

The Nevills of Brancepeth and Raby 1425–1499. Part II 1470–1499: Recovery and Collapse

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ALTHOUGH Earl Ralph of Westmorland had stayed out of politics during the reign of Henry VI he had at least sat on various royal commissions for the north of England. After 1461 he failed to do even that. It is clear, however, that in spite of his family's adherence to Henry VI in the campaigns of 1459–61 and Humphrey Nevill's subsequent excesses, Edward IV did not hold the Earl in particular disfavour. Edward never once excluded him from parliament and in November 1461 even commissioned him to raise troops.¹ No doubt Edward's willingness to forgive and forget accounts too for Ralph's appointment as justice of the peace for Durham in 1462, the first commission he appears to have ever received for the county palatine.² Evidently then Ralph's omission from royal commissions was not instigated by the King, so we must seek the explanation elsewhere. It may be that Ralph's traditional foes, the junior Nevills used their influence against him, but this does not account for his inclusion on commissions before 1460 when sometimes they were scarcely less influential at court, nor his continued omission after their fall in 1471, though he did at least then resume his place on the palatinate's commissions. Rather it is more likely that Ralph himself did not wish to take part in the mechanics of local government and instead preferred total obscurity. His brother's death and subsequent attainder proved once and for all that there was little hope of undoing the 1443 settlement and that now the younger Nevills were again close allies of the ruling house there was nothing to be gained from serving the Crown and possibly still much to lose in the event of further friction with them. No doubt too Ralph was embarrassed by the rebellious activities of the uncontrollable family firebrand, Humphrey, and was anxious to ensure the peaceful succession of his heir, Ralph III, who in 1461 was just a boy of five with the disadvantage of his father's attainder. In due course these inhibitions were removed: Humphrey was executed in 1469, the junior Nevills overthrown in 1471 and Lord Nevill's attainder reversed in 1472, yet Earl Ralph still preferred to disassociate himself from the Crown administration.³ Ralph III followed his uncle's example for although the King honoured him by making him a knight of the Bath along with with princes Edward and Richard on the 18 April 1475 he too apparently declined to sit on the King's commissions, and did not, for example, go on the great expedition against France in that year.⁴ Dr. Hicks has commented that the 1460s was a period of self-effacement for the senior House of Nevill; outside the county palatine this is scarcely less true of the 1470s.⁵

This sustained disinclination to sit on royal commissions may have been the result of what was by 1471 simple family policy, but it is arguable that it was also partly due to their resentment of the loss of the Exeter inheritance to which

they had long aspired. The history of this great inheritance is of some note in both the history of the Nevill family and in that of Edward IV's rule, and it is surprising that it has not yet received adequate treatment. At the time of Edward's accession, Ralph III was male heir to his maternal uncle Henry, the third Holand Duke of Exeter, but in the Parliament of November 1461 the Duke had been attainted and on 22 December most of his estates conferred on his Duchess, King Edward's eldest sister, Anne, and her heirs by the Duke which in effect meant their only child, a daughter also named Anne.⁶ In due course this arrangement was endorsed by act of parliament, so Ralph was debarred by two acts of parliament and a letter patent.⁷ Nonetheless, his uncle Earl Ralph must have been greatly vexed when young Anne Holand was betrothed to George Nevill, the son of Lord Montagu, for it must have seemed as if the half blood was about to grow even fatter at the expense of his own erstwhile hopes. This time however, the junior family was not to have things its own way for a bigger fish gobbled up the Holand prize when in October 1466 the Queen paid Duchess Anne 4000 marks for the marriage of her daughter to the Queen's son, Thomas Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby.⁸ They married immediately and on 26 August 1467 the Duchess and her heirs were confirmed in their possession of the Exeter lands which were now swollen by the addition of a few extra manors.⁹ Fears that Anne Holand might not survive to bear a child seem to have prompted King Edward to safeguard the Greys' hold on the inheritance as on 12 February 1469 the reversion of the estates was granted to the Queen, and in 1471 Thomas Grey was given Exeter's second title of Earl of Huntingdon.¹⁰ Evidently the Duchess felt her position was threatened, but although she obtained a confirmation of her rights in July 1472, the Woodville-Grey fist gradually closed round the inheritance for on 4 January 1473 some of the lands were granted to Anne Holand and her husband and their heirs, with successive remainders to the Duchess and the Queen.¹¹

