

# **The Children in the Care of Richard III: New References. A Lawsuit between Peter Courteys, Keeper of Richard III's Great Wardrobe, and Thomas Lynom, Solicitor of Richard III, 1495-1501**

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This series of linked studies was suggested by the discovery of a lawsuit which ran between 1495 and 1500, and which gives details of textiles supplied in 1484 for the clothes of Edward and Margaret, children of George, Duke of Clarence, and Katherine, the illegitimate daughter of Richard III and her future husband, William Herbert.<sup>1</sup> This, and the additional discovery of a reference to Katherine's burial place (see the article below by Christian Steer), provoke further thought about her fate after Bosworth. Intriguing subjects for examination thrown up by the court case are the career of the much disparaged William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, and of the fate of the defendant, Thomas Lynom, Richard's solicitor, and of his wife, Edward IV's former mistress, Elizabeth Shore, after Bosworth.

## **The Lawsuit between Peter Courteys, Keeper of Richard III's Great Wardrobe, and Thomas Lynom, Solicitor of Richard III, 1495-1501**

### **Summary**

Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser Fuchs

In Hilary term (January) 1495 Peter Courteys, once keeper of the Great Wardrobe for Richard III, brought a plea of debt for the sum of £204 8s 7d in the court of Common Pleas, by his attorney John Agmondesham, against Thomas Lynom, once solicitor of Richard III. Lynom did not appear to answer the suit and he was consequently outlawed for his failure. He duly appeared and surrendered himself to the court on 16 October 1498, whereupon he was committed to the Fleet prison. He produced the king's pardon bearing the same date of 16 October and he found four sureties, John Snede, Robert Delaward, Robert White and Richard Garret (all described as 'gentlemen') that he would answer the plea of debt.

The case opened in the Easter term of 1500, with Peter Courteys represented by the same attorney. He asserted that Thomas Lynom and Robert Brackenbury, esquire of the body of King Richard, and Henry Davy, tailor of London (both now dead), had on 14 June 1484 sealed an indenture in the

<sup>1</sup> We are most grateful to Sir John Baker for this reference, which has been too many years waiting for our attention.

parish of St Sepulchre in the ward of Farringdon Without in the city of London, whereby they were bound to pay Courteys £204 8s 7d. This sum Courteys owed to Richard Rawson and John Fisher, suppliers of cloth of gold, velvet, satin and damask for the clothing of ‘the then Lord of Warwick, the Lady his sister, the Lady Katherine, the Lord of Huntingdon and other ladies and gentlewomen of the late king’ ordered by a warrant under the king’s hand dated 8 June and bought from them on 10 June. Later Brackenbury and Davy had died, and neither they nor Lynom had paid Courteys, and Lynom continues to refuse to pay.

Lynom, represented by his attorney, John Jenour, denied all charges, and asserted that before the making of the indenture a warrant of the king had been made in the parish of St Andrew Baynard’s Castle ordering Courteys to buy these goods and bind himself to pay the suppliers, and that he had in fact bought these goods from Gabriel ‘de Furnariis’, not Rawson and Fisher, on 30 March 1484. Also, after the indenture, on 18 June 1484 in the same parish of St Andrew, Lynom and Brackenbury had given Courteys sufficient assignments to cover the money mentioned in the indenture, among which was one of £270 to be paid from moneys due from Calais. Courteys countered this by saying Lynom and Brackenbury in fact gave him an assignment for £270 for other pieces of cloth of gold and velvet bought for Richard III’s coronation. He asked for judgement and damages of 200 marks. Lynom stood by his previous statement. Both of them put themselves on the country. The case was then adjourned several times until the summer of 1501 when Lynom won his suit on Courteys’ failure to appear.

### **Clothing for a Royal Wedding, June 1484?**

Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser Fuchs

On 8 June 1484, just two months after the death of his prince of Wales, Richard authorised new clothes for three young people (two girls and a boy) in his care, and a young nobleman and certain unnamed ladies and gentlewomen in his household who perhaps held particular posts about the two girls, such as governess or nurse. They were, as stated above, Edward, Earl of Warwick, and his sister the Lady Margaret, children of George Duke of Clarence, Richard’s brother, and Isabel Neville, the elder sister of Richard’s Queen Anne; Lady Katherine, Richard’s illegitimate daughter by an unknown mother; and William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, two years younger than the king, who was shortly to marry Katherine.

Richard was at Pontefract on the date he inscribed the bill with his sign manual.<sup>2</sup> It was then dispatched to the keeper of his Great Wardrobe, Peter

<sup>2</sup> For the survival of a comparable but much more elaborate initiating bill to Courteys concerning the preparations for the investiture of the prince of Wales at York, and the resulting record in Courteys’ accounts, see *BL Harleian Manuscript 433*, (hereafter *Harl. 433*) ed R.E. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, 4 vols, London 1979-83, vol. 2, p. 42, and *The Coronation of Richard III*, ed A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond, Gloucester 1983, pp. 80-81, 173-78.

Courteys, who put the work in train, and it seems certain it would have been Henry Davy, the king's tailor, who would have made up the garments. The Great Wardrobe was located in the parish of St Andrew's Castle Baynard just south of St Paul's. The precise details of the clothes are not known, only the textiles that were bought to make them: three pieces of cloth of gold of crimson, blue and tawney respectively, two pieces of velvet, crimson and blue respectively, two pieces of satin (crimson and black), and a single piece of black damask; and 'other stuffs'.<sup>3</sup> The three pieces of cloth of gold can be assumed to be for the sole use of the royal children, perhaps for stomachers, a fashionable item of clothing worn by both sexes at this date, for either a kirtle (an under garment of which only part was visible) or gown (the over garment) for the girls, a doublet (again worn underneath a gown) or gown for Warwick and Herbert. The satin and damask would have been for the linings of the garments. Members of the king's family always dressed richly, and such orders by the king for the clothing of members of his household were common.<sup>4</sup> The current fashions would have been followed, which at this time were figure-fitting for both sexes and gave a long, lean look.<sup>5</sup> It can be wondered if a special event was in the offing, such as the marriage between Katherine and William Herbert, who as an adult peer seems slightly out of place in this order, but the king's permanent household in the north at Sandal Castle also included John, Earl of Lincoln (aged 24 years), eldest son of Richard's sister, Elizabeth Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincoln's brother-in-law, Henry Lovell, Lord Morley (aged 18 years), with whom Herbert would have been more at home. The regulations of this northern household laid down that Lincoln and Morley should share a breakfast, and the 'children' there another, and anyone attending on the council's business a third breakfast. Dinner was at eleven o'clock and attended by all. It may be significant that the regulation of domestic affairs such as breakfasts was drawn up about this time.<sup>6</sup> The range of children, their sex and ages, would have necessitated various governesses, tutors and servants. Unfortunately, the ladies and gentlewomen who were to share in the clothing ordered by Richard are not mentioned by name; they were often poor widows

<sup>3</sup> For the sumptuous nature of these cloths, see L. Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*, V&A, London 2012, passim.

<sup>4</sup> *Coronation of Richard III*, esp. pp. 91-189, and glossary, for such orders and the cloths used.

<sup>5</sup> For details of contemporary clothing and the contemporary terms used, A.F. Sutton, 'Dress and fashions c. 1470', in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed R. Britnell, Stroud 1998, pp. 1-26. See illustrations of 1480s fashions, A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, Stroud 1997, plate xi and figs 80, 82 (men); images of English women's dress for these years are hard to come by, but some brasses such as those of the Peyton family can be cited.

<sup>6</sup> Regulations, July 1484, *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p. 114. The location has often been assumed to have been Sheriff Hutton, but C. Ross, *Richard III*, London 1981, p. 182, places the council's centre at Sandal Castle (see *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, pp. 137, 168, vol. 3, p. 114) where Richard's built a new tower, brew and bake houses, to be made with Lincoln's advice; the expenses of the household were met by sums from specified estates (vol. 3, p. 115). See also P.M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London 1955, p. 407.

forced to seek employment like Anne Idley, who was mistress of the nursery of Richard of Gloucester.<sup>7</sup>

The king's Great Wardrobe was the usual source of supply for the clothing of persons about the king, whether his family, gifts for his friends or the necessary liveries and clothing of all his household servants. The queen had her own great wardrobe. Only one account for Richard's Great Wardrobe survives running from 9 April 1483 to 2 February 1484 and is mainly concerned with his coronation, so any scrap of information about additional clothing supplied during his reign is of great value.<sup>8</sup> The present detail survives solely in a lawsuit over money between Peter Courteys, keeper of Richard III's Great Wardrobe, and Richard III's solicitor, Thomas Lynom, ten to fifteen years after the events to which it refers.

In June 1484, Edward of Warwick was just over nine years having been born in February 1475 and his sister, Margaret, was approaching her eleventh birthday having been born in August 1473. Katherine's age is a matter of debate but she has usually been assumed to have been born before Richard's marriage. Girls were married off early, but in the 1400s fifteen was an acceptable and proper norm and this seems likely to be her age in 1484, putting her birth in 1469-70. William Herbert was twenty-nine to thirty having been born in 1454 and was therefore much older than his future wife. Edward of Warwick had been taken into the duchess of Gloucester's household on 15 June 1483 during the protectorship and had attended the coronation of his uncle and aunt. He had then accompanied the king on his progress and was knighted at York during the investiture of his cousin as prince of Wales on 8 September 1483. It can now be taken as fact that he went to live at Richard's household in the north, the centre of the council of the north, and was made a member of the council of the North before 13 May 1485; it was an admirable place to learn the administration of estates and justice. This came to an abrupt end with the battle of Bosworth when he was moved to the Tower of London by Henry VII and executed in 1499.<sup>9</sup> His sister Margaret, it can now be taken as certain, had joined him at Sandal by the end of 1483.<sup>10</sup> Margaret was to be speedily married off by Henry VII and Lady Margaret Beaufort probably in November 1487, when she would have been just over fourteen, to Sir Richard Pole (1458/9-1505), considerably her senior and a safe connection as he was Henry VII's

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the women who attended on Edward IV's daughters during his lifetime, A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with R.A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, London 2005, pp. 60-61 and nn. A.F. Sutton 'Anne and Peter Idley', *The Ricardian*, vol. 5 (1979-81), pp. 402-03.

<sup>8</sup> *Coronation of Richard III*, esp. pp. 47-189,

<sup>9</sup> Biographies; *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 385; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12 pt 2, pp. 394-97; C. Carpenter, 'Edward styled earl of Warwick', *ODNB*, who places the household at Sheriff Hutton (for which see above n. 6).

<sup>10</sup> For some discussion of the whereabouts and identity of 'the children' in the king's household in the north, Kendall, *Richard III*, pp. 332, 407.

cousin of the half-blood through his mother.<sup>11</sup> Other girls were to join the household in the north after the agreement reached between Richard and the dowager Queen Elizabeth on 1 March 1484, whereby the elder daughters were released into his care, on his promise to marry them to gentlemen when they reached marriageable age; the younger girls were presumably allowed to stay with their mother (Anne and Bridget). It is possible that Cecily, the second surviving daughter, moved to the Sandal Castle household, but her marriage to Ralph Scrope of Upsall, brother of Thomas Lord Scrope, took place or was at least contracted,<sup>12</sup> so she may have remained at court, as her elder sister, Elizabeth, certainly did. Elizabeth's gowns given her by the queen, and of a similar style and colour to the queen's, during the Christmas festivities of 1484 provoked unfriendly comment from the Croyland Chronicler. This and the illness of Queen Anne and her death on 16 March 1485 encouraged rumours that King Richard intended to marry her, whereupon she had to be sent to the northern household. Another boy in this household at some time may have been John of Pomfret or Gloucester, Richard III's illegitimate son, perhaps especially likely as Katherine was there – but he did not share in this particular order of clothes. Like Katherine he received clothes via the king's tailor Henry Davy: a warrant dated 9 March 1485 instructed John's footman, John Goddesland, to take John 'the lord bastard' two silk doublets, a jacket of silk, a gown, two shirts and two bonnets. Two days later, on 11 March 1485, John was appointed captain of Calais, so perhaps his new clothes were in preparation for a voyage there, to continue his education in the household of Lord Dinham, the lieutenant. Although he received an annuity from Henry VII, he was apparently soon imprisoned and did not survive Edward of Warwick and Warbeck.<sup>13</sup>

Katherine's prospective husband, William Herbert, was the son and heir of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux of Bodenham; he had six legitimate sisters and a bastard brother, Walter.<sup>14</sup> He was born *circa* October 1454 (on the evidence of his livery of

<sup>11</sup> Five of her children survived infancy. As a widow, she became lady of the chamber to Katherine of Aragon from 1509 and in 1513 Henry VIII granted her the possessions of her grandfather, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and accorded her the title of countess of Salisbury. She was governess of Princess Mary 1520-33. In 1538 she was accused of treason and executed in 1541. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 11, pp. 399-402, under Salisbury. Hazel Pierce, 'Margaret Pole', *ODNB*.

