

**'For My Lord of Richmond,
a *pourpoint* . . . and a palfrey':
Brief Remarks on the Financial Evidence
for Henry Tudor's Exile in Brittany 1471–1484**

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Henry Tudor's poorly-documented exile in the duchy of Brittany between 1471 and 1484 has intrigued generations of historians. The fullest near-contemporary account is that of Polydore Vergil, although several other chroniclers give details of incidents not covered by Vergil.¹ In modern times, Cora L. Scofield (1923) first drew the attention of Anglophone readers to extracts from fragmentary Breton ducal financial accounts surviving in the manuscripts of the Abbé Legrand, the eighteenth-century historian of Louis XI.² In their standard modern English royal biographies, Stanley Chrimes in *Henry VII* (1972) and Charles Ross in *Edward IV* (1974) and *Richard III* (1981) added little to Scofield's account, but Ralph Griffiths and Roger Thomas in *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (1985), carefully went over the ground again, notably by using a number of modern French contributions,³ to provide a fuller discussion of the circumstances and events of Henry's exile, while both Anthony Goodman and Tony Antonovics have examined ways in which Henry's character and attitudes may have been influenced by these formative years.⁴ It is clearly impossible here to recount all aspects of Henry's exile at length, but a few more pieces for

¹ Polydore Vergil, *Three Books of English History*, ed. H. Ellis, CS, Old Series 29 (1844), pp. 155, 158–59, 164–66. A near-contemporary Breton view of Henry's treatment by Duke Francis II: Alain Bouchart, *Grandes Chroniques de Bretagne*, ed. M.-L. Auger and G. Jeanneau, 3 vols, Paris 1986–98, vol. 2, pp. 419–20, 459–60.

² *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 172–73, citing B[ibliothèque] N[ationale de France], ms. fr[ançais] 6982, f. 326v.

³ Including the elusive work of J. Allanic, *Le prisonnier de la Tour d'Elven, ou la Jeunesse de roi Henry VII d'Angleterre*, Vannes 1909; B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *François II, duc de Bretagne et l'Angleterre, 1458–1488*, Paris 1929; H.G. Gaignard, 'A propos du droit d'asile malouin: tentative d'enlèvement d'Henri Tudor, comte de Richmond', *Annales de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo*, année 1981 (1982), pp. 97–106 (who curiously fails to mention Pocquet du Haut-Jussé's classic work and relies heavily on P.M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London 1955).

⁴ A. Goodman, 'Henry VII and Christian renewal', *Studies in Church History*, 17, *Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins (1981), pp. 115–25; A.V. Antonovics, 'Henry VII, King of England, "By the Grace of Charles VIII of France"', *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. R.A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne, Gloucester and New York 1986, pp. 169–84.

the jigsaw can be provided from work in progress on documents originating in the Breton *Chambre des Comptes*.⁵ Appositely, in a *Festschrift* for our leading historian of medieval mercery, these notes can begin with a brief reference drawn from a wardrobe account of Duke Francis II, in May or June 1472, which teasingly indicates what we might have learnt had the records of the *Chambre* survived in anything like their original form: 'for my lord of Richmond, a long robe of black velvet . . . and a *pourpoint* of black Damask'.⁶

A brief word about the fate of the records of the late medieval Breton *Chambre des Comptes* is perhaps in order. Beginning hesitatingly in the late thirteenth century, the dukes of Brittany, notably from the reign of John IV (1364–99), had created an impressive financial administration and regular taxation system which provided them with the resources to pursue ambitious domestic and foreign policies. Headed by a treasurer-general, and accountable to the President and officers of the *Chambre des Comptes*, before whom accounts were regularly audited, there was a complex hierarchy of some forty or so regional and local receipts, together with specialized offices like that of the treasurer of wars or the *trésorier de l'épargne*, each generating a large body of documentation. Like other comparable great princely establishments in the later middle ages, most obviously in France that of the dukes of Burgundy, the Breton ducal household and its subsidiary divisions (the usually separate households of the duchess, the duke's heir or other cadets of the ducal family as circumstances dictated) also increasingly produced series of particular accounts like those of the ducal *argentier* or *garderobier* in the course of the fifteenth century.⁷ As eighteenth-century inventories indicate, such records still survived in large numbers in the *Trésor des chartes des ducs de Bretagne* at Nantes on the eve of the Revolution. But the years 1793–6, during which the *Commission du*

⁵ Comp. M. Jones, 'Membra disjecta of the Breton *Chambre des Comptes* in the late middle ages: treasures revisited and rediscovered', *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. C. Allmand, Liverpool 2000, pp. 209–20.

