenth century the collar became increasingly associated with the crown.

Functioning in a similar way to coinage, the livery collar 'circulated' the crown, or at least a symbol of the crown, throughout the kingdom and beyond. In addition to the hundreds, if not thousands worn by the living, the appearance of several hundred richly gilded collars on tombs, memorial brasses, and in stained glass across the kingdom and on the continent would have served to benefit the king. They were powerful, tangible reminders of the reach of his royal power and dignity, and they certainly attracted the attention of contemporaries. They were therefore utilised as efficacious diplomatic tools, particularly in

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<sup>14</sup> Such as Sir Henry Pierrepont: see above, pp. 161-2.

princely courts across Europe: a gift of a lavish collar demonstrated the 'love' between rulers, and was frequently used to cement alliances through the visual medium. The composition of the collar also added something to the mystical nature and allure of kingship. As no image of the person of the king was present on the collar, it at once brought the majesty and authority of the crown into the communities, whilst also de-personifying the king as an individual. The crown was therefore ever present, but only at a distance. Although the devices used on both Lancastrian and Yorkist collars would have been recognised by the majority of the populace, the lack of a portrait of the king may have enhanced its effectiveness in promoting the authority and dignity of the crown, or at least the dynasty, as opposed to an individual ruler.<sup>15</sup>

Moving into the localities, and with particular reference to the appearance of the livery collar on church monuments, the prosopographies adopted in the final two chapters of this study have revealed that the item could be utilised differently by its recipients, often determined by local contexts. Again, the suggestion is that in some cases the political significance of the collar was not the primary motive behind its depiction. For those individuals in the south of Wales and Herefordshire, closely associated through the Herbert affinity and their participation and, in many cases, death fighting for Edward IV at Edgecote in 1469, the collar represented shared political conviction in the Yorkist claim to the throne. They clearly lived and died fighting for a cause. We should therefore acknowledge that, particularly during the civil wars, the appearance of a collar would in some circumstances be highly politically charged, depending on which collar was depicted, and who was on the throne. Indeed, during a civil war this is what one would expect. In Derbyshire however, the research has demonstrated that the appearance of the collar was a manifestation of the respective families' mutual pride in their long-standing service to the honour of Tutbury. In this respect they reflected royal service rather than any particular allegiance to Lancaster or York. It should be recalled that the majority probably never fought for either side in the wars.

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<sup>15</sup> The Yorkist kings in particular would have been identified through the adoption of their individual badges (the white lion of March for Edward IV and the white boar for Richard III) as pendants on their collars.

The results of the research have, however, highlighted one apparently constant and striking theme: where clusters of collars appear, as in Wales and Derbyshire, the commemorated were all closely related. There is therefore a strong kinship element to the decision by individuals to depict a collar on their tomb. The choice to depict the livery collar on their memorials seems to have been a means of literally putting into stone their collective identity through ties of kinship, tenure and office. The significance of kinship in determining the appearance of a collar on tombs is supported by family bequests of the item. We have witnessed several examples of the collar being passed down to family members, in some cases over three generations, as was the case with the Reresbie family.<sup>16</sup> In some cases, it therefore appears that familial identity was more relevant to the commemorated and their families than political statement.

### **Wider implications and areas for further research**

Today, when an individual or group make the decision to wear a common badge it is not infrequently to express some form of political (or religious) statement or association. In some areas of the world there are of course questions over the extent that this is done voluntarily, but on the whole it can be argued that it is a choice. Perhaps because of this, historians have tended to assume the same motivations were at play when one took the decision to depict a Lancastrian or Yorkist livery collar, particularly on one's church monument. They are therefore treated as other lord's badges: symbols of allegiance and duty. This thesis has demonstrated that this was not always the case, and that there is therefore a need to think more carefully about the nature of political expression during the fifteenth century and more pertinently during the Wars of the Roses. The primary concern for some individuals may have been to express their loyalty to the crown through their collar, despite the fact that in some cases this may not have been an entirely accurate reflection of the truth. That said, there was still an evident need to display one's association to the crown and to leave this to posterity. In some cases this evidently overrode the desire to express one's political position.

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<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 46.

If in the past historians have used the depiction of a livery collar to assume that the individual was a supporter of the respective regime, then perhaps there is a need to readdress the nature and extent of Lancastrian and Yorkist affinities during the period. Collar wearers were, of course, in some way connected to the crown. In some cases they will have fought and died for Lancaster or York, or for a lord who was attached to either regime. But other recipients were more loosely connected to the donor, as we have seen in Derbyshire. It is therefore a step too far to declare that all collar wearers were members of the royal household, and perhaps even too far to suggest that all were members of the extended affinity. Paradoxically, a study of a seemingly overtly political artefact has thus led to a questioning of exactly how much 'politics' meant to contemporaries during a civil war.