<sup>12</sup> For her earlier betrothals, *Royal Funerals of the House of York*, p. 58. Cecily's marriage to Scrope was dissolved 1486, and she was married to Henry VII's half-uncle, John Lord Wells, R. Helmholz *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, Cambridge 1974, p. 160 n. 89, citing the records of the York Consistory Court. Ralph was to become the 9<sup>th</sup> Lord Scrope in 1512 and fight at Flodden, *CP*, vol. 11, pp. 569-72.

<sup>13</sup> P.W. Hammond, 'The illegitimate children of Richard III', *The Ricardian* 1979, reprinted *Richard III, Crown and People*, ed J. Petre, London 1985, pp. 18-19.

<sup>14</sup> The main biographical notes for William Herbert, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Huntingdon are *CP*, vol. 10, pp. 402-03, under Pembroke; *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, *The Middle Ages*, ed T.B. Pugh, Cardiff 1971, pp. 263-64; R.A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government*, Cardiff 1972, p. 158; H. Maurer, 'The

lands). In 1466 he was married, when aged eleven to twelve, to Mary, sister of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. To celebrate the marriage he was created Lord Dunster, another sign of the king's gratitude to his father who had been granted the lordship of Dunster in 1463. The marriage was also marked by the important grant of the lordship of Haverfordwest to his father, arranged by Earl Rivers, the father of the bride. The young husband continued with his education at Lincoln's Inn where he was to be found in 1468 – the year his father was created earl of Pembroke.<sup>15</sup> All this was much to the displeasure of the earl of Warwick, and the new earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert were among those executed by Warwick in 1469, when William was scarcely fifteen.

The attitude of historians to William has been negative, mainly it seems because of his failure to emulate his father's exceptional career built in the exceptional circumstances of the 1450s and 1460s. The precise process whereby William lost certain lands, and exactly how much he lost in the 1470s, is not clear in the records, but this failure of the Herbert family is presented as complete when William resigned the title of Pembroke (in 1479) to Edward IV. Edward subsumed the earldom into the titles of the prince of Wales and replaced the power of the Herberts in south-east Wales by the authority of the prince's council of Wales; he was also building a Welsh estate for his second son, Richard, as the husband of the Mowbray heiress, who claimed two marcher lordships. William was never a member of the prince of Wales' council although his uncle, Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, was a councillor from its reorganisation in 1473.<sup>16</sup> There are, however, episodes in his early life and certainly after 1483 which suggest that William lacked neither intelligence nor

later careers of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, and his brother Sir Walter Herbert', *The Ricardian* 1977, reprinted in *Richard III, Crown and People*, pp. 95-96 (she used Thomas' thesis of 1967); *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 355; D.H. Thomas, *The Herberts of Raglan and the Battle of Edgecote 1469*, Freezywater Publications 1994, pp. 80-83 (his MA thesis was on the Herberts, 1967, and he makes extensive use of the *Herbertorum Prosapia*, a study of the family made by Sir Thomas Herbert, died 1681; a copy of certain pages was kindly loaned to the present authors by Christian Steer); biog. with his father in W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses*, Upminster 1997, p. 123; R.A. Griffiths, William Herbert, 1st and 2nd earls of Pembroke, *ODNB*. Particular references will be repeated here. For Anne's brother, Sir Walter Ferrers, Lord Ferrers 1461-85, see *CP*, vol. 5, pp. 321-25, under Ferrers, and R.A. Griffiths, Walter Devereux (c. 1432-85), *ODNB*.

<sup>15</sup> We have taken his birth date from the date of the livery of his lands in 1475 (see below). C. Ross *Edward IV*, London 1974, pp. 72 and n., 77-78, 93-94, 99. Lincoln's Inn, *The Black Books, Volume 1 from AD 1422 to AD 1586*, ed W.P. Baildon, London 1897, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> For the failure of the Herbert family, esp. D.E. Lowe, 'The council of the prince of Wales and the decline of the Herbert family during the second reign of Edward IV (1471-1483)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 27 (1976-78), esp. pp. 291, 292-96 (p. 281 n. 7 for list of councillors), and his 'Patronage and politics: Edward IV, the Wydevills, and the council of the prince of Wales, 1471-83', *ibid.*, vol. 29 (1980-82), esp. pp. 545-46, 563-64. Herbert appears to have maintained his right to be considered as an heir to the Mowbray estates should there be a future division (the lordships of Chepstow held by his mother as dower, and of Gower which Edward IV passed to his son Richard as husband of Anne Mowbray), *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, pp. 262, 625 n. 266.

ability but was simply powerless when faced with Edward's plans for the organisation of Wales — older members of his family were equally powerless, and it should be noted that Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, owner of a great estate in the Welsh marches was also excluded from the new power structure. Both these young men had been given a Woodville wife, sisters of the queen, whose family, led by Anthony Earl Rivers, now dominated the prince of Wales' council and household.<sup>17</sup>

The assertion of William Herbert's incompetence has grown with repetition of the discovery that, in 1474, he received 'a reprimand' from the council of the Duchy of Lancaster for not assisting a receiver to collect arrears. It is likely, however, that those who held his estates during his minority were to blame — he received livery of his lands in October 1475.<sup>18</sup>

It seems certain his loyalties were firmly Yorkist, and that he had once had a young man's military ambitions. In 1471 he rode into London in the victory procession after Barnet, and although specific praise was reserved for Gloucester, Hastings and Rivers, it is notable he was the only other lord named in the laudatory poem written in London celebrating this victory, so it can be assumed he had taken part in the battle, and presumably went on to fight at Tewkesbury.<sup>19</sup> He may therefore have begun a long association with Richard at this time; there were only two years difference in their ages. He and his mother's brother, Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers were commissioned together to raise troops in south Wales and the Marches to resist Jasper Tudor and the rebels on 22 August 1471, and receive the allegiance of all rebels who submitted there and the adjacent English counties. On 27 August 1471 he was licensed to enter his father's offices of justiciar, chamberlain of south Wales and steward of the principality.<sup>20</sup>

He was again made chamberlain of South Wales on 29 August 1475 and received the livery of his lands on 4 October 1475, which can be taken as the date of his majority. Meanwhile he had taken part in the French expedition in the same year with forty men at arms and 200 archers — he clearly still had the

<sup>17</sup> For the power of the Woodvilles in Wales, esp. Lowe, 'Patronage and politics'. Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 334-35.

<sup>18</sup> A.R. Myers, 'An official progress through Lancashire and Cheshire in 1476', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 115 (1964), p. 5; 'personal inadequacy', *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3 (1971), p. 261; 'a pale reflection of his father's brilliance', 'none of the ability, energy and resolution which had characterised his father', Griffiths, *Principality* (1972), pp. 156, 158; Lowe, 'Council' (1976-78), p. 294. He was accorded an 'ineffectual personality', in Lowe, 'Patronage and politics' (1980-82), p. 545. 'Limited ability and was quite certainly not the man his able father was', Ross, *Richard III* (1981), p. 37. Griffiths, 'Herbert earls of Pembroke', *ODNB* (2004) accords him 'limited abilities (or ill health)'. The suggestion of ill health seems to derive from the conclusions of D.H. Thomas, see n. 14, also commented on below.

<sup>19</sup> *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 283, 289. 'On the recovery of the throne by Edward IV', *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols, Rolls Series, London 1859-61, vol. 2, p. 278.

<sup>20</sup> Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 195. Griffiths, *Principality*, pp. 187, 283, 287; interestingly Richard had held these posts during William's minority but Edward then used him elsewhere.

power and lands to produce a force of a suitable size for his rank.<sup>21</sup> Although the development of the council of the prince of Wales indicated the way the king's plans for the area were going, it can be wondered if Herbert foresaw that the king would demand he exchange the earldom of Pembroke for Huntingdon, accomplished on 4 July 1479; he thereby finally lost his father's lordships in Wales and received instead twelve manors in Somerset and one in Dorset.<sup>22</sup> For the possibility of his going on a pilgrimage, see the article by Dr Steer below.

William Herbert's contact with Richard was emphasised when he bore the queen's sceptre at the coronation of 6 July 1483, and accompanied the king on his royal progress through England and to York. He made his will on 21 July 1483 asking to be buried with his wife, Mary, at Tintern Abbey, which suggests she may have died around this date and that he went to the Abbey for the burial. He was apparently chamberlain of Richard's son and would therefore have been an essential participant at the investiture of the new prince of Wales.<sup>23</sup> This office did not necessarily keep him in the north with the prince, however, for he witnessed Richard receiving the great seal at Grantham on 19 October during his preparations against the autumn rebellion.<sup>24</sup> He was loyal and active on the king's behalf against the rebels: he headed the commission for array in Wales of 5 November with Sir James Tyrell,<sup>25</sup> and was on commissions taking over the lands of Buckingham and others in north and south Wales and the Marches, again with Tyrell, and such as Morgan Kidwelly, Richard Croft, Richard Williams (the last two both leading administrators in Wales), Nicholas Southworth and William Mistlebrook. All these duties could, however, have been carried out by his associates.<sup>26</sup> He received offices previously held by the duke of Buckingham in Wales in November 1483, notably the office of chief justice of South Wales, once held by Herbert's father, and later he was made steward of Usk, Caerleon, Trelleck and Ewyas Lacy, Herefordshire, for life.<sup>27</sup> He was a justice of the peace in Dorset, June to December 1483, and for

<sup>21</sup> F.P. Barnard, *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475*, Oxford 1925, p. 19; compare with other earls, p. 2r. C. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV*, 2 vols, London 1923, vol. 2, p. 135-36

<sup>22</sup> *CP*, vol. 10, pp. 402-03 under Pembroke. *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, p. 262. The lordship of Huntingdon was a small one in the marches of Wales, often linked with Brecon and Hay. It had come to the Staffords in 1402 and the others in 1421. During the minority of Henry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Buckingham, 1460-73, Edward IV held these lordships and granted their revenues to his queen in 1465. At the survey of these lands in 1500, the lordship of Huntingdon was considered decayed. T.B. Pugh, ed., *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536. Select Documents*, Cardiff 1963, pp. 239-40 and nn., 251, 273-75 and map 2.

<sup>23</sup> We are grateful to Dr Steer for a helpful discussion on the will and Mary's date of death. The sole source for his holding the office of chamberlain comes from the pardon he secured from Henry VII dated 22 Sept. 1486 which refers to him as chamberlain to Edward late Prince of Wales, *CPR 1485-94*, p. 141; it is on the whole unlikely Edward V would have been so described.

<sup>24</sup> C. Halsted, *Richard III*, 2 vols, London 1844, vol. 2, p. 263.

<sup>25</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 370.

<sup>26</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>27</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 1, pp. 94 (chief justice of South Wales, n.d.), 139 (Usk etc). The latter office was recorded on the same folio as the annuity to him and Katherine.