⁶ A[rchives] D[épartementales de la] Loire-Atlantique, série B, parchemins non classés, dossier François II. In conjunction with Mme Remy, Conservateur aux AD Loire-Atlantique, I am currently preparing a definitive list of these documents, the contents of which are briefly described in Jones, 'Membra'. The complete entry reads: *A mons. de Richemont pour robe longue du don de mondit seigneur [le duc] sept aulnes de veloux noir trespoil, val' a IIII reaux l'anne XXXV l., pour doubler le hault des manches demi tierz de noir val' XXIII d. Et pour le doubler quatre aulnes de taffetas changeant a II reaux l'anne, val' X l. fas[on] de chescun, somme XLV l. XIII s. IIII d. A luy pour ung pourpoint une aulne et demie de Damas noir a IIII l. l'aulne et estoifes I escu, VII l. II s. Xd.* (To my lord of Richmond for a long robe by gift of my said lord [the duke] seven ells of fine [?] black velour, costing 4 royals an ell, £35, for lining the upper arms, half a third of black, cost 23d. And for the lining, four ells of changeable taffeta at 2 royals an ell, costing £10, and the making of each, sum £45 13s. 4d. To him for a short robe, an ell and a half of black Damask at £4 an ell, and padding, 1 écu, [total] £7 2s. 10d.

⁷ J. Kerhervé, *L'État breton aux 14^e et 15^e siècles. Les ducs, l'argent et les hommes*, 2 vols, Paris 1987, provides the definitive account of these developments.

Triage operated, saw this huge repository of documents largely destroyed or dispersed, with the result that few Breton financial accounts for any period remain intact, and historians interested in such matters must live on scraps. In stark contrast to the archival riches for Burgundy, there are, for instance, no complete surviving accounts of any treasurer-general, nor for any treasurer of war, and only partial fragments from the once very detailed accounts for the ducal household are now extant.⁸

Many of these financial records deemed 'worthless' by the *Commission du Triage*, when not summarily burnt, were sent for use by military and naval authorities, the parchment being used as wadding or packing for artillery; while other bundles of records were allocated to civil authorities to be used to make the covers of registers of births, marriages and deaths in the Revolutionary period and beyond. By chance, a small amount of this material has survived, but it is now widely scattered, with sheets from the same accounts to be found in several different archives. Much of it, especially where the parchment has been used for bindings and covers, is in a very poor state of preservation, often having been washed or cut up in the recycling process, then stuck together, hence covered with glue and paper. Nevertheless, since the mid nineteenth century, scholars, collectors and archivists have been slowly recuperating what they can, though the process is a laborious and frustrating one since the surviving documents are so fragmentary, and in the case of modern register covers using medieval material, require the consent of municipal and archival authorities for removing, extracting and restoring them so that they may yield their meagre harvest.⁹ Such efforts do, however, occasionally repay the efforts required and odd nuggets shine through the dross to throw light on wider matters as in the present instance, details on the conditions of Henry Tudor's sojourn in the duchy.

The evidence that these records provide in this case can be summarized under three main headings: that relating to the maintenance of Henry after his first arrival in Brittany – essentially the reference already cited for relatively generous and dignified provision for his needs during the early years of his exile – then that relating to the longer period from the mid 1470s in which, because of his increasing political importance and the interests of both Edward IV and Louis XI in his fate, he was placed under stricter surveillance,¹⁰ and

⁸ It has been calculated that something like four-fifths of the records of the Breton *Chambre des comptes* were lost at the Revolution; one of the remarkable features of Kerhervé, *État*, is his imaginative exploitation of 18th-c. inventories of now lost accounts in reconstructing the world of the late medieval Breton financial officers.

⁹ Jones, 'Membra'.

