

The Life and Career of Sir Amias Paulet (c. 1457-1538): Service, Loyalty and Rebellion

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The focus of this article is the life and career of Sir Amias Paulet (c. 1457-1538), a prominent knight from Somerset, a county dominated in the late fifteenth century by a powerful noble, Giles Lord Daubeney (1451-1508) of South Petherton. Research regarding Somerset in the late medieval period has focused primarily on religion, especially the county's religious infrastructure in the pre-Reformation era, but little has been done in terms of the socio-political role of the gentry within the county; there has been even less in the way of biographical studies of the Somerset gentry.¹ The Paulet genealogy has received some minor treatment in a handful of articles but little biographical attention to date. Not only does this article address this oversight, it also offers an insight into the complexity of political decision making and county politics in the late fifteenth century, as well as exploring the tension between gentry and noble influence during the reign of the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII.²

Between 1485 and 1508, the county of Somerset was dominated vertically, so to speak, by Giles Daubeney; in other words, we find a noble at the top of the socio-political structure with the remaining positions of influence falling to a limited number of knights and gentlemen below. Elsewhere in England, members of the gentry had become more prominent within their county structure under Henry VII, yet in Somerset Amias Paulet had to wait some time fully to benefit from his loyalty to the king.³ Crucially, after Daubeney's death on 21 May 1508, caused by strangury (a urinary infection), the county developed a more horizontal socio-political structure, escaping the grips of a single, dominant figure.⁴

Part of this discussion involves the development of political allegiance prior to 1485 and the critical events of national significance that dictated the course of Amias Paulet's life, including his participation in Buckingham's Rebellion in

¹ K.L. French, G.G. Gibbs and B.A. Kümin, eds, *The Parish in English life, 1400-1600*, Manchester and New York 1997.

² M. Mercer, *The Medieval Gentry: Power, Leadership and Choice During the Wars of the Roses*, London 2010, pp. 1-6.

³ M.M. Condon, 'Ruling elites in the reign of Henry VII', in J.Guy, ed., *The Tudor Monarchy*, London 1997, pp. 283-308 (pp. 287-90).

⁴ P. Fleming, 'Politics', in Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove, eds, *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, Manchester 2005, pp. 150-62, esp pp. 156-7; H. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461*, Oxford 2000, pp. 7-8.

1483. During this event, Paulet fought at Newbury in Berkshire⁵ and was subsequently attainted by Richard III in the aftermath of the rebellion.⁶ Although this movement was unsuccessful, it earned Paulet trust with Henry Tudor and he ultimately received sufficient local offices and land in Somerset after Henry's accession as a reward for his loyalty and for his resistance to Richard. Paulet was, therefore, the obvious 'successor' to the lion's share of Daubeney's political inheritance, given his local pre-eminence and his loyalty to Henry Tudor before the battle of Bosworth. Amias Paulet should have been increasingly involved with the magistracy and with delivering county administration in the wake of Giles Daubeney's death towards the end of Henry VII's reign.⁷ Indeed, Daubeney's son Henry, a fourteen-year-old minor, was not as strong or able as his father, thus his death created a weakened noble presence in the county.⁸

Yet, despite his local prominence and burgeoning national profile, Paulet's 'inheritance' of Daubeney's political offices failed to materialise. No serious attempt has been made to explain this slight, although it has often been ascribed to his alleged mistreatment of (the future Cardinal) Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530), while he was working as tutor to the sons of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁹ Specifically, Sir Amias Paulet was alleged to have set a young Wolsey in the stocks at a fair in Limington, Somerset; for Amias, this incident was followed by a supposed period of disgrace between 1515 and 1523.¹⁰ Amias allegedly successfully made

⁵ L. Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion*, Stroud 1999, p. 176.

⁶ M. A. Havinden, 'The resident gentry of Somerset in 1502', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* (hereafter *PSANHS*), vol. 139 (1998), pp. 1-15 (pp. 3-4); J.R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509*, London 1976, p. 272; C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521*, Cambridge 1978, p. 41; British Library (hereafter BL), Harleian MS 283, f. 70; J.R. Lander, 'Attainder and forfeiture, 1453-1509', *Historical Journal*, vol. 4 (1961), pp. 119-51, esp. p. 122.

⁷ D.J. Ashton, 'The Tudor State and County Politics: the Greater Gentry of Somerset, c. 1509-1558', unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis 1998, pp. 3-4, 13-16. At the time of his death, he had a personal fortune of £666 13s 4d: The National Archives (hereafter TNA), PROB 11/16, ff. 124-125, cited in S.J. Gunn, 'Daubeney, Giles, First Baron Daubeney (1451/2-1508)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*), Oxford 2004.

⁸ S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*, New Haven and London 2003, pp. 8-9.

⁹ N. Lewycky, 'Serving God and King: Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's Patronage Networks and Early Tudor Government, 1514-1529, With Special Reference to the Archdiocese of York', unpublished University of York PhD thesis 2008, pp. 62-63; E.H. Bates, 'Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Amyas Pawlet', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. 10 (1907), pp. 9-11.

¹⁰ C.S.L. Davies, 'Paulet, Sir Hugh (b. before 1510, d. 1573)', *ODNB*, Oxford 2004; C.G. Winn, *The Pouletts of Hinton St George*, London 1976; G.A.F. Poulett, 'Sir Amice Poulet's monument at Hinton St. George and a few notes on his life', *Baconiana*, vol. 32 (1948),

amends for his actions against Wolsey by bankrolling extensive building works at the Middle Temple, embellishing the gate there with the cardinal's personal coat of arms.¹¹

In reality, the story was either simply a local allegory, inaccurately recorded from confused notes by George Cavendish and perpetuated by later writers, or an attempt to adjust 'reality to fit political convenience'.¹² Indeed, Peter Gwyn noted that this story was probably not true as it is unlikely that Wolsey ever took-up residence at Limington. As a 'clerical careerist', Wolsey would have been loath to have become too comfortable in his first post, before resigning to become chaplain to Henry Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹³ In his own account, Cavendish himself also subsequently comments on the meaning of this story. For Cavendish, the tale is a reminder that authority and fortune are not permanent and that one's position can soon change: authority 'may slide and vanish, as princes' pleasures do alter and change', perhaps making this story less a comment on Amias's punishment and more a reflection on Wolsey's later demise at the hands of Henry VIII.¹⁴

