

SOME OF HUMPHREY STAFFORD'S MILITARY INDENTURES

Humphrey Stafford (1402-60) was born to a position of prominence among the peers of fifteenth-century England. Not yet a year old when his father died, Humphrey became the sixth Earl of Stafford in 1403, and upon the death of his mother Anne, in 1438, he was considered as Earl of Buckingham. In 1444 Humphrey was created Duke of Buckingham by Henry VI. His landed resources matched his titles, for he was among the best endowed of the English nobility. The Stafford family estates were scattered throughout England, Wales, and Ireland, and through his mother Humphrey acquired yet more, as she was heiress to the lands of Thomas of Woodstock, Edward III's youngest son, and of his wife, Eleanor, who shared the inheritance of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. Humphrey Stafford spent his life in active service to the house of Lancaster, and died fighting for Henry VI at Northampton, but he generally avoided being deeply involved in the factional baronial politics of Henry VI's reign. His avoidance of controversy has meant that Humphrey's life has yet to be the subject of careful study, and this examination of some of his indentured retainers is a step toward a fuller biography. In his career Humphrey served extensively in France, as Captain of Calais, Lieutenant-General of Normandy, and on numerous diplomatic missions. In England he was at various times in his life Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lieutenant of the Marches, and Constable of Dover and Queensborough Castles.

In the fifteenth century, the social, political, and military position of an individual was related to the number and prominence of his adherents, clients, or retainers. Humphrey Stafford was not exceptional in seeking persons to form a retinue to accompany him in his business and travels, a retinue established through the instrument of an indenture made between him and each retainer to define the terms of the relationship.

The use of indentures was nothing new in the fifteenth century.¹ It had evolved out of the older landed feudal relationship, through the *fief-rente*, to the indenture system. The *fief-rente* and the indenture are superficially similar since both involved service in return for a money fee, but the *fief-rente* must be classed as feudal whereas the indenture is non-feudal, since the grantee gave neither homage nor fealty while the recipient of a *fief-rente* gave both.² Money and mutual need were the crux of an indentured relationship. The *fief-rente* and the indenture are obviously akin, and the *fief-rente* forms the link between

¹ See N. B. Lewis, "An Early Indenture of Military Service, 27 July, 1287", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XIII (1935-36), 85-89; *idem*, "An Early Fourteenth Century Contract for Military Service", *ibid.*, XX (1943-45), 111-18.

² B. D. Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 11; *idem*, "The Feudal Antecedent of the Indenture System", *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 510; *idem*, "The Money Fief under the English Kings, 1066-1485", *English Historical Review*, LXVI (1951), 164-8.

feudalism and what has been called bastard feudalism or new feudalism, that is, relationships based upon indentures. The *fief-rente* and the indenture existed side by side in England in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, though the *fief-rente* was in decline for three-quarters of a century before its disappearance from England by 1450.³

Several developments contributed to the emergence of the indenture, rather than the *fief-rente*, as the primary means to obtain military service. The use of the commission of array as a supplement to or substitute for the feudal host familiarized local gentry with a contractual basis for levying soldiers in the various shires. A more definite movement away from the use of the feudal host or the *fief-rente*, as well as from the commission of array, was reflected in the use of more efficient non-feudal contractual agreements between kings and military captains, whereby the captain agreed to raise a specified number of troops who would be paid wages ultimately drawn from the royal coffers for a set period of service in a campaign.⁴ If a king contracted with captains to raise forces it should be expected that the magnates of the kingdom would utilize contracts or indentures to secure their personal followings, and hence the new or bastard feudalism involving a retinue secured by a magnate through indentures promising favour and a fee in return for service.

Though similar, a distinction should be made between indentured relationships made to muster forces to fight for the duration of a war and the binding of a military retainer to his lord, as most indentures state, for life. Still other indentured relationships could be mentioned, such as those providing for household or administrative personnel and those where an individual gave favour and support to his lord and accepted livery and fee. This final sort of retainer was the source of the great outcry against "livery and maintenance" and was attacked by a statute in 1390 which prohibited the granting of liveries by men below the rank of banneret.⁵ Subsequent statutes brought further controls to the practice of retaining, but retaining itself was too useful and well-established to be abandoned.⁶

³ Lyon, *Fief to Indenture*, p. 245.