The study has also provided insights into the role of agency in commissioning and producing visual and material works of art during the late medieval period. In particular with regard to specific details added to sculpture, the case of the livery collar suggests that the majority were included at the request of the individual, or in some cases their families. Allowing for workshop stock items which would provide a basic model on to which other elements were added, it is suggested that details such as the collar were requested because they helped to reflect the realities, indeed in some cases to reconstruct the realities, of the individual commemorated: they assembled the individual's story. The argument here is that those commissioning such an expensive piece of work as a church monument involved themselves in every stage of its production. Although there are few extant tomb contracts from the late medieval period, it is evident that in addition to plans and sketches of the proposed tomb, many considerations were discussed verbally with the workshop. It appears that those individuals who commissioned expensive, exuberant works of art were involved in their production.

As we have seen, the role of agency also extended to the ways in which the livery collar was interpreted in the localities. For some of those who chose to depict the item on their memorials, more local considerations were their primary motives, resulting in a desire among interrelated groups to imitate one another's inclusion of a collar on their church



monument and establish a convention.

For what has become a vast area of study with an abundance of contemporary source material, there are not surprisingly several areas which warrant further study. Not least, a detailed biography of every individual commemorated with a livery collar on their memorials would be welcome. This would help ascertain what percentage were indeed political supporters of Lancaster or York, and indeed how many were members of the royal household. It would also enable more links between collar wearers to be deduced. Several clusters of 'collared' tombs have been identified during the research, with each individual being closely related to at least one other in the group. There are more examples which warrant research. Stephen Friar's study of livery collars in the south west of England uncovered another cluster of collars dating from the second half of the fifteenth century (see **Appendix 4**), and again it appears that the individuals were related. Other links, particularly between in-laws, can be found throughout the country, one example being the Yorkist collars on the effigies of Sir William Gascoigne (c. 1461-5) at Harewood, and Sir John Saville (d. 1482) at Thornhill, both in West Yorkshire.

There are several other avenues for future research. For example, the appearance of collars of roses or florets which appear during the period, more often than not on memorial brasses.<sup>17</sup> Were these a continuation of the collar of roses apparently used by Richard, duke of York? If so, it appears that this was an alternative, albeit less popular, version of the Yorkist livery collar, used alongside the more familiar collar of suns and roses. Another area for research is the small group of Yorkist livery collars which appear on tombs apparently dating from after the Tudor accession to the throne in 1485. More detailed analysis may reveal that the majority date from before Bosworth, although this was certainly not the case with Sir Henry Pierrepont.<sup>18</sup> Again, biographies of the individuals and their families may reveal the individual circumstances in which the inclusion of such an apparently volatile item occurred. One final avenue for research is the small group of collars which have at some

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<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 36 for examples.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 162.

point been abraded. Jankyn Smith's Yorkist collar is one such example, having been scratched out at some point. There is a possibility that in cases such as this a future generation of the deceased's family took the decision to remove the collar. Although it is not likely that we will ever know when this and other examples took place, research into the individual may help elucidate why.

To bring this study to a conclusion, one final source will be examined. Fittingly it is a piece of art, and in many ways this example neatly encapsulates the livery collar's purpose and effect. It is a miniature from the first page of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (c. 1448), depicting Philip the Good and his courtiers including his son Charles being presented with a copy of the manuscript by the author (**Fig. 67**). All the characters in the composition are portrayed as distinct. All wear different clothing and have distinctive features; there appears to have been an attempt at portraiture. But one immediately noticeable item links Philip and his courtiers: they all wear the duke's collar of the Golden Fleece, each one illuminated by its gold colouring. Not only that, but they all wear identical collars, there does not appear to have been an attempt to discern rank through their composition. Those wearing the collar look directly at the duke who, striking in his black attire accentuated by the lightly coloured backdrop of his throne, is the centre of the illustration,<sup>19</sup> not only physically but also symbolically as the abundance of collars attest. Although he is the focus, the courtiers are able to share something of his dignity and majesty through wearing his collar. They are at once subservient to him, yet they are, for this moment at least, almost his equals. But the most striking observation is the most obvious. They are associated with each other through the visual artefact: they are clearly a group. It is this function of the collar which was perhaps most salient to contemporaries, and it is a role we must acknowledge. If anything can be taken from this thesis, it is that groups and association mattered, and if they were articulated through the visual medium, in many cases for posterity on a church monument, then they were all the more effective. The hundreds of examples that are still with us today are

