

The Nevills of Brancepeth and Raby 1425–1499. Part I 1425–1469: Nevill v Nevill

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FEW CAN DOUBT that of all the many notable noble families of the fifteenth century, the Nevills are pre-eminent. In the period under consideration this ineffably prolific family¹ included 14 lay peers² and collected some remarkable empires of estates and offices. Historians have quite rightly written at great length on some members of the family, and the lives and acts of certain of them are, so far as they can be traced, well known to us all. Yet in this period it is quite wrong and wholly misleading to speak of 'one' family for there were two distinct branches descended from the real founder of Nevill greatness—Ralph, fourth Baron Nevill, created Earl of Westmorland in 1397. It is the less well known, senior branch with which I am concerned here.

The Westmorland Nevills are, with the exception of the two Lancastrian stalwarts John and Humphrey, obscure in comparison with, not just the Salisbury Nevills, but also with the majority of the contemporary English peerage. The head of the family for most of the period was Ralph II, second Earl of Westmorland. He held comital rank for fifty-nine years—longer than anyone else in the fifteenth century, and yet remains the most shadowy figure of all the English earls of his time. It was once thought that this was because he was incapacitated in some form. Professor Chrimes called him 'an invalid for much of his life', a view endorsed by Professor Storey and others,³ yet, beyond a reference in the *Itineraries* of William Worcestre to Ralph as *innocens homo* (simple-minded) and under the guardianship of his brother Thomas, this is a theory without foundation.⁴ More recently, Ralph's apparent apathy to national politics in the Wars of the Roses has been ascribed to personal grudges he harboured against both sides.⁵ Here we are much nearer the mark, though this does not account for the energies displayed by his brother John and his nephew Humphrey who to some extent had cause to share his views. Ralph's behaviour on the other hand, is more closely resembled by that of his other nephew, Ralph III—his eventual successor as Earl. They had two things in common which must have exerted considerable influence on them: both their fathers died campaigning for the House of Lancaster, and both felt, with some measure of justice, cheated of great inheritances through the machinations of those who had the ear of the King or Council. Both of them we may assume knew enough to be extremely careful both with their lives and their lands, and if other members of the family, who had far less to lose, chose to behave otherwise, then that was their own concern.

RALPH I c.1364–21/10/1425
4th Baron Nevill,
1st Earl of Westmorland,
Earl Marshal, K.G.

m. **I. Margaret** d. 9/6/1396,
daughter of Hugh,
2nd Earl of Stafford, K.G.

m. **2** (1396) **Joan Beaufort** d. 13/11/1440, daughter of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford

JOHN c.1387–1420
‘Lord Nevill’, m. (8/1394) Elizabeth Holand d. 4/1/1423, daughter of Thomas, 2nd Earl of Kent K.G.

RALPH d. 1458
m. **Mary** *1393–1458, daughter + co-heiress of Robert, baron Ferrers of Wem, +co-heiress of baroness Boteler

7 daughters
a. Mathilda m. Peter, Lord de Mauley d. 1414
b. Philippa m. Thomas, Lord Sacre of Gillesland d. 1457
c. Alice m. 1. Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, 2. Sir Gilbert Lancaster
d. Elizabeth a nun
e. Anne m. Sir Gilbert Umfraville of Kyme
f. Margaret m. 1. Richard, 3rd Lord Scrope of Bolton d. 1420, 2. William Cressener
g. Anastasia probably d. young

14 children

Sir John of Overley d. 1482 m. Elizabeth, daughter + heiress of Robert Newmarch of Womersley

Mary m. Sir Walter Griffith

Joanne/Jane m. 1. Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorp,
2. Sir James Harrington

RALPH II 17/9/1406 or 22/9/1407 to 3/11/1484, 5th Baron Nevill, 2nd Earl of Westmorland.

m. 1. (1426) Elizabeth d. 26/10/1437, daughter of Hotspur, +widow of John, 7th Lord Clifford
m. 2. (before 2/1442) Margaret d. between 20/11/1466 + 26/4/1471, Baroness Cobham of Sterborough, granddaughter + heiress of Sir Reynold de Cobham

JOHN c.1410–29/3/1461, cr. Baron Nevill by writ of summons 20/11/1459, forfeited by attainder 4/11/1461 m. (before 5/9/1452), Anne his nephew's widow

3 daughters
a. *Eleanor
b. Margaret m. a Lucy
c. *Joan

Sir **THOMAS** d. 22/2/1458 m. Elizabeth d. 20 or 27/7/1447, daughter of Henry, 3th Lord Beaumont

Sir **HUMPHREY** 1439–29/9/1469, executed

CHARLES bastard, executed 29/9/1469

*Arthur of Scole Acle d. c.1502

*Nevills of Weardale

John

1. Sir **JOHN** 1427/8–7/3/1450 m. (before 18/2/1441), Anne d. 26/12/1486, daughter of John Holand, Duke of Exeter

2. Margaret born 1446/7 d. young

RALPH III 1456–6/2/1499. Baron Nevill on reversal of attainder 6/10/1472, K.B. 18/4/1475, 6th Baron Nevill, 3rd Earl of Westmorland m. before 1473, Isabel, daughter of Sir Roger Booth of Sawley, said to be niece of Lawrence Booth, Archbishop of York

Note: Entries on the Nevill pedigree marked with an asterisk are details found in R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, Vol. 4 (1840) which I have not verified. As some of Surtees' other genealogical data on the family pedigree is demonstrably inaccurate, these entries should be treated with caution.

Ralph II's father was John, born in or before 1387,⁶ the elder of Earl Ralph I's sons by his first marriage. In August 1394 John married Elizabeth Holand, whereupon his father granted them in tail, the lands, rents, services and tenements he held in Sutton in Galtres.⁷ After Ralph I's elevation to comital rank, John received the courtesy title of 'Lord Nevill', and, like his forbears, held prominent military posts on the Scottish frontier. He was Warden of Roxburgh Castle from 12 November 1408 till 1 August 1411 when he was relieved at his own request before the expiry of his term of office,⁸ and on 23 June 1414 he succeeded his father in the great office of Warden of the West March. John's appointment was for three years, but most probably he retained the office till his death.⁹ He was still in the north-west in March 1417 when he was included on a local commission¹⁰ and in June when the King wrote to him,¹¹ but in July he went to France where he held certain offices including that of Captain of the town and castle of Verneuil. His younger brother Ralph was acting as his lieutenant in the West March in 1420 when it seems that John perished, probably of disease, while at Verneuil.¹² It was inauspicious for young Ralph that the wardenship was then granted to Richard Nevill, Earl Ralph's eldest son by his second marriage.