⁴ J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 68-76. Lyon, *Fief to Indenture*, pp. 251-3.

This method of raising troops became particularly important in the reign of Edward III. See H. J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III* (Manchester, 1966); A. E. Prince, "The Indenture System under Edward III", *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933); *idem*, "The Payment of Army Wages in Edward III's Reign", *Speculum*, XLIX (1944), 137-60; *idem*, "The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III", *E. H. R.*, XLVI (1931), 353-71; J. W. Sherborne, "Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380", *E. H. R.*, LXXIX (1964), 718-46.

The influence of *Quia Emptores* upon the emergence of bastard feudalism through its outlawing of subinfeudation has been judged contributory rather than inceptional by J. M. W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540* (Manchester, 1968), pp. 306-10.

⁵ N. B. Lewis, "The Organization of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XXVII (1945), 29-30. R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), p. 10. B. Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of England in the Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (London, 1964), pp. 338-9.

⁶ W. H. Dunham, Jr., "Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483", *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXXIX (1955-57), 67-89.

In examining the indentured retainers of Humphrey Stafford we are in contact with the legitimate use of the indenture by a magnate to provide himself with a feed retinue, although historians' use of the term "bastard" feudalism for such retainues hardly connotes legality. The instrument of an indenture "was a compact between X and Y by which X grants Y an annual fee in return for which Y promises some form of service commonly for as long as both live but not binding upon the heirs of either".⁷ The recruitment of feed retainers has been variously evaluated by modern commentators. The system has been viewed as a force for stability in society at least as secure as the feudal tenurial ties which antedated it but without the inflexibility of being hereditary.⁸ W. H. Dunham viewed it in the same light, leaving room for human inconstancy.⁹ From the other side bastard feudalism has been called "a parasite institution, . . . cut off from its natural roots in the soil, and far removed indeed from the atmosphere of responsibility, loyalty and faith . . .",¹⁰ and as "a retrograde step".¹¹ Since the indentures of Humphrey Stafford under consideration date from 1440 to 1451, we are involved with the period of which Dr Storey wrote, and his argument that the availability of armed retainers to the magnates of England was a significant element in the coming of civil war in the reign of Henry VI is well enough stated that the institution of retaining does indeed seem a detrimental one for social order.¹² Still, as Dr Storey suggests, had Henry VI ruled as well as reigned, the quarrels among the magnates of the kingdom might have been kept within tolerable limits and Lancaster need not have given way to York. The contingency of an incompetent upon the throne is not itself sufficient cause for the condemnation of an institution which in other situations functioned satisfactorily. Views of bastard feudalism have consistently been coloured by the episodes of civil war in fifteenth-century England, a kingdom with a centuries-old tradition of looking to its king for leadership. Under Henry VI the beacon of leadership flickered dimly, and retaining was not the only social, political, or military institution which underwent consequent changes. Humphrey Stafford had retainers who were indeed involved in the civil wars of Henry VI's reign, but they were also engaged in the foreign war with France which to contemporaries was an activity as laudable and proper as a suitable retinue for a peer.

The nine indentures between Humphrey Stafford and his retainers to be examined are taken from the so-called "Red Book of Caus Castle",¹³ a varied

⁷ K. B. McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XX (1943-45), 164.

⁸ Lewis, "Organization of Indentured Retainues", *Trans. R. H. S.*, 4th series, XXVII, 36-7, 39.

⁹ Dunham, "Hastings' Indentured Retainers", *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXXIX, 7-14.

¹⁰ H. M. Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism", *History*, New Series, XXV (1940), 225.

¹¹ Storey, *End of Lancaster*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17, 28.

¹³ National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 280D.

