

**The Inquisition *Post Mortem* of
Eleanor Talbot, Lady Butler, 1468
(Public Record Office, C 140/29/39)**

JOHN ASHDOWN-HILL

The inquisition *post mortem* of Eleanor Talbot, Lady Butler provides evidence relating to Lady Eleanor's family connections and is the main contemporary source for the date of her death. It also gives details of the land and property which she held, and thus provides important information regarding her financial status during her widowhood and at the time of her death. What follows is a transcription and translation of this document, together with some notes about the manors which Lady Eleanor held. I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Mercer and the staff of the Public Record Office, to Livia Visser-Fuchs and to G.M.D. Booth, Senior Archivist, Warwickshire County Record Office, for their help and suggestions. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own. Abbreviations have been expanded and punctuation modernised without comment throughout. The manuscript shows signs of folding. The second folio appears to be a copy prepared by the escheator for despatch to the chancery at Westminster. The seals of the twelve jurors mentioned in the final part of the document as being appended do not figure on this copy. The annotation noting its receipt at the chancery, at the top of f. 2r, is in a different hand.

PRO, C 140/29/39

[f. 1 Writ of *diem clausit extremum*]

Edwardus dei gratia rex Angliae et Franciae et Dominus Hiberniae escaetori suo in comitatu Warrici, salutem.

Quia Alianora qui fuit uxor Thome Botiller militis qui de nobis tenuit in capite diem clausit extremum ut accipimus tibi precipimus quod omnia terras et tenementa de quibus eadem Alianora fuit seisata in dominico suo ut in feoda in balliva tua die quo obiit sine dilacione capias in manum nostram et ea salve custodiri facias, donec aliud tibi preceperimus et per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de eadam balliva tua per quod rei veritas melius scire poterit diligenter inquiras quantum terrarum et tenementorum predicta Alianora

tenuit de nobis in capite tam in dominico quam in servicio in dicta balliva tua dicto die quo obiit et quantum de aliis et per quod servicium et quantum terre et tenementa illa valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus et quo die predicta Alianora obiit et quis propinquior heres eius sit et cuius etatis. Et inquisitionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis in cancellaria nostra sub sigillo tuo et sigillis eorum per quos factam fuerit sine dilacione mittas et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xvij die Juli anno regni nostri octavo.

Translation

Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to his escheator in the county of Warwick, greetings.

Whereas Eleanor, who was the wife of Thomas Butler, knight, who held of us in chief, has died, as we understand, we command you that you take into our hand without delay all lands and tenements of which the same Eleanor was seised in her demesne as of fee in your bailiwick on the day on which she died, and have them kept safely until we shall have commanded you otherwise; and by the oath of worthy and lawful men of your same bailiwick, by which the truth of the matter can be better known, diligently inquire how much land and tenements the aforesaid Eleanor held of us in chief, both in demesne and in service, in your said bailiwick on the said day on which she died, and how much of others, and by what service, and how much those lands and tenements are worth annually in all issues; and on what day the aforesaid Eleanor died, and who may be her next heir, and of what age. And the inquisition thereof, clearly and openly made, send to us in our chancery without delay, under your seal and the seals of those by whom it has been made, together with this writ, I myself being witness.

Westminster, the 18th day of July in the eighth year of our reign.

[f. 2r Inquisition *post mortem*]

Liberatum fuit cancellerie vij die Septembris anno regni Edwardi iiii vij^o per manus de Simono Adams.

Inquisitio capta apud Henley in Ardern in comitatu Warrici die martis in crastino assumptionis Beate Marie anno regni regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum octavo, coram Willelmo Motone armigero¹, escaetore domini regis in comitatu predicto, virtute cuiusdam brevis eiusdem domini regis eidem escaetori directi et huic inquisicio consuti per sacramentum Thome Waryng, Johannis Duston, Ricardo Boteler, Willelmi Fulford, Johannis Haloughton, Thome Veysy, Johannis Deyster, Laurencii Blith, Henrici Smyth, Willelmi Tyscote, Willelmi Hane, Thome Blith. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Radulfus Buttiller, miles, dominus de Sudeley, adhuc superstes, dudum