Nonetheless, this incident captured the imagination of contemporary chroniclers, with an account recorded in *The Interlude of Youth*, a morality play from the mid-1550s. In it, we find the protagonist, Riot (Paulet), placing his nemesis, Charity (Wolsey), in the stocks by his feet. Wolsey, 'Wrong'd by a Knight', made the 'clergy-scorning Knight repent', punishing him by grounding him in London for around eight years.¹⁵ Consequently, the life and career of Amias Paulet has been too easily cast aside and cited merely as an example of Wolsey's ruthlessness. Yet, there is an alternative explanation for Paulet's alleged side-lining during the early years of Henry VIII's reign. If Amias was politically marginalised, it could have been because he too closely represented Henry VII's parsimonious final days, including, as we shall see below, his assistance in collecting fines after the western uprisings of 1497; it

pp. 19-25; A.C. Sarre, 'The Poulet Family, Governors, etc. in Jersey, 1550-1600', *Annual Bulletin, Société Jersiaise*, vol. 17 (1958), pp. 141-52; Ashton, 'Tudor State', pp. 34-5; George Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey, Late Cardinal: His Life and Death*, ed. R. Lockyer, London 1962, pp. 31-3.

¹¹ C.E.A. Bedwell, *A Brief History of the Middle Temple*, London 1909, pp. 101-102; John Stow, *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols, Oxford 1908, vol. 2, p. 365; P. Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660*, Cambridge 2004, p. 52.

¹² T. Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State, 1480-1560*, Woodbridge 2000, p. 175.

¹³ P. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey*, London 1990, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁵ I. Lancashire, *Two Tudor Interludes: The Interlude of Youth; Hick Scorer*, Manchester 1980, pp. 58, 122-3, lines 297-305; Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey*, p. 32; John Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, 3 vols, Bath 1791, vol. 2, pp. 167, 494. Thomas Storer, *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal. Divided into Three Parts: His Aspiring, His Triumph, and His Death*, London 1599, p. 11.

should be noted too that, as we shall see, it was the damage done to Daubeney's reputation during these uprisings in 1497, owing to his initially weak response to the rebels, that presented Amias with this opportunity.¹⁶

Sir Amias Paulet, his Family and his Rise to Prominence

Sir Amias Paulet was the son of Sir William Paulet (c. 1404-1488) and Elizabeth Denebaud (c. 1415-1497), both of whom were from Hinton St George, near Crewkerne in southern Somerset.¹⁷ Amias was one of five children: he was the only son, with four sisters, Elizabeth, Florence, Christian and Alice.¹⁸ At the time of his death, his father, Sir William, was a substantial landowner in Somerset and in neighbouring Devon, with an additional rental income of around £10 *per annum*.¹⁹ William's lands were granted to Amias on 12 September 1488, when he was around thirty-one years old, the same time that he inherited the family estate at Hinton St George, including their ancestral home, Hinton House. The splendour of the house was such that the antiquarian John Leland would remark in 1544 that it was 'a right goodly maner place of fre stone, with two goodly high toures embatelid in the ynner Court'.²⁰ Although the house itself no longer stands, records show that the house had 'square turrets at each angle' (what Leland described as 'high toures embatelid') which strongly suggests that Amias Paulet was in possession of a licence to crenellate.²¹

The timing of this inheritance was important for it bolstered Amias's growing political status in the county with the land and wealth to support his recent knighthood the previous year at the battle of Stoke in 1487, at around the age of thirty. At Stoke, Amias had given a valiant and martially proficient display and was knighted on the battlefield. He built on his growing reputation as a soldier a decade later as a key member of the force that suppressed the

¹⁶ Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. Roger Lockyer, London 1971, pp. 90-102, 239-40; S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, London 1972, pp. 194-239; C. Carpenter, 'Henry VII and the English Polity', in B. Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, Stamford 1995, pp. 11-30, esp. p. 26.

¹⁷ Victoria County History (hereafter VCH), *Somerset*, vol. 4, pp. 38-52. For the Paulet family pedigree, see Dorset History Centre (DHC), D-RGB/LL616.

¹⁸ David J. Ashton, 'Paulet, Sir Amias (c. 1457-1538)', *ODNB*, Oxford 2004.

¹⁹ DHC, D-WCH/T/14/2, a deed to declare uses for the manors of Isle Brewers, Pitney and Wearne in Somerset; also the manors of Chideock and a moiety of the manors of Winterborne Houghton and Up Cerne, Dorset, 2 March 1475.

²⁰ Ashton, 'Tudor State', p. 17; J. Chandler, *Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, Stroud 1993; VCH, *Somerset*, vol. 4, p. 42.

²¹ A. Bethell, 'Sir Amias Paulet', *PSANHS*, vol. 17 (1871), pp. 63-72 (p. 64).

western rebellions of 1497.²² The land granted to Amias was subsequently leased to a range of south-west gentry personnel, including Sir Piers Edgcombe, a member of a prominent Cornish family with broad political participation across the south-west, and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.²³

Amias followed his family's Lancastrian inclination during the fifteenth century and was raised as a 'country squire', followed by training for a military career.²⁴ As the only son of a prominent gentry family, part of Amias's training would also have involved an education at the Inns of Court; accordingly, he was admitted as a lawyer to Middle Temple, London, in around 1478 at the age of 21. Much later, Paulet was also responsible for the introduction of his fellow Somerset men, Christopher Sydenham and Sir Nicholas Wadham, to Middle Temple in 1524.²⁵ However, Amias was also responsible for fining Sydenham and Wadham one 'hoggshede' of wine (or 40s) for 'all offences and vacations' the following year, on Thursday 3 November 1525, thus demonstrating that he was certainly present at Middle Temple during the 1520s.²⁶ Yet, it is possible that, for all these references to Amias's presence at the Inns of Court, his time in London had been simply part of the 'finishing off' expected of the gentry, perhaps even preparing him for further legal activity at home, a practice which was common in this period. There is no record of which court he practised in or in what capacity he appeared, which could suggest he was not a practicing lawyer but instead held a nominal position at Middle Temple.²⁷

Amias married twice: first to his cousin Margaret, daughter of John Paulet of Basing, Hampshire (for which they received a papal dispensation), and second to Laura, daughter of William Keilway of Rockbourne, Hampshire, in around 1504.²⁸ Amias's first marriage was childless but his second produced four children. There were three boys, Hugh, John and Henry, and a daughter named

²² I. Arthurson, 'The Rising of 1497 – A revolt of the peasantry?', in J.T. Rosenthal and Colin Richmond, eds, *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, Gloucester 1987, pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 5-9.

²³ VCH, *Somerset*, vol. 6, p. 270; vol. 9, pp. 165-98; Longleat House MS 5806; BL, Egerton MS 3134; TNA, C142/61/14; CP 25/2/35/241/35.