I am informed by Mr B. G. Owens, Keeper of Manuscripts and Records, that Peniarth MS. 280D is the compilation of the seventeenth-century antiquary, Robert Vaughan.

collection of administrative documents including letters, acquittances, homages, warrants, and indentures. The earliest military indenture in the "Red Book" is dated 20 April 1440, and is between Humphrey Stafford and Sir Edward Grey.¹⁴ Not to be confused with Sir Edmund Grey who was created Earl of Kent in 1465, Sir Edward was a Warwickshire gentleman, who was appointed a Justice of the Peace in that county each year from 1443 through 1446.¹⁵ Sir Edward bound himself for life to wear the Earl's livery and to ride with the Earl with additional men both in England and beyond the sea when summoned "upon reasonable warning" for an annual fee to be drawn from Oakham (Rutland) and Tysoe (Warwickshire), to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter. The fee set was £40, the largest of the fees paid in the nine indentures, and provision was made for the fee to be increased to a hundred marks (£66 13s. 4d.) should Sir Edward's degree be raised from bachelor to baron. As a bachelor, Sir Edward was to ride with the Earl with an esquier, three yeomen, a groom, and a page, all mounted, but as a baron Sir Edward was to be better accompanied with two esquiers, four yeomen, a groom, and two pages, all mounted. The indenture also provided that the Earl could contract with Sir Edward to raise additional soldiers and archers with wages and transportation costs to be paid by the Earl. The indenture stated that Earl Humphrey was to have a third of the prizes of war which might fall to Sir Edward in the form of prizes, ransoms, or other winnings, as well as a third share of the third part which would come to Sir Edward from profits which his men might take in the events of war. The share provided for Earl Humphrey from the prizes of his men was not unusual, for the division of spoils by thirds and thirds of thirds had become the custom in the royal armies of Edward III, and the third as the basis for dividing plunder was much earlier the custom in Wales and Scotland.¹⁶

The indenture with Sir Edward Grey was much more elaborate than the indenture made with John Curzon of Derbyshire.¹⁷ Curzon (1395-1460) is sometimes called John Curzon of Kedylston to distinguish him from his father, John Curzon of Croxall (d. 1449), and, though the indenture is not specific, it may be assumed that it was the younger Curzon who accepted a £10 annual fee from the manor of Naseby (Northamptonshire) to be a part of Humphrey Stafford's retinue with a complement of two yeomen and a page. Curzon's indenture required service only in England. Curzon was a prominent figure in the Derbyshire gentry as a Justice of the Peace there from 1431 until his death, as a member of several royal commissions, and, like his father before him, as a Member of Parliament.¹⁸ Curzon served in Parliament both before and after

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 6-7.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1441-1446)*, p. 480.

¹⁶ D. Hay, "The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth Century England", *Trans. R. H. S.*, 5th series, IV (1954), 91-109.

¹⁷ N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 11.

¹⁸ J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament . . . 1439-1509* (London, 1936-38), I, 245-6.

It might be noted that Curzon's son and heir, Thomas, was one of the retainers of William, Lord Hastings. Dunham, "Hastings' Indentured Retainers", *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXXIX, 118.

concluding his indenture of 1440 with Earl Humphrey, and the question is reasonably posed as to the influence that Stafford might have had in Commons through his retainer or, for that matter, any lord through his retainers. Initially, the Lords had a very difficult time influencing, much less controlling, the composition of the Commons, a fact going far to dispel the image of a Commons packed at the will of the Lords.¹⁹ Further, the number of retainers in the Commons seems not to have been large enough to compromise that body's independence.²⁰ Also, as Mr McFarlane has suggested,²¹ the Commons represented the elite among the shires, men who had political training and experience, and who, when in Commons assembled, had a heritage of independent thought and direction which was little wont to yield to outside pressure. Furthermore, it could be to the advantage of a member of the Commons to have an established relationship with a man like Stafford in a period when the privileges of the Commons were not yet clearly defined,²² and the King was not providing adequate leadership in politics. Though Curzon is a specific case, general considerations indicate that it would be unwise to think of John Curzon in the Commons as simply a representative of Humphrey Stafford.