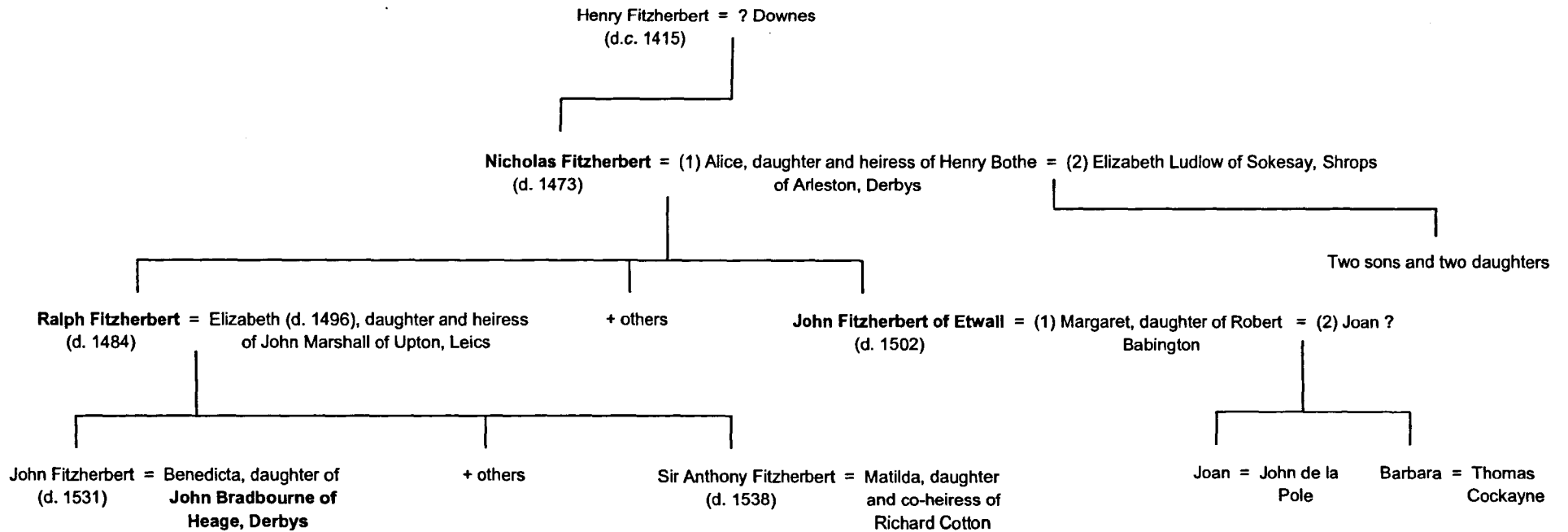
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<sup>19</sup> Alongside his son, who is visually juxtaposed through his light coloured jacket set against the dark backdrop of a courtier's clothing.

testament to the prominence, influence and importance of the livery collar in late medieval England.