fuit seisitus de maneriis de Greve et Magna Dorset cum suis pertinentiis, in comitatu predicto in dominico suo ut de feodo, et sic inde seisitus tempore domini Henrici nuper de facto et non de iure regis Anglie sexti post conquestum, videlicet anno regni sui vicesimo octavo, ea dedit Thome Buttiller militi, filio ipsius Radulfi, et Alianore nuper uxori eiusdem Thome, in dicto breve nominatis, et heredibus de corpore ipsius Thome legitime procreatis tenendum de Capitalibus dominis feodis illius per servicia que ad predicta maneria pertinent imperpetuum. Virtute cuius doni predicti Thomas et Alianora fuerunt seisiti de predictis maneriis cum pertinentiis, videlicet idem Thomas in dominico suo ut de feodo talliato et predicta Alianora ut de libero tenuit. Et postea predictus Thomas de tali statu obiit inde seisitus sine herede de corpore suo exunte, post cuius mortem predicta Alianora in eisdem maneriis cum pertinentiis se tenuit et inde seisita fuit ut de libero tenuit ad terminum vite ipsius Alianore per ius derestendi et de tali statu de predicto manerio de Magna Dorset cum pertinentiis postea obiit seisita reversione, inde post mortem ipsius Alianore prefato Radulfo et heredibus suis spectante. Et ulterius dicunt dicti Jurati super sacramentum suum quod predicta Alianora domina ante obitum suum, tempore predicto nuper ut premittitur regis, videlicet anno regni sui tricesimo nono, totum statum sui quem habuit de et in predicto manerio de Greve cum pertinentiis prefato Radulfo sursum reddidit, habendum in pristino statu suo. Cui quidem sursum redditioni idem Radulfus se aggregavit et de eadem manerio de Greve cum pertinentiis a tempore sursum redditionis predictae hucusque seisitus fuit, et adhuc inde seisitus existit, in dominico suo ut de feodo. Et sic predicti Jurati dicunt quod predicta Alianora nichil habuit in eodem manerio de Greve tempore mortis sue. Et preterea predicti Jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod in predicto manerio de Greve est quidam situs qui valet per annum ultra reprisam iij s. iiij d. Sunt etiam in eodem manerio ducente acre terre que valent per annum ultra reprisam vij li., viij acre prati que valent per annum ultra reprisam x s., ducente acre pasture que valent per annum ultra reprisam vj li., centum acre bosce que valent per annum ultra reprisam vj s. viij d., xxvij s. ij d. redditus servicii et iiij li. xj s. redditus costumarii solvendum annuatim ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli equis portionibus. Et in predicto manerio de magna Dorset est quidam situs qui valet per annum ultra reprisam vj s. viij d., et quod sunt in eodem manerio cxxv² acre terre arabale que valent per annum ultra reprisam cj s. vj d., lxiij acre prati que valent per annum ultra reprisam lxiij s., xvij acre pasture que valent per annum ultra reprisam viij s. vj d., una cum cuniculare quod valet per annum ultra reprisam lx s., unum molendinum ventriticum quod valet per annum ultra reprisam xxvij s. viij d., et etiam sunt ibidem octo librate redditus servicii solvendum annuatim ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales portiones, et decem librate

redditus customarii solvendum annuatim ad festa predicta per equales portiones. Et dicunt insuper predicti Jurati quod predicti manerii tenentur de domino Rege in capite pro servicio unius feodo militis et quod predicta Alianora nihil alia neque terras neque tenementa tenuit in dominico nec in servicio de domino Rege nec de aliquo alio in comitatu predicto die quo obiit; quidem Alianora obiit ultimo die Junij ultimo predicto. Et quod Thomas Talbot miles, dominus Lisle, est heres eius propinquior, videlicet sit Johannis Talbot filius, dominus Lisle, fratris predictae Alianore, et est etatis viginti annorum et amplius. In cuius rei testimonium hinc Inquisitionem indentant cum predicto escaetore qui Juratori predicti sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Data die, anno et loco supradictis.

Translation

It was delivered to the Chancery on the 7th day of September in the 8th year of the reign of Edward IV by the hands of Simon Adams.