A Derbyshire man who was sometimes a governmental associate of John Curzon and also one of Humphrey Stafford's retainers was Sir Richard Vernon (1390-1451).²³ Vernon was at various times a Justice of the Peace, a royal commissioner, a Member of Parliament from Derbyshire, and Speaker in 1426.²⁴ Vernon became a retainer of Humphrey Stafford on 31 October 1440, but he had been associated in governmental affairs with Earl Humphrey at least as early as 1436 when the two were appointed, together with several other individuals, to a commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the claim that a gang of Lichfield residents had besieged the Dean and Cathedral Chapter of Lichfield.²⁵ The indenture between the Earl and Sir Richard allowed an annual fee of £20 to be paid for life to Sir Richard from the revenues of Rugby manor (Warwickshire), in return for which Sir Richard would come to the Earl "this side of the sea" when commanded, accompanied by four mounted yeomen, a gentleman, and a page.²⁶ Additional funds were promised for Sir Richard's travel expenses to and from the Earl and for the wages of any supplementary men Sir Richard might be ordered to raise. When with the Earl's household, Sir Richard was to wear Stafford livery and have appropriate "bouche of court" (rations).

¹⁹ K. B. McFarlane, "Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'", *Trans. R. H. S.*, 4th series, XXVI (1944), 63.

²⁰ Dunham, "Hastings' Retainers", *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXXIX, 32, 34.

²¹ "Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'", *Trans. R. H. S.*, 4th series, XXVI, 64, 69-70.

²² See J. E. Neale's "The Commons' Privilege of Free Speech in Parliament", *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, ed. by E. B. Fryde and E. Miller (Cambridge, 1970), II, 147-76.

²³ *Calendar of Close Rolls (1435-1441)*, p. 468. The recognizance recorded here for 29 January 1441 involved both John Curzons with Vernon.

²⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1441-1446)*, p. 469. *Ibid.* (1436-1441), pp. 505, 536. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, I, 907. J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (Manchester, 1954), pp. 231-3.

²⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1436-1441)*, p. 84.

²⁶ N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, ff. 11-12.

An indenture with greater demands than that with Sir Richard Vernon was sealed between Earl Humphrey and Sir John Maynwarynge on 5 September 1441.¹⁷ Sir John was to have an annual fee of £10 from the issues of Rothwell (Northamptonshire) for life in return for his service. No numbers were given for the company of men to attend Sir John. The indenture was quite clear that Sir John was to bring as many men-at-arms and archers as the Earl might desire for a particular occasion whether beyond the sea or not. Sir John, then, takes in his indenture the role of a recruiting captain who is to levy a contingent of soldiers on demand whose wages and transportation costs will be paid by the Earl, but Sir John is also a typical retainer in that he may be called to attendance in the Earl's retinue where he will don the Earl's livery and assume his proper station in the household. Provision was made with Sir John, as it had been with Sir Edward Grey, that the Earl was to have a third of the profits of war that fell to Sir John as well as a third of the third Sir John had from his men's winnings.

Sir John Maynwarynge's indenture was much more detailed than the like indentures of retinue Humphrey Stafford made with Ralph Basset and Henry Bradburne.¹⁸ The indentures are not dated, but from their position in the manuscript, in which information appears chronologically, the date 1444-45 may be assigned. The indentures were certainly drawn up after 14 September 1444 when Humphrey Stafford became Duke of Buckingham, for in Basset's indenture he is "the right mighty prince Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham" rather than "the right worshipful lord Humphrey, Earl of Buckingham" as he appeared in the earlier indentures. Ralph Basset was a resident of Blore, Staffordshire, and he in all likelihood attached himself to Duke Humphrey to aid his rise in the gentry. He is found serving on a royal commission in Staffordshire in 1439,¹⁹ obtaining the manor and advowson of Cheadle (Staffordshire) in 1442,²⁰ and giving quitclaim in 1444 of the manor of Throwley (Staffordshire) to Archbishop John Stafford of Canterbury, a cousin of Duke Humphrey.²¹ The indenture with Duke Humphrey provided Basset with an annual fee of ten marks to be drawn from the manor of Norton on the Moors (Staffordshire) in exchange for his service in the Duke's retinue. A like indenture was made between the Duke and Henry Bradburne, who was probably a resident of Derbyshire.²²

Another Midlands gentleman who had an indenture of retinue with Duke Humphrey was Sir John Gresley (1418-87). Gresley was a man of achievement. Among his activities, he was at various times Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, Escheator for Staffordshire, and Justice of the Peace for Stafford-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 17-18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 35.