Somerset, June 1483 to February 1484, and apparently had not held such offices before in the counties of his new, English lands given him by Edward IV in compensation.<sup>28</sup>

On 29 February 1484 William Herbert covenanted with Richard to marry Katherine, the king's daughter, before Michaelmas (29 September) 1484 and make her a jointure from lands worth £200 year — this was a usual provision for a bride, which ensured she had an income after the death of her husband. The king in return promised to settle lands and lordships worth 1000 marks a year on them and their male issue.<sup>29</sup> On 1 March 1484 Richard instructed all the bailiffs and officers of the lordship of Huntingdon and all its Welsh lands that all the revenues should go to the earl and that all the officers and tenants should obey him.<sup>30</sup> On 3 March 1484 Richard made a formal grant to William, Earl of Huntingdon, and 'Dame Katherine Plantagenet' of an annuity of 400 marks to take effect from the previous Michaelmas from the issues of the lordships of Newport, Brecknock and Hay in Wales.<sup>31</sup> Katherine was not called Herbert's wife or countess in these documents. On 8 March 1485 Richard made a grant to William and Katherine, by now time described as William's wife, of an annuity of £152 10s 10d from the issues of the castles and counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan and the king's lordship of Haverfordwest in south Wales until such time as the king should make them a grant of lordships, lands and possessions up to the same value.<sup>32</sup>

At this point the crisis of the death of Richard's prince of Wales intervened on 9 April 1484, scarcely two months before the order for clothes, the order which initiated this study. The prince's death caught his parents at Nottingham and Richard was not to move south again until August that year: from 29 May to 13 June he was at Pontefract, at York 14-19 June, and back to Pontefract by 21 June until 23 June; at York briefly 24-26 June and then at Scarborough from 27 June to 11 July.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the promised lands for the king's daughter were chosen and handed over to William 'and Kateryn his wif' in May 1484 at York when a commission went to the farmers of a long list of manors and lordships confiscated from Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, Thomas Arundel, and Sir William Stonor in

<sup>28</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, pp. 559, 571. *CP*, vol. 10, pp. 402-03 under Pembroke. *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 355.

<sup>29</sup> The full text of the agreement is given in Halsted, *Richard III*, vol. 2, pp. 569-70. Of this 1000 marks, 600 marks 'in possession' and 400 marks after the death of Lord Stanley; until Stanley's death they would receive 400 marks out of the lordships of Newport, Brecknock and Hay, which were now administered by the same auditors and ministers (William Mistelbroke and Richard Lusser) as the queen's lordship of Glamorgan etc, *CP*, vol. 10, pp. 402-03, note 1, and *CPR 1476-85*, p. 474-75.

<sup>30</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, p. 105.

<sup>31</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 431; additionally specified as 'during the life' of Thomas Lord Stanley.

<sup>32</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 538; also *Harl. 433*, vol. 1, p. 269.

<sup>33</sup> R. Edwards, *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483-1485*, London 1983, pp. 17-22.

Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, and the Welsh March.<sup>34</sup> A formal confirmation of Huntingdon's creation as earl of Huntingdon was dated 27 May.<sup>35</sup> This suggests a marriage in May but the 8 June order for clothes, with no reference to the married state of the couple, suggests the contrary. This and the known presence of Richard at Pontefract around these dates, suggest a marriage in late June at Pontefract, or possibly York.<sup>36</sup> A vast congress of northern knights met the king at Pontefract, the great castle of the duchy of Lancaster, on 27 August, another auspicious date for a marriage or an announcement of the same by a king who had recently lost his legitimate heir.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately, little is known of Huntingdon after this and nothing of Katherine. It can be assumed that the new countess went with her husband to his estates, either those in Wales or his manors in Somerset, or to his London house. In the lead-up to Bosworth, Herbert's unfortunate reputation for inactivity has led to his being accused of this at this time as well. He has been placed in Wales in August 1485, but his brother Sir Walter Herbert and the Vaughans of Tretower have been credited with blocking Henry's route to England through south Wales.<sup>38</sup> The Devereux family was also loyal in support of Richard, as they had been of York and Edward IV, and William's uncle, Walter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, was to be killed at Bosworth.<sup>39</sup> It can be taken as certain that King Richard's son-in-law would have supported his relatives

<sup>34</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, p. 137: the manor of Cattepathe, Devon, recently of Edward Courtenay; manors of Allowenshay and Kingstone, Dorset, recently of Thomas Arundel; all the lands in Clyst St Mary, recently of Sir William Stonor; the manors of Sheviock, West Tawtone, Portlooe, Porthpean, Treverbyn Courtenay, Trelugan, Tregamere, Crafhole, Northill, and Landreyne, Cornwall, recently of the earl of Devon; the manor of Corymalet, Somerset; and the fee farm of £10 from the Castel of Caus in the Welsh March. *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p. 141, records a long list of Herbert's lands: South Wales: the lordship of Huntingdon; Somerset: Cory Revell, Abdyke Hundred, Bulston Hundred, Langport, Estover, Langport Westover, Horethorne Hundred, Milbourne Port; Kent: Orwell; Glos: Sussetre; Somerset: Bath; Hereford: Pembridge, £400 5s 2½d. South Wales: Iscoid. North Wales: Kentlethowen worth £30. South Wales and [*sic*] an annuity conceded by the king from the issues of the county of Carmarthen and Cardigan by the hands of the chamberlain there for his life, £256 13s 4d.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 431, and *Harl. 433*, vol. 1, p. 187 (confirmation). Huntingdon headed commissions of array for Hereford (the county of his lordship of Huntingdon) dated 1 May 1484 and 8 December 1484 (his many fellow commissioners could have done the work), *CPR 1476-85*, p. 401, 491.

<sup>36</sup> *CP*, vol. 6, p. 654 (Huntingdon); vol. 10, p. 402-03 (Pembroke), where the marriage is placed between 3 March and 29 September 1484. Edwards, *Itinerary*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>37</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 212-14. *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, p. 263, gives the credit for the defence of Carmarthenshire, which prevented Richmond passing that way, to William's brother, Walter; and a flattering assessment of Walter in comparison to William is repeated by Thomas, *Herberts of Raglan*, p. 98. See also Maurer, 'Later careers', p. 96. Lowe, 'Council', p. 283 n. 1 notes that Sir Walter (d. 1507) was known as Lord Herbert during his elder brother's lifetime, quoting *Excerpta Historica*, ed R. Bentley, London 1831, p. 384, which is the list of those attending Richard III's coronation, see *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 355.

<sup>39</sup> *CP*, vol. 5, p. 324; his widow married Sir Thomas Vaughan.

and his king<sup>40</sup> but he cannot be placed at Bosworth with certainty and his precise location at the time has not been discovered, nor that of his wife.

Assuming William was absent from Bosworth, this undoubtedly helped him to accommodate himself to the new regime, but again the circumstances are obscure: his brief childhood acquaintance with Henry of Richmond is often presented as the reason for favour. His mother, the competent and admired Anne Devereux, was still alive and living in Wales on 25 June 1486,<sup>41</sup> and might have acted as a mediator as she had been the mistress of the household in which Henry had lived as a boy. If Katherine did not come with her husband to Henry's court, it is possible that she accompanied her mother-in-law when Henry VII summoned Anne to attend him after Bosworth.<sup>42</sup> Wherever Katherine was at this point, she was one of several royal children summoned to London and the surveillance of the new king.

William Herbert had to wait for over a year to secure a formal pardon, on 22 September 1486, and his posts in Wales went to Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke.<sup>43</sup> Fourteen months later when he attended Elizabeth of York's coronation on 27 November 1487, it was noted he was a widower by the herald recording the event. Herbert died on 16 July 1490 leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, by his Woodville wife with whom he was buried in Tintern Abbey.<sup>44</sup> It can only be speculated where Katherine was after 22 August 1485 and when exactly she died, but the identification of the church of St James Garlickhithe, London, as her place of burial, provides further clues, see the following article by Dr Christian Steer.

### **Editorial Procedure followed in Appendix 1: The Lawsuit**

The texts have been transcribed and translated in full. Common abbreviations have been expanded and a degree punctuation introduced.

<sup>40</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p. 236 lists him as the leading peer of Herefordshire, followed by Lord Ferrers, positions of duty.

<sup>41</sup> *CP*, vol. 10, p. 401, for Anne Devereux. Thomas, *The Herberts of Raglan*, pp. 96-97 for her character and abilities.

<sup>42</sup> Hampton, *Memorials*, no. 197 (p. 123); he gives no source.

<sup>43</sup> *CPR 1485-94*, p. 141. *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, pp. 264, 556.

<sup>44</sup> J. Leland, *Collectanea*, ed T. Hearne, 6 vols, London 1774, vol. 4, p. 230. Griffiths, 'Herbert earls of Pembroke', *ODNB*, corrects the year of 1491 given by the *CP*. William's will dated 21 July 1483 is given in full (taken from the *Herbertorum Prosapia*) by Thomas, *The Herberts of Raglan*, p. 110: he asked to be buried with his wife and his executor was Sir Walter, his brother. William's daughter, Elizabeth, hardly had the means to fight for her inheritance against her uncle Sir Walter Herbert; this may have encouraged her to marry Sir Charles Somerset, relative of Henry VII, in 1492; the lands were divided 1505 and the earldom of Huntingdon lapsed, *Glamorgan County History*, vol. 3, p. 264; see also Maurer, 'Later careers', p. 96.

## Appendix 1

### The Lawsuit: Text and Translation

Hannes Kleineke and Livia Visser-Fuchs

#### 1498 Michaelmas Term

CP 40/931, rot. 6d [Anglo-American Legal Tradition website image 0775]

London – Petrus Courteys Gentilman alias dictus Petrus Courteys nuper custos Magne Garderobe R[icardi] terciij nuper de facto et non de iure regis Anglie, per Johannem Agmondesham, attornatum suum, opponit se iiiij<sup>o</sup> die versus Thomam Lynam nuper de London Gentilman alias dictum Thomam Lynhom sollicitarium R[icardi] terciij nuper de facto et non de iure regis Anglie, de placito quod reddat ei ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios, quos ei debet et iniuste detinet etc. Et ipse non venit. Et sicut pluries preceptum fuit vicecomitibus quod caperent eum si etc. Et salvo etc. Ita quod haberent corpus eius hic ad hunc diem, scilicet in Octabis sancti Hillarij etc. Et vicecomites modo mandant quod non est inventus etc. Ideo preceptum est vicecomitibus quod exigi faciant eum de Hustengo in Hustengum quousque etc. utlagetur si non etc. Et si etc. tunc eum capiant. Et salvo etc. Ita quod habeant corpus eius hic a die Sancte Trinitatis in xv dies. Et unde etc. Ad quem diem mandant vicecomites quod ad Hustengum London' ad placita terre tentum in London' die Lune proximo ante festum sancti Dounstani archiepiscopi anno regni domini Regis nunc decimo et sic ad quatuor Hustenga proximo precedentes predictus Thomas Lynam similiter exactus fuit et non comparuit.

Et quia ad nullum eorum Hustengorum comparuit, predictus Thomas utlagatus fuit. Postea, scilicet sextodecimo die Octobris anno regni domini Regis nunc quartodecimo predictus Thomas Lynam venit hic in curia et reddidit se. Et comittitur prisone domini Regis de Flete. Et super hoc idem Thomas profert hic in curia litteras dicti domini Regis nunc patentes quarum datum est apud Westmonasterium sextodecimo die Octobris anno regni domini Regis nunc quartodecimo testificantes quod idem dominus Rex pardonavit ei sectam pacis sue que ad ipsum dominum Regem pertinet pro utlagaria <predicta>. Ita tamen quod stet recto in curia Regis hic etc. Et predictus Petrus Courteys summonitur quod sit hic in crastino animarum ad sequendum si etc. Et super hoc Johannes Snede, Robertus Delaward, Robertus White et Ricardus Garret omnes de London Gentilmen manucapiant prefatum Thomam Lynam habendum corpus eius hic ad prefatum terminum videlicet quilibet eorum corpus pro corpore etc.