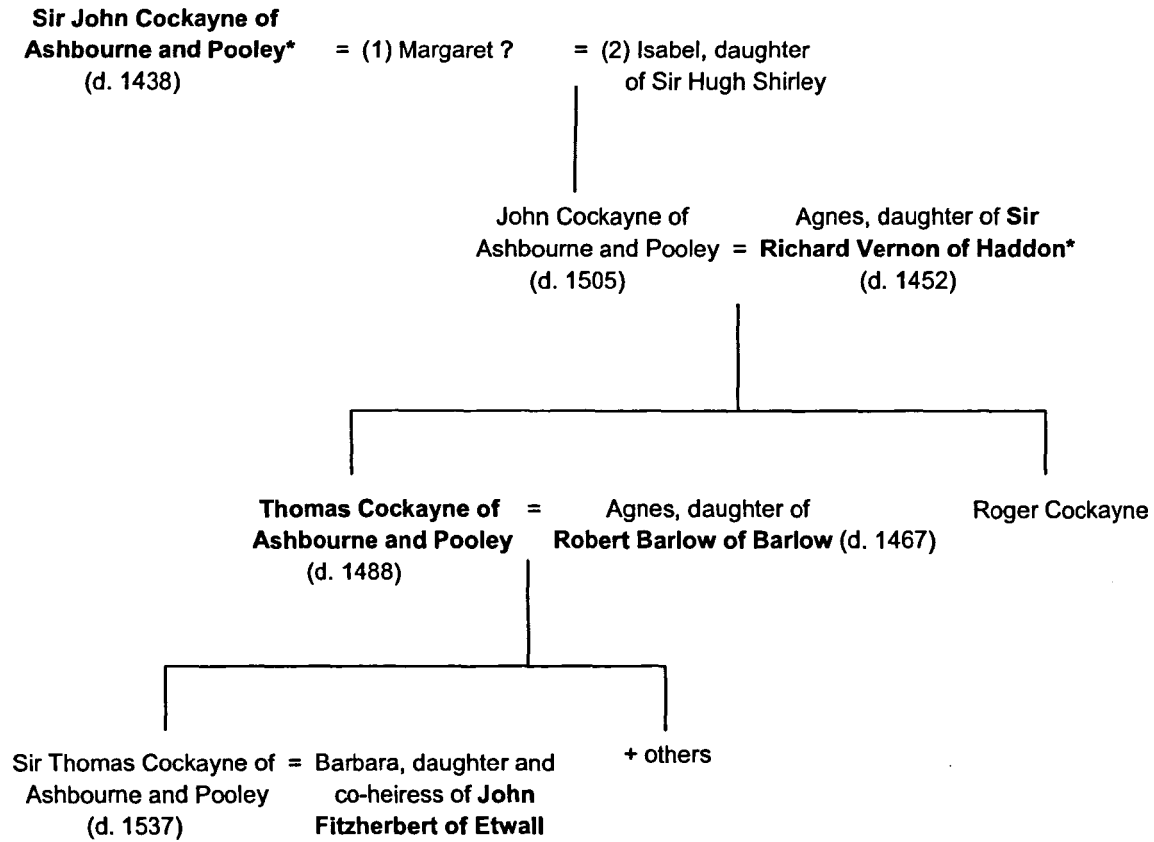
**Appendix 1**  
Genealogies

# Fitzherbert of Norbury



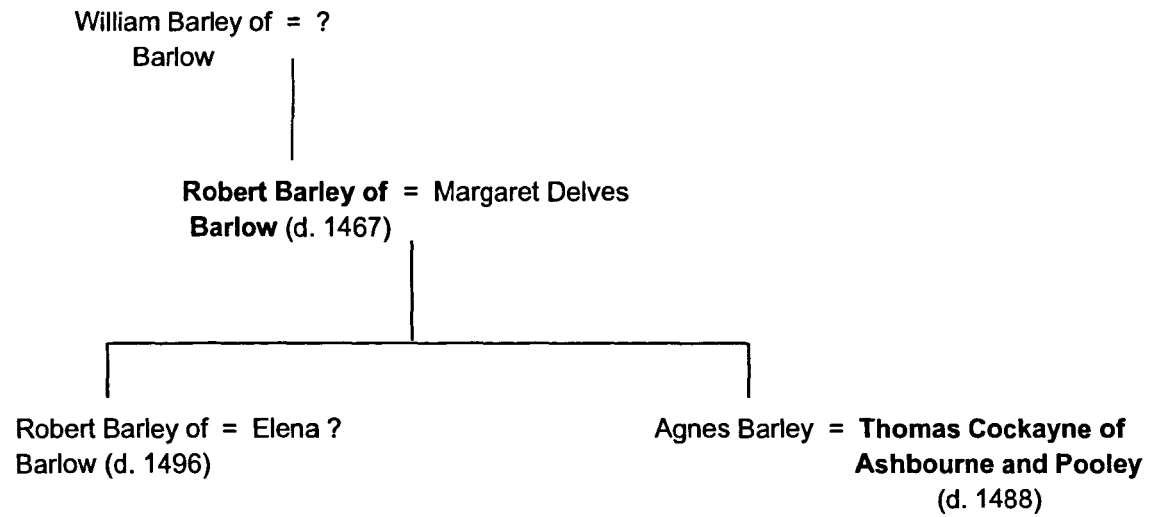
**Bold** = livery collar on monument

## Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley



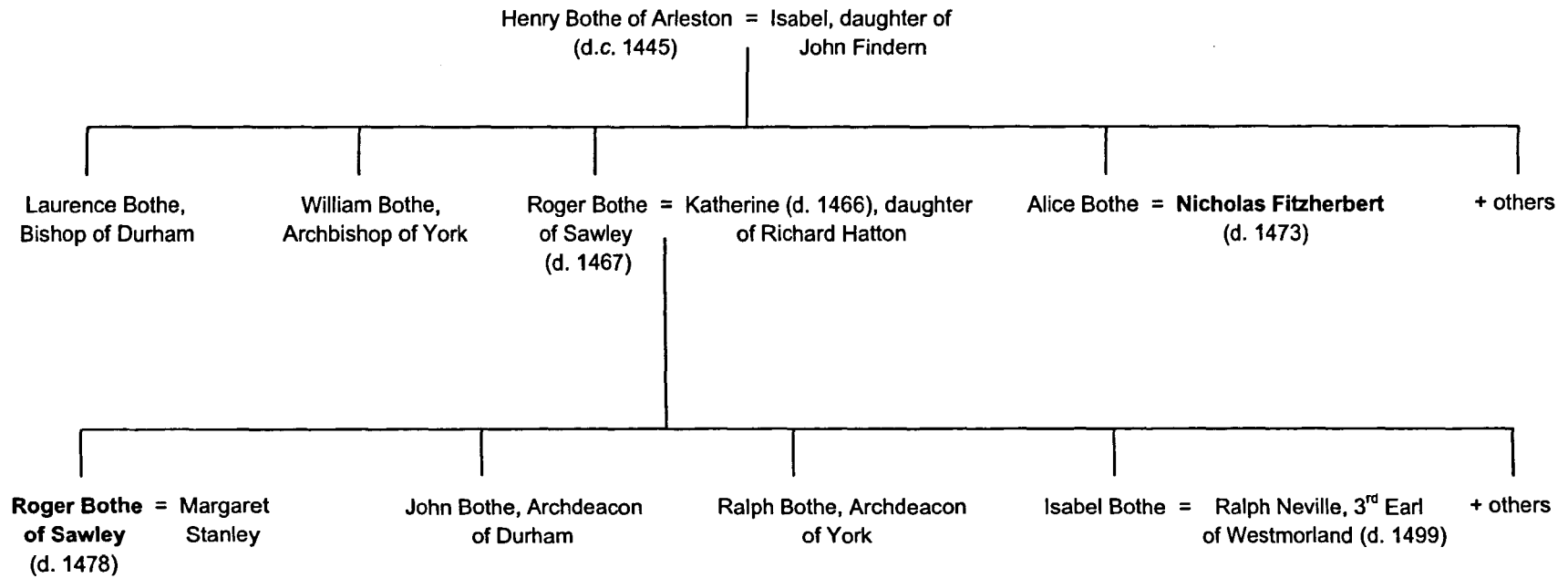
\* = beyond the scope of this study

## Barley of Barlow



Pedigree recorded in the College of Arms, printed in Barlow, *Barlow Family Records*, p. 16