In the course of the next three years, the Duke, Duchess and their daughter all died leaving the bulk of the estates in the hands of the Duchess' second husband, Thomas St. Leger, 'by courtesy of England'. Under normal circumstances, Ralph III could have hoped for a reversal of the 1461 attainder of the Duke of Exeter in his favour, but the Queen and her son had precluded any chance of this. Although the Greys had no hereditary claim on the Exeter lands, especially now that Anne Holand was dead, they continued to press their case, and in March 1476, a mere two months after Duchess Anne's death, Thomas Grey received a life grant of another part of the inheritance.¹² Finally in 1483 the Queen agreed with St. Leger that for 5000 marks, his daughter by the Duchess, another Anne, should marry Thomas Grey's son, another Thomas, whereupon the Exeter lands would be settled on the couple in tail, less eleven manors worth 500 marks *per annum* which were assigned to Sir Richard Grey, the Queen's younger son by her first marriage. This arrangement was then ratified by yet another act of parliament, no doubt, as Professor Ross suggests, because it was deemed necessary to legalize what was plainly an arbitrary act.¹³ The whole episode was carried through with the King's authorisation and with complete indifference to the natural rights of the young Lord Nevill. If Ralph tended to emulate his uncle and stay away from court it was hardly surprising.

Warwick's death, succeeded to the Nevill patrimony in Yorkshire and the north-west which earlier in the century Earl Ralph had fought to win.¹⁹ In Mortimer Levine's words Richard 'in effect became the new great Nevill' and it is interesting to speculate on the Nevills' initial reaction to this newcomer.²⁰ At all events the Duke and Ralph III, who were very much the same age, soon came to an understanding, for in 1477, when Ralph attained his majority, he renounced his claims to at least part of the ancestral lands held by Richard and at the same time entered his service.²¹ In Durham Richard and the two Nevills sat side by side on commissions of the peace and gaol delivery during Bishop Dudley's first year in office from October 1476, and on commissions of array and oyer and terminer in his fourth year.²² It may be that the Nevills were in some measure able to identify with Gloucester who now resembled them in his preference to remain in the north away from court and no doubt they were fully conscious of the advantages of associating with as eminent a person as the King's brother. Even so, their connection with the Duke made little real difference to them. They continued to act as the leading Durham justices even when Richard was absent from the commissions, which he was as often as not, and accordingly it was they and not the Duke who were the real masters of the palatinate.²³ This is amplified in an interesting letter sent by the Prior of Durham to Bishop Dudley in March 1477 urging him to continue 'in cherishyng and keypyng in of the love of my lordes Westmerland & Nevyll . . . for, and your lordship and thei stand as one, ye may reule & guyde all othre that inhabits the Cuntre', adding with not some small hint of drama, 'And what I ment in my mocion made unto your lordshipp for cherisshyng of my said lordes Westmerland & Nevyll I dar not utterly disclose, unto tyme I may common with your lordship my selve' . . .²⁴ Nonetheless it is clear that Lord Nevill did not fail to co-operate with Duke Richard when required to do so, as in July 1482 when he attended the Duke's muster at Alnwick and was given command of the rear division of some 3000 men which, with most of the rest of the army, eventually marched on Edinburgh.²⁵ It was, however, common interest that really brought the two men together. Richard's decision to assert his rights as Protector, arrest the Woodvilles and appropriate their estates the following year, may well have led Lord Nevill to hope that through the Duke he could salvage something from the Exeter inheritance, and no doubt it was for this reason that Richard could look with confidence to him for support.²⁶ On the 11 June 1483 Richard wrote to Ralph as follows:

To my Lorde Nevyll, in haste

My Lorde Nevyll, I recommaunde me to you as hartely as I can; and as ever ye love me, and your awne weale and securty, and this Realme, that ye come to me with that ye may make, defensably arrayde, in all the hast that ys possyble, and that ye wyll yef credence to Richard Ratzclyff, thys beerrer, whom I nowe do sende to you, enstructed with all my mynde and entente.

And, my lord, do me nowe gode servyce, as ye have always befor don, and I trust nowe so to remember you as shalbe the makyng of you and yours. And God sende you goode fortunes.

Wrytten att London, xj day of Jun, with the hande of your hertely lovyng
cousyn and master,

R. Gloucester.²⁷

Ralph and the Earl of Northumberland were given command of Richard's northern supporters who assembled at Pontefract on 25 June.²⁸ These forces then marched south and reached London about 3 July but were sent home again after Richard's coronation on the sixth.²⁹ No doubt Ralph accompanied Northumberland to London, but it is odd to find his name missing from the lists of those notables who attended the great ceremony in the Abbey that day.³⁰ At all events, he appears to have played his part in Richard's accession and so might now look forward to the fulfilment of the King's promise.