Inquisition held at Henley in Arden in the county of Warwick on Tuesday, the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary in the eighth year of the reign of King Edward the fourth after the Conquest [Tuesday 16 August 1468] before William Motone esquire, escheator of the lord king in the aforesaid county, by virtue of a writ of the same lord king addressed to the same escheator, and this inquisition took place by the sworn oath of Thomas Waryng, John Duston, Richard Boteler, William Fulford, John Haloughton, Thomas Veysy, John Deyster, Laurence Blith, Henry Smyth, William Tyscote, William Hane, Thomas Blith.³ Who say upon their oath that Ralph Butler, knight, Lord of Sudeley, who is yet living, was formerly seised of the manors of Greve and Great Dorset with their appurtenances in the aforesaid county in his demesne as of fee, and being thus seised thereof in the time of the Lord Henry, lately in fact and not of right king of England, the sixth after the Conquest, that is in the twenty-eighth year of his reign [1449–50] he gave them to Thomas Butler, knight, son of the same Ralph, and to Eleanor, late wife to the same Thomas, both named in the said writ, and to the heirs of the body of this same Thomas legitimately begotten, to hold of the chief lords of that fief by the services that belong in perpetuity to the aforesaid manors. By virtue of which gift the aforesaid Thomas and Eleanor were seised of the said manors with their appurtenances, that is the same Thomas in his demesne as of fee tail, and the aforesaid Eleanor freely. Afterwards the aforesaid Thomas, while this was the case, died seised thereof without an heir issued of his body, and after his death the aforesaid Eleanor held the same manors with [their] appurtenances and was seised thereof freely for the term of the life of the same Eleanor by right of reversion, and she subsequently died thus seised of the aforesaid manor of

Great Dorset with its appurtenances by reversion, which thence, following the death of Eleanor herself, pertains to the above mentioned Ralph and to his heirs. And furthermore the said jurors say upon their oath that the aforesaid Lady Eleanor, before her death, in the time of the aforesaid late (as previously mentioned) king, to wit in the thirty-ninth year of his reign [1460-61], surrendered all her property rights, which she had of and in the aforesaid manor of Greve with its appurtenances, to the aforesaid Ralph, to hold as he had done formerly. To which surrender the same Ralph agreed, and he was then seised of the same manor of Greve with its appurtenances at the time of the aforesaid surrender, and from that time he has remained seised thereof in his demesne as of fee. And thus the aforesaid jurors say that the aforesaid Eleanor had nothing in the same manor of Greve at the time of her death.

And moreover the aforesaid jurors say upon their oath that in the aforesaid manor of Greve [there] is a certain site which is worth annually over and above reprises 3s. 4d. There are also in the same manor 200 acres of land which are worth annually over and above reprises £7; 8 acres of meadow which are worth annually over and above reprises 10s.; 200 acres of grazing which are worth annually over and above reprises £6; 100 acres of woodland which are worth annually over and above reprises 6s. 8d.; 28s. 2d. of rents of villein tenants and £4 11s. of rents of customary tenants, paid annually at the feasts of Easter and of St. Michael the Archangel following, in equal portions.

And in the aforesaid manor of Great Dorset is a certain site which is worth annually over and above reprises 6s. 8d. And that there are in the same manor 125 [? see note 2] acres of arable land which are worth annually over and above reprises 101s. 6d.; 62 acres of meadow which are worth annually over and above reprises 62s.; 17 acres of grazing which are worth annually over and above reprises 8s. 6d together with a rabbit warren which is worth annually over and above reprises 60s.; one windmill which is worth annually over and above reprises 27s. 8d. And also there are in the same place eight pounds of rents of villein tenants paid annually at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas, in equal portions, and ten pounds of rents of customary tenants paid annually at the aforesaid feasts in equal portions.

And the above-mentioned jurors say that the aforesaid manors are held in chief from the lord king for the service of one knight's fee. And that the aforesaid Eleanor held nothing else, neither lands nor holdings, in demesne or in service, of the lord king nor of anyone else, in the aforesaid county on the day when she died. The which Eleanor died the last day of June last aforesaid.

And that Thomas Talbot, knight, Lord Lisle, is her closest heir (being evidently the son of John Talbot, Lord Lisle, brother of the aforesaid Eleanor) and he is of the age of twenty years, and of full age.

In witness whereof they thus certify this Inquisition with the aforesaid escheator. Which aforesaid jurors have one after another affixed their seals. Given on the above mentioned day and in the above mentioned year and place.

Lady Eleanor's Lands

The lands acquired by Lady Eleanor Talbot at the time of her marriage to Sir Thomas Butler in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VI (1449–50) are named as the manors of Greve and Great Dorset in Warwickshire. No such place names are to be found on modern maps, but it is nevertheless possible to identify the manors in question.