²⁴ Winn, *Pouletts of Hinton St George*, p. 16.

²⁵ J.H. Baker, *The Men of Court, 1440 to 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law*, 2 vols, London 2012, vol. 2, p. 1205.

²⁶ *Middle Temple Records: Minutes of Parliament in the Middle Temple*, ed. Charles Henry Hopwood, 4 vols, London 1904-05, vol. 1, p. 77.

²⁷ E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England. Thomas Kebell: A Case Study*, Cambridge 1972, pp. 145-8; R.L. Storey, 'Gentlemen-bureaucrats', in C.H. Clough, ed., *Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later Medieval England: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of A.R. Myers*, Liverpool 1982, pp. 90-117 (pp. 95-6).

²⁸ S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558*, 3 vols, London 1982, vol. 2, p. 458.

Elizabeth.²⁹ Amias's attainder following the Buckingham rebellion of 1483 was subsequently reversed once Henry Tudor claimed victory at Bosworth in 1485, with Paulet being made sheriff for Somerset later that year, at the same time as being appointed to the commission of the peace for Somerset.³⁰

Amias received a series of grants within the county, including his appointment as steward to the bishop of Bath and Wells in 1493 (initially under Richard Foxe). While this was essentially an honorary position, such an office bestowed great prestige on the Paulet family, thereby confirming them as the pre-eminent gentry family in the county.³¹ Perhaps his most important undertaking was his commission in 1500 to collect the fines of those implicated in the rebellions of 1497 because this commission allowed Amias the opportunity to undertake an important role in the punishment of a direct threat to the security of Henry VII's rule, directly under royal orders.³²

Amias Paulet also represented the county at the heart of government, Westminster, being appointed member of parliament for Somerset in 1495 and attending on behalf of his county that year. Amias was elected on 15 September 1495 and was instructed to be at Westminster a month later on 14 October. The final session was held on 21 December, at which point the parliamentary session was dissolved.³³ During the course of his reign, Henry VII held seven parliamentary sessions: in 1485, 1487, 1489-90, 1491-2, 1495, 1497 and 1504. In the early years of the reign, parliamentary sessions came in a flurry but slowed down as it progressed. The last fourteen years of his reign witnessed a 'poverty of parliaments' while the king imposed (often severe) fiscal penalties on his subjects.³⁴ One explanation for the reduced frequency of parliamentary sessions in the later years of his reign could be the introduction of the 'privy chamber', demonstrated by David Starkey to have been established by Henry in 1495.³⁵

²⁹ Ashton, 'Paulet, Sir Amias'; Arthur Collins, *The Peerage of England. Genealogical, Biographical and Historical*, 9 vols, London 1812, vol. 4, p. 3; Collinson, *County of Somerset*, vol. 3, p. 489.

³⁰ Winn, *Pouletts of Hinton St George*, pp. 16-17; *CP*, vol. 4, pp. 102-105; S.W.B. Harbin, 'The High Sheriffs of Somerset', *PSANHS*, vol. 108 (1963-64), pp. 29-44 (p. 38).

³¹ P.M. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640: social and economic Problems*, London 1967, p. 46.

³² TNA, E 101/516/24.

³³ J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509*, 2 vols, London 1936-38, vol. 2, pp. 564-82.

³⁴ M.A.R. Graves, *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons, 1485-1603*, London and New York 1985, pp. 42-3.

³⁵ D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the privy chamber, 1485-1547', in David Starkey, ed., *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, London and New York 1987, pp. 71-118 (pp. 75-6).

Giles, Lord Daubeney, and the 1497 Rebellions

By the end of the fifteenth century, Giles Lord Daubeney had earned a reputation as a loyal and dedicated supporter of the Crown; he was a trusted member of Edward IV's household and was later present at Richard III's coronation at Westminster Abbey on 6 July 1483.³⁶ He later became a highly influential character at the court of Henry VII, described as a 'man of great fidelitie', to such an extent that, in July 1494, he received the lease of the manor of Hampton Court on the banks of the River Thames, having recently been appointed Lord Chamberlain, a position which granted him continual contact with the king.³⁷ Such a move was unusual because, following the political turbulence and military activity of the fifteenth century, the most pressing matter for the new king, Henry VII, on his accession in 1485 was to prevent further civil unrest and dynastic conflict within his kingdom.

Accordingly, Henry set about firmly establishing his rule in England, whether through rewarding those who had been loyal to him in the run-up to Bosworth, whether by rebelling against Richard III in 1483 or by subsequently joining him in exile in Brittany, or by opting for continuity of personnel wherever possible.³⁸ Giles Daubeney had indeed pledged a nominal form of allegiance to Richard III earlier by attending his coronation but, like Amias Paulet, he would go on to join the unsuccessful, so-called Buckingham's rebellion in October that year.³⁹ Indeed, this defeat forced his supporters into exile, including both Giles Daubeney and Amias Paulet, based at Salisbury and Newbury respectively, and diverted Buckingham's branch of supporters to rally behind Henry Tudor, exiled in Brittany since the early 1470s, ultimately leading to Henry's triumphant return to England in August 1485.⁴⁰

Daubeney's decision to join Buckingham's rebellion was both a break in the continuity of his royal service career and a gamble which led to his support of Henry Tudor. But what were his motives for doing so, especially given the potential repercussions which could jeopardise all his achievements to date? For Dominic Luckett, Daubeney's decision to rebel in 1483 – and, as we shall see, his vacillation during 1497 – was characterised by 'opportunism and personal

³⁶ D. Luckett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England: The case of Giles, Lord Daubeney', *English Historical Review*, vol. 110 (1995), pp. 578-98, esp. p. 579; *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, ed H. Baildon, 2 vols, London 1896, vol. 1, p. 21.

³⁷ BL, Lansdowne MS 200, f. 30, cited in Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 8-15, esp. p. 9.

³⁸ J. Guy, *Tudor England*, Oxford 1988, pp. 55-7.

³⁹ D. Luckett, 'The Thames Valley conspiracies against Henry VII', *Historical Research*, vol. 68 (1995), pp. 164-72 esp. pp. 165, 171.