As Ralph no doubt hoped, Richard's victory did indeed prove to be the undoing of the Greys and Woodvilles. The projected marriage of Sir Thomas Grey to Anne St. Leger never took place and Thomas St. Leger was executed before the year was out.³¹ Ralph and his old uncle were summoned to Richard's parliament of 1484, but when this body duly annulled King Edward's act allowing the Exeter lands to fall to Anne St. Leger, these were resumed by the Crown and not passed on to Lord Nevill.³² This must have been a serious disappointment, especially as he may have assisted in suppressing 'Buckingham's rebellion'. Nevertheless he did receive some reward 'for his good services against rebels' for on 25 March 1484 he was granted in tail the manors of Barington and Southpederton in Somerset, worth £91 14s 8d *per annum* which had been held by Sir Giles Daubenay, the manor of Illesley in Berkshire, worth £27 19s 4d a year and previously held by Sir Richard Beauchamp, and the reversion of the manors of Queen's Cammell and Kingsbury in Somerset, worth £80 9s 6d a year previously held by the Countess of Richmond and now held for life by Lord Stanley. Until this reversion came into effect, Ralph was to be subsidised from the issues of Barnard Castle, so that in sum the grant was immediately worth £200 a year.³³

We next hear of Lord Nevill in September 1484 when he was at Nottingham acting on a commission to keep the truce with Scotland, but apart from this he does not appear to have taken any further part in the affairs of state during the remainder of Richard's reign.³⁴ Perhaps the resumption of the Holand lands eroded Ralph's loyalty, but most probably his attitudes were the result of a sense of caution instilled in him by his uncle. Perhaps too, he felt a new sense of responsibility from November 1484 when the Earl's death made him head of the family.³⁵ Ralph II had kept his estates intact during previous years of crisis by observing a careful neutrality so far as he could, and it seems likely that Ralph III decided to continue to emulate his uncle's example throughout 1485. There is no evidence that the new Earl of Westmorland fought for King Richard at Bosworth, and although it would be agreeable to endorse Professor Ross' suggestion that he might have done, it seems unlikely.³⁶

Still the new King evidently suspected Earl Ralph III of having Ricardian sympathies for he was excluded from Tudor's first parliament in November 1485.³⁷ On 1 December Ralph was required to give King Henry bonds amounting to £400 and 400 marks for his good behaviour, and on 5 December the keeping, rule and marriage of his heir, Ralph IV, who was promptly married off to an obscure descendant of Tudor's Beaufort relatives.³⁸ If Henry VII ever really did harbour anxieties about the Earl, it soon became clear that these were unnecessary and before long the King was treating him as a loyal, if rather unimportant, peer. In September 1486 Ralph IV was allowed to hold the taper

before Prince Arthur at his christening ceremony at Winchester and in November 1487 the Earl was summoned to Tudor's second parliament.³⁹

In many ways the history of the Nevill family in the first half of Henry VII's reign followed the same pattern as in the second half of Edward IV's. The two Ralphps, father and son, were leading members of the Bishop of Durham's Judiciary but were not included, till 1496, on royal commissions elsewhere in the North.⁴⁰ During the same period the Earl made over to his son and his second wife in tail, portions of the Nevill estates, just as Ralph II had conveyed a number of his manors to his heirs. These constituted the manors of Ashford in Le Peke, valued as worth £60 a year; Allerton, valued at £9 15s 4d; the fee farms from Andover and Basingstoke together worth £25 17s 8d; Caldecotes, worth 10 marks; Tolworth, worth £14 15s; the Yorkshire manors of Kirkbymoorside, Braucedale, Ferondale, Gellemore, Faddemore, Buttercram, Skreynham, Cottingham and Witham altogether worth £240; thirty acres of pasture near Beverley worth £53 0s 4d; £19 5s from the Abbot of Kirkstall for the fee farms of Bardesey and Collingham, and £4 3s of the fee farm of Ormesby.⁴¹ But if Earl Ralph III followed the example of his dead uncle, Ralph IV, now styled 'Lord Nevill', did not. Indeed this young man resembles more his great forbear the first Earl who grew great through unfailing loyalty and service to the Crown. Ralph IV went on expedition to Picardy in 1492 and in 1496 was entrusted with commissions of the peace for Northumberland and to treat for the marriage of Princess Margaret with the King of Scotland.⁴² In September of that year he is reported to have been the leader of 4000 men who mustered at Newcastle to throw back a Scottish invasion force.⁴³ The following autumn he was second in command to Surrey of the army which relieved Norham and then invaded Scotland; he was appointed a keeper of the truce drawn up with King James after the successful conclusion of this campaign, and finally he was appointed the leader of the men of Durham during another Scottish invasion scare shortly afterwards.⁴⁴