¹⁰ Louis XI's interest in the exiles is best shown by detailed instructions to his envoy, Guillaume Compaing, sent to Brittany in 1474: Dom H. Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, 3 vols, Paris 1742–6, vol. 3, cols 266–70; Pocquet, *François*, p. 180; Griffiths and Thomas, *Making*, pp. 79–80. Throughout the 1460s Louis had regularly paid an annual pension of 1200 l. to Jasper Tudor, comp. BN ms. fr. 20685, pp. 383, 439, 461, 475, 499.

finally that relating to the years 1483–4 when Francis II provided support for Henry's abortive invasion of England in the autumn of 1483 and for the upkeep of the growing number of other exiles who gathered around him in Brittany, before he decamped to the French court in the autumn of 1484.

Henry appears to have arrived, storm-tossed and as much by accident as by design, at the port of Le Conquet in western Brittany in the company of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, in September 1471,¹¹ from where they joined the ducal court in the Vannetais in southern Brittany. The newcomers were certainly at one of the most impressive of the ducal residences, the coastal castle of Suscinio, set in a vast hunting chase on the Presqu'île de Rhuys, in October 1472;¹² they are noted at Nantes in late 1473. But for most of this period their whereabouts within the duchy are largely unknown, though it may be assumed that initially at least they normally followed the ducal court in its peregrinations – chiefly moving, we may therefore assume, between the three main poles of ducal activity centring on Vannes, Nantes and Rennes and their associated near-by rural retreats which Francis II and his family favoured – the manors of Plaisance or Bernon as well as Suscinio, near Vannes, or La Touche near Nantes and so on.¹³

The conditions of Henry's exile began to deteriorate in 1474. Rumours had certainly reached Louis XI that he and his uncle were under guard late that year.¹⁴ In 1475 Francis II both separated Henry from his uncle and sent him away from the coast, where he might make a dash for freedom or be easily kidnapped, to a more inaccessible inland site, the castle of Largoët en Elven, hidden then as now deep in surrounding woods; the archival evidence for this development is provided, as Scofield noted, by some brief notes taken from the accounts of François Avignon. One of the duke's leading secretaries, Avignon was also a right-hand man and *commis* of the powerful treasurer of Brittany, Pierre Landais, and responsible for the *mises extraordinaires* – a euphemistic description for what in practice were often payments connected with the most secret ducal diplomatic and political business under the close personal control of the duke and his most senior advisers. In Avignon's fourth account, which ran from 1 December 1474 to 1 October 1477, mention is made of the fact that in January 1475, Henry was a 'prisoner' at Largoët, a castle owned by Jean IV, Sire de Rieux, Marshal of Brittany,¹⁵ while in the following April

¹¹ Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 17, following Bernard André, states that Jasper and Henry left Tenby 2 June 1471. News of their arrival in Le Conquet was known in London by late September, Griffiths and Thomas, *Making*, pp. 76–77.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 80, after Allanic, *Prisonnier*, for this and following details.

¹³ G. Meirion-Jones, M. Jones, M. Bridge, A. Moir and D. Shewan, 'La résidence noble en Bretagne du XII^e au XVI^e siècles: une synthèse illustrée par quelques exemples morbihannais', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*, vol. 126 (2000), pp. 27–103, esp. 36–38, for the ducal residences in the Morbihan.

¹⁴ See n. 10 above.

¹⁵ The accounts of Henry Guilloto, receiver of Largoët for Jean, sire de Rieux, 1474–7, provide some evidence for Henry's stay in the castle, AD Morbihan, E 2706, but those

Jasper Tudor was a prisoner at the impressive castle of Josselin, a further thirty kilometres away and then currently in ducal hands because of the flight and treachery of Jean II, Vicomte de Rohan, who had fled to the French court in 1470. By October 1476, Henry was noted under the guard of Vincent de la Landelle at Vannes, whilst a month later his uncle, was being guarded by Bertran du Parc, though he, too, was now at Vannes.¹⁶ The sites of their imprisonment and the careers of the two 'keepers' indicate that the Tudors' captivity was certainly a serious matter: Vincent de la Landelle was a professional soldier who had served in the ducal *ordonnance* companies since at least 1454;¹⁷ Bertran du Parc similarly began his career as a ducal lance a few years later, but rose more quickly to command his own *ordonnance* company and to play a leading part in the wars against France from the mid 1460s. Ruthless and efficient (characteristics which Louis XI had already noted), Bertran held a succession of important captaincies and in 1481 became Master of the duke's artillery.¹⁸ Jasper Tudor seems to have remained in his keeping constantly between 1475 and 1483 as relatively extensive financial evidence, including some recently discovered fragments, shows.¹⁹

On the other hand, Henry Tudor seems to have had a succession of 'guardians'. Besides La Landelle, early in his exile he seems to have been attached to the household of Jean du Quelennec, vicomte du Fou, admiral of

of François de Locquemenen, for 1480–81, do not mention him, though they provide details on important renovations being carried out there, *ibid.*, E 2707.