¹⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1436-1441)*, p. 369.

²⁰ *Calendar of Close Rolls (1441-1447)*, p. 65.

²¹ *Ibid.* (1441-1447), p. 217.

²² *Ibid.* (1441-1447), pp. 288-9.

shire and Derbyshire, both of which counties he served as a Member of Parliament.³³ His family had its main holdings at Drakelow (Derbyshire) and Colton (Staffordshire), and it is interesting that his kinswoman, Sanchia Gresley, was married to the heir of Sir John Curzon (above). In 1450-51, Sir John Gresley became a retainer for life of the Duke of Buckingham.³⁴ Sir John's fee was £10, and for that he was to be a member of the Duke's retinue with three mounted yeomen and two mounted pages, unless his service carried him across the sea, when the Duke could alter the number of men accompanying the knight. The fee for Sir John's services is atypical in that the revenue of no piece of property is, by the terms of the indenture, encumbered for payment of the fee.

Sir John Gresley was seemingly a case of a retainer upholding the terms of his indenture, as it stated, for life, although such was not always the case.³⁵ Of course, on the demise of one party, the indenture was cancelled. When Duke Humphrey died in 1460, Sir John was free to attach himself to someone else should he so desire, and on 8 December 1477 Sir John became the indentured retainer of William, Lord Hastings.³⁶ The two indentures made by Sir John provide an interesting contrast. In the Stafford indenture Sir John is a feud retainer whose primary responsibility is a military one, but no fee was paid by the terms of the Hastings indenture. Hastings was obliged to be a "good and tender lord" in return for which Gresley would join Hastings' retinue in England when summoned. In the two Gresley indentures, we witness the evolution from revenue to good lordship as the nexus for an indentured bond. All of the indentures of Humphrey Stafford here considered involve the payment of fees, whereas of the 69 extant indentures made by William, Lord Hastings, between 1461 and 1483, only two require payment of fees.³⁷ The type of indenture made by Humphrey Stafford in the fifth decade of the fifteenth century, then, was nearly outmoded.

An indentured retainer who demonstrated less loyalty to the life term of his indenture with the Duke of Buckingham than Sir John Gresley was William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, who fought with the Earl of Warwick at Northampton in 1460 when Buckingham was killed fighting for the King. William Fiennes continued his attachment to the house of York, accompanying Edward IV in his flight from England in 1470, and eventually falling at Barnet in 1471 fighting for King Edward. Sir William Fiennes was the son of Sir James Fiennes, a man who rose through household service to become Lord Saye and Sele, Chamberlain of the Household, Warden of the Cinque Ports (a position he granted to the Duke of Buckingham in 1449), and later Treasurer of England.

³³ Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, I, 245, 393-6. *Calendar of Fine Rolls (1445-1452)*, pp. 96, 187. Roskell, *Commons of 1422*, pp. 186-7.

³⁴ N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 49.

³⁵ McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism", *Bull. J. H. R.*, XX, 173.

³⁶ Dunham, "Hastings' Indentured Retainers", *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXXIX, 129. This is from Dunham's appendix of transcribed indentures.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Sir James was one of the victims of Cade's Rebellion, and was beheaded by Cade's men in London on 4 July 1450.

Shortly after his father's death, William Fiennes became the retainer of the Duke of Buckingham.³⁸ The £10 fee to be paid yearly was to be drawn, ironically, from the revenues the Duke received as Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle. No quota of men was assigned to join with Fiennes in the Duke's retinue. The words "competent fellowship" were used where other indentures were often specific. The terms of the indenture, moreover, did not include service beyond the sea. Among the indentures herein examined, it is only in that with Lord Saye and Sele that a clause is included reserving first loyalty to the sovereign. The Maynwarynge indenture, by way of contrast, provided that Stafford was to have the retainer's "service before all other". Perhaps Fiennes had no desire to have his position questioned with such dire results as had happened with his father.