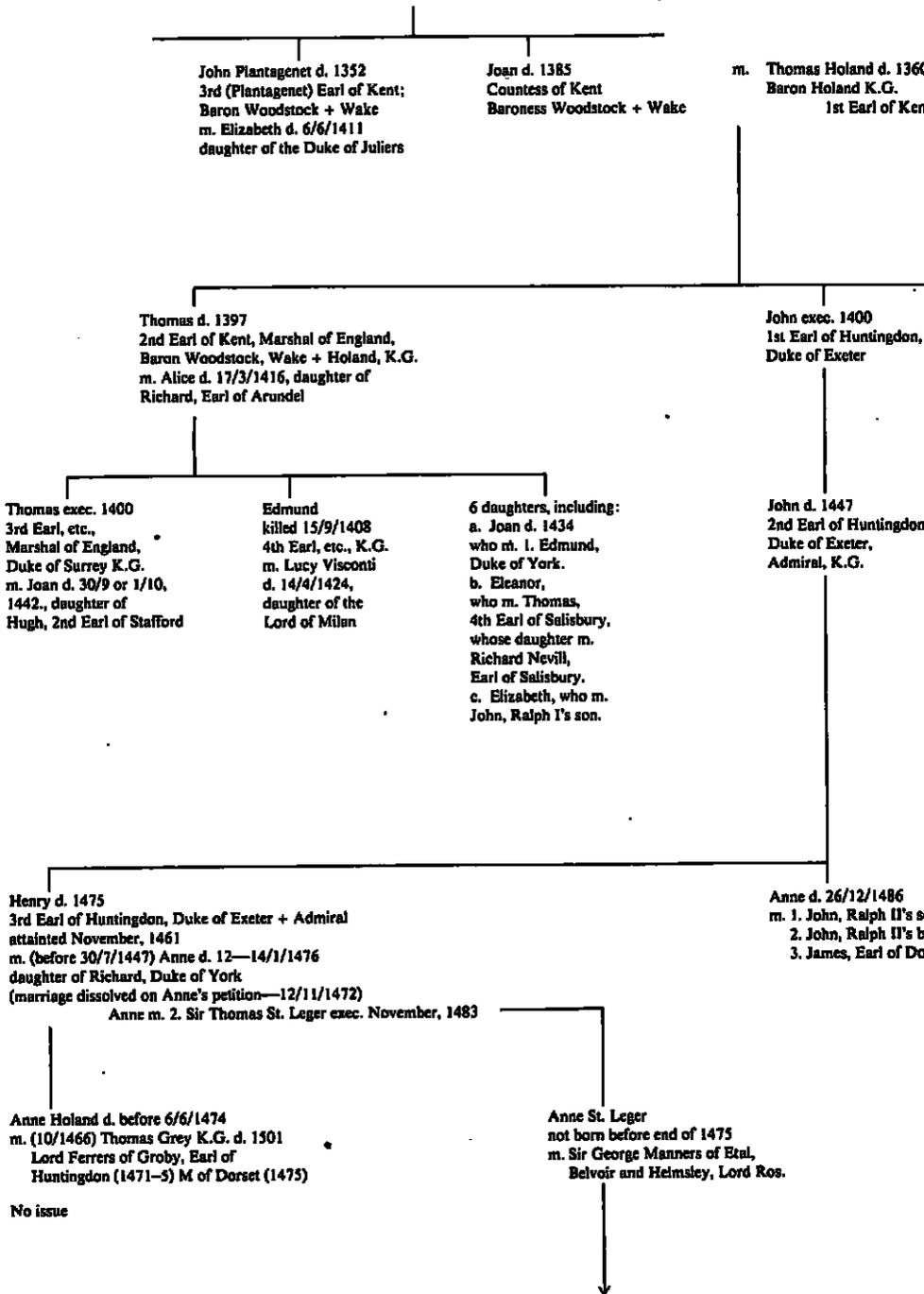
Ralph II's mother was one of the six sisters of Edmund, the last Holand Earl of Kent who was killed in 1408. Her fifth share of the Holand lands was to be a considerable legacy (one of the daughters was a nun and did not inherit¹³) and in December 1408 she and her husband were given possession of the manors of Hemlington and Ayton in Yorkshire, of Allerton in Sherwood (Notts.) and Ashford in le Peke (Derbys.).¹⁴ The Holand estates were however largely retained in the hands of no less than four dowager countesses of Kent. The eldest of these was Elizabeth, the wife of the last Plantagenet Earl of Kent. Her death in 1411 brought Ralph II's parents the Devon manors of Kenton (valued at £68 10s 6½d *per annum*), Shaftbere (£20 12s 2d *p.a.*), Chatescombe (£8 *p.a.*), Lyfton and its hundred (£30 6s 1d *p.a.*), and a certain fee farm of £18 13s 4d from the abbot of Clyve for the manor of Brampton, along with £26 1s 8½d *p.a.* from the fee farm of Basingstoke, a number of knights' fees in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Somerset, and four advowsons.¹⁵ In 1416, the death of Countess Alice brought Elizabeth and John a further parcel of the inheritance¹⁶ which included the manor of Tolworth in Surrey¹⁷ and part of Acton and Kirkbymoorside in Yorkshire where Ralph II was to build a hunting lodge.¹⁸ When she died on 4 January 1423, Ralph's mother was also seised of lands in Norfolk and Cornwall and a yearly rent of £30 in Kent.¹⁹

Ralph himself was born at Cockermonth either on 17 September 1406 according to Ralph I's inquisition post mortem, or on 22 September 1407 according to the inquisitions post mortem of Elizabeth his mother and Lucy, Countess of Kent.²⁰ He was still a minor at his mother's death, so consequently his parents' lands were retained by the Crown. It is difficult to assess their exact value at this time, and certainly not as straight forward as Pugh and Ross suggest.²¹ 800 marks were creamed off towards the Lord Protector's salary and Ralph was allotted an annual allowance of £40,²² so in 1423 they were worth at least £573 6s 8d. In 1424 they were augmented by a fifth share of the dower lands of Lucy, Countess of Kent who died on 14 April²³ and in 1425 they were

further increased as a result of the death of Earl Ralph I. Thus, by 1426, Ralph's lands were worth considerably more than at his mother's death and very probably more than the figure suggested by Pugh and Ross.²⁴ Indeed, as his grandfather's natural successor he would normally have inherited a patrimony worth well over £1,000 per annum,²⁵ which, added to his mother's lands, would have made him one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom. Instead the old earl diverted most of the great Nevill estates to his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and so through her to their eldest son Richard, thus largely disinheriting young Ralph. Professor Ross explains what happened: '... by an elaborate series of fines and conveyances to trustees, the earl succeeded in depriving his grandson, Ralph, ... of the bulk of the lands in favour of Joan, through whom they were transmitted to the younger branch of the family. ... Ralph was left in possession only of the lordship of Brancepeth, County Durham, some manors in Lincolnshire, the Nevill Inn, Silver Street in London and some property in Ripon. To Joan went the original Nevill lordships of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire and Raby in Durham along with the family estates in Westmorland and Essex'.²⁶ It is not difficult to see why Earl Ralph pursued this policy: through his marriage to Joan Beaufort, he had cemented his alliance with the House of Lancaster which then brought him both his earldom and a flood of offices, lands, wardships and pensions, many of which were settled on him and Joan jointly for life or in tail male. In short, Ralph I built up a considerable empire which he knew would be sundered from the ancestral lands at his death, and it appears that he determined to avoid this. No doubt too he saw the his empire was safer and had a greater future in the hands of a son very closely related to the ruling house, but whatever we may think of Earl Ralph's policy, young Ralph had just cause for complaint. His natural rights according to the all important principle of primogeniture were circumvented and there was little he could do about it. Very possibly he entertained doubts as to the legality of the conveyances and considered litigation—we do not know.²⁷ He must have realised, however, that Joan Beaufort's close kinship with the Bishop of Winchester and the ruling house made any such thoughts futile, and in any case, in his position as a minor, he was hardly able to indulge in expensive law suits.²⁸ To add insult to injury, on 2 June 1424 the custody of his parents' lands and his share of Countess Lucy's dower was granted to Richard Nevill who already possessed another fifth of the Holand lands in right of his wife.²⁹ Ralph and his two younger brothers, John and Thomas, were not even mentioned in the old Earl's will in which he disposed of his household possessions, livestock and other movables.³⁰ After the death of Earl Ralph in October 1425 young Ralph's portion of the patrimony was further reduced by Countess Joan's dower rights which included Brancepeth, and from 1427 to 1430 she was even allotted ten marks of Ralph's annual £20 which he was entitled to from the issues of Westmorland as the Earl of that county.³¹ He had been treated shabbily and he knew it. His grandfather's ambitions for the younger branch which was represented at the highest levels of government left Ralph bitterly hostile to that family and without confidence in the impartiality of the royal Council. His determination to retrieve the fortunes of his line and later his caution in meddling in the see-saw of mid-century politics, stem from these crucial years early in his life.