There can be little doubt that had he lived this Lord Nevill would have been among the greatest of his clan, yet, although no more than twenty-five years old, he died suddenly in 1497 or 1498.⁴⁵ According to Leland, his grief-stricken father went to stay with Lord Nevill's sister at Hornby in Richmondshire 'wherapon the erle take much thought and dyed'.⁴⁶ Whether this story is apocryphal or not, these two deaths brought the century to a sad close for the Nevills, especially as the new Earl, Ralph IV's son, was only a few months old and therefore extremely vulnerable to exploitation. Custody of the Durham lands was given to William, Bishop of Carlisle, who was instructed to make a survey of them for the king, and on 4 March 1500 the rest of the Nevill lands were divided by an indenture drawn up between Ralph IV's widow Edith and her new husband, Sir Thomas Darcy, on the one part, and the King on the other. By this, Edith received for life the fee farms from Kirkstall, Ormesby and Grimsby, and the manors of Bywell, Bolbek, Kirkbymoorside, Iden, Caldecotes, Beseby and the quarter of Stow by Depyng and the reversion of the moiety of the annuity of £30 from Kent now held for life by Ralph III's brother, John. King Henry took the reversion of the other moiety of the Kent annuity, the fee farms from Andover and Basingstoke and the manors of Allerton, Ashford, Tolworth, Buttercram, Weton, the quarter of Cottingham, the land in Mantholme and the Devon lands.⁴⁷ Even Ralph V's

eventual father-in-law, the third Duke of Buckingham seems to have exploited his ward's estates more than was customarily acceptable.⁴⁸ Nor did the family fortunes survive for very much longer after this fourth Earl of Westmorland died in 1549. Charles, the sixth Earl, led the Nevills to ruin in the 1569 Rising and had to flee the country when the rebellion collapsed. In 1571 he and his uncles were attainted, and Brancepeth and Raby and the other estates were accordingly sequestrated by the Crown.⁴⁹

There is still much we can learn about the Nevill family during the fifteenth century. In particular it would be well worth investigating their relations with their tenants such as the numerous Claxton family who held the Durham manors of Preston upon Skiryn, Westmoreton, Haswell Magna, Burne Magna and property in Houghton-le-Spring from the Nevills. That these relations were not without their difficulties is shown by the complaint about Robert Claxton which Ralph II lodged with the Bishop of Durham's chancery in 1472.⁵⁰ Another matter which ought to be researched is the relation of the Earl with his council, especially as this might provide absolute proof that the second Earl was not the half-wit he is still sometimes thought to have been.⁵¹ But though this article leaves several stones unturned, and indeed for reasons of space has not assimilated all the relevant material already used in the recent works of others, it is hoped that it will contribute something to the study of a great family first begun in any depth by D. Rowland in his *'Historical Account . . . of the Noble Family of Nevill . . .'* published in 1830.⁵²

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For abbreviations used, see note preceding Notes to Part I.

1. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Register, 1439-1509* (London 1938), pp.299, 323, 343, 379, 404, 429, 454; CPR 1461-67, p.66.
2. DKR 35, p.89. Bishops Langley and Nevill had been close allies of Ralph's rival, the Earl of Salisbury, and consequently Ralph had been *persona non grata* during their episcopates. Although his brothers, John and Thomas, headed the Durham administration in Bishop Booth's first four years, Ralph was oddly enough still not included. See Part I, note 88.
3. RP 6, pp.24-5.
4. CP 12 ii, p.551.
5. M. A. Hicks, *Dynastic Change and Northern Society, Northern History* vol. xiv (1978), p.86. I am indebted to Dr. Hicks for some helpful suggestions received during the preparation of this article.
6. RP 5, pp.476-83; CPR 1461-67, pp.104-5.
7. RP 5, pp.548-9.
8. C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London 1974), p.93; Lander, *The Nevilles and Wydevilles, BIHR* Vol. 36 No. 94, p.137.
9. CPR 1467-77, pp.32-3. In *Edward IV*, p.336 fn. Professor Ross appears to have commented erroneously that the estates were granted to young Anne Holand with remainder to her mother, Duchess Anne.
10. CPR 1467-77, pp.137-8; CP 4, p.418.
11. CPR 1467-77, pp.360, 373-4.
12. *ibid.*, p.582.
13. RP 6, pp.215-8; CCR 1476-85, p.291; CP 4, pp.419-20, and 5, pp.212-6; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp.336-7; Lander (*op. cit.* n.8 above), p.142 n.1.
14. DKR 35, pp.89, 90, 101, 123.
15. *ibid.*, p.102.
16. *ibid.*, p.102 and PRO: DURH 3/49/84; CP 12 ii, p.551.