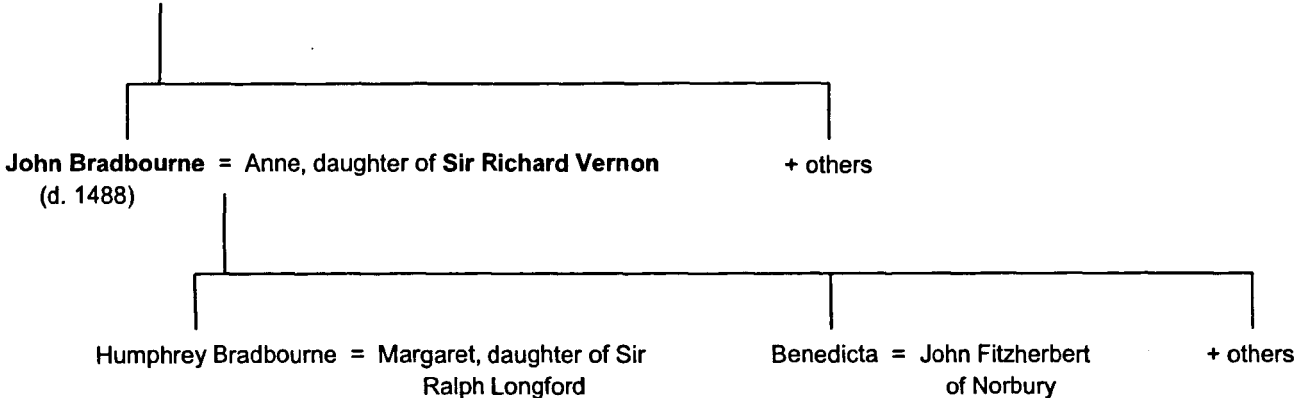
## Bothe of Arleston and Sawley



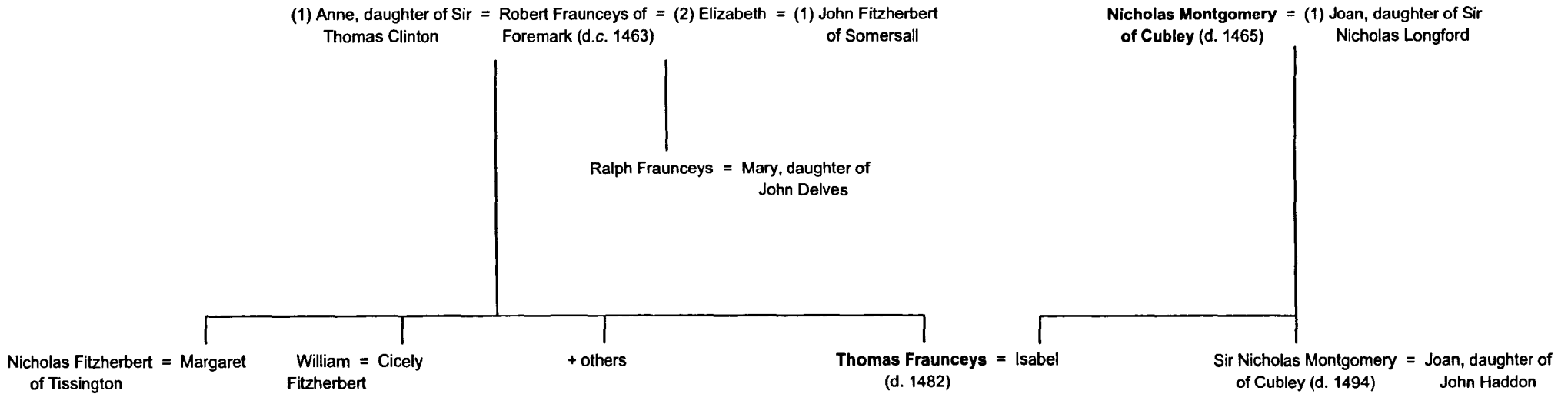


**Bradbourne**

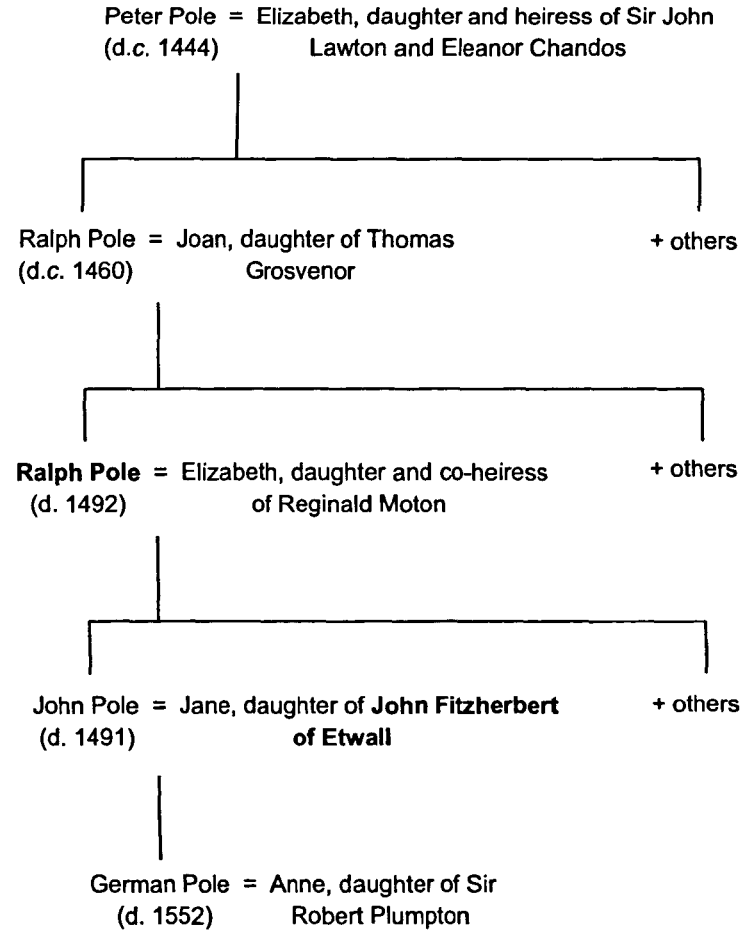
Henry Bradbourne of Heage = Margaret, daughter of Sir John Bagot