Ralph's first step to improve his lot was to apply for an increase in his

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allowance, and on 16 March 1426, 'considering that the petitioner's expenses must increase with his years', this was raised to £102 11s 1⁴d a year.³² In May 1426 he was summoned to Leicester to be knighted, and on the 19th was accordingly dubbed by the infant Henry VI before the assembled parliament.³³ Ralph also decided to take a wife, and on 7 May 1426, at Roche Abbey he was contracted with Elizabeth Percy, the daughter of Hotspur and the widow of John, seventh Lord Clifford. Of course, as a royal ward, Ralph's marriage was at the disposal of the Council, and on 20 July this body granted his marriage to Sir John Radcliff, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, in part payment of a debt of 2,000 marks due to him for services in France. This appears to have been a mere formality, however, for at the same time a licence was issued to Elizabeth to marry whomever she pleased for a payment of 200 marks, and this sum was then assigned to Radcliff.³⁴ Her dower lands in Westmorland, Cumberland and Yorkshire were worth at least £80 a year and she also held the lordship of Harter in Northumberland for life as her jointure.³⁵ She may have had an added attraction so far as Ralph was concerned. From April 1424 Richard Nevill had been the custodian of the lands of Elizabeth, the late wife of Thomas, sixth Lord Clifford, during the minority of Thomas, the eighth Lord. By marrying the widow of the seventh Lord, Ralph effectively gained custody of the bulk of the Clifford lands and the shrievalty of Westmorland for the same period, and thus scored a small victory over his uncle: a minor affair perhaps, but one reflecting the rivalry between the two.³⁶

In December 1427 Ralph petitioned the Crown for the custody of his various lands. As he still had to prove his majority, these remained 'in the king's hands' but he was permitted to farm them for the sum of £200 a year in the meantime.³⁷ This arrangement obtained till February 1429 for it was not till then that he was granted seisin; the Council it seems, had set aside the evidence of his grandfather's inquisition post mortem in determining Ralph's age and had preferred the birthday attested in the inquisitions of his mother and aunt.³⁸ At all events, Ralph now possessed the resources he needed to threaten a vendetta against Joan and her brood, and for the next thirteen years he and his brothers made life as difficult as possible for the half blood. Our main sources of information for this include the government records, and these reflect a distant Council vainly struggling to maintain the peace and equally unsuccessfully attempting to bring about a settlement of the Nevills' differences. On 18 August 1430 both parties were bound over to give recognisances of £2,000 that they would refrain from occupying or damaging each others' lands for one year.³⁹ Then, on 13 May 1431, when Richard Nevill, now Earl of Salisbury, accepted a reappointment as Warden of the West March, it seems he made it a condition that the Council pressurised Ralph to keep the peace, for on the 16th new recognisances of £4,000 each were exchanged as guarantees of behaviour to last until one month after the expiry of Salisbury's indenture as Warden.⁴⁰ Not long after the indenture had expired renewed trouble prompted the Council, on 6 November 1434 to renew the bonds of £4,000, this time to last till three weeks after Easter, 1436.⁴¹ To its credit, the Council attempted to settle the dispute, and Ralph and Joan agreed that three lords and two justices should arbitrate between them, and on 4 February 1435 the minutes of the Council note that Joan's nominees were the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Warwick, Cromwell, and justices Cheyne and Cotesmore.⁴² Then, on

6 December 1435, the King in Parliament requested Salisbury, and his brother William, Lord Faucomberge, to serve in France. They consented on condition that their mother Joan would agree and this she would do only if Ralph and his brothers were restrained from acting against her. Summoned before the Council, Ralph renewed his bond of £4,000 on 28 February 1436 to refrain from molesting Joan for one and a quarter years after Salisbury should return from France.⁴³ Furthermore, to reassure Salisbury, on 7 March 1436 the Council promised that should Joan die while he was abroad, it would give custody of her lands to the Earl of Warwick, John, Lord Greystoke, Sir William FitzHugh, Christopher Conyers, Christopher Boynton and Robert Constable who would transmit their value to Salisbury.⁴⁴

Two years later the Council tried to impose a settlement again. On 12 February 1438, Joan and Ralph were summoned to achieve this⁴⁵ and on 28 May he and Salisbury exchanged the now customary recognisances of £4,000 to abide by the decisions of the mediators, named as the Archbishop of York, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Hungerford, William Lynwode, the keeper of the privy seal, and justices Cotesmore and Godrede, in order to reach the agreement by Ascension Day.⁴⁶ Predictably, no settlement was reached, and on 28 December, the King, staying at Kenilworth, passed over a signet letter to the Chancellor relating that Ralph and his two brothers and Joan, Salisbury and George, Lord Latimer 'have late assembled grete rowtes and compaignies upon the field and done furthermore other great and horrible offences as well in slaughter and destruction of our people, . . .'. The Chancellor was instructed to summon the six of them and that same day the writs were despatched under the Great Seal.⁴⁷ On 24 February, 1439 Ralph, Salisbury and Latimer, at least, presented themselves before the Council⁴⁸ and on 30 May, yet again, exchanged bonds of £4,000 to last until three weeks after the following Easter.⁴⁹

It was an insoluble problem. Neither side would give ground, and after nine years of hostility, there was, in 1439, no sign that this situation would change. As we should expect, both sides looked to their defences. With castles at Sheriff Hutton, Middleham, Brancepeth and Raby, Salisbury and his mother were already well equipped, but he may well have engaged in building or at least adding to Penrith Castle at this time. His brother, George, is said to have built Snape Castle, while for his part Ralph is thought to be the builder of the splendid gatehouse tower of Bywell, both of which may have been prompted by the uncertainties of these years.⁵⁰ If in this period it is still possible to count the possession of castles as a measure of power, then Salisbury and his family definitely had the edge, and indeed it must have become more and more evident to Ralph and his brothers that they were fighting a losing battle in an increasingly uneven match. Where Ralph might count on his two brothers who were mere knights, Salisbury had the assistance of his brothers, George and William, who both ranked as magnates⁵¹ and in 1438, another brother, Robert, became Bishop of Durham adding the resources of that powerful see to Salisbury's empire. His sons Thomas, George and John were appointed as the chief officers in the temporal government of the county and Salisbury himself sat on commissions of the peace, assize and array and received an annuity of £100 from the revenues of the see.⁵² The importance of this cannot be stressed too much as Westmorland's interest in the patrimony was principally in County Durham. In 1437, Salisbury

became a member of the Privy Council;⁵³ he was a regular member of commissions of the peace for all the other northern counties—and from 1441 and 1442 for Holland and Lindsey as well—and eventually, in July 1443 he was appointed Justice of the Forest beyond Trent.⁵⁴ At this time, Salisbury was not, for once, Warden of the West March, but in 1439 he secured reappointment on the expiry of Bishop Lumley's indenture in 1443.⁵⁵