17. *DKR* 44, pp.528–9.
18. *CPR* 1476–85, p.14; *CIPM* 4, p.419 as in note 35 below.
19. *CPR* 1467–77, pp.260, 266, 486–7, 556; Storey, *The Wardens, EHR* No. 285 (1957), p.615.
20. Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571*, (London 1973), p.31.
21. *VCH Yorkshire, North Riding*, vol. 2, p.177: PRO: Common Pleas. Fleet of Fines. *CP* 25(1)/281/164/32. cited by Hicks (*op. cit.* n.5 above) p.86. In this sense, Richard did indeed 'end the long-standing feud between the junior and senior Nevill lines' (Ross, *Richard III*, 1981, p.53), but in reality the old rivalry of the Nevills was brought to an end by Barnet and its consequences for the junior line.
22. *DKR* 35, p.138.
23. Ralph II and Ralph III were justices of assize in Dudley's first year and justices of assize and gaol delivery in the seventh year (1482–3). Duke Richard was absent from all three commissions. *DKR* 35, p.142.
24. *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society 9 (1839), p.ccclix.
25. E. Hall, *The Union of . . . Lancaster and York . . .* (1548; London 1809 edition), pp.331–2.
26. For Richard's appropriation of the estates of the duchy of Exeter and those of Rivers and Dorset. see Ross, *Richard III*, p.119.
27. *The Paston Letters AD 1422–1509*, ed. J. Gairdner vol. 6 (London 1904), pp.71–2. According to Gairdner's fn on p.71, the letter was taken from a manuscript of the time of James I and was doubtless a transcript of an original letter of the Duke of Gloucester. Unfortunately the original appears to be lost, so we cannot be quite wholly certain as to its authenticity.
28. *York Civic Records* vol. 1, ed. A. Raine, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 98 (1939), pp.74–5.
29. *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453–1527*, ed. L. Lyell and F. Watney (Cambridge 1936), p.155, which states 'therle of Northumberlande & therle of Westmorland . . . now comen oute of the North' . . . If a Ralph Nevill did come out of the North, it was surely Ralph III and not the septuagenarian Ralph II.
30. *Excerpta Historica*, ed. S. Bentley (London 1833), p.384, citing B. L. Harl. MS.2115, f.152; B. L. Harl. MS.1386, f.16, corrected by College of Arms MS. I. 18. The List in *CP* 4, pp.19–20, is taken from this. I am grateful to Mr. P. W. Hammond for his views on this matter. The Earl's great age readily explains his absence from both Edward IV's funeral and Richard III's coronation.
31. *CP* 4, p.420.
32. Wedgwood, p.482; *CCR* 1476–85, p.340; *RP* 6, pp.242–4. According to Richard's act, Thomas St. Leger had a bill passed in the 1467–8 Parliament settling the estates on his daughter Anne. As the *Complete Peerage* notes, she was not then alive, and no such act appears to be registered.
33. Not £280 *p.a.* as inferred by Ross, *Richard III*, pp.120, 159 note 40. See *CPR* 1476–85, pp.427–8; *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, ed. R. Horrox and P. W. Hammond, vol. I (Upminster 1979), p.169. As Ralph is absent from commissions to Richard's northern supporters, it is by no means certain that he was an active loyalist at the time of the rebellion.
34. *CP* 12 ii, p.553.
35. At his death Ralph was seised of Brancepeth Castle and the Durham manors of East Brandon, Helmeland, Tudhoe, Halywell, Britle, Oxenhall, Stanley and Billerawc, and Wolleyhall together with lands, tenements, coal mines and rents elsewhere in the palatinate. Outside Durham he was declared seised of Ayton, Hemlington, Kirkbymoorside, Farndale, Collingham (i.e. the Kirkstall Abbey fee farm), land in Mantholme and property in Ripon in Yorkshire, a quarter of Stow by Depying and the Grimsby fee farm in Lincs., Iden, Northeye and Southeye in Sussex, Caldecotes in Hunts., Bywell and Bolbek in Northumberland, the fee farms from Ormesby in Norfolk and Andover and Basingstoke in Hants., an annual rent of £30 16s 8d and two burgages in Westgate St., Newcastle, a rent of £30 *p.a.* from Kent, the Nevill Inn in London, Ashford in Derbyshire, Allerton in Notts., and his annual £20 as earl. *DKR* 44, p.528; *CIPM* 4, p.419. By June, 1487, Ralph III had received these lands together with the annuity of £90 16s 8d from Newcastle and the Nevill lands held by his mother who died on 26 December 1486. These constituted the Devon holdings, valued as worth £80 *p.a.*, Weton and a quarter of Cottingham worth £60 10s 4d and Tolworth worth £8 *p.a.* *RDK* 36, p.14; *CFR* 1471–75, pp.289, 306; 1485–1509, pp.66–7; *CCR* 1485–1500, pp.10, 41; *CDS*, p.312.
36. Most obviously because he was not attainted. See C. Ross *Richard III*, p.159.
37. Wedgwood, p.502.