#### Translation

London – Peter Courteys, gentleman, otherwise called Peter Courteys, late keeper of the Great Wardrobe of Richard III late in deed and not of right king of England, by John Agmondesham, his attorney, opposes himself on the fourth day to Thomas Lynam, late of London, gentleman, otherwise called Thomas Lynhom, solicitor of Richard III late in deed and not of right king of

England, in a plea that he render to him £204 8s. 7d., which he owes to him and unjustly withholds etc. And he does not come. And as on several occasions the sheriffs were ordered to capture him if etc. And safely etc. So that they might have his body here on this day, that is to say at the octaves of Hilary,<sup>45</sup> etc. And the sheriffs now return that he was not found etc. Therefore the sheriffs are commanded to cause him to be placed under exigent from Husting to Husting until etc. he be outlawed, unless etc. And if etc. then they capture him. And safely etc. So that they have his body here at the quindene of Trinity,<sup>46</sup> And therefore etc. On which day the sheriffs return that at the Husting of London of pleas of land held in London on Monday next before the feast of St Dunstan the Archbishop 10 Henry VII<sup>47</sup> and so at the four Hustings next before, the aforesaid Thomas Lynam was similarly placed under exigent and did not appear. And because he did not appear at any of these Hustings, the aforesaid Thomas was outlawed. Afterwards, that is to say on 16 October 14 Henry VII,<sup>48</sup> the aforesaid Thomas Lynam came here in the court and surrendered himself. And he was committed to the king's prison of the Fleet. And over this the same Thomas produces here in court the said lord king's letters patent dated at Westminster on 16 October in the fourteenth year of the said king that now is, attesting that same lord king has pardoned him his suit of the peace which pertains to the lord king for the aforesaid outlawry. So, however, that he should stand to right in the king's court here etc. And the aforesaid Petrus Courteys is to be summoned so that he be here on the morrow of All Souls<sup>49</sup> to sue, if etc. And over this John Snede, Robert Delaward, Robert White and Richard Garret, all gentlemen of London, mainpern for the aforesaid Thomas Lynam, to have his body here at the aforesaid term, that is to say each of them body for body etc.

### **1500, Easter Term**

CP 40/952, rots. 381-381d. [Anglo-American Legal Tradition website images 803-04 and 732-33].

[rot. 381; images 803-04] Thomas Lynam nuper de London, gentilman, alias dictus Thomas Lynhom, sollicitarius R[icardi] tercii nuper de facto et non de iure regis Anglie, summonitus fuit ad respondendum Petro Curteys, gentilman, alias dicto Petro Courteys, nuper custodi magne gardrobe R[icardi] tercii nuper de facto et non de iure regis Anglie, de placito quod reddat ei ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios, quos ei debet et iniuste detinet etc., et unde idem Petrus per Johannem Agmondesham, attornatum suum, dicit quod cum predictus Thomas ac quidam Robertus Brakynbury, armiger pro corpore predicti nuper ut premittitur regis, et Henricus Davy, civis et taillour'

<sup>45</sup> 20 Jan. 1495.

<sup>46</sup> 29 June 1495.

<sup>47</sup> 18 May 1495.

<sup>48</sup> 16 Oct. 1498.

<sup>49</sup> 3 Nov. 1498.

London', iam defunctus, quartodecimo die Junii anno regni ipsius nuper, ut premittitur, regis primo [14 June 1484], apud London', in parochia Sancti Sepulcri in warda de Faryngdon extra, per quamdam indenturam suam factam ibidem eodem quartodecimo die Junii, et cuius alteram partem sigillo predicti Thome ac sigillis predictorum Roberti et Henrici signatam idem Petrus hic in curia profert, cuius data est die et anno supradictis, concessissent et per eandem indenturam obligassent se et eorum quemlibet heredes et executores suos ad solvendum eidem Petro predictos ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios ante festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste tunc proximo sequentem seu ad deliberandum eidem Petro talem huiusmodi securam et sufficientem assignacionem prout legale esset pro contentacione summe predicte predictarum ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum, in qua quidem summa idem Petrus obligatus fuisset diversis creditoribus pro provisione diversarum stuffurarum, videlicet panni de auro, velwet, satyn, damaske et aliarum stuffurarum pro apparatu tunc domini de Warwyk, domine sororis sue, domine Katerine, domini de Huntyngdon ac aliarum dominarum et generosarum predicti nuper regis, prout per quamdam billam cum manu ipsius nuper regis propria tunc assignatam plenius tunc apparuisset. Et idem Petrus dicit quod predictus nuper rex ante confeccionem predicte indenture, videlicet octavo die Junii proximo ante confeccionem indenture illius [8 June 1484] apud London', in parochia et warda predictis, manu sua propria assignavit quamdam billam, per quam idem nuper rex mandavit eidem Petro emere tantum pannum aureum, velwet, satyn, damaske et alias stuffuras pro apparatu predictorum nuper domini de Warwyk, domine sororis eiusdem domini de Warwyk, domine Katerine et domini de Huntyngdon et aliarum dominarum et generosarum ad summam predictorum ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum. Per quod idem Petrus decimo die Junii proximo ante confeccionem eiusdem indenture [10 June 1484], apud London', in parochia et warda predictis, emit de Ricardo Rauson et Johanne Fysssher unam peciam de panno aureo vocato 'crymsyn cloth of gold', unam aliam peciam de panno aureo vocato 'blewecloth of gold', unam <aliam> peciam de panno aureo vocato 'tauneycloth of gold', unam peciam de 'crymsyn velwet', unam peciam de 'blodio velwet', unam peciam de 'crymsyn saten', unam peciam de nigro saten, unam peciam de nigro damaske pro predictis ducentis et quatuor libris, octo solidis et septem denariis, pro apparatu dictorum domini de Warwyk, domine sororis sue, domine Katerine et domini de Huntyngdon et aliarum dominarum et generosarum ipsius nuper, ut premittitur, regis, secundum formam et effectum eiusdem bille predicti nuper regis, quequidem ducente et quatuor libre, octo solidi et septem denarij pro premissis per prefatum Petrum prefato Ricardo Rauson et Johanni Fysssher nuper debiti sunt eidem ducente et quatuor libre, octo solidi et septem denarij specificati in dicta indentura, in quibus idem Petrus diversis creditoribus obligatus fuisset. Et postea predicti Robertus Brakynbury et Henricus obierunt, et predictus Thomas Lynam ipsos supervixit, predictique Robertus Brakynbury,

Henricus Davy et Thomas Lynam in vita ipsorum Roberti et Henrici, seu predictus Thomas Lynam post mortem ipsorum Roberti et Henrici, hucusque non solverunt seu solvit eidem Petro predictos ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios iam petitos, neque hucusque deliberaverunt seu deliberavit eidem Petro aliquam securam seu sufficientem assignacionem pro contentacione predictae summe ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum secundum formam et effectum indenture predictae. Per quod accio accrevit eidem Petro ad habendum et exigendum de prefato Thoma Lynam eosdem ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios iam petitos. Idem tamen Thomas, licet sepius requisitus, ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios illos eidem Petro nondum reddidit, set illos ei hucusque reddere contradixit et adhuc contradicit, unde dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam ducentarum marcarum. Et inde producit sectam etc. Et predictus Thomas Lynam per Johannem Jenour, attornatum suum, venit et defendit vim et iniuriam quando etc. Et dicit quod predictus Petrus accionem suam predictam versus eum habere non debet, quia dicit quod predictus nuper rex ante confeccionem indenture predictae per quoddam warantum suum factum apud London' in parochia Sancti Andree in warda de Castell Baynard, mandavit prefato Petro ad emendum tales stuffuras ut in narratione predicta superius specificantur et quod idem Petrus se obligaret huiusmodi personis de quibus eodem stuffure emerentur ad eundem valorem ut inter eos concordare possent. Et protestando quod idem Petrus ante confeccionem indenture predictae, scilicet tricesimo die Marcij anno regni predicti nuper regis primo [30 March 1484] emit predictas stuffuras de quodam Gabriele de Furnarijs pro ducentis et quatuor libris, octo solidis et septem denarijs, et obligavit se [rot. 381d, images 732-33] ad solvendum eidem Gabrieli eosdem ducentas et quatuor libras, octo solidos et septem denarios, et non de prefatis Ricardo Rauson et Johanne Fyssher in narratione predicta specificatis, dicit quod predicti Thomas et Robertus post confeccionem indenture illius, scilicet decimo octavo die Junii anno regni predicti nuper regis primo supradicto [18 June 1484], apud London, in predicta parochia Sancti Andree in warda de Castell Baynard supradicta, liberarunt prefato Petro securam, sufficientem et legalem assignacionem pro solutione predictarum ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum in narratione et indentura predictis specificatorum, inter alia per nomina ducentarum et septuaginta librarum solvendarum de denarijs provenientius de liberatione et incremento victualium de tercia parte vadium, feodorum et regardorum locum tenentis et seldagiorum Cales et marchie ibidem,<sup>50</sup> unde predictae ducente et

<sup>50</sup> David Grummitt (e-mail of 18/02/2013) wrote: 'On 18 June Lynom secured payment of £204 8s 7d due to Courteys by an assignment of the third part of the Calais garrison's wages due for their victuals. The garrison received only  $\frac{2}{3}$  of their wages in cash, the other third was deducted by the treasurer, i.e. the merchants of the Staple at this point, to pay for their victuals. This was a lucrative source of 'spare' cash in effect (and the money that Daubeney was accused of embezzling at the end of the next reign). It was an unusual arrangement'.

quatuor libre, octo solidi et septem denarij fuerunt parcella. Quam quidem assignacionem predictus Petrus de ipsis Thoma et Roberto adtunc ibidem recepit. Et hoc paratus est verificare unde petit iudicium si predictus Petrus accionem suam predictam versus eum habere debeat etc. Et predictus Petrus dicit quod ipse per aliqua preallegata ab accione sua predicta habenda precludi non debet, quia dicit quod predicti Thomas et Robertus deliberaverunt eidem Petro predictam assignacionem pro solucione ducentarum et septuaginta librarum pro duabus pecijs de ‘cloth of gold’ et quinque pecijs de ‘back (sic) velwet’ [image 733] et quinque pecijs de ‘crymsyn velwet’ expenditis circa coronacionem predicti nuper regis factam, absque hoc quod ijdem Thomas et Robertus deliberaverunt eidem Petro assignacionem illam pro solucione predictarum ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum in indentura et narratione predictis specificatorum, prout predictus Thomas superius allegavit. Et hoc paratus est verificare unde petit iudicium et debitum suum predictum una cum dampnis suis occasione detencionis debiti illius sibi adiudicari etc. Et predictus Thomas, ut prius, dicit quod ipse ac predictus Robertus deliberaverunt prefato Petro assignacionem predictam pro solucione predictorum ducentarum et quatuor librarum, octo solidorum et septem denariorum in indentura et narratione predictis specificatis, prout idem Thomas superius allegavit. Et de hoc ponit se super patriam. Et predictus Petrus similiter. Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti quod venire faciat hic in crastino Ascensionis Dei xij etc. Per quos etc. Et qui nec etc. Ad recognoscendum etc. Quia tam etc. [*change of hand*] Ad quem diem hic venerunt partes etc. Et vicecomites non miserunt breve. Ideo sicut prius preceptum est vicecomitibus quod venire faciant hic in crastino Sancti Johannis Baptiste xij etc. Ad recognoscendum in forma predicta etc. Postea continuato processu inter partes predictas de predicto placito per juratas positas inde inter eas in respectum hic usque ad hunc diem, scilicet a die Pasche in tres septimanas tunc proximo sequentes. Nisi Thomas Wode, capitalis justiciarius domini regis de banco assignatus per formam statuti etc die jovis proximo ante festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi proximo preteritum apud ecclesiam Sancti Martini Magni London’ prius venisset. Et modo hic ad hunc diem venit tam predictus Petrus quam predictus Thomas per attornatos suos predictos. Et prefatus justiciarius, coram quo etc., misit hic recordum suum in hec verba: Postea, die et loco infracontentis, coram Thoma Wode, capitali justiciario domini regis de banco infranominato, associato sibi Petro Hunsdon per formam statuti etc. venit tam infranominatus Petrus Curteys quam infranominatus Thomas Lynam per attornatos suos infracontentos. Et juratores jurate unde infra fit mencio similiter exacti quidam eorum veniunt et quidam eorum non veniunt, prout patet in pannelo huic recordo consueto. Ideo iurata predicta ulterius ponitur in respectum hic usque in crastino Ascensionis Domini pro defectu iuratorum etc. Ideo vicecomites habeant corpora etc. Et apponunt decem tales etc. Ad quem diem jurata inter partes predictas de predicto placito posita fuit inde inter eas in respectum hic usque ad hunc diem scilicet in octabis Sancti Johannis Baptiste