It is fair to say that during this same period, Ralph II had also obtained new accretions of landed wealth, but these were more than matched by the acquisitions of Salisbury and his brother, George, from the same sources. In 1430 Ralph obtained the manor of Styford in Northumberland through the death of his kinsman, Lord Latimer, but then the bulk of that lord's estates devolved on George Nevill, Salisbury's brother, who also took the Latimer title.⁵⁶ In 1434, the death of Joan Holand, dowager Duchess of York, brought Ralph a further portion of the Kent lands—the manors of Weton (valued at £10 2s *p.a.*), Buttercram (£24 10s 3d *p.a.*), and parts of Cottingham (£7 16s 11d *p.a.*) in Yorkshire, £4 16s 8d *p.a.* from the manor of Iden in Sussex, a fee farm of £50 from Grimsby, part of the fee farm of Andover, two knights fees in Suffolk and the moiety of one fee in Northamptonshire, and a share of three advowsons—but then Salisbury also received an equivalent portion of her Holand estates.⁵⁷ Similarly, the death of the last Countess of Kent in 1442 was to bring Ralph his final instalment of his mother's inheritance—the manor of Beseby and £10 *p.a.* from Skeldynghop in Lincolnshire, £23 10d *p.a.* from a fee farm of Kirkstall Abbey in Yorkshire, £3 6s 8d from a fee farm of Blysworth in Northamptonshire, the manor and advowson of Caldecotes in Huntingdon, and a number of knight's fees in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdon and Leicester,—but, of course, these were again matched by the share Salisbury received in the right of his wife.⁵⁸

Thus, by 1440, the disparity in landed wealth and power between the two Nevill families was greater than ever. Salisbury's wife's lands alone were worth at least £1,240 to him while Countess Joan enjoyed an income of not less than £1,600.⁵⁹ By comparison, Ralph was very much a poor relation, especially since the loss of his wife's lands on her death in 1437. In spite of his mother's lands, he remained poorer as an earl than his grandfather had been as a baron, and he did not even hold any land in the county from which he drew his title. Undoubtedly Ralph was acutely conscious of all this, and very likely laid the blame on Joan Beaufort. Her death in November 1440 perhaps reduced the tension, especially as it meant that in 1441 Ralph at long last received his lands and rights held by her in dower—in Newcastle, Northumberland, Durham and Westmorland.⁶⁰ Perhaps Earl Ralph was further mollified by a pair of advantageous matches he made at this time. By February 1441, his only son, John, had married Anne Holand, the only daughter of John, Earl of Huntingdon, created Duke of Exeter in 1444. Apart from Anne, John Holand had only one son, so Ralph might well have hoped that ultimately the Huntingdon—Exeter estates might devolve on her in the same way as he had eventually obtained a quarter of the Kent estates. Immediately, he settled on the couple the Kent estates in Devon, the manors of Weton and Tolworth and his quarter of Cottingham⁶¹ and in February 1442 endorsed this by conveying the manors of Styford, Bolbek and Bywell and the £90 16s 8d 'parcel' from Newcastle to four clerks who were to pass these on to John and Anne if Ralph 'or any other' recovered the Devon and East Riding lands.⁶²

By this time, Ralph himself had remarried—this time to a southerner, Margaret de Cobham of Sterborough. On her grandfather's death in 1446, the Cobham estates in Surrey, Sussex and Kent were conveyed to trustees who in 1454 passed them on to her and Ralph.⁶³

From this it seems that by 1443, circumstances were more conducive to a settlement between the two sides of the Nevill family than before, and, indeed, about now the Prior of Durham was acting as a go-between. It appears though that the Council still had to intervene, for on 27 March 1443, it summoned Ralph, and on 31 May recorded his receipt of bonds from Salisbury and Lord Bergavenny that Faucomberge and Latimer would similarly attend, which in due course they did.⁶⁴ Finally, on 26 August and 12 September the settlement was reached. Ralph undertook to Cardinal Beaufort, Salisbury, Latimer, Faucomberge and seventeen of their supporters and servants to recognise Salisbury's claims to all Ralph I's lands in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Essex, and York and London—except the Nevill Inn and the Ripon holdings. In return, Ralph was confirmed in his possession of his annual £20 as Earl of Westmorland and recognised as rightful heir to all Ralph I's lands in County Durham. To guarantee his adherence to these terms, Ralph undertook to pay Salisbury and three of his brothers pensions totalling nearly £400 a year if he should be guilty of breaking the settlement, while his brother, Thomas, was constrained to make a separate pledge.⁶⁵ Salisbury and his brother were not subjected to a similar restraint, presumably on account of the Earl's influence with his colleagues on the Council. By finally consenting to this settlement, Ralph appears to have resigned himself to the inevitable. Salisbury's family was too strong to be overcome, so Ralph fatalistically accepted his elipse. The settlement was very much a *confirmatio status quo ante bellum*, and Salisbury ensured this would continue to remain the case by retaining a number of Ralph's close neighbours in Durham, such as William Pudsay of Selaby.⁶⁶

Apart from Ralph's struggle with the half blood and his accumulation of estates, we know little about him. His distrust of the Lancastrian—Beaufort regime and its uncertainty of him, together, ensured that he played no significant rôle in the life of the state. From 1426 he was, however, employed on a good many commissions for the northern counties. These involved commissions of oyer and terminer, of array, to keep truces with Scotland, to receive oaths, and most dramatically, in 1436, to assist in the relief of Berwick and Roxburgh.⁶⁷ He was included on every commission of the peace for Westmorland from 1432 to 1459, every one for Northumberland and the North Riding from 1437 to 1460 and every one, but one, for the East Riding from 1443 to 1460.⁶⁸ His son John, who by 1449 had been knighted, died on 7 March 1450 without issue.⁶⁹ It was by this time apparent that Ralph would have no more children, so this must have been particularly distressing. John's death was more than just a personal loss, however—it also ended the family's claims on Anne Holand.⁷⁰ Quite apart from her attraction as a potential heiress, she was by now entitled to a half share of her late father's jewels, valued at £574 16s 4d.⁷¹ Earl Ralph evidently refused to countenance the loss of such prizes and shortly defeated the problem with as nice a disregard for proprieties and personal feelings as Henry VII was to display in the matter of his sons' marriages to Catherine of Aragon; Ralph simply married his son's widow to his new heir, his brother John. By 5 September 1452 the match

had been made.⁷² Obtaining the moiety of the jewels proved to be more difficult, however, and for three and a half years John was obliged to contest his wife's claims with the Duchess of Exeter who had been bequeathed the other moiety.⁷³ Ralph's youngest brother, Thomas, had already made an advantageous match by marrying Elizabeth Beaumont who held the dowers of her two previous marriages to William Deincourt and Sir Richard Hastings.⁷⁴ Thomas was further enriched in 1451 when he secured the reversion of the manor of Gilling in Ryedale, Yorkshire,⁷⁵ and again in October 1454 when Ralph granted him Bywell, Bolbek and Styford.⁷⁶ Thomas seems to have been primarily interested in Northumbrian politics. He is probably the Sir Thomas Nevill who was sheriff of the county in 1448,⁷⁷ and in 1452 he was included on a commission relating to Scotland.⁷⁸ As the youngest of the brothers, he was perhaps the most unruly. This is certainly the suggestion of the separate contract he was obliged to make with Salisbury in 1443, and in March 1454, he is alleged to have organised a gang which looted the house of one of Baron Egremont's supporters.⁷⁹ He died on 22 February 1458 leaving a son, Sir Humphrey 'of Brancepeth' and a bastard named Charles.⁸⁰