Greve is modern Griff, the birthplace of 'George Eliot', formerly a coal-mining hamlet adjacent to Chilvers Coton, to the south of Nuneaton, of which, in the 1920s, it became a suburb. The manor of Chilvers Coton was held, in the reign of William the Conqueror, by Harold, son of Earl Ralph, Lord of Sudeley. Harold held eight hides (960 acres) in Chilvers Coton, and thereafter this land descended in the de Sudeley family. A later Ralph de Sudeley founded Arbury Priory⁴ in the twelfth century at Chilvers Coton and he also granted land there to the order of Knights Templar.⁵ In consequence, the focus of his own estate moved to the adjacent hamlet of Griff, where he established a new manor house for the de Sudeleys in about 1185. In addition to the form encountered in Lady Eleanor's inquisition *post mortem*, various spellings of 'Griff' are to be found in documents dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. These include Griva, Gryva, Gryve, La Greve, Greves, Greebe, Greefe, Gryff and Griffey.⁶

Following the building of the de Sudeley's new manor house at Griff, the exploitation of local resources developed. During the thirteenth century Griff became a centre for open-cast coal mining, which, to begin with, produced a reasonable profit. By the 1380s, however, all the easily accessible seams had been mined and the annual value of coal production at Griff dropped to about 50 shillings. It is said to have remained steady at this level throughout the fifteenth century, and in 1544 was given as 53 shillings and 4 pence.⁷ There is no mention of coal production at Greve, however, in Lady Eleanor's inquisition *post mortem*, possibly because she no longer held this manor at the time of her death.

After the extinction of the male line of the de Sudeleys in 1367, the manor of Griff passed (1380) to Thomas Butler, a nephew of the last male de Sudeley. The descent of the manor of Griff to Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley, is fully set out in a patent of 1469.⁸ It was Ralph Butler, as we see from Lady Eleanor's inquisition *post mortem*, who transferred the manor to his son and daughter-in-law at the time of their marriage, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VI

(1449–50).⁹ In the thirty-ninth year of his reign (1460–61), however, for reasons which are unclear, Eleanor (who had by that time inherited both Greve and Great Dorset as a result of the death of her husband) returned Greve to her father-in-law, and consequently she had no claim to the manor at the time of her death.¹⁰ This made little difference to Eleanor's family, since, as she had held them in dower, neither Greve nor Great Dorset would have passed to Eleanor's heir, her nephew, Lord Lisle.¹¹ For Eleanor herself, however, the surrender of Greve had the effect of cutting her annual income by two fifths.

True, perhaps, to its coal-mining past, Griff is now a heavily built-up area of housing and industrial developments in the south of Nuneaton, and there is almost nothing there to suggest the manor Lady Eleanor would have known for a short time in the fifteenth century. The manor of Greve as held briefly by Lady Eleanor had a total area of 508 acres, under various kinds of cultivation. The least valuable land was the woodland, valued at less than 1d. per acre. Most profitable was the small quantity of meadow land, which brought in one shilling and three pence per acre. There were two hundred acres each of arable and of grazing land, valued respectively at about 8½d. and 7¼d. per acre.

Lady Eleanor's second Warwickshire manor, named in her inquisition *post mortem* as Great Dorset, is now known as Burton Dassett and is situated in the south of the county, a few miles to the east of Stratford-upon-Avon, and south east of Warwick. Burton Dassett was known, from the thirteenth to the



Lady Eleanor's windmill at Great Dorset (Burton Dassett) before its final destruction in 1946.

seventeenth centuries as Magna Dercet (or Derset), Derced Major, Dassett Magna and Great Dorcestre, to distinguish it from its smaller southern neighbour, now called Avon Dasset, but formerly known as Parva Dersete. The fate of this manor has been very different. Whereas 'Greve' is now a busy suburb, 'Great Dorset' is now almost deserted, for ironically, while neighbouring Avon Dassett has become quite a large and prosperous village, the once larger Burton Dassett now houses only a church, a beacon tower and a few scattered farm houses among fields of sheep, the whole comprising a country park famed for its scenic views. In Lady Eleanor's day the manor was well populated, its tenants providing her with an annual income of £18 in rents; more than half of her revenue from Great Dorset. Its present depopulated state is due to the enclosures of the Belknap heirs of Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley, who, having inherited the manor, drove off the 350-strong population in Tudor times to make way for the sheep. The large and beautiful church of All Saints still houses medieval wall paintings, but the stained glass windows in the chancel which once displayed the Sudeley arms, and which survived into the eighteenth century, are now no more. The nearby hilltop, where the sixteenth century beacon now stands, once also housed Lady Eleanor's windmill. This was ruined by a storm in 1655, but was reconstructed and then survived until it was finally destroyed by another storm in 1946. Early twentieth century photographs exist which show the windmill standing beside the beacon tower. The latter was built by the Belknaps in the Tudor period, and seems to have replaced an earlier cresset which served a similar purpose in the days of the de Sudeleys and Butlers.¹²