38. *CCR 1485-1500*, p.22; *CP 12 ii*, p.552.
39. *CP 12 ii*, p.552; Wedgwood, p.518.
40. Ralph III was a justice of the peace in 1491-3 and 1495, a justice of gaol delivery in 1493, and a commissioner of array in 1492-3. Ralph IV was a justice of the peace in 1491-3 and 1495, a justice of gaol delivery in 1493, 95 and 96, of assize and oyer and terminer in 1495, commissioner of array in 1495, and in 1493 appointed to collect the arrears due to the late bishop. *RDK 36*, pp.21-2, 26-7, 36, 56, 58.
41. *CIPM H 7* vol. 2, pp.170-1, 214, 218, 223. For Allerton see especially PRO: C141/5/- where the manor was valued at £4 clear of deductions in January 1485.
42. *CP 12 ii*, p.552; *CPR 1494-1509*, appendix; *Rot. Scot.*, p.521.
43. J. Gairdner, *A History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third* (revised ed. London 1898), p.307 fn.2.
44. *CP 12 ii*, p.552; *Rot. Scot.*, pp.528, 534; *RDK 36*, p.37.
45. *CIPM H 7* vol. 2, p.214, which gives the date 21 September 1497, although *CP 12 ii*, p.553 considers 1498 more likely.
46. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. L. Toumlin Smith (London 1907), vol. 1, p.72. As *CP 12 ii*, p.552, comments, the precise date of Ralph III's death is difficult to establish. 6 February 1499 is the date given in an inquisition *post mortem* of 1500 (*CIPM H 7* vol. 2, pp.170-1) and is the date preferred by the *Complete Peerage* and hence inserted on the family tree in part I of this article. On the other hand an inquisition *post mortem* of 1501 gives 31 July 1499 (*ibid.*, p.231) and a later one gives 7 June 1498 (*ibid.*, p.349). According to *CFR 1485-1509*, p.259, he was dead by 10 July 1498, and in Durham two inquisitions *post mortem* were taken as early as 16 and 17 June 1498 (*RDK 44*, pp.529-31). As the Durham inquisitions add that Ralph V was then sixteen weeks old, which tallies with his supposed birthday, June 1498 is probably the most likely date. For the lands held by Ralph III at his death, see the above references and *CFR 1485-1509*, pp.273, 294. Although his wife and his son Ralph IV, and his eldest son who died young, were buried at Brancepeth where Ralph III had founded 'the Chantry of the Saviour', the Earl himself was buried in the parish church at Hornby. *RDK 35*, p.142; *CP 12 ii* pp.551-3.
47. *RDK 36*, p.60; *CCR 1485-1500*, pp.354-5; *CDS*, p.330.
48. Carole Rawcliffe, *Baronial Councils in the Middle Ages in Patronage, Pedigree and Power*, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester 1979), pp.91 and 106 note 9. See too Margaret Condon, *Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII*, *ibid.*, pp. 118 and 138 note 46.
49. *CP 12 ii*, pp.561-3; M. E. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society* (Oxford 1974), pp.26, 200-1.
50. For details of lands held from Ralph III, see *CIPM H 7*, vol. i, pp.230, 235, 246, 275, 366, 429 and from Ralph V, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp.142, 252, 349, 354, 365, 412-3; vol. 3, p.93. For the Claxtons see *RDK 34*, p.191; 35, p.111; 36, pp.6, 36; 44, pp.349-353.
51. Colin Richmond, *The Nobility and the Wars of the Roses 1459-61*, *Nottingham Medieval Studies 21* (1977), p.81 fn.46 seems to take the view that such a study would reach the opposite conclusion.
52. In particular, all due reverence must be paid to Professor Ross' doctoral thesis alluded to in Part I, note 26 of this article.

APPENDIX—RICHARD NEVILL, EARL OF SALISBURY

There follows a list of the principal offices and the estates of minors and idiots granted to Richard. The list makes some note of his inherited lands and those he held in the right of his wife, but for these the reader is referred to C. Ross, *The Yorkshire Baronage* (see Part I note 26). For Richard's career in general see R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* chapter 7. If we took into consideration the estates and offices held by other members of his family such as Robert who became Bishop of Durham in 1438 and William, Lord Faucomberge, who became Warden of Roxburgh in 1443 (this important office carried a fee of £2,000 *p.a.* in war and £1,000 in peace—*c.f.* the Wardenship of the West March as below), there would be little doubt that Richard's family was, on balance, more powerful than any other northern noble house, including the Percys, during the half century preceding the Battle of Barnet.