Throughout the 1450s, Earl Ralph had as little to do with politics as possible. He took no part in the Salisbury—Percy feud in the early part of the decade, and indeed in 1453 he received a commendation from the Council for not interfering even though he was 'nygh of blode and allie to the parties'.⁸¹ Similarly he kept well away from the seat of government and accordingly failed to attend the Parliament of 1453 and 1454—an omission that cost him a fine of 50 marks.⁸² Salisbury's alignment with York against the Queen made no immediate difference and Ralph remained in happy obscurity. For their part, the lords of the Court party evidently sensed his unresponsiveness and instead concentrated on recruiting his brother, John. It was John the Council summoned, as a knight of the shire for the West Riding, to the partisan 'Great Council' which was to meet at Leicester on 21 May 1455.⁸³ York's return to power after the first battle of St. Albans did not, however, have any adverse results for the family. Indeed, the Council found itself able to thank Earl Ralph for news of an abortive Scottish assault on Berwick in July⁸⁴ and in the autumn, it even entrusted him and Thomas with a commission to raise a force of Yorkshiremen to suppress the Lancashire rebels.⁸⁵ True to form, however, Ralph declined to attend Parliament and in December the Council felt constrained to reprove him for his absence.⁸⁶

The Duke of York's second protectorate was terminated in February 1456 when the King resumed power and before long the Queen had asserted control over the government. She determined to buy the family's support and to encourage them to renew the challenge to Salisbury's hegemony in the North. On 11 March 1457 Humphrey was granted the offices of steward of the castle and lordship of Richmond, and constable of Richmond Castle to hold during the minority of Henry, the future king.⁸⁷ The death of Robert Nevill of Durham that same year enabled the Queen to prefer Lawrence Booth to the see, and under him, Thomas replaced Faucomberge as steward, while John became the leading member of the Durham judiciary and received part of the goods sequestered from the dead bishop.⁸⁸ As it transpired, Booth's alliance with the senior Nevills proved an unhappy one. In 1459 Humphrey was obliged to join in giving him a bond of £100 for the good conduct of a colleague and in 1461 the bishop took up arms against Humphrey on behalf of his new master, Edward IV.⁸⁹

From 1458 John was, for the remainder of his life, conspicuous in the service of Lancaster. He received various commissions including commissions of the peace for Beverley and Ripon in 1458 and for the North and East Ridings in 1460.⁹⁰ Evidently he contributed to the royalist effort that culminated in the Rout of Ludford, for subsequently he received substantial rewards, principally from the forfeited estates and offices of the Earl of Salisbury. On 20 November 1459 he was elevated to the peerage by a writ of summons in which he is called 'John Nevill lord Nevill knight'⁹¹ and on 19 December 'for good services against the rebels' was appointed constable of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton castles and steward of their associated lands, and granted a share of Sir John Conyers' forfeited possessions. At the same time, one of the family retainers, Richard Clervaux of Croft, was appointed understeward and bailiff of Richmond Castle, and then on 9 January Humphrey was given a life grant of Salisbury's office of keeper of the park of Capulbank, Yorkshire. In Durham John was appointed Constable and Master Forester of Barnard Castle and the forest of Teesdale with an annuity of forty marks, and finally, on 18 March John received a further grant from Salisbury's empire: a yearly rent of 100 marks from the manors of Worton and Bainbridge and the forest of Wensleydale.⁹² Lord John responded to this patronage by raising men for King Henry prior to the battle of Northampton,⁹³ but despite this it seems that the Yorkists did not consider him to be an irreconcilable enemy when they once more took control of the king and government. John was absent from Parliament in October, but was commissioned to proceed against the 'rebels' in the castles of Pontefract, Penrith and Wressle and to raise a force of Yorkshiremen and others if necessary.⁹⁴ If John did have any reservations about opposing York, these were probably dispelled by the Duke's attempt to usurp the throne, for in the winter of 1460 he was among those who devastated the Yorkists' northern estates and attended Queen Margaret's musters at Hull and York.⁹⁵ Still the Yorkists elected to trust him, however, for on 8 December he and Ralph, together with Salisbury, Warwick and Salisbury's son, Thomas, and others were put on a commission of oyer and terminer.⁹⁶ York's optimism about John Nevill may eventually have cost the Duke his life, for according to one source, John came to him at Sandal with an offer to raise men for him, whereupon the trusting Duke gave him a commission which John promptly used on the Queen's behalf.⁹⁷ John fought at the ensuing battle of Wakefield and no doubt was particularly gratified by the consequent deaths of Salisbury and Thomas Nevill.⁹⁸ With Lancaster ascendant and the great family rival dead, John had good reason to feel pleased, and once Lancastrian control was reasserted in London, he could look forward to further patronage.

The Earl himself was content to remain in the background. He failed to attend the Parliament of 1459, though he is reported to have been in the company of the King and the Percies as they rode through Nottingham on 7 October on the way to Ludlow,⁹⁹ and on 21 December the Queen placed him on a commission of array to resist the Duke of York.¹⁰⁰ As with his brother, this did not however prevent the Yorkists from entrusting him with a similar commission when they were in power (see above). When in the winter of 1460 the northern lords flocked to the Queen's support, Ralph no doubt felt obliged to present himself in the Lancastrian camp, and on 12 and 13 December he was at York and in correspondence via his council with the town of Beverley.¹⁰¹ The Queen's success

at Wakefield and the subsequent excesses of her troops—especially John's which sacked Beverley on 12 January¹⁰²—probably prompted Ralph to make some gesture of enthusiasm for her cause as, on 20 January he and John and the other northern lords assembled in York and declared their approval of Margaret's treaty with Scotland involving the cession of Berwick.¹⁰³ This was the limit of his personal support, however, for there is no evidence that he joined his brother on the Queen's march south, and he was neither at the battle of St. Albans, nor, mercifully for him, at Towton. King Edward certainly did not show any enmity to him for he was invited to the first Parliament of the reign—though typically he failed to turn up—and on 13 November was entrusted with a commission of array, this time to oppose the Lancastrians and their Scottish allies.¹⁰⁴ But if Ralph was a reluctant Lancastrian, neither was he an enthusiastic Yorkist, and he must have been relieved that no further demands were made of him throughout the remaining wars.

Lord John fought at the second battle of St. Albans and was one of those slain in the Towton campaign.¹⁰⁵ His lands escheated in April 1461 and in November he was posthumously attainted, his minor possessions in Grimsby and Sowerby by Thirsk being subsequently granted to the Earl of Warwick among others.¹⁰⁶ Apart from Earl Ralph himself, the only adult male members of the house still alive were Sir Humphrey and his bastard brother. Humphrey is quite the most flamboyant of the family: 'full of that hot and wanton blood of which the Nevills had so large a share'.¹⁰⁷ He had been born in 1439 at Slingsby, the Hastings manor, presumably then held by his mother in dower,¹⁰⁸ and as we saw, was patronised by the Queen in 1457 and 1460. He inherited his father's interests in Gilling and the Northumberland manors, and in May 1461, the Archbishop of York appointed him bailiff of the regality of Hexham.¹⁰⁹ Yet Humphrey recklessly put these advantages at risk by embracing the Lancastrian cause after its débâcle at Towton. After the failure of the attack on Carlisle in June 1461, the Lancastrian lords reassembled in County Durham at Ryton and Brancepeth whither they were no doubt invited by Humphrey, and on 26 June—two days before King Edward's coronation—the Lancastrians 'with Standardes and Gyturons unrolled, rered werre ayenft our feid Lord Kyng Edward'.¹¹⁰ This was a symbolical piece of timing that could not have been lost on the Yorkists in London.¹¹¹ A few miles north of Brancepeth, though, lay Bishop Booth of Durham who promptly summoned up the local levies, marched towards the Nevill stronghold, and dispersed the insurgents.¹¹² Not long after, Humphrey was captured and imprisoned in the Tower, and at about the same time stripped of his office as bailiff. There were soon rumours that he would be released for on 27 October an anxious Prior of Durham wrote to the Chancellor begging him to see to it that Humphrey—this 'cummerouse man', did him no harm if he was set free.¹¹³ However this may be, Humphrey remained in the Tower and in the November Parliament was put under attainder.¹¹⁴ King Edward was magnanimous in victory, however, and on the following 20 February pardoned Humphrey of all executions against him, provided he remained in prison during the King's pleasure. This did not include a restoration of Humphrey's lands—indeed Gilling, at least, had already been bestowed elsewhere—and perhaps in consequence Humphrey resolved to continue his opposition to the new regime.¹¹⁵