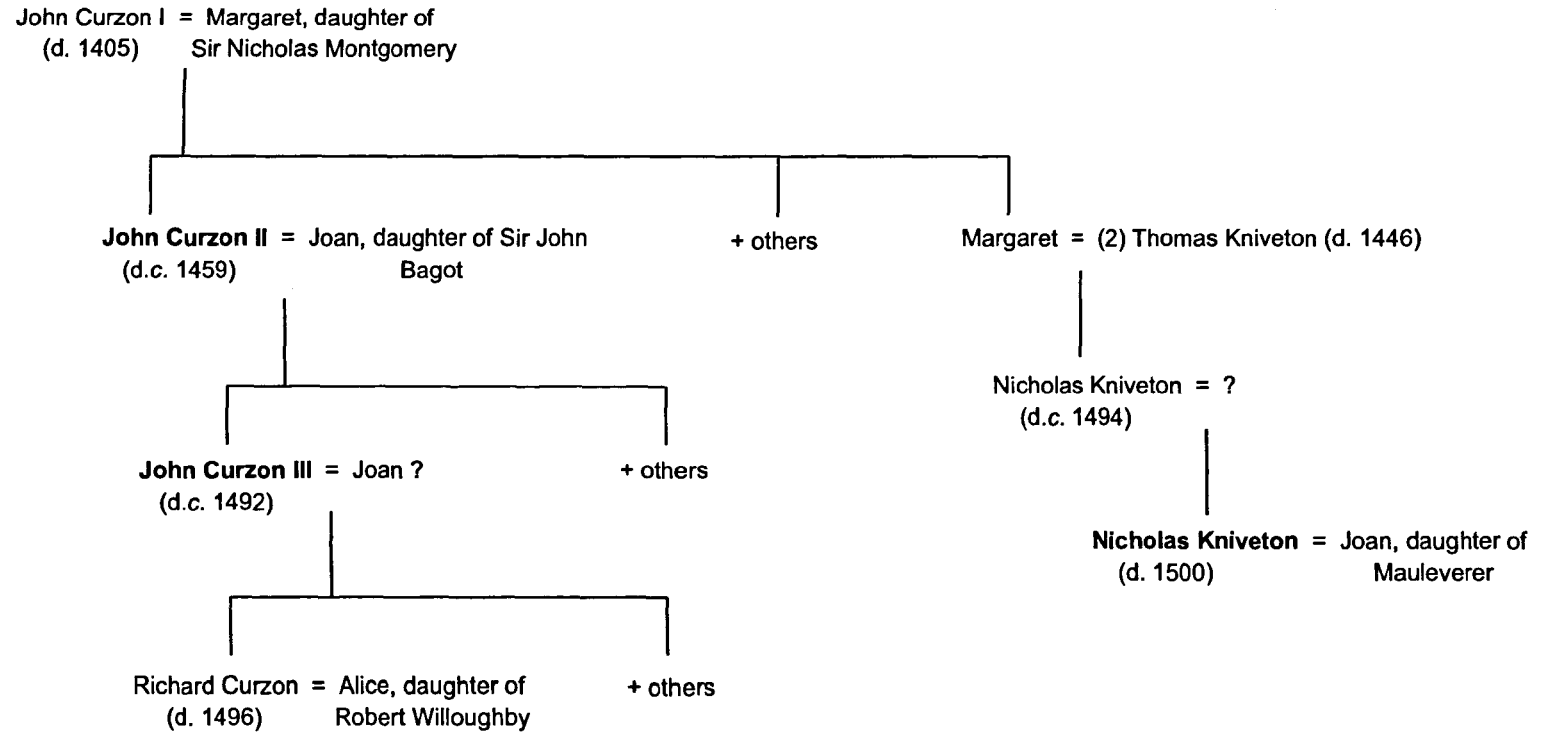
# Fraunceys and Montgomery



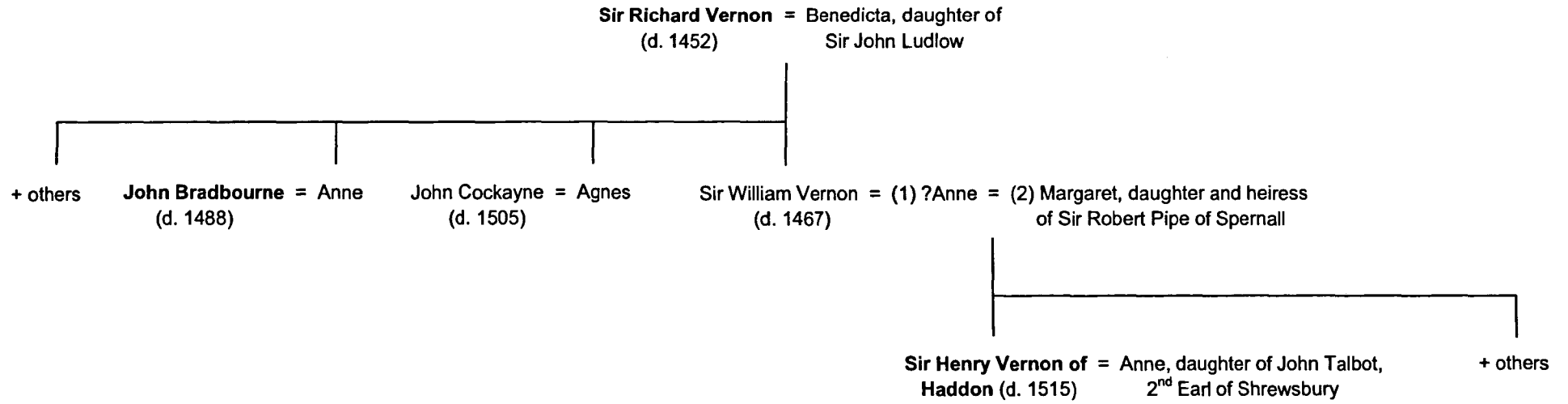