The final indenture considered here from the "Red Book" is peripherally concerned with warfare. Considering the hazards involved in the armed hostilities to which a retinue might lead, it seems fitting to conclude with the indenture drawn probably in 1448 between Duke Humphrey and Master Thomas Edmund, his physician.³⁹ An annual fee of £10 was to be drawn from the manor of Thornbury (Gloucestershire) so that Master Thomas could ride with a yeoman and a page in attendance upon the Duke within the kingdom and beyond the sea and be ready at all times to sojourn with the Duke and do him service.

The indentures included in the "Red Book of Caurs Castle" certainly do not represent the entire retinue of Humphrey Stafford,⁴⁰ but they are indicative of the method Stafford used to provide himself with manpower. They indicate, too, that Stafford was interested in forming bonds with men of substance and power in the Midland counties, and that those bonds were not to be current only in military situations, as witnessed by the frequently appearing peace-as-well-as-war clause in conjunction with life terms in the indentures. What effect these nine indentures had upon the finances of Humphrey Stafford it is not yet possible to judge, but the annual outflow of £123 6s. 8d. or £150, depending upon the degree of Sir Edward Grey, could not have gone unnoticed. The estates and finances of the Stafford family are only now coming to be studied,⁴¹ but Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was by 1461 paying out from a third to half of his gross annual revenues in fees of all kinds.⁴² How Humphrey Stafford compared financially with Henry Percy must come later.

A. COMPTON REEVES

³⁸ N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 49.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 47.

⁴⁰ Storey, *End of Lancaster*, p. 132 and n. 5.

⁴¹ T. B. Pugh (ed.), *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536: Select Documents* (Cardiff, 1963), and my "The Welsh Marcher Lordship of Newport, 1317-1536" (Emory University Ph.D. dissertation, 1967).

⁴² J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537* (Oxford, 1958), p. 91.

THE INDENTURES

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, ff. 6-7

This indenture made betwene the right worshipfull lord Humfrey Erle of Buckingham etc. on the one partye and Sir Edward Gray knight on the other partye. Witnesseth that the said earle hath yeven and graunted by these present indentures to the sayd Sir Edward an annuel fee of an C. mark to take yearly during the lyf of the said Sir Edward. Wherof the paiement of £40 shall sese unto the tyme that God provide the said Sir Edward to the estat of Baron so that he shall take of the said erle during the time he standeth at the degre of bachelor £40 yerely and when he is at the stat of Baron an C. mark yerly to haue and take of the lordshippys of Okeham¹ in the counte of Rutland and Tyso² in the counte of Warwick bi the hand of the recevour Farmours baylife provostes and other ministres and occupiers therefor the tyme being at the termes of St Michel and estren be even porcions for the whiche the seid erle hath withholde toward him the said Sir Edward to do him servise terme of lyf in maner and forme as followeth. That ys to wite in pece and werre and that for the tyme of pease the said Sir Edward shall be redy at all dayes whan he schall be send for or commaunded to come to the seyde Erle upon resonable warning to do him service and with him to ride in all parties on this side of the sea with i Escuier iii yemen i Grome i page and vii horse or as many persons and horse as the said erle liste to assigne or commaunde for the tyme he standeth at the degre of bachelor and whanne the seid Sir Edward be at the stat of baron he schall have with hym two escuiers iiij yemen i grome ii pages and x horses or as many persons and horses as the said Erle in tyme of pees list to commaunde or assigne for the which he schall have suche bouche of Court and livere during the tyme of his demure as is covenable to his degre or estat with resonable costes in comyng to the seid Erle or retornyng ayen as ofte tymes as he is send for bi the said Erle. And in cas that the seid Erle be ordeyned in any voiage of warre be it on this side of the see or beyond in the service of the king or sovereyn lord or of any other the said Sir Edward schall be redy upon resonable warning with suche nombre of men of armes and archers as the said Erle shall assigne or appoint according to his degre or estat to be accompaigned with him well and suffisantly armed horsed and arayed after the maner and seet of warre for the which armes and viage the said Sir Edward schall take of the said Erle such wages and reward for him and his seid men so accompaigned with him as the said Erle schall take of the king or any other his capitains with shippyng and reshippyng resonable for him his seid men and horse as other of his degre or estat schall have in the compaignye of the said Erle the which viage during the said Erle schall have of