⁴⁰ J.A. Wagner, *Encyclopaedia of the Wars of the Roses*, Oxford 2001, pp. 39-41; Gunn, 'Daubeney, Giles'.

ambition' and demonstrated just how ineffectual royal patronage could be in cementing future loyalty and guaranteeing continued service'.⁴¹

Henry VII created a 'close personal oversight of every aspect of government', in other words direct government. This meant the court became an important 'point of contact' for the king and his nobles, allowing the former to open a channel of communication with the localities through the medium of nobility, while the latter was able to benefit from the former's patronage, a move very much styled on the approach of the previous Lancastrian and Yorkist governments who had cultivated a gentry affinity used to circumvent powerful regional nobility.⁴² In this instance, Henry was actively encouraging Daubeney to spend more time away from his native shire.⁴³ Yet, during his long and successful political career, Daubeney was still able to dominate Somerset's political society, through his receipt of a series of important and profitable crown offices and lands largely through the patronage of Henry VII.⁴⁴

One of the key characteristics of Henry VII's reign was that his attempt to reduce the overall influence of the nobility from 1485 resulted in him entrusting key roles and rewards to his 'familiaris', including Giles Daubeney. This move caused local alienation and frustration among those individuals on which the crown relied, although this was perhaps not altogether different from the situation under Henry VI and his 'disastrous failure to regulate political society'.⁴⁵ Indeed, such tension and political fragility was essentially self-inflicted,⁴⁶ but this fragile balance of regional and national politics was most obviously disturbed during the western uprisings of 1497, the first of which reached as far as Blackheath in south-east London. What is clear is that Henry VII's suppression of noble power created a narrower body politic which relied less on broad noble consent and more on a small and loyal group of advisors. But the involvement of the south-west's political elite in the 1497 rebellions

⁴¹ Luckett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England', pp. 578-9.

⁴² S.J. Gunn, 'The courtiers of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, vol. 108 (1993), pp. 23-49, esp. pp. 24-33; G.R. Elton, 'Tudor government: the points of contact, III. The court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol. 26 (1976), pp. 211-228.

⁴³ S. Thurley, 'The domestic building works of Cardinal Wolsey', in S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley, eds, *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 76-102, esp. p. 87; *Hampton Court*, pp. 8-9; Gunn, 'Courtiers of Henry VII', pp. 28-30; Bacon, *King Henry the Seventh*, p. 148.

⁴⁴ *The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, ed. Maria Hayward, London 2012, p. 65.

⁴⁵ Lander, 'Attainder and Forfeiture', pp. 119-51; G. Harriss, 'Political society and the growth of government in late medieval England', *Past & Present*, vol. 138 (1993), pp. 28-57, esp. p. 57.

⁴⁶ Condon, 'Ruling elites in the reign of Henry VII', pp. 283, 307.

further demonstrated Henry's lack of political awareness, by his failure to secure loyalty from an initially supportive group.⁴⁷

At this stage it is important to highlight that there were two distinct risings in 1497, something to have been overlooked – rather surprisingly – by Anthony Fletcher in his *Tudor Rebellions*. The first, which took place in May and June 1497, was a reaction to additional tax levies to fund the ongoing Anglo-Scottish war, and the second in September of that year was to oppose Perkin Warbeck's campaign as pretender to the throne.⁴⁸ These rebellions had the potential to spread far beyond the south-western peninsula, although each movement's reach quickly exceeded its grasp.

For Ian Arthurson, the first rebellion in the south-west of England in 1497 was in part possible following Henry VII's decision to remove Giles Daubeney and his considerable influence from Somerset to head north to oppose James IV of Scotland's threatened invasion of northern England.⁴⁹ Once the rebellion in the south-west had begun to gather pace, Henry then instructed Daubeney to re-direct his Scotland-bound troops towards Somerset to oppose their march on the capital.⁵⁰ Troublingly, there was, however, a contemporary suggestion that Daubeney, as a native of Somerset, may have empathised with the rebels' cause during the first rebellion: primarily to protest against the levying of additional taxation to finance the border skirmishes against the Scots but also to protest against the narrow focus of patronage after Bosworth.⁵¹ Indeed, Francis Bacon recorded that, at Deptford Bridge in the late afternoon of Saturday 22 June 1497, Daubeney was 'taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered', perhaps suggesting that some sort of agreement had been reached.⁵² Subsequently, Daubeney offered a 'pathetic' response to the rising, largely acquiescing to the rebels' progress.⁵³

Accounts of Daubeney, so far, have presented him as a staunch Henry VII loyalist. Yet in 1497 he appears to have faltered. What went wrong? Why would

⁴⁷ *CPR 1494-1509*, pp. 357, 422; see 'A process returned against divers gentlemen for the order of knighthood' (1508-09), TNA, Exchequer King's Remembrancer: Records relating to Feudal Tenure and Distrain of Knighthood, E 198/4/23, f. 1.a

⁴⁸ A. Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, Harlow 1973; J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West Country*, Oxford 2003, pp. 52-3.

⁴⁹ Arthurson, 'Rising of 1497', pp. 8-10; Condon, 'Ruling elites in the reign of Henry VII', p. 287.

⁵⁰ TNA, E 101/516/24, f. 11, the 'Account of fines of rebels in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire (adherents of Perkin Warbeck)' from 1497; E. Chisholm Batten, 'Henry VII in Somersetshire', *PSANHS*, vol. 25 (1879), pp. 49-79, esp. pp. 49-57.

⁵¹ Chisholm Batten, 'Henry VII in Somersetshire', p. 58.

⁵² Bacon, *King Henry the Seventh*, pp. 174-5.

⁵³ Arthurson, 'Rising of 1497', p. 5; Luckett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England', pp. 589-93.

a man who had been so generously endowed by his monarch do anything to jeopardise his patron's security? Dominic Lockett has helpfully offered three possible explanations. The first is that he was reluctant to take up arms against his friends and family within his native county. There is indeed evidence to support this suggestion, for Sir Hugh Luttrell, one of the leading rebels (whom Daubeney claimed to 'love tenderly'), was married to Daubeney's half-sister.⁵⁴ The second suggestion is that Daubeney in fact lacked commitment to the Tudor dynasty once rumours began to spread around this time that the king was ill⁵⁵ and, finally, that Daubeney wanted to ensure he was on the 'winning side': that of the rebels or the crown.⁵⁶ Daubeney had taken a risk during Buckingham's rebellion of 1483, a gamble which ultimately paid off. But that could be said to have been during a particularly turbulent period under a new monarch and Daubeney must have sensed something in the offing. In 1497, Daubeney's neighbours rose up against the king in response to a series of unpopular fiscal policies. It is unlikely that Daubeney would have wanted to oppose the overwhelming local feeling of dissatisfaction against the king, perhaps because he had neither the inclination nor sufficient manpower to do so. Indeed, it is worth noting that Daubeney did not directly rebel against Henry, he simply failed to halt the rebels' progress.