Estates inherited from parents:

Shortly after his birth (in 1400), Ralph I settled a large part of his estates on his wife Joan and their children (Storey, p.112 and above part I, note 26). On 20/9/1437 his mother Joan granted him Middleham and Penrith for life for £400 *p.a.* (Storey, p.112, citing PRO: Exchequer Augmentations, Ancient Deeds, nos. 6258, 6466, 8541; *CCR 1435-41*, pp.157-8). On 19/9/1439 Joan gave him Sheriff Hutton and all her remaining Nevill lands in Yorkshire to farm for three years, retaining only those lands and rents given her and Ralph I by John of Gaunt and the above rent of £400. (*CCR 1441-47*, pp.12-13. For Gaunt's grants see *CPR 1396-99*, p.548; *CCR 1396-99*, p.463). After Joan's death, he succeeded to the great bulk of the patrimony, including those lands and annuities granted his parents in tail, i.e. the manors and towns of Penrith and Sowerby worth £62 0s 4d *p.a.*, all the royal rights in the lordship of Bainbridge and the forest of Wensleydale worth £140 *p.a.* and the annuity of £120 from the customs and subsidies of Newcastle (see Part I notes 32 and 60 and *CCR 1441-47*, pp.12-13, 165-6; *CFR 1437-45*, pp.185-188; *CPR 1396-99*, p.267, 1408-13, p.467). Payment of this £120 annuity remained in arrears. On 1/10/1444 it was replaced by an annuity of a similar amount from the customs and subsidies of Hull and the manors of Bowes, New Forest, Hopes and Arkingarthdale in Yorkshire. On 5/7/1446 more alternative arrangements were made, and then on 8/3/1447 Salisbury surrendered his rights to the issues of Hull and in return was granted in fee parts of the manors of Dighton by Northallerton and Egremont, which he had hitherto held only on a temporary basis. These too were surrendered on 3/4/1449 when Salisbury received in tail male 'two parts of the castle of Richmond' and further extensive rights to augment those he had received in Richmondshire in 1445. (*CPR 1441-46*, pp.316, 440; 1446-52, p.281; PRO: C139/104, No. 11).

His wife's estates:

Married in or before February 1421 Alice, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, Baron Monthermer and Montagu. On 10/6/1424 granted seisin of his wife's share of dower lands of Lucy, Countess of Kent. (*CCR 1422-29*, pp.167, 169; *CFR 1422-30*, p.81). On 24/2/1429 granted seisin of his late father-in-law's estates. (*CFR 1422-30*, pp.262, 282-4). On 25/6/1434 granted wife's share of dower lands of Duchess of York. (*CCR 1429-35*, pp. 283-4; *CFR 1430-37*, pp. 209-10). On 23/1/1443 granted wife's share of dower lands of Joan, Countess of Kent. (*CCR 1441-47*, pp.105, 109-110; *CFR 1437-45*, pp.264-7, 270-1). On 3/5/1429 he was given the title of Earl of Salisbury (*PPC 3*, p.324), and on 1/11/1443 he and his wife were granted in survivorship £20 *p.a.* from the issues and profits of Wiltshire to support the comital dignity. (*CCR 1441-47*, p.165; *CPR 1446-52*, p.567).

Grants of offices:

12/12/1423—Master Forester of all the chases and parks of the archbishopric of York during voidance of see. *CPR 1422-29*, p.169.

15/11/1424—Keeper of the Forest beyond Trent once his father received licence to surrender that office. This carried a fee of 100 marks, increased to 200 marks in 1427. On 20/9/1437 he was granted the office for

life, but at 100 marks *p.a.* On 3/7/1443 the grant was converted to one in tail male at 100 marks *p.a.* (*CPR 1422-29*, pp.255, 411-2; *1436-41*, p.96; *1441-46*, p.191; *1446-52*, p.566).

1425—Steward and Constable of Pontefract. (*CDS*, p.207; Storey, p.115).

14/12/1435—Confirmed as steward of lordship of Kendal with annuity of £50 for life, and steward of the late Duchess of Ireland's lands in Kendal, Lancashire and Yorkshire with a fee of 20 marks *p.a.* On 16/10/1443 this fee was increased to £20 *p.a.* (*CPR 1429-36*, p.540; *CCR 1441-47*, pp.164-5).

14/12/1435—Steward and Master Forester of the lordship of Richmond during pleasure, converted to a grant for life on 20/9/1437 'in consideration of this good services beyond the sea and in Scotland'. (*CPR 1429-36*, p.510; *1436-41*, p.96; *CCR 1441-47*, p.164). On 25/11/1445 granted certain rights and revenues in the honour of Richmond, augmented in April 1449 as above. (*CPR 1441-46*, p.429; *1446-52*, pp.269, 281).