## Pole of Radbourne



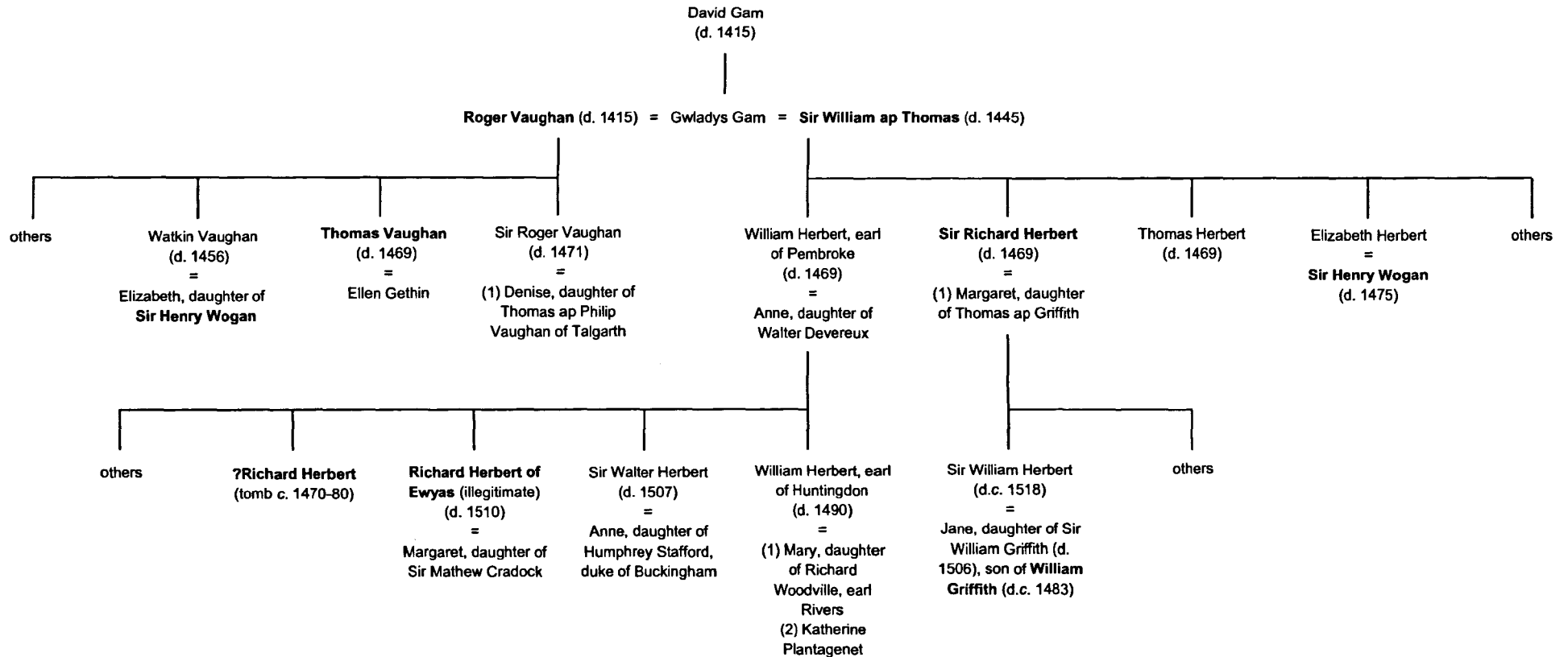
# Curzon of Kedleston and Kniveton of Mercaston