In due course he escaped from custody and made his way to Northumberland. King Edward issued a writ forbidding him or any other to interfere with the liberties of the see of Durham,¹¹⁶ but before long he was stirring up trouble for, on 7 April 1463, a commission was issued to have him arrested and brought before the King in Council. Humphrey apparently sued for a pardon, and on 3 June a further commission was issued—to Warwick's brother John, and Sir James Strangeways—to receive Humphrey into the king's grace at their discretion and promise him letters of pardon. A formal pardon accordingly followed on the 21st and Humphrey was even restored to his various manors apart from Gilling.¹¹⁷ Yet, in spite of Edward's lenience, the unregenerate Humphrey rebelled a third time. In April 1464 he joined the other Lancastrians centred on Bamburgh and was given command of a band of eighty spearmen and some archers in an attempt to ambush Lord Montagu as he rode north from Newcastle to fetch the Scottish ambassadors to York. As it transpired, Montagu caught wind that Humphrey was lying in wait for him and so changed his route.¹¹⁸ By the end of May, most of the Lancastrian leaders in the north had been killed or executed and the remnants of their forces withdrew to Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh and Alnwick. In a typical attempt to reconcile these men, Edward commissioned Warwick and Montagu to receive them all into grace, with the sole exceptions of Humphrey and Sir Ralph Grey, the constable of Bamburgh.¹¹⁹ While Bamburgh was being knocked down round Grey's ears, Humphrey slipped away to the retreats of Derwentwater in County Durham where he is said to have lived the life of a freebooter terrifying his neighbours, especially the Prior of Durham.¹²⁰ His attainder was renewed in January 1465 and in November his 'tower of Bywell' granted to Montagu.¹²¹

We hear of him again in 1466 when, as usual, he was trying to inspire rebellion in Northumberland,¹²² but with the heir of York now firmly on the throne, Humphrey could do little but sustain life as a brigand. His final chance came in 1469 when Warwick had the King in detention. Humphrey tried to raise the borders for the old cause, but only succeeded in spoiling Warwick's schemes obliging the Earl to liberate his captive in order to be able to raise the troops he needed to go against Humphrey. Under the circumstances he could expect little mercy from the chief of the half blood, the old enemy, and when Humphrey and his bastard brother were ultimately taken, they were conveyed to York and executed on 29 September in the royal presence.¹²³

To be continued:

Part 2 1470–1499: Recovery and Collapse.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been used.

BIHR—*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*

CCR—*Calendar of Close Rolls.*

CChR—*Calendar of Charter Rolls.*

CDS—*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, Vol. 4, 1357–1509 (HMSO 1888).

CFR—*Calendar of Fine Rolls.*

CIPM—*Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem . . .* (Record Commission 1806-28), 4 Vols.

CIPM H 7—*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, 3 Vols.

CP—*The Complete Peerage*, by G.E.C., enlarged edition by Vicary Gibbs and others (London 1910–59), 12 Vols.

CPR—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

EHR—*English History Review*.

PPC—*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, (1386–1542), ed. N. Harris Nicolas (Record Commission, London 1834–7), 7 Vols.

PRO—*Public Record Office*.

RDK—*Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*.

RP—*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 6 Vols.

Rot. Scot.—*Rotuli Scotiae*, Vol. 2 (Record Commission, London 1819).

VCH—*Victoria History of the Counties of England*.

1. For the first Earl of Westmorland's twenty three children, see R. H. C. FitzHerbert, *Original Pedigree of Tailboys and Neville, The Genealogist*, new series, Vol. 3 (1886), pp.31-5, 109–110 (where Anastasia, youngest daughter of the first wife, is omitted); *CP* 12 ii, p.547 note h; Sir Bernard Burke's *A Genealogical History of the Dormant . . . and Extinct Peerages . . .* (1883), p.394. Cf. the fourth Earl of Westmorland who sired eighteen children, *CP* 12 ii, p.554.
2. Second and third Earls of Westmorland, John, Baron Nevill, Salisbury, Warwick, Faucomberge (see *CP* 5, pp.281–5), three Barons Latimer (see *CP* 7, pp.476–7, 479–82), three Barons Bergavenny (see *CP* 1, pp.30–1), Montagu and son Bedford.
3. S. B. Chrimes, *Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII* (2nd ed. 1966), p.88; R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (1966), p.183.
4. Ed. J. H. Harvey (Oxford 1969), p.345. The modern belief in Ralph's ill health was fostered by Charles Oman in his *Political History of England* Vol. 4, p.357, where Ralph 'was an invalid and counted for little'.
5. J. R. Lander, Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: The Nevilles and The Wydevilles, *BIHR* Vol. 36, No. 94, p.122, and see T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross, The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436, *BIHR* Vol. 26 (1953), pp.7–8.
6. *CP* 12 ii, p.548; *Genealogist*, new series, 3, p.109.
7. *CP* 12 ii, p.548; *CPR* 1391–96, p.494.
8. He was replaced by his brother-in-law's uncle, Sir Robert Umfraville. *Rot. Scot.*, pp.189, 197; *CDS*, p.163; *CCR* 1409–13, p.159. For John's pay as Warden see *CDS*, pp.158, 161.
9. R. L. Storey—The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland 1377–1489 *EHR* No. 285 (1957), p.613; *Rot. Scot.*, p.210.
10. *CPR* 1416–22, p.86.
11. *Rot. Scot.*, p.221.
12. *PCC* 3, p.73; *CP* 12 ii, p.548 and notes; Storey, The Wardens, p.613. John died before 20 May, 1420, *CFR* 1413–22, p.331. According to William Worcestre's *Itineraries*, p.345, he was killed 'by a gunshot in the head' at the siege of Orleans, but this is probably a confusion with the death of the Earl of Salisbury at Orleans in 1428.
13. *CFR* 1422–30, p.81.
14. *Ibid.* 1405–13, pp. 135, 137; for Allerton see especially *PRO*:C137/74/-, 139/24/-, 139/30/-.
15. *CIPM* 3, p.333; *CFR* 1405–13, pp.212–3; *CCR* 1409–13, pp.156–7, 250, 252. In Chatescombe, John was impeded in taking possession by the Earl of Devon, *ibid.*, p.264.
16. *CFR* 1413–22, pp.158–9.
17. *Ibid.* 1422–30, p.55.
18. *CIPM* 4, p.24; *PPC* 3, p.20; *VCH* *Yorkshire, North Riding*, Vol. 1 (1968), p.513. For the hunting lodge, see Ann M. Dornier—Neville Castle, Kirkbymoorside, Excavations 1963 and 1965, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 42, and R. A. H. Williams, An Excavation at Neville Castle, Kirkbymoorside, North Yorkshire, 1974, *ibid.* Vol. 49 (1977).
19. *CFR* 1422–30, pp.2, 47; *CCR* 1429–35, p.22; 1461–68, pp.25–6; 1476–85, pp.382–3; *CIPM* 4, pp.72–3.
20. *CPR* 1422–29, p.458.
21. *Op. cit.*, p.17 fn. 4 and p.18 fn. 1.
22. *PPC* 3, p.26; *CPR* 1422–29, pp.85, 334.