tunc proximo sequentibus. Nisi Thomas Wode, capitalis justiciarius de banco regis assignatus per formam statuti etc. die Lune proximo post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo preteritum apud ecclesiam Sancti Martini Magni London' prius venisset. Et modo hic ad hunc diem venit predictus Thomas Lynam per attornatum suum predictum. Et prefatus justiciarius coram quo etc. misit hic recordum suum in hec verba: Postea die et loco infracontentis coram Thoma Wode, capitali justiciario domini regis de banco infraspacificato, associato sibi Petro Hunsdon per formam statuti etc. venit tam infranominatus Petrus Curteys quam infranominatus Thomas Lynam per attornatos suos infracontentos Et juratores jurate unde infra fit mencio exacti similiter venerunt qui ad veritatem de infracontentis dicendum electi, triati et iurati fuerunt et a barra ad communicandum de veredicto suo inde dicendum recesserunt ac postquam ijdem juratores inde inter se concordati fuerunt et ad veredictum illud reddendum ad barram predictam revererunt predictus Petrus Curteys solempniter exactus non venit, nec est prosecutus breve suum infraspacificatum. Ideo consideratum est quod predictus Petrus nichil capiat per breve suum predictum, set sit in misericordia pro falso clamio suo. Et predictus Thomas Lynam eat inde sine die etc.

### **Translation**

1500, Easter Term

Thomas Lynam, late of London, gentleman, also called Thomas Lynhom, solicitor to Richard III, late in deed and not by right king of England, was summoned to answer Peter Curteys, gentleman, otherwise called Peter Courteys, late keeper of the great wardrobe of Richard III, in a plea that he render to him £204 8s. 7d., which he owes to him and unjustly withholds etc., and concerning this the same Peter, through John Agmondisham, his attorney, says that Lynam and one Robert Brackenbury, esquire for the body of the said late, as abovesaid, king, and Henry Davy, citizen and tailor of London, already deceased, on 14 June 1484, in London, in the parish of St. Sepulchre in the ward of Farringdon Without, by their indenture, made on the same 14 June (one part of which, sealed with the seal of the said Thomas and the seals of the aforesaid Robert and Henry, and dated on the abovesaid day and year, the same Peter produces here in court), granted, and by the same indenture bound themselves, and each of them and their heirs and executors, to pay to Curteys £204 8s. 7d. before the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist the next following [24 June 1484], or to deliver to Peter such secure and sufficient assignment as should be lawful for the satisfaction of the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d., in which sum Peter was bound to various creditors for the provision of various materials, that is to say cloth of gold, velvet, satin, damask, and other materials for the apparel of the then lord of Warwick, the lady his sister, the lady Katherine, the lord of Huntingdon and other ladies and gentlewomen of the late king, as appears by a certain bill then assigned by the own hand of the late king. And Curteys says that the late king, *before* the making of the aforesaid indenture, that is to say on 8 June next before

the making of that indenture [8 June 1484], in London in the abovementioned parish and ward, with his own hand assigned a certain bill by which he ordered Curteys to buy so much cloth of gold, velvet, satin, damask and other materials for the apparel of the then lord of Warwick, the lady his sister, the lady Katherine, the lord of Huntingdon and other ladies and gentlewomen as amounts to the aforesaid sum of £204 8s. 7d.

By virtue whereof Curteys on 10 June next *before* the making of the same indenture, in London, in the abovementioned parish and ward, bought from Richard Rawson and John Fisher:

- a piece of cloth of gold called 'crymsyn cloth of gold'
- another piece of cloth of gold called 'blewecloth of gold'
- another piece of cloth of gold called 'tanueycloth of gold'
- a piece of 'crymsyn velvet'
- a piece of 'blodio velvet'
- a piece of 'crymsyn saten'
- a piece of black satin
- a piece of black damask,

for the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d. for the apparel of the said lord of Warwick, the lady his sister, the lady Katherine, the lord of Huntingdon and other ladies and gentlewomen of the late king according to the form and effect of the said bill of the late king. Which £204 8s. 7d., late owing by Peter to Richard Rauson and John Fyssher, are the same £204 8s. 7d. specified in the said indenture, in which Curteys was supposed to be bound to various creditors.

And afterwards the said Robert Brakynbury and Henry Davy died and Thomas Lynam survived them, and the aforesaid Robert Brakynbury and Henry Davy and Thomas Lynam in the lifetime of the same Robert and Henry, or the aforesaid Thomas Lynam, after the death of Robert and Henry have hitherto paid to Peter the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d. now sought, nor have hitherto delivered to the same Peter any secure or sufficient assignment for the satisfaction of the aforesaid sum of £204 8s. 7d., according to the form and effect of the aforesaid indenture. Therefore an action grew to the same Peter to have and extract from Thomas Lynam the same £204 8s. 7d. Thomas Lynam, however, though frequently asked, has not yet rendered those £204 8s. 7d. to the same Peter and hitherto has refused to do so, and still refuses, whereby, he says, he has been injured and has damages to the value of 200 marks. And thereon he brings his suit etc.

And Thomas Lynam came by John Jenour, his his attorney, and denied force and injury when etc. And he says that Peter should not have his action against him because he says that the late king, *before* the making of the aforesaid indenture, by a warrant of his made in London, in the parish of St Andrew, in the ward of Baynard's Castle, ordered Curteys to buy such materials as are specified in the aforesaid narrative, and that and the said Peter might bind himself to such persons from whom the same materials should be bought to the same value as might be agreed between them. And protesting that the same

Peter *before* the making of the aforesaid indenture, that is to say on 30 March in the first year of the aforesaid late king [1484] bought the aforesaid materials from a certain Gabriel de Furnariis for £204 8s. 7d., and bound himself to pay to the same Gabriel the same £204 8s. 7d., and not from the aforesaid Richard Rauson and John Fysshers specified in the aforesaid narrative, says that the aforesaid Thomas and Robert *after* the making of that indenture, that is to say on 18 June in the first year of the reign of the aforesaid late king [1484], in London, in the aforesaid parish of St Andrew in the abovesaid ward of Castle Baynard, delivered to the aforesaid Peter secure, sufficient and lawful assignment for the payment of the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d. specified in the aforesaid narrative and indenture among other things, by name of £270 payable from the money coming from the livery and increment of the victuals of the third part of the wages, fees and rewards of the lieutenant and soldiers of Calais and the march there, of which the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d. were a part. Which assignment the aforesaid Peter received then and there from the same Thomas and Robert. And this he is ready to prove, wherefore he asks judgment whether the aforesaid Peter should have his aforesaid action against him etc.

And the aforesaid Peter says that he ought not to be precluded from having his aforesaid action by anything said before, because he says that the aforesaid Thomas and Robert delivered to the same Peter the aforesaid assignment for the payment of £270 for 2 pieces of cloth of gold, and 5 pieces of black velvet and 5 pieces of crimson velvet used for the coronation of the late king, without that the same Thomas and Robert delivered to the same Peter that assignment for the payment of the aforesaid £204 8s. 7d. specified in the indenture and narrative aforesaid, as the aforesaid Thomas has alleged above. And this he is ready to prove, wherefore he asks judgment and to be adjudged his aforesaid debt together with his damages on the occasion of the detention of that debt etc. And the aforesaid Thomas, as before, says that he and the aforesaid Robert delivered to the aforesaid Peter the aforesaid assignment for the payment of the aforesaid £204 8s 7d specified in the aforesaid indenture and narrative, as the same Thomas has alleged above. And over this he puts himself upon the country. And the aforesaid Peter likewise. Therefore the sheriff is ordered to cause to come here on the morrow of Ascension Day [29 May 1500] 12 etc. by whom etc. And who neither etc. To recognize etc.

[On that day the sheriff does not return the writ, and is ordered to have a jury in court on the morrow of St John Baptist [25 June 1500]. The jury was then put in respite until 3 weeks from Easter then next [3 May 1501], and the matter committed (by writ of nisi prius) to judgment by Thomas Wode, CJCP, sitting as an assize justice, on Thursday bef SS Philip and James [29 Apr. 1501] at St Martin le Grand.

On the next trial date [3 May 1501] Wode sends a record, stating that on the said day, before him and his associate, Peter Hunsdon, the parties appeared by attorney, but some of the empaneled jurors did not come, so the jury was further respited until the morrow of Ascension day [21 May 1501]. On which

day the jury was further respited until the octaves of St John Baptist then next [1 July 1501], and a fresh trial date before the assize justices set on Monday after the nativity of St John Baptist [28 June 1501] at St Martin le Grand.

On 21 May [1501] finally Lynam comes by attorney and Wode sends a record that the parties appeared before him and Hunsdon by attorney. And the jurors similarly came and, having been sworn, withdrew from the bar and when they had agreed their verdict and returned to the bar to render it, the said Peter was solemnly called, but did not come, nor prosecuted his writ. Therefore it is decided that he gains nothing but is amerced for his false claim. And Lynam goes *sine die*. ]

## **Appendix 2A**

### **The Parties to the Case**

Anne F. Sutton

#### **The Plaintiff, Peter Courteys**

Peter Courteys<sup>51</sup> came from Kirby, Leicestershire, and probably entered royal service via the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster. He had a long career in Leicester and served as bailiff of Leicester almost continuously from 1461, and was regularly MP for the town 1478, 1483, 1484, 1489, 1481 and 1495; he was mayor 1482-83. He was a groom of the robes by 1464. In 1471 he took the news of Edward's restoration to Charles Duke of Burgundy. 1472 he was keeper of the king's beds and cloths at Westminster and by 1474 a yeoman of the king's wardrobe with custody of the king's privy palace there. He also went on the 1475 French expedition. From 1478 he was acting keeper of the Great Wardrobe and active on many matters of financial importance about the king including the purchase of jewels for Edward abroad. He was formally appointed keeper of the Great Wardrobe from October 1481. He retained this post under Richard but lost his Westminster posts to Robert Appulby from Michaelmas 1483. He lost certain Leicestershire offices in May 1485 and seems to have been in sanctuary by June. He regained the custody of the privy palace at Westminster in September 1486 from Henry VII but not the Great Wardrobe until May 1487. Little of his personal life is known but he married Annes Skerne, a widow of Kingston upon Thames, on 29 January 1487 and their witnesses included men and women connected to the Great Wardrobe and its parish. His successor took over at the Great Wardrobe on 14 December 1493 – the case against Lynom was therefore started almost two years after his retirement. He died early in 1505, his choice of burial places being the Blackfriars adjacent to the Great Wardrobe, the church of Our Lady Newark,

<sup>51</sup> Also Piers Curteys.