Despite its name, the manor of Great Dorset was a good deal smaller than that of Greve, comprising only 204 acres. The area is hilly, so it is not surprising that in Lady Eleanor's day only 125 acres of the land was in use for arable farming, although the exposed hilltop made an ideal site for the windmill where grain could be brought from elsewhere to be milled. Most of the land was in use as meadow, though the hay produced at Great Dorset commanded, apparently, a lower price than the hay at Greve — only one shilling an acre, as opposed to one shilling and three pence. There was a small amount of grazing land and, given the hilly nature of the terrain, this was probably used in the fifteenth century, as it is today, for sheep. This may account for the fact that it too brought in less money per acre than the grazing land at Greve — 6d. instead of about 7¼d. The grazing land at Greve was perhaps used for cattle. The comparatively poor terrain of the hilltop at Great Dorset may also have been the site of Lady Eleanor's rabbit warren.

The history of the manor of Burton Dassett is similar to that of Griff. Held throughout the middle ages by the de Sudeleys (who granted land there to the

Knights Templar, as at Griff) it was inherited in 1380 by the Butler family and Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley, gave it in 1449–50 to his son and daughter-in-law upon their marriage. Lady Eleanor retained Burton Dassett after the death of her husband in or before 1460–61, and it was, apparently, her only holding from that time until her death seven years later, when it too reverted to Lord Sudeley. When Lord Sudeley himself died childless in 1473, Griff and Burton Dassett passed to his nephews, Sir John Norbury and William Belknap.

Curiously, the land at Chilvers Coton which the de Sudeleys had granted to the Knights Templar, and which had passed to the Knights Hospitaller when the Templars were disbanded, was apparently held from 1481 by Sir Edward Grey, Lord Lisle, brother-in-law and successor of Lady Eleanor Talbot's nephew and heir, Thomas Talbot, Lord Lisle.¹³ The former cell of the Knights Templar, called Temple House, still survives and, despite later rebuilding, retains a few fourteenth-fifteenth century features.

Griff and Burton Dassett represented only a small part of the Warwickshire holdings of the de Sudeleys and their Butler heirs. Henley-in-Arden, where Lady Eleanor Talbot's inquisition *post mortem* was conducted (probably in the fifteenth century guildhall) was also a manor held by Lord Sudeley.¹⁴ However, from 1460–61 Lady Eleanor's own holdings consisted only of the single manor of Great Dorset (Burton Dassett) and this seems to have produced an annual income of about £30. In view of the fact that a century earlier, in 1347, Eleanor's ancestor, Thomas III Lord Berkeley had enjoyed an annual income of £1,150, Lady Eleanor must clearly have been living on a shoestring for the last seven years of her life. Her younger sister, Elizabeth, dowager Duchess of Norfolk, was to complain later (in her will of 1506) of her reduced circumstances, yet at the time she held no less than six manors in Norfolk, as well as other lands elsewhere and a number of wardships.¹⁵ The reason for Eleanor's poverty is a mystery, for her father had given her a marriage portion of £1000,¹⁶ and it is difficult to understand why Eleanor should have surrendered one of the two manors she held to her father-in-law. However, the implication in the inquisition *post mortem* itself is that the initiative for the transfer was Eleanor's, since we are told that Lord Sudeley 'agreed'. Moreover, as far as one can judge, both Eleanor and her sister, Elizabeth, remained on good terms with members of Lord Sudeley's family, which suggests that they apparently did not harbour any resentment. Nevertheless, in her widowhood Lady Eleanor must have been even more dependent on the charity of her powerful sister than has been previously realised. In these circumstances, it may have been difficult for Eleanor to maintain the scholarship which she had endowed at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and this may be the reason why the duchess of Norfolk apparently had subsequently to re-endow this scholarship which her sister had founded.¹⁷