¹⁶ BN ms. fr. 6982, f. 326v, *Le Comte de Richemont prisonnier a Elven en janvier 1474* (o.s.), *Le Comte de Pembroke prisonnier a Josselin avril 1475* . . .

Le Comte de Richemont a Vannes en la garde de Vincent de la Landelle octobre 1476,

Le Comte de Pembroke prisonnier a Vannes sous Bertrand du Parc, novembre 1476 . . .

¹⁷ Morice, *Preuves*, vol. 2, cols 1646, 1727–8. In 1482–3 and 1483–4, Vincent de la Landelle was in receipt of a ducal pension of 60 l. p.a. (AD Loire-Atlantique, E 212 no. 16, f. 13, and no. 18, f. 9). He belonged to a lesser gentry family whose main possessions were at Peillac in the Oust valley some forty kilometres east of Largoët.

¹⁸ Morice, *Preuves*, vol. 2, col. 1777; vol. 3, cols 122–23, 144, 238, 271–72, 427; sent to carry money to Margaret of Anjou at Rouen in 1462, *ibid.*, 66, Bertran and his troops had led a rebellion at St-James de Beuvron (Manche) in November 1467, AD Loire-Atlantique, B 5, f. 144; in 1468 he was stationed at Avranches (Manche) with 100 lances, *ibid.*, B 6, ff. 46, 53v, 117, moving to St-Brieuc (Côtes d'Armor) in September, *ibid.*, f. 154v; in 1473 his company of 50 lances was billeted at Dol and Dinan, *ibid.*, B 7, f. 68, and in 1477 he received a series of commissions to inspect and repair fortifications, *ibid.*, B 8, ff. 22v, 82, 83; in 1478 he was made captain of the most powerfully-fortified and strategically-sited frontier castle of Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine), *ibid.*, E 141, p. 21. As Master of the Artillery in 1481 he received a pension of 400 l. p.a., Morice, *Preuves*, vol. 3, cols 391 and 428, and had a company of 50 lances and 75 archers, AD Loire-Atlantique, E 214 no. 37. He married the widow of Jean de Malestroit, sire de Kaer (died 1469), and often acted in conjunction with his brother, Charles du Parc, sire de Pluscallec.

¹⁹ AD Loire-Atlantique, 1 J 142, a fragment of an account for 1480–1, below App. A; *ibid.*, E 212, no. 16, ff. 4v and 13, for the allocation of 600 l. for the upkeep of Pembroke in his guard in 1482–3.

Brittany,²⁰ and by the early 1480s we find him successively in the keeping of Jean Guillemet and Louis de Kermené (1481–2),²¹ when 2000 l. was budgeted for his upkeep, and Guillemet and Jean de Robichen (1482–3), again soldiers and minor courtiers, who were allowed 2200 l. for their expenses.²² The name Jean Guillemet is a fairly common one in fifteenth-century Breton sources, but it is likely that this Jean Guillemet had begun his career in arms in the 1450s; Louis de Kermené is also known as a member of the ducal *ordonnance* companies, and with his son, Gilles, was part of the ducal bodyguard in 1480–1.²³ Apart from Quelennec, who came from the highest ranks of the Breton nobility, it seems likely that Henry Tudor spent much of his adolescence and early manhood in the company of minor Breton gentlemen of conservative cultural horizons and ambitions, perhaps an explanatory factor for his later frugal and cautious habits?