Leicester, or the church of Kingston upon Thames. His executors included Sir Everard Fielding and Symond Digby of Leicestershire.<sup>52</sup>

It is surprising that Courteys brought the case against Lynom after he had ceased to be keeper of the Great Wardrobe and six years after the accounting year for the debts in question. The problems of assignment for royal officials meant that if the money allotted to them did not materialise they could end up in debt on their accounts for which they were held responsible, and in this case an assignment made during Richard III's reign did not guarantee payment under Henry VII, and in 1495 the keepership was in the hands of Robert Lytton of the Exchequer, who may well have been checking over his predecessor's accounts.<sup>53</sup> Another possibility is that Courteys had mislaid and re-found the indented bond and that he brought the case out of malice, but again the pursuit by an official is more likely. It can be noted that Courteys' particular accounts from 3 February 1484 onwards would have been deposited with the Exchequer and available for consultation.

### **The Defendant, Thomas Lynom**

Thomas Lynom's<sup>54</sup> greatest fame derives from his marriage to Edward IV's best known mistress, Elizabeth Shore. She was the subject of several literary works after about 1600 including a play by Thomas Heywood who had to give 'Mistress Shore' a Christian name and selected Jane (her husband was also misnamed Matthew). Since 1972 her correct name, her parentage and her second marriage have become generally known.<sup>55</sup> A mystery still surrounds the final phases of Lynom's life, however, and that of his famous wife, and this court case, as suggested above, provides an excuse to review all references to them and their relatives, and to attempt to extend them.

Thomas Lynom entered the legal profession via the Inner Temple, and can be found practising as a lawyer in 1467. In 1480 and 1482 he was employed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on his business in the chancery and exchequer, and he acted as a secretary for the duke in 1481. From 26 June 1483 he held the post of king's solicitor (solicitor general) for which he received £10 a year with

<sup>52</sup> Also Piers Curteys. For an extensive biography, *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 327-28; his accounts as keeper of the Great Wardrobe for the coronation, pp. 47-189; his successor, pp. 57-59. His accounts of 1480, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth*, ed N.H. Nicolas, London 1830, pp. 115-170, 237-65. The main source for his Leicester career is *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, ed M. Bateson, vol. 2, 1327-1509, London 1901.

<sup>53</sup> *The History of the King's Works*, gen. ed. H.M. Colvin, 6 vols, London 1963-82, vol. 1, pp. 197-99.

<sup>54</sup> Lynom is the spelling he used himself, see n. 75 below. Also Lyneham, Laynham.

<sup>55</sup> N. Barker, 'The story of Jane Shore. Part I. The real Jane Shore', *Etoniana*, no. 125 (June 1972), pp.383-91; R. Birley, 'Part II. Jane Shore in literature', *ibid.*, pp. 391-97. R. Birley, 'Jane Shore in literature (continued)', *Etoniana*, no. 126 (Dec. 1972), pp. 399-407, and 'Jane Shore and Eton', *ibid.*, pp. 408-10, and N. Barker, 'Postscript to Part I', *ibid.*, pp. 410-414. A.F. Sutton, 'William Shore, merchant of London and Derby', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 106 (1986), pp. 127-39.

a further annuity of £20 at the king's pleasure; he also performed such tasks as escheator for the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex.<sup>56</sup>

Elizabeth Shore was arrested in June 1483 and imprisoned in Ludgate. The date of her release to the care of her father, John Lambert, a past alderman of London, is not known. The marriage was permitted by Richard III in a letter expressing surprise at Lynom's wish to marry her, if the church allowed it and Lynom could not be persuaded otherwise by the chancellor.<sup>57</sup> The marriage associated Lynom with Hinxworth, Hertfordshire, where Elizabeth's father, John Lambert, had bought the manor of Pulters and now lived retired.<sup>58</sup> This connection may have encouraged Lynom's appointment as escheator of Hertfordshire.

In September 1483 it is certain that Lynom was active on the king's business in Calais and reported back to the king before the eleventh of that month about the finances of the merchants of the Staple and the deployment of the moneys from the wool customs that were spent on the town, its protection and the payment of the soldiers of the garrison and the crew of sailors. Richard wrote to the Staple's officers that he was very pleased with their activities and that if the money available fell short he would assign other moneys to assist them and be their 'verray good & gracious lord in anything that may concerne the universalle wele of oure Stapille there'. This activity of Lynom and personal involvement in Calais' finances suggests that he would have known better than Peter Curteys the precise and complicated way the king's expenses were managed and paid for.<sup>59</sup> It also explains his ready reference to assignments of Calais sources of revenue when fighting Curteys' allegations.

Lynom was also busy on a commission of inquiry for Richard dealing with rebels in Essex and Hertfordshire in December 1483, and commissions of array for Essex in May 1484 and Bedfordshire in December 1484.<sup>60</sup> He was on a

<sup>56</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 1, pp. 79, 80, 225 (appointment as king's solicitor). Sir John Baker, *The Men of Court 1440 to 1550*, Selden Society 2012, vol. 2, 1045 (Lynham), identifies his Inn. Barker posited two possible careers for Lynom after 1487 (*Etoniana*, pp. 388-90); Baker opts for the early part of the more legal career and has him dying by 1518. This has been largely followed by the present author. The escheatorship of Essex in 1484 involved Lynom in William Brandon's forfeiture of the inheritance he had illegally taken from his brother-in-law, Sir John 'Henyngham' *recte* Hevyngham, and this would certainly not have helped Lynom when the Brandons were back in favour after Bosworth, *CPR 1476-85*, p. 524.

<sup>57</sup> Letter in full, Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 388, and *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p. 259. For the evidence concerning the dubious story of her public punishment, *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 23-24 n. 86. The Shore marriage had been annulled on the grounds of Shore's impotence.

<sup>58</sup> Pulters, Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 414, citing H. Chauncy, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 2 vols, Bishop's Stortford 1826, vol. 1, pp. 64-65; the property remained in the Lambert family until after 1600. Victoria County History (VCH), *County of Hertford*, vol. 3, ed W. Page, London 1912, pp. 232-40, the section on Hinxworth adds little to Chauncy on Pulters, and does not use Lambert's will. For Lambert's obstreperous career (dismissal from the court of alderman and purloining house-fittings which belonged to the Goldsmiths' Company), Sutton, 'William Shore', pp. 129-30. Further details of the family, Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 390, n. 42.

<sup>59</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, p. 15.

<sup>60</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, pp. 393, 400, 488. For other references see Barker.

commission headed by Sir William Sandes to seize the lands and goods of Sir William Berkeley, Walter Hungerford, William Ovedale, Roger Kelsale, and all offending gentry and household servants in the counties of Wiltshire and Hampshire.<sup>61</sup>

One of his other tasks for Richard was delivering letters around Middlesex raising loans and gifts, either in December 1484 or February 1485, when expenses over defence were proving heavy; there seem to have been twenty letters for John Fitzherbert and Lynom to deliver in London and Middlesex but this batch is not dated. Middlesex was obviously considered to be another county where Lynom might be important, but his name was deleted. On 26 June 1485 a commission was headed by Lord Lovell with William Catesby, Morgan Kidwelly, Thomas Lynom, Robert Carre, John Hoton, John Rogers, and the mayor of Southampton, to take muster of a thousand archers for the support of the duke of Brittany at a convenient place near Southampton from where they would presumably set sail.<sup>62</sup> Catesby, at least, was at Bosworth, but was Lynom?

Meanwhile Lynom had been rewarded by Richard III with property. On 12 March 1483 he received the manor of Colmworth, Bedfordshire (worth over £34 a year), for him and his male heirs. He had already taken possession of this manor as a forfeited possession of the rebel, Sir Roger Tocotes, under an order of 29 January 1484 'trusting in your trouthe deligence and discrecion' which went on to say the revenues of the place were 'to bee by you converted & employed like as we have commaunded you' and that Lynom should proceed in the whole matter 'as youre wisdome shalle seme moost expedient'. By the date of the grant in March Richard may well have known Lynom's new wife was with child.<sup>63</sup> The grant proved to have been made in too much haste (scarcely over a month after seizure), for in fact the manor was the property of the elderly Elizabeth Braybrooke, Lady St Amand, whose second husband was Sir Roger Tocotes. Elizabeth's son and heir, Richard Beauchamp, was attainted along with Tocotes, but he was soon pardoned and had already received a grant of some of his stepfather's property on 8 March 1484; Tocotes himself was not pardoned his life until January 1485, by which time he may have been with the earl of Richmond. It seems therefore that the grant to Lynom and his heirs was of short duration and probably ended in Richard's reign as the complexities of ownership unravelled, and long before any attainders were reversed in Henry's reign.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> N.d. *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, p. 32.

<sup>62</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, pp. 128, 236. *CPR 1476-85*, p. 547.

<sup>63</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 418. *Harl. 433*, vol. 1, pp. 160-61, vol. 2, p. 82 (quotations), vol. 3, p. 141.

<sup>64</sup> *CPR 1476-85*, p. 416 (grant to Beauchamp), 507 (pardon). *Complete Peerage*, vol. 11, pp. 301-03, under Saint Amand. VCH, *County of Bedford*, vol. 3, pp. 186-89: Elizabeth died in 1491 and her son gained Colmworth manor when Tocotes died seized of it in 1492 (on evidence of *ipm*). J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament. Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509*, London 1936, pp. 858-59 (Tocotes).

Another grant from Richard was a messuage called Cathwayte after an earlier owner or tenant in Sutton-on-Derwent, about seven miles south of York and in the East Riding, a location which suggests the grant came from Richard when he was duke. Lynom's responsibility as receiver of Cottingham, also in the East Riding, may similarly date from before Richard became king.<sup>65</sup> The manor of Sutton-on-Derwent was a Neville one from 1394 and part of the property that passed to Richard on the division of the Neville estates; he retained the manor as king. After Bosworth Lynom lost the property, but on 12 August 1516 Lynom, described as a commissioner in the Marches of Wales, received a new grant of the same messuage, lately held by a John Alcom. On 6 July 1518 the property went to a Richard Pole, yeoman usher of the king's chamber – a clear indication that Lynom was now dead.<sup>66</sup>

After Bosworth Lynom's close service to Richard III ensured that he lost the post of king's solicitor. He took the standard precaution of buying a pardon dated 26 September 1485 as 'late of London gentleman'. In 1488 he was accused in a plea of trespass with others, notably Sir John Norbury, once Richard III's vice-marshal.<sup>67</sup> His legal training meant he continued to be a useful associate but little is known of any activities which earned him money. He witnessed the will of his father-in-law, John Lambert, on 24 September 1487, in which Lambert described himself as a mercer of the parish of St Olave Silver Street in the east part of the city – he asked however to be buried in the choir of his country church of St Nicholas Hinxworth, and left a vestment of baldekin (the richest cloth of gold) to its high altar. To Lynom he left 20s, and to Elizabeth a bed of arras with celer, tester and curtains, and a stained cloth of Saints Mary Magdalen and Martha – was there a moral message in this gift? His will makes known the fact that Elizabeth and Thomas Lynom had a daughter, Julyane, who could have been born as early as 1484, to whom he left 40s. Both Elizabeth and Julyane are represented on the brass of her father, John Lambert and his wife Amy, at Hinxworth. Lynom's servant, Isabella Thomson, was left a violet gown, which argues a certain intimacy between the households. Lynom shared the overseership of the will with William Lambert, parson of St Leonard's Foster Lane in the city, and John's widow, Amy, was executrix. She was left a house in St Laurence Old Jewry for her widowhood which she could dispose of as she wished, and a life interest in Lambert's Hertfordshire property and its contents; his son, John, was to be the heir, with remainders to his other

<sup>65</sup> *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, pp. 148-50; several warrants directed to him July 1484 when the king's household was at Pontefract and York.

<sup>66</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. 2, pt 1, no. 2267, pt 2, no. 4349. VCH, *County of York East Riding*, vol. 3, ed. K.R. Allison *et al.*, London 1976, pp. 173-79, esp. p. 175 and n. 83. The fate of the property can be traced through the 16<sup>th</sup> c. until it came to the Eglesfields from the earl of Northumberland in 1553. This property was accorded to the other Thomas Lynom (see n.56) by Barker (*Etoniana*, p. 390) but it seems possible it was a perk of the solicitor.