23. *CCR 1422-29*, pp.167, 169; *CFR 1422-30*, p.81; *CIPM 4*, p.80.
24. Their figure of £633 6s 8d was reached through adding the 800 marks allotted to the Lord Protector with £100 which, in 1426, Ralph was granted as an increase in his allowance, *op. cit.*, p.18 fn. 1. This presupposes that the profits from Ralph's lands were exhausted by the Protector's salary and Ralph's allowance, which need not be so. More important, their calculations do not appear to take into account Ralph's share of the value of the lands that escheated on the deaths of Lucy and Ralph I.
25. Pugh and Ross, p.8.
26. *Ibid.*, pp.7-8, drawing on Ross's unpublished Oxford doctoral thesis *The Yorkshire Baronage 1399-1435*. For details of the conveyances and lands in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Essex, Norfolk and London, see *CCR 1422-29*, pp.238-9, 243-4, 246-8, 281; *CFR 1396-99*, p.340; *1401-05*, pp.470, 493; *1413-16*, p.378. Even Sutton in Gaitres was handed over to trustees, *CCR 1422-29*, p.244.
27. See J. R. Lander (*op. cit.* in n.5 above), p.137.
28. E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1961), p.322, believed that the courts would have found for Ralph.
29. *CCR 1422-29*, pp.167, 169; *1429-35*, pp.283-4; *1441-47*, pp.105, 109-110; *CFR 1422-30*, pp.79, 81; *1430-37*, pp.209-10; *1437-45*, pp.264-7, 270-1.
30. *Wills and Inventories ... Part 1*, Surtees Society 1835, pp.68-74.
31. Joan was granted her dower lands and rights, in Northumberland, Westmorland, Durham, London and Newcastle in 1426. The remaining two-thirds of Ralph's portion of the patrimony were given to Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, and John, Bishop of Bath, and in Durham to Sir William Eure and others, during the remainder of Ralph's minority. *CCR 1422-29*, pp.240, 348, 435; *1429-35*, pp.21-2; *CFR 1422-30*, p.129; *RDK Vol. 33* (1872), pp.183-4, Vol. 44 (1884), p.525; see too *CIPM 4*, pp.103-5.
32. This sum was derived from two sources: (a) £42 from the issues of Ashford in le Peke, farmed by Sir Richard Vernon during Ralph's minority (nb. in the minority of the fourth Earl, Henry Vernon was steward of Ashford, *CPR 1494-1509*, p.341). (b) 'two-thirds of £90 16s 8d parcel of the fee farm of Newcastle-on-Tyne', *CPR 1422-29*, p.334, and see also *CFR 1422-30*, p.56. The history of this 'parcel' is of some interest in the family history: Ralph, second Baron Nevill had sold Hermitage Castle to the Crown in 1353 for an annuity of £120 in tail male. This was to include the 'parcel', held by the Countess of Pembroke, and £1 7s ½d held by Richard Denton from the issues of the cornage of Cumberland, but until the reversions came into effect the whole sum of £120 was to be drawn from the customs and subsidies of Newcastle. After Ralph I's death, ½ of the 'parcel' was assigned to Joan in dower, and the bulk of the remainder of the £120, i.e. £27 16s 3½d, was also assigned to her as executrix of Ralph's will, Although Ralph II eventually obtained Joan's dower portion, he never obtained the full £120 *p.a.* (*CCR 1389-92*, p.44; *1392-96*, pp.58-9, 191; *1422-29*, p.435; *1476-85*, p.382; *CPR 1429-36*, p.451). The grant of a further £120 *p.a.* from Newcastle to Ralph I and Joan in tail in 1397 may have helped place an excessive burden on that part of Joan's 'parcel' of £27 16s 3½d and this second sum of £120 were in arrears in 1416 and again in 1435, and the resources of Hull and Hartlepool were joined to those of Newcastle to help meet the payments. (*CPR 1396-99*, p.267; *1429-36*, p.451; *CCR 1413-19*, p.308; *1429-35*, p. 273, and see appendix sub. Salisbury).
33. *CP 12 ii*, p.549.
34. *PPC 3*, p.204, *CPR 1422-29*, p.350; *Testamenta Eboracensia 3*, Surtees Soc. Vol. 45 (1865), p.325.
35. *CCR 1422-29*, pp.6-9; Pugh and Ross *op. cit.*, p.17.
36. *CFR 1422-30*, pp.74-5; *CP 3*, pp.292-3.
37. *PPC 3*, p.281; *CPR 1422-29*, p.458.
38. *CCR 1422-29*, p.428. He did not obtain the Durham lands till 1432, *RDK Vol. 33* (1872), p.160.
39. *Ibid.* *1429-35*, p.67.
40. *Ibid.*, p.125; the indenture is P.R.O.: E404/47/321.
41. *CCR 1429-35*, pp.346-8.
42. *PPC 4*, pp.289-90.
43. *CCR 1435-41*, pp.56-7; *CPR 1429-36*, pp.595-6; *Select Cases Before the King's Council 1243-1482*, ed. I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin, Selden Society, Vol. 35 (1918), pp.101-2.
44. *CPR 1429-36*, p.601.
45. *PPC 5*, pp.90, 92.

46. *CCR 1435-41*, pp.178-9.
47. *Excerpta Historica*, ed. Samuel Bentley, (London 1833), pp.2-3; *CCR 1435-41*, p.199.
48. *PPC 5*, p.108.
49. *CCR 1435-41*, pp.276-7, 279-80.
50. Penrith may have had its beginnings in the house of William Strickland, but it seems that Salisbury added to it substantially if he did not actually commence it. Its history is however rather uncertain. See R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p.116 and J. F. Curwen, *The Castles ... of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire ...*, *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Extra Series Vol. 13, pp.219-20. For Bywell, see J. C. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, Vol. vi (1902), pp.75-8. It must be said that Bywell has not been ascribed conclusively to Ralph, but he is the most likely builder. It has close affinities with the castles of Morpeth and Bothal slightly further north, and in County Durham with Hylton, for which see the quite recent and excellent HMSO Guide by B. M. Morley. For Snape, see *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding*, Vol. 1 (1968), p.348.
51. See note 2 above.
52. R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p.115; *RDK Vol. 34* (1873), pp.175, 178, 192, 209, 213.
53. *PPC 5*, p.71; *CPR 1436-41*, p.289.
54. *CPR 1441-46*, p.191; *CPR appendices passim*.
55. R. L. Storey, *The Wardens*, p.605.
56. For the complex history of the ownership of Styford from 1399-1432, see *CIPM 4*, pp.103-5, 129; *CFR 1391-99*, p.298; *1405-13*, pp.227-8; *1430-37*, pp.45, 123; *CFR 1399-1401*, p.332; *1429-36*, pp.120, 142. For the equally complex matter of the descent of the Latimer barony and the bulk of its associated lands, see J. Enoch Powell and K. Wallis, *The History of the House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (1968), pp.460, 537, and appendix A, and note 2 above sub Barons Latimer. It is not without interest, or irony, that George's descendant, Edmund Nevill, ultimately went so far as to claim the Westmorland title itself on the death, in 1601, of Charles the last Earl. Mercifully for the shades of Ralph II and his descendents, the claim was disallowed. *CP 12 ii*, pp.561-3; R. Surtess, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, Vol. 4 (London 1840), pp.164-5.
57. The adwosnys were those of Lyham Church (Suffolk), Middleton Church and Keldhome Abbey (Yorkshire). *CFR 1430-37*, pp.208-10; *CCR 1429-35*, pp.282-4; *1461-68*, p.26. See too *CIPM 4*, pp.156-7.
58. *CFR 1437-45*, pp.264-7, 270-1; *CCR 1441-47*, pp.105-6, 109-10. See too *CIPM 4*, p.212.
59. R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p.112; Pugh and Ross, p.8.
60. *CCR 1435-41*, p.408; *CPR 1441-46*, p.440; *RDK Vol. 34*, p.242; Vol. 44, p.525; *CIPM 4*, p.206.
61. *CPR 1441-46*, p.67; *CCR 1435-41*, pp.478, 481; *CDS* p.312; *CIPM H 7 I*, p.101; *CFR 1485-1509*, pp.66-7.
62. *CPR 1441-46*, p.67.
63. *Ibid. 1452-61*, pp.214-5; *CCR 1441-47*, pp.380-1; *CIPM H 7 II*, pp.586-7; *VCH Surrey 4* (1912), p.305; *CP 3*, pp.354-5; 12 ii, p.550.
64. *PPC 5*, pp.250, 282-3; *The Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham 3*, Surtees Society, Vol. 103 (1901), p.626. For a detailed account of the Prior's part in the Nevill quarrel, see R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge 1973), pp.186-191.
65. *CCR 1441-47*, pp.150-1, 195-9; *RDK Vol. 34* (1873), p.243.
66. A. J. Pollard—The Northern Retainers of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. *Northern History XI* (1975-1976), pp.60-61.
67. *Rot. Scot.*, pp.256, 294-5, 303, 310; *CDS* p.228; *CPR 1429-36*, pp.276, 396; *1446-52*, p.270; *1452-61*, p.219. In February 1449, Ralph and his brothers were excused from attending Parliament so they could defend the borders, *PPC 6*, pp.65-6.
68. *CPR appendices passim*. Entry for Westmorland in *CPR 1446-52* is however missing.
69. *CP 4*, p.127 and note c; 12 ii, p.550. For Countess Margaret's daughter, see Surtees IV, p.159 and Dobson, p.187.
70. There is an interesting similarity between the cases of Anne Holand and Anne Beauchamp, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick who died in 1439. The fact that in 1449 she and her husband, Richard Nevill,