As we have seen, the first rebellion of 1497 was not dynastic in nature. By the time of the second wave of rebellion in 1497, there was a more direct threat to Henry VII's dynastic security, Edward Hall noted that on hearing that Perkin Warbeck was en route to Taunton, Henry VII:

hastened after him with al spede. Thether came to the king, Edward Duke of Buckyngham, a younge prynce of a great courage and of synguler good witt, and hym followed a great compaignie of noble men, knyghtes and esquyers.

Within this 'great compaignie', we find Sir Amias Paulet. According to Hall, when Warbeck got wind of Henry VII's assembled and mobilised army, he fled with forty men from Taunton, Somerset, to Beaulieu, Hampshire, on the edge of the New Forest.⁵⁷ By this time, Giles Daubeney had finally come to Henry VII's side and led one of three branches of the king's army, the second being commanded by the earl of Oxford with support from the earl of Essex, with the final branch being led by the king himself. Henry then sent Daubeney after

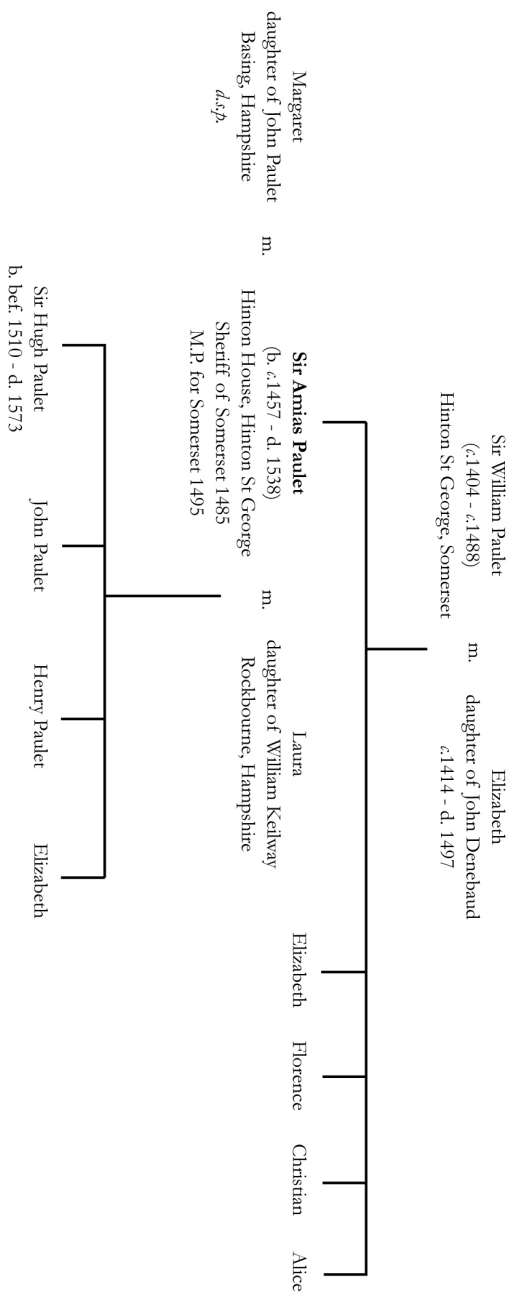
⁵⁴ Lockett, 'Crown Patronage and Political Morality in Early Tudor England', pp. 588-9; Collinson, *County of Somerset*, vol. 1, p. 67.

⁵⁵ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 308-309.

⁵⁶ Lockett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England', pp. 588-92.

⁵⁷ Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York*, Menston 1970, ff. 46-47v; Chisholm Batten, 'Henry VII in Somersetshire', p. 66; Arthurson, 'Rising of 1497', p. 9; Lockett, 'Crown Patronage and Political Morality in Early Tudor England', pp. 581-2; TNA, C82/2/21; CPR, vol. 1, p. 43.

Warbeck; Daubeney captured Warbeck at Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire, in September 1497.⁵⁸



⁵⁸ Bacon, *King Henry the Seventh*, pp. 173-4; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 90, 111-112.

Sir Amias Paulet and the Aftermath of 1497

The events of 1497 created an opportunity for Amias Paulet to establish himself as an effective administrator within Somerset and the south-west. While Henry VII could, to an extent, rely on his nobility to support him during this crisis, the same could not be said for the majority of the social elite. Not only were the rebels allowed to progress with surprising ease, support for – or at least tacit approval of – their cause snowballed along the way. Moreover, the uncertainty over Giles Daubeney's loyalty to Henry at this time and the subsequent damage to his reputation allowed Amias to perform the dual act of retribution and the generation of income for the crown through the collection of post-rebellion fines.

In 1498, once Henry VII had 'wedded out the evel and corrupt hartes of his English subjectes', he issued a commission to Robert Shirborn, Archdeacon of Taunton, Sir Thomas Darcy, William Hattecliffe, and Sir Amias Paulet to collect fines in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, from those involved in the rebellions.⁵⁹ The details of these fines suggest that support for the rebels in Somerset was widespread, with even the abbots of Forde, Cleeve, Muchelney and Athelney included in the records of fines for providing sustenance for the rebels.⁶⁰ Of course, these fines would have been accompanied by the granting of pardons so we must be cautious in assuming that all of those individuals named as having bought a pardon were rebels. Indeed, regarding the pardons that were bought after Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450, Ralph Griffiths argued persuasively that not all individuals who had bought a pardon were necessarily rebels; some may have simply bought these available pardons because they could then avoid prosecution for actions not necessarily linked to the rebellion.⁶¹ But ultimately what is important as far as Amias Paulet is concerned was the very act of collecting these fines – or rather being trusted to do so – rather than whether the fines themselves were legitimately linked to the rebellions of 1497.

Arthur Collins, in his *Peerage of England*, described this commission. Paulet and the other commissioners were instructed 'in consideration of their loyalty, industry, foresight, and care, to receive all such persons into favour, as were adherents to Perkin Warbeck, by fine or otherwise, as to them shall seem most proper'.⁶² The county of Somerset was closely examined with the collectors ensuring that 'equity therein was very well and justly executed',⁶³ with the fine collectors paying particular attention to Bruton in the southern part

⁵⁹ Hall, *Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York*, f. 36.

⁶⁰ Aidan Gasquet, *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury and Other Essays*, London 1908, pp. 15-16.

⁶¹ R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461*, London 1981, pp. 620-628.

⁶² Collins, *Peerage of England*, vol. 4, p. 2.