**Vernon of Haddon**



## Herbert of Raglan and Vaughan of Bredwardine



A variety of sources have been consulted to compile this pedigree: BL, Egerton MS 2586 (George Owen's Welsh Pedigrees 1590-1603); NLW, MS 1449 (Pedigrees of Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire Families); NLW, Castell Gorford MS, 7 (The Golden Grove books); NLW, MS 4517 (R. Thomkins's Herbert Family Pedigree); NLW, MS 16920F; 16921E (Herbert pedigrees); Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies*; J.E. Griffiths, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Camarvonshire Families with their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire* (Horncastle, 1914); Clark, *Limbus Patrum*; Williams (ed.), *Llyfr Baglan*; M. Powell, *Siddons Visitation of Herefordshire, 1634*, Harleian Society, New Series, 15 (London, 2002); S.R. Meyrick (ed.), *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches between the years 1586 and 1613, by Lewys Dwnn*, 2 vols. (Llandovery, 1846)

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Castell Gorfod MSS

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Llangibby MSS

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MS 4517, Herbert family pedigree

MS 6512, 1C, English translations of the work of Lewis Glyn Cothi

MS 16920F, 16921E, Herbert pedigrees

Peniarth Estate MSS

Picton Castle MSS

Powis Castle Deeds

Tredegar MSS

*Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium*

*Chroniques de Hainaut*

*Cardiff Central Library*

Philipps MS, 5:7, *The Herbertorum Prosapia*

*Derby Local Studies Library*

Brookhill Hall Collection

Derbyshire Deeds

DL84, Stephen Glover papers

MS 6341, Chaloner's 1615 compilation of the heralds' visitations of Derbyshire 1569 and 1611

Mundy MS

Sir Edward Every Deeds

*Free Library of Philadelphia*

MS Lewis, E 210, Edward IV Roll

*Lichfield Record Office*

B/A/1/13, Bishops' Registers

B/C/10ii, Bishops' Registers, supplementary

*Lincoln Cathedral Library*

A/2/35, Dean and Chapter records

*Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office*

I, L1/3/1, Corporation of Lincoln Registers, The White Book

*London, British Library*

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Additional MS 18850, 29729, 29938, 29940, 30946, 31835, 40752, 42009, 48976, 71474

Arundel 66

Cotton MS Cleopatra A xiii

Cotton MS Julius E IV

Cotton MS Vespasian FIII, F VIII

Egerton Charters, 7358

Egerton MS 2586

Harleian MS 911, 944, 1096, 4011

Harley MS 545, 3606, 3607, 4431, 6291, 7353

Lansdowne MS 874

Royal 11 E 11

Royal 14 E IV

Royal 15 E IV

Royal 18 D II

Royal 19 A V

Royal 19 E V

Sloane Charters



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*London, Society of Antiquaries*

MS 129, inventory of Henry VIII's moveable goods

*London, The National Archives*

C 60, Chancery, Fine Rolls

C 131, Chancery, Extents for Debts

C 140, Chancery, Inquisitions Post Mortem

CP 25, Court of Commons Pleas, Feet of Fines

DL 28, Duchy of Lancaster, Various Accounts

DL 29, Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts of Auditors, Receivers, Feodaries and Ministers

DL 37, Duchy of Lancaster, Chancery Rolls

DL 41, Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellanea

DL 42, Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books

E 36, Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Miscellaneous Books

E 101, Exchequer, Various Accounts

E 154, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer and Treasury of the Receipt, Inventory of Goods and Chattels

E 159, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Memorandum Rolls and Enrolment Books

E 403, Exchequer of Receipt, Issue Rolls and Registers

E 404, Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issues

KB 9, King's Bench, Ancient Indictments

KB 29, King's Bench, Controlment Rolls

KB 149, King's Bench, Plea Side, Cedule Files

PROB 11, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills

SC 8, Special Collections, Ancient Petitions

STAC 2, Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII

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