An intriguing reference relating to a period when Henry was apparently still in Quelennec's company may be connected with one of the most celebrated but mysterious incidents relating to his time in Brittany. This has been dated variously, but current opinion favours a point after the treaty of Picquigny (September 1475), most probably in 1476, when, after refusing Edward IV's requests to deliver Henry Tudor into his hands for a considerable period of time, Francis II eventually agreed to do so, believing that he was being recalled

²⁰ Admiral of Brittany for the remarkable period of fifty-three years from 1432 to 1485, his name is frequently mangled by British historians following Polydore Vergil, cf. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 18: 'John Chenlet'; Griffiths and Thomas, *Making*, pp. 80, 83: 'Jean de Quelennec'; for some details on his career and the problems of distinguishing him from several homonyms, M. Jones, 'L'Amirauté et la défense des côtes de Bretagne à la fin du moyen âge', *124^e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Défense des côtes*, Paris 2002, pp. 21–22.

²¹ AD Loire-Atlantique, E 212, no. 15, publ. L. Maître, 'Le budget du duché de Bretagne sous le règne de François II', *Annales de Bretagne*, vol. 5 (1889), pp. 293–319, esp. 295.

²² AD Loire-Atlantique, E 212, no. 16, f. 4v.

²³ A Jean Guillemet was serving with the Marshal of Brittany as early as 1454, AD Loire-Atlantique, E 133, no. 10; in 1477 he was holding musters, *ibid.*, B 8, f. 97v, and in 1482–3, besides keeping Henry Tudor, was in receipt of an annual ducal pension of 60 l. He is probably a member of the Guillemet family of La Lande-ès-Glémet (or Lande-Guillemet) en Maroué (Côtes d'Armor), and possibly the owner/author of one of the few surviving Breton heraldic treatises of this period, A. Manning, *The Argentaye Tract, edited from Paris, BN, fonds français 11,464*, Toronto, Buffalo and London 1983. Guillaume Guillemet, sire de Botbleix, who was frequently employed as an ambassador to England by both Francis II and Duchess Anne, Pocquet, *François*, pp. 147, 167, 259, 287, was in all likelihood his brother. Jean de Robichen (Robien) had served with the Marshal of Brittany from 1454, was a member of the ducal *ordonnance* companies, and by 1489 was keeper of Nantes castle, AD Loire-Atlantique, E 133, no. 10; Morice, *Prennes*, vol. 3, cols 66, 271, 665. Louis de Kermené had been retained as a man-at-arms as early as 1464 at 120 *royaux* a year, AD Loire-Atlantique, B 3, f. 7, and was a member of the ducal bodyguard in 1480–1, Morice, *Prennes*, vol. 3, col. 388; his estates also lay in the diocese of St-Brieuc like those of Robichen and Guillemet.

to marry the king's daughter. Henry was thus handed over to the most recent of a series of English embassies which had come to argue for his return. Once in their hands, they left Nantes for England via St-Malo, where Henry, probably feigning illness, was able to escape their clutches and take sanctuary, sufficiently delaying his departure long enough for his Breton friends led by Jean du Quelennec, to persuade the duke of the probable fate that awaited him in England, and to effect his rescue.²⁴

Given the cryptic nature of the fragment (it is cropped down the left margin; in the transcription offered here / ... signals the end of the previous line and the missing words at the beginning of the following one) it can be cited in full. It comes from a *décharge* given by Francis II to François Avignon, and relates to a payment made to an unknown person, possibly Quelennec,

que avons ordonné lui estre baillée pour la despense et mise de Conte de Richemont/ ... [av]ril derrain qu'il partie de Brest pour aler a Saint Malo, lui troysieme de ses gens avecques / ... pour la garde et conduite d'iceluy estans en nombre, comprins ung voisturier/ ... pour six jours quelx ont esté aud. lieu de Saint Malo jucques au tiers jour de ce present / [mois] ... oultre XVI l. XVII s. pour despenses faites a Rocheff' ches Henry Guiot en venant a Nantes / ...] XVI l. XIII s. III d. selon le minu veu et comparu, sur quoy est a rabatre / ... bailler aud. de Quelenec lors qu'ilz alerent audit lieu de Brest / ... y a garant par la descharge du moyx d'avrill derrain, Et icelle / ... d demeure cy endroit ... XXXVI l. ...'²⁵

(which we have ordered to be delivered to him for the expenses and costs of the earl of Richmond / ... April last when he left Brest to go to St-Malo, with two others / ... for the guard and conduct of the same, numbering, with the carter / ... for six days when they were at the said place of St-Malo until the third day of this present / [month] ... above £16 17s. for expenses incurred at Roche[fort?] lodging with Henry Guiot while coming to Nantes / ...]6 13s 4d according to the particulars of accounts presented on which there is a rebate of / ... delivered to the said du Quelennec when they went to the said place of Brest/ ... as warranted by the discharge of last April, and this / ... remains in this place [i.e. account] ... £36 ...)