⁶³ Collins, *Peerage of England*, vol. 3, p. 222.

of the county.⁶⁴ Such close scrutiny should come as no surprise. Of the estimated 9,000 to 10,000 rebels, Somerset could claim twenty-two members of the county's elite, within this group being James Lord Audley, the only noble to march on Blackheath, as well as four sheriffs and three MPs.⁶⁵ The total sum for this record of fines was £8,810 16s 8d. An additional version of this document, held at The National Archives at Kew, recording £4,629 8s 8d of these fines, suggests that Amias was known personally to Henry VII for there is a note in the king's own hand that 'Mr Schirebourne and Sir Amys Paulett hath taken the charge to answer for this sommes afore rehersed'.⁶⁶

Paulet's involvement in this endeavour seems to have made a lasting impression. On 28 March 1525, when attesting to the age and character of Richard Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, one of the religious there, Dom John, included Paulet as a witness whom he had known for 'eight-and-twenty years': in other words, since 1497, the time of the rebellions. Dom John specified that he had been aware of Amias since his occupation in collecting fines from those with 'real or supposed sympathy with Perkin Warbeck and his Cornish rebels'.⁶⁷ But while Amias was called on to collect fines after the event, he could not rely on the entire gentry class to support him, for 'the king's chief friends in the county, Sir Hugh Luttrell, Sir John Speke and John Sydenham encouraged the rising', with Speke being fined £200. Surprisingly, these men were selected just four years later, along with Amias Paulet, to escort Catherine of Aragon on her arrival in England, from Crewkerne to London.⁶⁸ Paulet was additionally made a knight of the Bath at Catherine's marriage to Arthur, Prince of Wales.⁶⁹

Three days after the defeat of the rebels at Blackheath on 17 June, writs were issued to the sheriffs across the south-west 'to make proclamation for the pardon' with the exception of James Lord Audley, Michael Joseph and Thomas Flamank who were executed for their part in the rebellion. Perhaps as a direct response to his involvement in the rebellion, Somerset man John Sydenham placed the royal arms over the western front of his house at Brympton: a visible statement of loyalty to the king.⁷⁰ Evidently, Henry VII's confidence in the local

⁶⁴ TNA, E 101/517/20.

⁶⁵ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, p. 55; Arthurson, 'Rising of 1497', pp. 3, 6; Luckett, 'Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England', p. 592.

⁶⁶ TNA, E 101/516/24.

⁶⁷ Gasquet, *Last Abbot of Glastonbury*, pp. 15-16, 21.

⁶⁸ Arthurson, 'Rising of 1497', p. 6; Dominic Luckett, 'Crown Patronage and Local Administration in Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1485-1509', unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis 1992, pp. 139-40; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 327; CPR, vol. 2, p. 197.

⁶⁹ *The Register of Richard Fox While Bishop of Bath and Wells, AD 1492-1494*, ed. E.C. Batten, London 1889, p. 63; *Cal. State Papers, Spain*, ed G.A. Bergenroth, London 1862, vol. 1, 306, 311; A.C. Fryer, 'Monumental effigies in Somerset', *PSANHS*, vol. 72 (1926), pp. 23-45 (pp. 41-3).

⁷⁰ Chisholm Batten, 'Henry VII in Somersetshire', pp. 59, 73.

elite was shaken as, following the rebellions, those men originally selected to be sheriffs for, among others, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Berkshire for the new term ‘were replaced by household men’.⁷¹

Most significantly of all, nearly a decade after the rebellions, on 5 December 1506, Giles Daubeney himself was bound by a recognisance for £2,100 to Sir Thomas Lovell, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, among others, payable in annual instalments of £100. Two days later, he was also made to forfeit his French pension of 2,000 crowns.⁷² This recognisance was an attempt by Henry VII to curtail Daubeney’s power without leaving a power vacuum in the south-west that he was neither prepared nor able to fill. Evidently Henry’s confidence in Daubeney had been knocked following his ‘slackness and inefficiency’ in opposing the rebels.⁷³ The final years of the fifteenth century proved to be a period of flux for Amias Paulet and Giles Daubeney, with the former gaining precious credit with Henry VII while the latter saw his reputation tarnished for his equivocal response to the uprisings.

Sir Amias Paulet’s Subsequent Career

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this story is the pace at which Sir Amias Paulet was rewarded for his service to Henry VII; indeed, it took Paulet almost twenty years to receive an office of note in Somerset. It came on 12 April 1504 in the form of the stewardship of Stoke-sub-Hamdon, five miles north-east of Hinton St George, and Curry Mallet, eight miles north-west of there.⁷⁴ That year, Paulet also received an annual pension of 26s 8d for his ‘good service’ to the Crown.⁷⁵ In Somerset’s neighbouring counties, Amias was also appointed to the commission of the peace for Dorset during 1499-1500 and for Devon in 1506.⁷⁶ Thus, we can see that Paulet was indeed receiving rewards for his service, he was simply not seeing a direct transfer of Daubeney’s offices to himself.

Paulet was evidently in receipt of a suitable amount of money for his status for, in the early sixteenth century, he constructed a wall around the family’s extensive grounds as part of the development of Hinton House, perhaps a socio-hierarchical statement to divide the Paulet grounds from that of their neighbours in Hinton St George.⁷⁷ While one conclusion was that the family’s architectural endeavours had a positive impact on Hinton St George’s economy

⁷¹ TNA, C82/180, cited in Condon, ‘Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII’, p. 294.

⁷² Luckett, ‘Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England’, pp. 592-3; BL, Lansdowne MS 127, ff. 33-34v; TNA, E 36/214, f. 193.

⁷³ Luckett, ‘Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England’, pp. 592-3.

⁷⁴ *CIPM Henry VII*, vol. 2, 683, 834; Luckett, ‘Crown patronage and political morality in early Tudor England’, p. 583; BL, Additional MS 21480, f. 181.

⁷⁵ *Register of Richard Fox*, pp. 32, 36.

⁷⁶ Collinson, *County of Somerset*, vol. 1, p. xxxvi.

⁷⁷ Winn, *Pouletts of Hinton St George*, pp. 16-18.

by providing local employment, it seems unlikely that Amias was acting altruistically. Around the turn of the sixteenth century, England experienced an increase in wages for labour suggesting a 'shortage of skilled labour' until the 1520s.⁷⁸ Therefore, Amias was clearly both wealthy enough to afford inflated labour costs and influential enough to secure their craftsmanship in a time of limited labour resources.