13/11/1437—Privy Councillor with a fee of £100 *p.a.*, though effectively only £80 *p.a.* (*PPC 5*, p.71; *CPR 1436-41*, p.289).

2/ 4/1454—Chancellor of England till 7/3/1455 and a keeper of the seas till July 1455. (*RP 5*, pp. 244, 283; *CP 11*, p.397; *Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V, et Henrici VI*, ed. J. A. Giles (London 1848), p.47).

3/12/1454—Keeper of town and castle of Portchester during pleasure at 1s a day (*CPR 1452-61*, p.208).

1456—Chief Steward of Duchy of Lancaster in the north parts (R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I* (London 1953), p.420).

(Attainted in October 1459; attainder annulled in October 1460, *RP 5*, pp.349, 366, 374).

22/ 8/1460—Master of the King's Mews and Falcons (*CPR 1452-61*, p.589).

29/10/1460—Great Chamberlain of England for life (*ibid.*, p.627).

The Wardenship of the West March:

Took office on 8/6/1420 at £1,250 in peace and £2,500 in war, and retained post till 1435. On 6/7/1434 he made indentures to hold the office at same rates for one year from 12/9/1434, and to take the East March too for one year from 25/7/1434 for £2,500 *p.a.* in peace and £5,000 in war. On 8/2/1435 he petitioned for discharge of both posts as payments were in arrears. (*PPC 4*, pp.268-77, 295-7 and Storey, *The Wardens of the Marches*, pp.604, 613). On 18/12/1439 he agreed to take the West March for £983 6s 8d *p.a.* and took up office for ten years on 12/12/1443 (PRO: E404/60/108; Storey, *Wardens*, pp.605, 614). On 4/4/1446 he and son Warwick were granted West March in survivorship for twenty years at the same fee after the expiry of previous indenture. (*CPR 1446-52*, p.184). Payments were again in arrears when on 11/2/1448 it was arranged that the fee should be paid with £200 from the customs and subsidies of Newcastle, £383 6s 8d from Hull and £400 from Boston. This was changed to £400 from Hull, £283 6s 8d from London and £300 from the 'port of St. Botolph's town' as from 6/7/1450 (*CPR 1446-52*,

p.184; *CCR 1447-54*, pp.149-50). On 9/8/1455, the office was granted to them from 12/6/1454 till 19/8/1475 at the higher rates of 1420. (PRO: E404/70/3/73 cited by Storey, *The Wardens*, pp.606, 614, corrected in *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p.255 note 18).

In Durham:

Keeper of the temporalities in the vacancy of the see between 1437 and 1438, and in 1438 granted an annuity of £100. (*RDK 34*, pp.173, 178, 213; *CFR 1437-45*, p.18).

Grants of the estates of minors and idiots:

19/ 9/1420—Granted all the possessions of his late brother-in-law, Richard Scrope of Bolton, during the minority of his heir, without rendering anything at the Exchequer. (*CPR 1416-22*, p.333).

28/ 4/1424—Granted estates of Elizabeth, late widow of Thomas, 6th Lord Clifford during minority of 8th Lord Clifford. (*CFR 1422-30*, p.75).

2/ 6/1424—Granted estates of Ralph Nevill II's mother and Ralph's share of Lucy Holand's dower during Ralph's minority. (*CFR 1422-30*, p.79).

16/ 5/1439—Appointed a keeper of lands of Richard, Earl of Warwick during minority of his heir. (*CPR 1436-41*, pp. 279, 408; *CFR 1437-45*, p.77).

25/ 7/1446—Granted Barnard Castle during minority of Anne, daughter and heiress of Duke of Warwick. She died in 1449 whereupon Barnard Castle passed to Salisbury's son, Warwick. (*CPR 1441-46*, p. 458).

11/ 6/1451—Granted estates of his brother, Lord Latimer, 'by reason of the idiocy of the said George'. (*CPR 1446-52*, p.430).

Corrections

We apologise for the following errors in the *Ricardian* 75, December 1981:—

Page 421, line 23: 'the' should read 'that'; page 424, line 1: '6 December' should read '9 December'; page 426, line 21: 'brother' should read 'brothers'; and line 25: 'elipse' should read 'eclipse'; page 431, note 12: *PCC* should read *PPC*; page 432, note 32, line 14: 'of Joan's 'parcel'' should read 'for Joan's parcel'; page 435, note 113: delete '*RDK*, Vol. 35, p.102'; page 435, note 116: add '*RDK*, Vol. 35, p.102'.