It is one of thirty items listed in the *décharge*, none of which can unfortunately be closely dated; another item, probably to be connected with this strange episode of Henry Tudor journeying from Brest (Finistère) to St-Malo, apparently under some kind of guard, and then returning to Nantes, almost certainly via Rochefort (Morbihan), as well as mention of Quelennec accompanying him to Brest, is an order also to pay a *chevaucheur* of the duke's stable for guiding 'Cestre' and other Englishmen and their horses from Nantes to St-Malo. 'Cestre' is clearly Chester herald (Thomas Whiting from 1471), who is

²⁴ This story originates with Polydore Vergil; for modern commentaries, Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 18; Gaignard, 'Droit d'asile'; Griffiths and Thomas, *Making*, p. 83.

²⁵ AD Loire-Atlantique, B, parchemins non classés, dossier François II.

known to have visited the duchy on 1468, but whose later mission possibly dating to 1476 and indicated here, seems to be otherwise unrecorded.²⁶

The fortuitous survival of four successive *États de la finance* – ‘budgets’ or ‘estimates’ – for the years 1481–1485, provide considerable evidence for the way in which the government of Francis II changed its treatment of Henry and Jasper Tudor in the swiftly moving political drama that engulfed England, France and Burgundy with the closely succeeding deaths of Mary, duchess of Burgundy (24 March 1482), Edward IV (9 April 1483) and Louis XI (30 August 1483), Richard III’s seizure of the English crown (June–July 1483) and Henry Tudor’s emergence as the last serious representative of the Lancastrian dynasty. Provision for continuing to hold Henry and Jasper under strict conditions is made in the budgets for 1481–2 and 1482–3. In this latter year, 2200 l. was to be set aside for Henry, and 607 l. 10s. for Jasper, while a fragment of an account listing payments to Bertran du Parc in 1480–1 for his duties, has also survived.²⁷ Other evidence (provided by some accounts relating to offerings made in 1482–3 and 1483–4 by Henry to the cathedral of Vannes in 1482–3) suggest that Vannes was his normal place of residence by this date, probably within the ducal Château de l’Hermine.²⁸ Then in the summer of 1483, the two exiles suddenly once again became *personae gratiae*: a *décharge* for Pierre Landais, among many other items, sanctioned two small payments as follows:

A Guillemin du Boys, archier, pour ung cheval que avons fait prendre de luy et donné au sire de Penbroch . . . – XXXVII l.

A Germain Gentilhomme, que avons ordonné luy estre baillé tant pour acheter deux petiz chevaulx, tant pour monstrier ung manquenier et ung pallefrenier, envoiez de par nous pour servir les sires de Richemont et de Penbroch – XXVII l. Xs.²⁹

(To Guillemin du Boys, archer, for a horse which we took from him and gave to the lord of Pembroke . . . £37.

To Germain Gentilhomme, which we ordered to be delivered to him both for buying two small horses as well as for conducting a stableboy and a palfreyman, sent by us, to serve the lords of Richmond and Pembroke, £27 10s.

While some accounts relating to events in October and November 1483, when Henry launched his abortive invasion of England in the wake of Buckingham’s rebellion, reveal both the considerable extent of Francis II’s financial commit-

²⁶ Pocquet, *François*, p. 114; PRO, E 405/48, m. 2d, and E 403/840, m. 8, for Chester’s mission with Richmond herald in 1468. I am grateful to Dr Edward Meek, Clare College, Cambridge, for the identification of Thomas Whiting as Chester, comp. *Archaeologia*, vol. 84, 2nd s. 34 (1934), plate 1, though we have been unable to discover any further information on this particular mission.

²⁷ AD Loire-Atlantique, 1 J 142; below, app. A.

²⁸ Antonovics, ‘Henry VII’, p. 171, citing Allanic, *Prisonnier*, p. 38 n. 3.