<sup>67</sup> Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 390. *CPR 1485-94*, p. 12 (pardon), 185-86 (trespass case of May 1488: others accused with Lynom were Edmund Daniel and Edward Neville, gents, all late of London; their prosecutor was Sir Richard Cotton).

sons, and if they died with no heirs, Elizabeth and her heirs 'lawfully begoten' were to inherit. The passage of Pulters to Elizabeth's brothers and their heirs, made the manor a firm reference point in her life and that of Thomas Lynom. The bequests from Lambert to Lynom also reveal an affectionate family unit where Lynom and his wife were respected.<sup>68</sup>

Amy Lambert made her will in the parish of St Olave Silver Street on 24 December 1488 and asked the parish priest to pray for the souls of her husband and herself; she was to be buried where 'convenient' – she shared the brass of her husband at Hinxworth. The house in St Laurence Jewry was to be sold to pay her debts and those of her husband. The rest of her goods she left to her sons and daughter equally, and she made her sons and Lynom her executors.<sup>69</sup>

It is unfortunate that from after Bosworth there seem to have been two Thomas Lynoms in the record. The one appointed receiver of the lordship of Middleham and ordered to take oaths of allegiance to Henry VII in that area, has been rejected by earlier researchers into the solicitor's life and has been rejected here, as these appointments predated the essential pardon required by Richard's solicitor and as it seems unlikely that a close servant of the previous king would have been readily placed in a key role in the heart of an area most loyal to that king.<sup>70</sup>

It is certain Lynom's legal practice shrank after Bosworth. Lynom's comparative poverty may be suggested by a bequest left to him by Thomas Barowe, Archdeacon of Colchester in 1499. Barowe would have been a close acquaintance of his in Richard's ducal household through the 1470s and throughout the reign. Barowe's will reveals a man of deep loyalties to his old friends and he left many remembrances to associates from the time of Richard III: Morgan Kydwelly, Richard Colyngbourne, Richard 'Potyer', Geoffrey Frank, Sir James Tyrell, William Tunstall and Sir Robert Dymoke.<sup>71</sup> Those who may have been struggling in the

<sup>68</sup> Lambert is often written Lamberd, e.g. in the will, but the spelling adopted by Barker has been followed, TNA, PROB 11/8, ff. 83v-84; proved 20 October 1487. His son John, received plate, William, parson of St Leonard's Foster Lane, received the ornaments of his chapel, and Robert received his lands in Plumstead Kent. The witnesses were Lynom, Hugh Long clerk, Thomas Shelton, John Riplingham and John Lemyng. Probate was granted to 'Anne', Robert Lambert being present, on the oaths of William Lambert, Thomas Shelton and Lynom. Amy died 1488. John 'Lambard' of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, died 1511, and left his property in Hinxworth and Plumstead and much else to his nephews, William and Robert 'Lambard', and made them his executors although they were minors; he remembered his Marshall grandfather as well as his parents with prayers, PROB 11/16, ff. 294v-95; he made no mention of Thomas and Elizabeth Lynom. The William Lambert, parson of All Hallows Honey Lane, who died 1522 was not a relative, PROB 11/20, f. 187r-v.

<sup>69</sup> Amy's maiden name was Marshall, Sutton, 'William Shore', p. 129. 'Anne Lamberde', TNA, PROB 11/8, f. 222v (no probate clause). Her executor sons are described as 'sir John Lamberd [a mistake for William], John Lamberd and Robert Lambert'; her witnesses were Sir William Lamberd, parson of St Leonard's, and Hugh Long.

<sup>70</sup> CPR 1485-94, pp. 112, 126. Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 390, and Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 2, p. 1045.

<sup>71</sup> Their offices under Richard: Kidwelly was king's attorney; Colyngbourne was of Wiltshire like Barowe and possibly the father of the William executed 1484 for treason, or more likely a younger relative, K. Hillier, 'William Colyngbourne', *The Ricardian*, vol. 2 (1974-75), no. 49, pp. 5-9. Richard

new world received more and it seems Thomas Lynom was one. He received 5 nobles 'which I had from him and for which I gave him other moneys, and I give and bequeath to him a further 40s' (*que habui ab eo et dedi sibi pro eis alias pecunias, ac eidem do et lego xls ultra*). Lynom had been Richard's receiver for Cottingham, one of the livings Barowe had been given by Richard. Others similarly helped were the son of Robert Brakenbury who received £50, and the son of John Kendall who received £40.<sup>72</sup>

It seems to have taken Lynom some time to recover a suitable position and he moved to the Western Marches and Cheshire to do so. In 1495 he was on a commission with Sir Richard Pole and Sir Richard Croft among others, to inquire into the lands in the West Country and the Marches which had been held by John Grey, Lord Powis, and who was his heir – which suggests the beginning of a come-back. At some date before the death of Prince Arthur in 1502 he gained a post as clerk controller of his household, a sure indication that he was accepted once more in royal circles, although it seems likely that the now elderly Lynom was merely checking another man's accounts rather than being busy about the prince himself.<sup>73</sup> It can be wondered if his wife's connections among the Edwardian court helped this reacceptance in the household of Edward IV's grandson. For 1502-04 he was a justice of the peace in Shropshire and in 1505 he was on other commissions to search out concealed lands for the king. In February 1509 he appeared before a royal court of audit, probably representing the abbot of Bardesey, and won the abbot's case against Henry's auditors.<sup>74</sup> From 1505 he was a joint baron of the exchequer of

Potyer was an attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster and active against the rebels for Richard, R. Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster 1265-1603*, vol. 1, London 1953, p. 457, and R. Horrox, 'Richard Pottyer', *The Ricardian*, vol. 5 (1979-81), pp. 284-85. Frank was receiver of Middleham and others places and fought at Bosworth for Richard, and Tunstall was an esquire of the body and constable of Scarborough Castle, Hampton, *Memorials*, nos 163, 431. Tyrell had been in Richard service since the early 1470s and was the king's master of horse; Dymoke had been king's champion at Richard's coronation, *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 337, 407.

<sup>72</sup> Barowe's will, PROB 11/11, ff. 293-94; dated 23 June 1499; proved 10 July 1499; he does not give the Christian names of his grantees. Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham was his chief executor, with John Breton DD, vicar of St Peter Cornhill, London, Richard Barowe, his brother, a stapler, and Richard Whetecroft, stapler; his overseer was Reginald Bray. The work of course fell on Breton, Barowe and Whetecroft. For more on Barowe, A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'As dear to him as the Trojans were to Hector': Richard III and the University of Cambridge' in *Richard III and East Anglia*, ed L. Visser-Fuchs, London 2010, passim, and esp. pp. 132-42.

<sup>73</sup> *CPR 1494-1509*, p. 27. Controllershship, J.A. Guy, 'A conciliar court of audit at work in the last months of the reign of Henry VII', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 49 (1976), p. 290, citing C.A.J. Skeel, *The Council of the Marches of Wales*, London 1904, p. 30 [*sic*]; see next note.

<sup>74</sup> *CPR 1494-1509*, pp. 656, 488, 489. Guy, 'A conciliar court of audit', pp. 292-93, gives the text of the meetings of the court of audit including that at which Lynom attended 8 Feb. 1509; Lynom is accorded no title, and it seems likely he was in fact representing the the abbot of Bardesey who was answering the court, rather than acting as a councillor; compare the barrister, George Harbrowne, who attended the previous court (and not identified by Guy as holding a suitable office) and who may have also been merely representing a client. Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 1, p. 815 (Harbrowne).

the county palatine of Cheshire with Nicholas Faryngton, both holding the office for life. This post involved the levying of debts, collecting arrears and securing profits from many types of legal operations. By 1509 Lynom seems to have found this work beyond him and on 1 March he resigned the post by coming to an agreement with John Tatton, a local man who appears to have already been performing the job. Tatton would take over the joint ‘clerkship of the exchequer of Chestre’ and take all the fees (6d a day with ‘with other profettes, commodites and advantages’), and also to apply for the formal letters patent from the king. This Lynom promised to support if and when necessary. Lynom handed over his own letters patent of office to Tatton, who was formally appointed in 1510. Tatton’s copy of this indenture survives and bears the signature ‘T Lynom’.<sup>75</sup>

Before 1509 Lynom had also acquired a property in Beaudesert, Warwickshire, which may have been his home by this date, for he was described as of the place (as well as of Hertford, Lambert territory, and of Ludlow, the location of his official duties) in the pardon he bought in 1509 to tide him over the problems of the beginning of Henry VIII’s reign when officials of the late king came under ferocious attack.<sup>76</sup> Beaudesert is in the hundred of Barlichway and had been a castle and property of the de Montfort family, although it is conjectured that the castle was in ruins by Lynom’s day. In 1477 the main manor had been sold to Edward IV by the joint heirs for £750, and it remained in royal ownership; the manor acquired the alias of Henley-in-Arden. The other manor of Beaudesert was in the hands of the Aston family by this time and later at least had the Marquess Dorset as its overlord. Clearly, Lynom might readily have leased a property there from either Edward IV or Richard III or their grantees – or the Marquess Dorset (once linked familiarly but not necessarily accurately with Elizabeth Shore in Richard III’s proganda) -- and might have retained it past 1509.<sup>77</sup>

When did Lynom and his wife die?<sup>78</sup> He, as a lawyer, would have left a will.<sup>79</sup> He had been engaged in the legal profession since at least 1467 and must

<sup>75</sup> T. Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State 1480-1560*, Woodbridge 2000, p. 152; Tatton’s father had held this office from 1484. University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, Rylands Charter 839; we are most grateful to the Library for supplying a copy; the signature is unfortunately very faded. Two witnesses: John Aldersey and Thomas Golborne. And see Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 2, p. 1045.

<sup>76</sup> Pardon cited, Baker, *Men of Court*, p. 1045. Beaudesert is sometimes erroneously described as in Staffordshire.

<sup>77</sup> W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, rev. ed. W. Thomas, 2 vols, London 1730, vol. 2, pp. 798-04; the Aston arms were displayed in the churches of Arden and Colshill, pp. 807, 1019, but Dugdale has no details of the family; he notes that later Astons were of Ticksall, Staffs. VCH, *County of Warwick*, vol. 3, ed P. Styles, London 1945, pp. 45-49, notes that the earls of Warwick had a reversionary interest, and that the secondary manor was held by the Astons from Marquess Dorset in 1523 as of the manor of Wootton.

<sup>78</sup> After the pardon of 1509 certainly granted to the solicitor of Richard III, there are references to a Thomas Lynom on commissions in Wales and the adjacent English counties from 1510 to 1518 (probably the past solicitor), and in Herefordshire and Worcestershire 1521-31 (by

therefore have been born about 1440, and was probably over seventy in 1509. A grant of a messuage in Sutton-on-Derwent made in 1518 to a Richard Pole, was asserted to have been Pole's since the time of Richard III and regranted to Lynom in 1516, but he was now dead.<sup>80</sup> His wife, Elizabeth could have predeceased him, although certainly younger than he. There is no need to think of her as ever experiencing a 'beggerly' poverty which a misreading of Thomas More's use of the phrase 'a more beggerly condicion, unfrended & worne out of acquaintance, after good substance' encourages, and which More would have considered appropriate for a fallen woman.<sup>81</sup> Lynom could have left her well provided given his renewed good fortune after 1509 and she had brothers and their heirs still alive, possibly grandchildren by her daughter Julyane Lynom, and possibly other children by Lynom. It was hoped this investigation would answer the queries raised by Nicholas Barker in 1972, but although details have been added, the mystery of the last days of Lynom and his wife, Elizabeth, has not been solved.