Comparative Sizes and Values of Greve and Great Dorset

	GREVE	GREAT DORSET
size	508 acres	204 acres
VALUE		
site	£ 0 3s 4d	£ 0 6s 8d
arable land	£ 7 0s 0d	£ 5 1s 6d
meadow	£ 0 10s 0d	£ 3 2s 0d
grazing land	£ 6 0s 0d	£ 0 8s 6d
woodland	£ 0 6s 8d	—
warren	—	£ 3 0s 0d
windmill	—	£ 1 7s 8d
rent (villein tenants)	£ 1 8s 2d	£ 8 0s 0d
rent (customary tenants)	£ 4 11s 0d	£10 0s 0d
TOTAL VALUE	£19 19s 2d	£31 6s 4d

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. William Moton was given the annual appointment as escheator for Warwickshire and Leicestershire on 5 November 1467. *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1461-1471*, p. 211.
2. There is a small fold in the parchment at this point and it is impossible to tell for certain whether the figure reads cxxv (125) or dxxv (525) but from the value given for this land and from knowledge of the site I deduce that cxxv (125) is probably the correct reading.
3. 'These names do not appear to be those of high status people in the county'. Personal communication from G.M.D. Booth, Senior Archivist, Warwickshire County Record Office. Richard Butler may well have been a relation of Lord Sudeley.
4. Arbury Priory was founded by Ralph de Sudeley as a small house of Arroasian canons, but in 1235 it was ordered to adopt the Augustinian rule.
5. In the case of both Greve and Great Dorset the de Sudeleys' association with the Templars, and later with the Hospitallers is commemorated in local place names: Templeherdwyk; Knightcote and Temple House.
6. Various spellings of the names of both manors are attested in W.F. Carter, ed., *The Lay Subsidy Roll for Warwickshire, 6 Edward III (1332)*, London 1926, L. Drucker, ed., *Warwickshire Feet of Fines* vol. 3 (1345-1509), London 1943, and J.E.B. Gover, A. Mower, F.M. Stenton and F.T.S. Houghton, *The Place Names of Warwickshire*, Cambridge 1936.
7. VCH: *Warwickshire*, vol. 2, London 1908, p. 220.
8. VCH: *Warwickshire*, vol. 4, London 1947, p. 175, citing CPR 1467-77, p. 133.
9. The date of the marriage is referred to in the inquisition itself, but it is also known from other sources. See J. Ashdown-Hill, 'Edward IV's Uncrowned Queen: The Lady Eleanor Talbot, Lady Butler', *Ricardian* vol. 11, no. 139, December 1997, p. 171.
10. When this surrender, and the earlier transfer of the two manors from Lord Sudeley to Thomas and Eleanor, were reported to the king via Eleanor's inquisition *post mortem*, Edward IV took exception to the transactions 'because the grant and acquisition of them and the entries thereon were without licence'. He therefore ordered both manors to be 'taken into the king's hands'. (CPR 1467-77, p. 133). On 6 February 1469, however, he

relented, allowing the two manors to return to Lord Sudeley, accompanied by a royal pardon.

11. Thomas Talbot, Lord Lisle, was the only son of Lady Eleanor's eldest brother of full blood, John Talbot, Lord Lisle, who had been killed with their father, the first earl of Shrewsbury, fighting in France in 1453.
12. F. Oshaughnessy, *The Story of Burton Dassett Church*, Coventry [n.d.] pp. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12.
13. *VCH: Warwickshire*, vol. 4, p. 176.
14. W. Cooper, *Henley-in-Arden*, Birmingham 1946, pp. 36–7. Henley's town charter was granted by Henry VI in 1449. Lady Eleanor's father-in-law, Lord Sudeley, seems to have been keen to promote the interests of the town, which still displays his coat of arms, surrounded by the garter, on the façade of the fifteenth century guildhall.
15. J. Ashdown-Hill, 'Norfolk Requiem', *Ricardian* vol. 12, no. 152, March 2001, p. 214.
16. J. Ashdown Hill, 'Edward IV's Uncrowned Queen', p.171.
17. J. Ashdown-Hill, 'Edward IV's Uncrowned Queen', p.176. 'Norfolk Requiem', p. 210.