²⁹ AD Loire-Atlantique, B, parchemins non classés, dossier François II.

ment on this occasion, as well as providing considerable detail on this and subsequent efforts to support his claims to the English throne.³⁰ But since much of this latter evidence has been exploited by previous historians, notably Griffiths and Thomas, there is no need to dwell at length on it here though a brief précis has been provided in an appendix for those who are unlikely to have an early opportunity of consulting the original accounts.

In conclusion, if the final *bilan* of this short contribution is indeed slight, all is not gloom since a hope can genuinely be held, given the fortuitous way in which documents from the former Breton *Chambre des Comptes* are still coming to light, that one day even more pieces of the jigsaw will be available and we shall be able to describe Henry Tudor's Breton exile in yet fuller colours.³¹

Appendices

A. Fragment of an account detailing expenses of Bertran du Parc, keeper of the earl of Pembroke, 1480–1. AD Loire-Atlantique, 1 J 142, from a nineteenth-century binding of the *Bulletin des lois* found in the Mairie de la Trinité-Porhoët, Morbihan.

A Bertram du Parc pour la despence et garderobbe / du conte de Penbroch et de ses gardes par pris' et marché fait / avecques led. du Parc dont il ne sera en riens comptable/ VI^r VII l. Xs. comprins XL l. ordonnez aud. conte pour ses menuz / affaires, de laquelle somme de VI^r VII l. Xs. se deschargent / lesd. heritiers par assignacion en baillée sur Jehan Hagomar, / Receveur ordinaire de Fougères,³² et quittance dud. du Parc pour ce/³³ Quictan[ce]³⁴ rend cy endroit de la somme de XII VII l. Xs. sav[oir] / VI^r VII l. Xs. es certaines conten' en c'est article et VI^r l. pour sa procuracion pour l'an comancé le premier jour d'octobre/ IIII^{xx} I dont il demande la mise cy apres a XVI f[euillet] qua[nt] / luy vauld' enver (?) en de ceste quict[ance] dabis[ée] du XXII^{mm} jour d[u] mois de / decembre lan mil IIII^r IIII^{xx} I signé dud. du Parc.

Et en acompté ce tresor[fi]er] a II f[euillet] de lad. charge³⁵

³⁰ *Ibid.*, E 212, no. 18, ff. 14v et seq. for expenses in October and November 1483, together with provision for further expenses from January 1484. Additional costs incurred in June 1484 are listed in *ibid.*, no. 17, ff. 14 et seq.; see below Appendix, B and C.

³¹ Since publishing the article cited in n. 5, above, I have discovered yet another small cache of documents from the former Breton *Chambre des Comptes* in modern bindings, described in M. Douchet, 'Vieux parchemins bretons. Notice sur des couvertures de registres de la région Malouin', *Annales de la soc. d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo*, année 1969 (1970), pp. 88–94.

³² Ordinary receiver of Fougères from 1479.

³³ The sum was originally written in the right margin but has been lost.

³⁴ Clause written later by auditors in lighter ink.

³⁵ The other side of this half sheet of parchment contains details of raising a hearth-tax (*fourage*) on various bishoprics in October 1481.

B. Extracts from accounts detailing payments to Henry Tudor and his company in 1483. AD Loire-Atlantique, E 212 no. 18, État de la finance, 1 October 1483–30 September 1484.

[f. 14v] *que led. commis a payé par plusieurs mises faites es moys d'octobre et novembre derrains pour le fait du passage et voyaige que devoit faire en Engleterre messieurs de Richemont et de Penbroc' . . . environ XIII^e l.³⁶*

[f. 16] *Aux Angloys que leur a esté payé ou moys de mars derrain [1484], savoir au Marquis,³⁷ III^e l, a Messire Edouart de Wudeville, C l, a Maistre Halouel,³⁸ II^e l, a Messire Robert Willy,³⁹ – C l.*

A Messire Edouard de Wdeville . . . pour emploier en la mise de la despense de luy et de ses gens [from 1 January 1484 at 100 l. per month for 9 months] – 900 l.