succeeded as Countess and Earl of Warwick after the deaths of her brother Duke Henry and his daughter Anne, cannot have escaped Ralph's notice, and we may speculate that this stimulated his hopes of Anne Holand.

71. *CCR 1454-61*, p.142.
72. *CP 12 ii*, p.550.
73. It was finally resolved on 22 February 1456. *CCR 1454-61*, pp.142-3; *CDS*, p.259.
74. *CP 4*, pp.126-7; *CFR 1445-52*, pp.46, 74. See too *CIPM 4*, p.231.
75. *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding, I* (1968), p.481; *CPR 1485-94*, p.367.
76. *CPR 1452-61*, p.215.
77. *CFR 1445-52*, p.102.
78. *Rot. Scot.*, p.358.
79. R. A. Griffiths, *Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles, and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-1455*, *Speculum*, Vol. 43 (1968), p.610.
80. *CP 4*, p.127; *CFR 1452-61*, p.195; *GIPM 4*, p.276.
81. *PPC 6*, p.158.
82. *Ibid.*, pp.181-2.
83. *Ibid.*, pp.339-40.
84. *Ibid.*, pp.247-8.
85. *CPR 1452-61*, pp.219-20.
86. *PPC 6*, pp.279-81.
87. *CPR 1452-61*, p.335.
88. *CFR 1452-61*, pp.192-3; R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p.183; *RDK Vol. 35* (1874), pp.87-8; *Historia Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society 9 (1839), p.cccxliii.
89. *CCR 1454-61*, pp.353-4 and see below.
90. *CPR 1452-61*, pp.436, 437, 564 and appendix.
91. *CCR 1454-61*, p.422.
92. *CPR 1452-61*, pp.534, 537-8, 546, 553-4; A. J. Pollard *op. cit.*, p.56; *RDK Vol. 35*, p.88.
93. C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of King Edward IV* (1923), Vol. I, pp.85-6.
94. *CPR 1452-61*, p.651.
95. William Gregory's Chronicle of London, in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society, 1876, p.210; *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry the Sixth*, ed. J. Stevenson, Vol. 2 Part 2, Rolls Series, 1864, p.774.
96. *CPR 1452-61*, pp.652-3.
97. *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI . . .*, ed J. S. Davies, Camden Society, 1856, pp.106-7.
98. *John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400 to 1462*, ed. G. L. Harriss and M. A. Harriss, *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. 24, Camden 4th Series Vol. 9 (1972), p.228; Gregory's Chron., p.210; *Annales*, p.775; *RP 5*, p.477.
99. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Vol. 2, 1399-1485 (1883), pp.368-9.
100. *CPR 1452-61*, pp.559-60, 603.
101. G. Poulson, *Beverlac, the antiquities and history of the town of Beverley* (1829), I, p.232.
102. *Ibid.*, p.234.
103. Scofield I, p.134.
104. *CPR 1461-67*, p.66.
105. *RP 5*, pp.476-8; Gregory's Chron., pp.216-7; Benet's Chron., p.230. The sources are not specific as to his presence at St. Albans, though this is certainly the inference, especially of *RP*. In *The Nobility and the Wars of the Roses 1459-1461*, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. 21 (1977), p.21, Colin Richmond takes the opposite view. It is generally thought that John died at Towton itself, but C. Ross, *Edward IV* (1974), p.37, suggests that John was killed at Dintingdale along with Clifford.
106. *RP 5*, pp.479-80; *CPR 1461-67*, p.29; *CFR 1461-71*, pp.121, 183-4, 241-3; 1471-85, p.94.
107. *The Priory of Hexham*, Vol. I, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., Vol. 44 (1864), p.cxi.

108. *RDK* Vol. 35, p.130. For Slingsby see *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding*, Vol. I (1968), p.559. Note however that Slingsby is not listed in her ipm, *CIPM* 4, p.231.
109. *Hexham Priory*, p.cxii.
110. *RP* 5, p.478. It is generally assumed that King Henry was brought to Brancepeth—thus Scofield I, p.186 and Ross, *Edward IV*, p.46. *RP* does not necessarily indicate this however, and B. P. Wolfe, *Henry VI* (1981), pp.333–4, considers it more likely that Henry remained safely in Scotland (A century later, in 1569, Brancepeth was again to be a focal point for rebellion, Surtees, *Durham*, 4, p.153).
111. Cf. Robert Bruce's attack on Norham on the night of Edward III's coronation, *Chronicle of Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson, Bannatyne Club, 1839, pp.258–9.
112. Ross, *Edward IV*, p.46.
113. *Hexham Priory*, pp.ciii–civ; *RDK* Vol. 35, p.102.
114. *RP* 5, pp.478–480.
115. *CPR 1461–67*, pp.86, 122.
116. *Hexham Priory*, pp.cxii–cxiii.
117. *RP* 5, p.511; *CPR 1461–67*, pp.267, 269, 279.
118. Gregory's Chron., pp.223–4.
119. *CPR 1461–67*, pp.342–3.
120. *Hexham Priory*, p.cxiii; J. Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society, 1839, p.37. The heralds' address to the garrison of Bamburgh offering mercy to all except Grey and Nevill is not in my view conclusive proof that the latter was necessarily in the castle at the time of the famous siege. Scofield's account, *op. cit.* I, p.337, appears to be somewhat conjectural.
121. *RP* 5, p.512; *CPR 1461–67*, p.484.
122. Scofield I, p.423; Ross, *Edward IV*, p.120.
123. Warkworth, p.7; *Historiae Croylandensis Continuatio in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veterum*, ed. W. Fulman (Oxford 1684), p.552; Charles was a bastard according to William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p.345.