## Appendix 2B

### The Other Persons in the Lawsuit

Anne F. Sutton

#### The Surety: Robert Brackenbury, Esquire of the King's Body

Brackenbury was one of the most famous of Richard III's close servants and died with him at Bosworth. He was a younger son of a cadet branch of an ancient County Durham family, and could have entered Richard of Gloucester's service when the duke acquired the lordship of Barnard Castle in right of his wife, Anne Neville. By 1479 he was the duke's chamberlain, acting as his feoffee, and in 1481 he obtained full ownership of Selaby manor. He probably served in the Scots wars of 1480-82. He may have accompanied Richard to London on the death of Edward IV but if so, he returned to the North for there is no sign he attended the coronation – simple omission from the records is, however, not impossible. John Brackenbury, his brother was active in taking messages to and from the North for Richard during the

this time the solicitor would have been in his 90s). These late references (Barker, *Etoniana*, p. 391 n. 46) confirm the fact that there were two men of this name flourishing after 1485, but they can also suggest that the Lynom of Cheshire may have been a discrete personality and not the past solicitor.

<sup>79</sup> A search for his will in the indexes of the probate registers that survive for any area to which he was connected has produced nothing.

<sup>80</sup> *L&P HVIII* vol. 2, pt 1, no. 2267, pt 2, no. 4349. Cathwayte presumably forfeited the land before Lynom's time. Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 2, p. 1045, also accepts this as indicating the death of the solicitor.

<sup>81</sup> More's long, on the whole favourable, description of this 'wanton' woman was written, it is thought, about 1513-18, 'for yet she liveth', Thomas More, *The Complete Works*, vol. 2, *The History of King Richard III*, ed R.S. Sylvester, New Haven and London 1963, pp. 54-55; lxiii-iv (dating).

protectorship. Robert is likely to have been equally useful for he was appointed master of the king's mint in the Tower of London and constable of the Tower only eleven days after the coronation, both offices to be held for life. He was involved in the measures to protect London and the Thames against the rebels in the autumn of 1483, and he was granted a substantial block of rebels' lands in Kent and Essex in reward for his services against the rebels. On 8 April 1484 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the office of the admiralty. Further lands in Surrey went to him in May 1484, and in the same month the manor of Maudelyns, Hertfordshire, was made over to his use by John Forster, part of the arrangements made and sureties taken to secure Forster's release from the Tower and his good behaviour, as a past officer of Queen Elizabeth Woodville and associate of Lord Hastings. In June he again acted as a surety for payment of funds to Peter Courteys, the keeper of the Great Wardrobe, as the court case recorded here shows. Brackenbury had endless duties as a justice of the peace, receiver of the king's revenues, as well as the task of taking over forfeited goods and lands from rebels, notably in Kent, where he was sheriff from 10 December 1484. His closeness to Richard and his position as a man of culture at the court is suggested by his receipt of a copy from the author of Pietro Carmeliano's *Life of St Katherine* which Carmeliano dedicated and presented to Richard III. Shortly before Christmas 1484 Brackenbury was knighted and became a knight of the king's body. For approximately two months, from May 28 to 11 August 1485, nothing is recorded of him in the obvious sources, but duties in Kent may have kept him busy. On 11 August he was ordered to gather men in that county for the king; this he did but apparently suffered the desertions of at least two leading Kentish men, who nevertheless seem to have respected him, on the way. He died at Bosworth.<sup>82</sup>

### **The Tailor**

#### **Henry Davy**

He was appointed serjeant tailor of the Great Wardrobe, in other words, the king's tailor on 28 September 1483 (after Bosworth George Lovekyn, tailor of Edward IV, regained the post). He was already 'serving tailor' at the Great Wardrobe on the full wage of 12d a day, when he received the custody of the king's manor and garden of Shene and was made parker of the new park. Like Peter Courteys, his job put him in a position to be on fairly intimate terms with *his* king and this can explain how and why both men landed in political trouble. Davy was supplying cotton and candles, two necessities of the tailoring trade, at the great Wardrobe during 1483 at an unspecified date; and in March 1485 he

<sup>82</sup> He was survived by two daughters and an illegitimate son. W.E. Hampton, 'Sir Robert Brackenbury of Selaby, County Durham', *The Ricardian*, vol. 7 (1985-87), pp. 97-114; this also covers Brackenbury's much debated role as the keeper of the 'princes in the Tower', and his daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. See also R. Horrox. 'Sir Robert Brackenbury', *ODNB*. A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's Books XIV: Pietro Carmeliano's early publications: his *Spring*, the *Letters of Phalaris*, and his *Life of St Katherine* dedicated to Richard III, *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994-96), pp. 346-86, esp. 369-75, for the book and his relations to the Lee family.

supplied John of Gloucester, ‘the lord bastard’, with two doublets. He apparently grudged Henry of Richmond his victory for in December 1488 he obtained a pardon as late of London, esquire, citizen and tailor and gentleman, but was executed on Tower Hill the following year.<sup>83</sup>

### **The Three Merchants Supplying Silks**

#### **Richard Rawson and John Fisher, Mercers and Aldermen of London; Gabriel de Furnariis (Fornari), Merchant of Genoa**

Rawson will be described first as he died just before John Fisher, his associate in these transactions with Peter Courteys. Rawson and Fisher were friends and fellow parishioners. Rawson came from a large and well-connected family with origins in Fryston by the Water, Yorkshire, and he and his relatives were by no means unknown to northern associates of Richard III.<sup>84</sup> He was apprenticed to John Olney, mercer, and became free of the Mercers Company and the city in 1456-57. As a fellow mercer and alderman he knew John Fisher and they also can be found in the same deeds and negotiations. Rawson was an alderman from 1476 and sheriff 1476-77. In 1480 he supplied the Great Wardrobe with green and white sarsinet, and again in 1483 with twenty-four yards of crimson velvet at 10s a yard, this transaction being similar to Fisher’s for the king’s coronation.<sup>85</sup> Rawson’s son, Alvered, was to continue to supply the Great Wardrobe of Henry VII. Rawson died in 1485 of the sweating sickness with six of his aldermanic colleagues. His wife was Isabel Crafford, by whom he had a large family of whom eight reached adulthood. His wealth is indicated by the 500 marks dowry he gave his daughter on her marriage to Richard Cely, the stapler, and by the extensive depositions in his long will. This was made on 8 October 1485: he directed his burial to be in the church of St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street (he had moved there from All Hallows Honey Lane, which was John Fisher’s parish) He left vestments to these parishes and to Fryston, while remembering such places as the monastery of St John in Pontefract. His executors included his widow, John Fisher and Nicholas Lathell (who was also to act for Fisher).<sup>86</sup>

John Fisher came from Godmanchester, Huntingdonshire, and was apprenticed to John Adam, mercer of London, becoming free of his company and the city in 1454. In 1462 he contributed to the Mercers’ loan to Edward IV,

<sup>83</sup> Biographies of Davy and Lovekyn, *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 332-33. *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. W. Campbell, 2 vols Rolls Series 1873-75, vol. 2, p. 375. *The Herald’s’ Memoir 1486-90*, ed. E. Cavell, Donington 2009, p. 184 (execution).

<sup>84</sup> E.g. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 6 vols, ed. J. Raine et al., Surtees Society, vols 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106 (1836-1902), e.g. vol. 3, pp. 240n., 347, 352, vol. 4, pp. 111-12, 130-31.

<sup>85</sup> *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth*, p. 116; Nicolas did not include all entries. *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 110.

<sup>86</sup> His will, TNA, PROB 11/6, ff. 123v-25, proved 22 October 1485; printed in full *The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486*, ed L. Boatwright et al, 2 vols, London 2008, vol. 2, no. 204. *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 387-88 and the references there. Family in S.L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval England*, Chicago 1948, 362-63. And see above n. 84.

and in 1475 was considered to be worth £10 a year. In 1480 he was one of the many pardoned by the king for fraud over his payments of the king's customs and subsidies, and he was an active representative of the Adventurers of London in their negotiations with the king over this matter.<sup>87</sup> His success as a mercer is illustrated by his provision in 1483 of just over thirty-five yards of white sarsenet (a cheaper silk used for linings) at 4s the yard, and forty-two yards of blue velvet (10s a yard) to the Great Wardrobe for the coronation and other requirements; in 1484 he was again supplying the most luxurious of fabrics as the present lawsuit proves; and in 1485 he provided crimson velvet for the horse gear of the young duke of Buckingham and his brother at Henry VII's coronation.<sup>88</sup> His wealth and success was endorsed when he became an alderman in October 1481 for Farringdon Ward Without (an alderman had to be worth £1000). This was the ward in which the indented bond between Courteys and Lynom and Brackenbury was recorded as made. Fisher was discharged from his aldermanry on the grounds of ill health on 31 July 1483, and paid 400 marks to repair the Cross in Cheap and other works in the city for the privilege of this discharge. He had already made his will on 14 July 1485 so there is little doubt he was indeed ill. He asked to be buried in All Hallows Honey Lane and left 2d to every child of the parish at his funeral. By the custom of London, a third of his goods went to his widow Margaret, along with all her clothes and jewels, a third to his children, all of whom were minors (five sons and two daughters) and left to his wife's care. His provisions for charity included the repair of the roads round his tenement 'Gobyons' near Hornchurch, and bequests to the Charterhouse of Shene, St Thomas of Acre, Rochester Bridge and St Paul's Cathedral. Vestments went to All Hallows, and to Godmanchester, where he had a sister living and where his parents were buried. His executors were his wife, Nicholas Lathell, clerk of the pipe in the Exchequer, Hugh Brown, mercer, and John Parker, scrivener.<sup>89</sup>

Gabriel 'de Furnariis' (Fornari), merchant of Genoa, was by 1480 acting as a factor and surety for other Italians in England, as well as importing goods via Southampton and supplying the royal court and Edward IV's wardrobe himself. In 1482 he and others were owed 625 marks by the king for jewels, and Richard III allowed him £65 from customs dues to cover the remains of Edward IV's debts over jewels. He and another Genoese merchant had prosecuted Ruy Machado, Leicester Herald, for a debt of 500 marks in a suit arbitrated by Richard, Duke of Gloucester. In 1483 he supplied Richard III's Great

<sup>87</sup> CPR 1476-85, p. 243 and Sutton, *The Mercery of London, Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 312-13.

<sup>88</sup> *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 110, 112. L.G. Wickham Legg, *Coronation Records*, Westminster 1901, p. 204.

<sup>89</sup> *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 344-45, for all references not given above. His will, PROB 11/6, f. 140v-42, proved 24 Nov. 1485, printed in full *Logge Register*, vol. 2, no. 245. Biography of John Parker, A.F. Sutton, 'Fifteenth-century mercers and the written word: mercers and their scribes and scriveners', in *Recording Medieval Lives*, ed J. Boffey and V. Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XVII, Donington 2009, pp. 53-54.

Wardrobe with over 104 yards of satin,<sup>90</sup> and continued to be a supplier of this department on the evidence of the lawsuit described above.

**The Attorneys: John Agmondesham and John Jenour**

John Agmondesham was of Lincoln's Inn and an attorney in the Common Pleas by 1480 and continued to practice until his death in 1509. He was also of Leatherhead, Surrey. He asked for burial in St Bartholomew's Smithfield and left no issue.<sup>91</sup> John Jenour was born about 1465, and was the son of William Jenour of Stonham Aspell, Suffolk. He perhaps attended an inn of chancery and then went on to the Middle Temple where he held office. He was an attorney in the Common Pleas by 1491 and later a filazer and prothonotary. He served as attorney to Katherine of Aragon before 1529. He died 1542, and has a monument at Dunmow, Essex. Two sons of his also became lawyers.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Brief biography *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 112, 342-43: Gabryell Fournays. TNA, E 404/78/3. A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600*, Southampton 1951, p. 83.

<sup>91</sup> Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 1, pp. 203-04.

<sup>92</sup> Baker, *Men of Court*, vol. 2, pp. 945-46.