[f. 17v] *To Pierre Guillaume, master of a pinace of St-Malo of 40 tons with 40 combatants, serving from 1 September to 30 November [1483] compris ce qu'ilz furent a devoir faire le passage des sires de Richemont et de Penbroc en Engleterre' – 513 l. 6s. 9d.*

[f. 18] *To Jean Le Barbu, master of barque of Alain de la Motte, sire de Fontaines,⁴⁰ of 60 tons with 60 combatants, from 1 September to 29 November [1483] compris environ ung moys qu'ilz ont esté a devoir faire le passage des sires de Richemont et de Penbroc en Engleterre – 720 l.*

To Derien Le Du, captain of La Margarin of Brest, 160 tons with 98 combatants, from September to 12 December 1483, including a month for taking Richmond and Pembroke – 1227 l. 12s.

To Jean Pero, captain of the nef La Michelle of Auray, 90 tons with 75 combatants, from 13 September to 20 December 1483, including month for Richmond and Pembroke – 975 l.

To Geoffroy Estrillart, receveur ordinaire of Auray,⁴¹ who equipped his nef the Marie of Auray, 90 tons with 69 combatants, with Alain Kersauson, lieutenant and Olivier Le Dorlot, master, from 14 September to 30 November 1483 – 852 l. 10s. 9d.⁴²

[f. 19] *Louis Berthelot, captain of the nef of St Malo La Tresoriere,⁴³ 80 tons with 50 combatants, compris Jehan Cartier, maistre d'icelle, including a month with Richmond and Pembroke – 200 l.*

³⁶ Henry issued a quitance for receipt of 10,000 *écus* at Paimpol (Côtes-d'Armor) on 30 October [1483], BL Add. MS 19398, f. 10, no. 16; an order from Francis II to discharge Gilles Thomas for lending this sum, 22 Nov. 1483, is in BL MS Cotton Julius B vi, f. 185; *Letters and Papers RIII and FVII*, vol. 1, pp. 54–55.

³⁷ Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 327, App. B, Henry of Richmond's companions in exile 1483–5.

³⁸ John Halwell, esquire (d. 1500), mentioned. *ibid.*, p. 26 n. 1, as seeking exile in Flanders after Buckingham's rebellion, but not listed in App. B.

³⁹ Robert Willoughby, later Lord Willoughby de Broke (d. 1501).

⁴⁰ Alain de la Motte, vice-admiral of Brittany.

⁴¹ Ordinary receiver of Auray, 1474–84.

⁴² There is no mention of Richmond and Pembroke but it seems probable that this expenditure relates to their transport.

⁴³ A ship owned by Pierre Landais, treasurer-general of Brittany, whose master was a member of the famous Cartier family.

FINANCIAL EVIDENCE FOR HENRY TUDOR'S EXILE

C. Extracts from accounts detailing payments to Henry Tudor and his company in June 1484. AD Loire-Atlantique, E 212 no. 17, État de la finance, 1 October 1484–30 September 1485).

[f. 14] *Aux Angloys qu'estoient a Vennes avecques le sieur de Richemont ou moys de Juign derrain passé [1484] et que a celuy temps leur fut payé par led. Millon⁴⁴ pour leur aider a s'entretenir – III^m C l.*

[f. 15] *Au sire de Scalles,⁴⁵ maistre Cbené⁴⁶ et maistre Edouart Poyngnes,⁴⁷ Angloys qu'estoient derrainz a Vennes apres l'alée du sire de Richemont en France leur a este payé . . . pour leur aider a s'en aller hors du pays de Bretagne a chacun – C l.*

Item a III^m VIII autres Angloys et serviteurs diceulx qu'estoient . . . (at Vannes, etc.) – 20s. each = 708 l. in total as appeared by relation of Yvonnet Davy, captain of Vannes.

[f. 17v] 2500 l. to burgesses of Vannes for what was *den des Angloys qui y ont este logez quelc estoient o le sire de Richemont et dont le duc a voulu prendre la charge . . .*⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Yves Millon, *commis* of Pierre Landais.

⁴⁵ Richard or Edward Woodville?

⁴⁶ John Cheyne, esquire (d. 1499).

⁴⁷ Sir Edward Poynings (d. 1521).

⁴⁸ In a later list of debts of Francis II being reclaimed by the Canons of Vannes *c.* 1498, was a demand for 200 l. which they had lent to the English at Vannes, probably a reference to Henry Tudor's last sojourn in the city, AD Loire-Atlantique, E 209, no. 23, f. 7v.