Political machinations on the European mainland were to shape the next significant moment of Amias Paulet's career. Officially an attempt to prevent the king of France, Louis XII, from deposing the pope, but really an effort by Henry VIII to recover land in northern France, Henry entered into an agreement with the papacy, Spain and the Habsburgs to attack France in 1512.⁷⁹ To enlist as many of his subjects as possible, Henry – or, more specifically, Wolsey – wrote to England's nobility and gentry requesting their assistance along with their retinue.⁸⁰ One of these addressees was Amias Paulet, who enlisted a personal retinue of some twenty-five men.⁸¹

Having been involved in the war with France during 1512-13, it is rather surprising that Sir Amias was not involved in the 1513-14 campaign. Instead, he was engaged in peace commissions for Devon from late 1513, immediately on his return from France following the previous season's campaign. Paulet's return to local commissions could simply have been because he was required to return to his native county to undertake his administrative roles. Indeed, Paulet was immediately included on three commissions of the peace for Devon on 5 November 1513, 16 February 1514 and 4 July 1514.⁸² Alternatively, Paulet, around fifty-seven years old at the time of the conclusion of the 1512-13 campaign, could simply have had his last hurrah on the battlefield, returning to less physically demanding tasks at home.

It was only on 18 October 1514 that Paulet was appointed to the commission of the peace for Somerset alongside Sir John Speke, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Hugh Luttrell, Sir John Trevelyan, Sir Nicholas Wadham, Giles Strangways and John Fitzjames junior, among others.⁸³ The following year, on

⁷⁸ I. Blanchard, 'Population change, enclosure, and the early Tudor economy', *Economic History Society*, vol. 23 (1970), pp. 427-45, esp. p. 432.

⁷⁹ P.S. Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, London 1973, pp. 67-73.

⁸⁰ State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series, 'Appointments for the war' (2 May 1512), TNA, SP1/2, ff. 111-114v; SP1/229, ff. 48-52v.

⁸¹ Ashton, 'Paulet, Sir Amias' (*Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and J.S. Brewer, 21 vols, London 1862-1931, (hereafter *LP*) vol. 1 3977); D.I. Grummitt, 'Introduction: War, diplomacy and Cultural Exchange, 1450-1558', in D.I. Grummitt, ed., *The English Experience in France, c.1450-1588: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, Aldershot 2002, pp. 1-23, esp. p. 6.

⁸² TNA, C66/620, m.3d (*LP*, vol. 1, 4539), C66/620, m.5d (*LP*, vol. 1, 4783), from the Patent Roll of 1513-14; C66/622, m.2d (*LP*, vol. 1, 5220), from the Patent Roll of 1514-15.

⁸³ TNA, C82/407 (*LP*, vol. 1, 5180), 'Warrants for the Great Seal' (June 1514).

29 November 1515, Paulet was reappointed to the commission of the peace for Somerset.⁸⁴ One feature that must be noted at this point is the lack of evidence for commissions of the peace after 1515. In fact, there are no extant records in the state papers of the peace commissions for Somerset between Amias's inclusion on 29 November 1515 and the next record on 11 February 1521. So, while peace commissions are not the only measure of local administration, it is difficult to conclude that Amias was 'removed' from government. Paulet was perhaps entering his twilight years which could also explain why he was less involved in administrative matters within the county as Henry VIII's reign progressed and why he chose to focus his attention on his legal career at the Inns of Court in London.

Although Amias Paulet was not included on the peace commissions after 1521, this must have been because of his association with the Inns of Court. We know that he was involved at Middle Temple for, on 2 November 1520, Paulet received, as treasurer, £3 6s 8d from Richard Beere, Abbot of Glastonbury, for his admission. For his role as treasurer, Amias was audited by 'Master Hardyng and Master Montagu' on 14 July 1521, the outcome of which is unknown.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, it is equally possible, and perhaps far more plausible, then, that Amias Paulet's appointments to local commissions suggest a political pathway towards London. Paulet had long been a member of Middle Temple; there is even a record of him being fined 100s at Christmas 1509 for failing to occupy the post of marshal, although he was at least present at that time.⁸⁶ Moreover, an act of litigation against Paulet in the early 1530s supports the idea of his growing wealth and presence in London. Paulet was sued by Robert Amadas, a London goldsmith, for failing to pay the excess on a gold chain he had personally commissioned, having initially supplied an inadequate weight of gold.⁸⁷ Despite the embarrassment associated with this *faux pas*, this perhaps hints at Paulet's growing prosperity, manifesting itself in an expensive display of wealth.

Amias was notably absent from another significant event, the French campaign of 1522-3, a fact which has perhaps strengthened the view that Amias was 'grounded' at this time. His approximate age of sixty-six in 1523 could explain why Amias was not involved in the war with France at that time. But despite his lack of military activity, Sir Amias was still involved in the campaign in some capacity, enlisted to collect the subsidy of 1523 for his native county of Somerset. Indeed, within Somerset, Paulet, Sir George Speke, Sir John

⁸⁴ TNA, C66/622, mm.4-6d (*LP*, vol. 1, 5506); C66/624 (*LP*, vol. 2, 1220).

⁸⁵ *Middle Temple Records*, vol. 1, pp. 62, 70.

⁸⁶ Baker, *Men of Court, 1440 to 1550*, vol. 1, pp. 30-31; J.B. Williamson, *The Middle Temple Bench Book, Being a Register of Benchers of the Middle Temple. From the Earliest Records to the Present Time, with Historical Introduction*, 2nd edn, London 1937, pp. xvii-xxiv, 54.

⁸⁷ TNA, C1/601/34.

Sydenham, Sir Edward Gorges, Sir John Fitzjames, Philip Fulford and William Woywell collected an impressive £4,112 14s.⁸⁸

Amias Paulet, making his will on the day he died, 1 April 1538, presumably on his deathbed (and proved on 25 June 1538), requested burial in the church of Chaffcombe, Somerset, unusual given his association with the church of St George.⁸⁹ Within the Paulet family's testamentary bequests, there seems to have been a range of potential burial sites – and with it a lack of loyalty to a particular parish church. Indeed, his great aunt, Eleanor, who married an earlier William Paulet, chose burial in the parish church of North Petherton after her death on 28 April 1413, while her son, Sir John, chose burial in the chapel of St Katherine within Nunney parish church after his death on 11 January 1436.⁹⁰

Sir Amias Paulet made a bequest of 5s to Wells Cathedral and 3s 4d each to the churches of Hinton, Chaffcombe, Chard, Crewkerne, Ilminster, South Petherton and Dinnington, as well as 10s to the abbot of Forde Abbey. In other words, Amias seems to have scattered his bequests around a multitude of nearby parish churches and religious houses, perhaps to ensure the health of his soul through broadly employed intercession. Amias bequeathed the residue of his estate to his son, Sir Hugh, the sole executor of his estate, a bequest which neatly transferred Amias's eminent position to that of his son who continued to elevate the family's status into the reign of Elizabeth I and with it a request: to be 'frendely' to his two brothers, John and Henry, and also 'to use himself gently amongst my tenants and servants'.⁹¹

Located in the church of St George, Hinton St George, is the monumental effigy of Amias Paulet (Image 1). This monument is positioned next to that of his son, Sir Hugh Paulet, both having been commissioned by Hugh around 1558. They are made of beer stone and sculpted in nearby Exeter and were perhaps outdated by the time of their creation as they appear to have been heavily influenced by the medieval gothic style. Both monuments are more or less identical, in the depiction of both their armour and their facial appearance. Both monuments display the Paulet family crest (in three places: on a bold blue background behind both Amias and Hugh, on the base of the tomb itself and above the prominent decorative arch, all of which being alongside the crest of

⁸⁸ TNA, E 36/221 (LP, vol. 4, 214), C66/645, mm. 1d-8d (LP, vol. 4, 547); E179/169/77, ff. 139-182, 232-234, 442; Cornwall Record Office, AR/22/26-29, duplicate copies of 'Appointment of collector of subsidy); with thanks to the Archivist for help over this reference.

⁸⁹ TNA, PROB 11/27, f. 144v.

⁹⁰ S.N. Smith, 'Delamare and Paulet monuments in the church at Nunney, Somerset', *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th series, vol. 9 (1935), pp. 84-90 (pp. 84-5); *CCR Henry VI*, 6 vols, London 1933, vol. 2, pp. 66-7; TNA, C139/88/49.

⁹¹ Sir N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta, Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as Well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols, London 1826, vol. 2, pp. 681-2; Collinson, *County of Somerset*, vol. 2, p. 168; vol. 3, p. 116.

each man's respective wife's family crest), the family motto (*gardez la foi*) and weepers surrounding the tomb, each weeper representing one of the men's children.⁹²

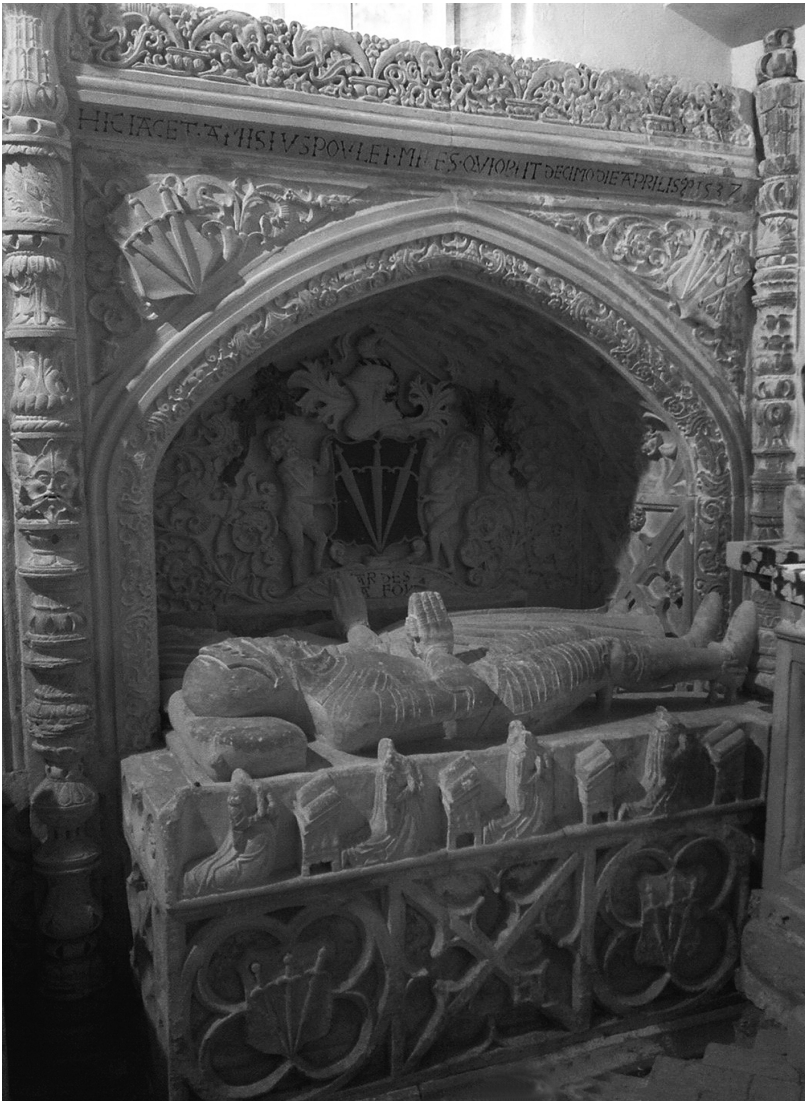


Image 1. Sir Amias Paulet's tomb, St George's Church, Hinton St George.
Author's own image.

⁹² Robert W. Dunning, *Somerset Families*, Tiverton 2002, pp. 104-105; Fryer, 'Monumental Effigies in Somerset', pp. 33-5.

Conclusion

Henry VII's attempt to disable the nobility and to develop the role of the gentry was a difficult affair. We have seen that even his most trusted counsellors were prone to moments of hesitation and opportunism; indeed, reliance on the complete obedience of a select few was something of a gamble. But we can also see the successfully enhanced role of the gentry exemplified in the commission to collect fines after 1497, for it consisted of the archdeacon of Taunton and three members of the gentry, including Amias Paulet. Yet, 1497 was perhaps not a turning point in Henry's attitude towards the nobility and gentry. Rather, it was perhaps simply an *ad hoc* reaction to a local situation and a moment of crisis. Nonetheless, despite the obvious disruption to Henry's reign in 1497, the subsequent twelve years saw a largely peaceful reign. It is tempting to wonder whether Amias would have been aware of the irony of punishing his neighbours for rebelling against the Crown, just as he had done during the reign of Richard III, an act which resulted in his ultimate elevation under his successor, Henry VII. Perhaps the lesson was not so much *not* to rebel, but rather to ensure that the winning side was backed, something Amias Paulet obviously understood and, despite his earlier gamble paying off, something Giles Daubeney got badly wrong in 1497.