the said Sir Edward the thryddes of all maner prisoners and of all other prises and wynnynge bi him taken and the thriddes of the thriddes of his souldiers of the prisoners prises and wynnynge bi hem taken or gotten bi way of fortune or aventure of werre and the said Sir Edward nor non of his men so accompaigned with him schall putte ne prisoner bi hem or any of hem taken at any time duryng the said viage to finance nor ransom but as law of armes woll. In witness wherof the said Erle to on part of these present endentures toward the said Sir Edward remayngnyng hath putte to his seal and to the other part of the same endentures toward the said Erle remayngnyng the said Sir Edward hath putte to his Seal. Yeven at London the xxth day of Averyll the yere of the regne of kyng Henry the sixte after the conquest the xviiith [1440].

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, ff. 11-12

This endenture made betwene the right worshipful lord H. Erle of Buk' etc. on the one party and John Cursun Esq. on the other partie etc. of £10 annuell fee for Retynue payable out of the manor of Nauesby³ in the Countie of Northampton on this side of the sea with two yemen a page and iiiii horses or as [many] persons and horses as etc. as before.

The like etc. to Sir Richard Vernoun knight of an annuell fee of £20 during life of the said Sir Richard out of the manor of Rokeby⁴ in Warwykshire etc. And the said Sir Richard to be redy at all tymes when he shall be sent for to com to the said erle upon resonable warning to doe him service and with him to ride in all parties contreyes and places on this side of the see with a gentleman four yemen a page and vii hors or as many persons and hors as the said erle liste to assigne or commaunde resonably for the which he shall have such bouche of court and liveree duryng the tyme of his demure as other take of his degre in the houshold of the seid Erle with resonable costes allowed to the said Sir Richard in his comming to the said earle and returning ayen as often as he is sent for by the Erle aforesaid. In witness etc. yeven at London the last day of October etc. xix [1440].

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, ff. 17-18

This endenture made betwene the right worshipfull lord H. erle of Buk' etc. on the one parte and Sir John Maynwarynge knight on the other partie witnesseth that the said Erle hath yeven and graunted by these presente endentures to the said Sir John an annuell fee of £10 to take yerely during the life of the said Sir John of the issues profitz and revenue coming of the lordship of Rothwell⁵ in the Countee of Northampton by the hands of the Receivor Bailly

³ Naseby.

⁴ Rugby.

⁵ Rothwell.

Fermour Prouost or other minister or occupiour there for the tyme beyng at the termes of Estren and St Michell be owen porcions for the which annuell fee the seid Erle hath with holde toward him the said Sir John for terme of lyf to do hem service before all other in peece and warre in maner and forme as followeth. That is to wite that in tyme of peece the said Sir John upon resonable warnyng schall be redy at all tymes when it schall like the said Erle to commaunde him to come to his presence and in all parties and places on this side of the sea to do him service and with him to sojourne and ride with as many men mor or of fewer as the said Erle list to commaunde or assigne resonably after the degree and pouair of the said Sir John for the which the same Sir John schall have such bouch of Court and livere for him and his seid men and horses duryng the tyme of his demure in the presence of the said Erle as other of his degre shall have and take in the houshold of the said Erle with resonable allouaunce of his costes of his comyng and retournyng home ayenn as often tymes as he is send fore or commaunded to com by the said Erle. And in case that the said Erle be ordeyned in any viage of warre be it on this side the See or be yonde that same Sir John shall be redy upon warnyng resonable to go with the said Erle [on] the said viage with such noumbr of men of armes and of archers wel and sufficiently armed horsed and arayde after the sette of werre as the said Erle list to assigne or apointe according to his degree for the which the said Sir John shall have for him his said men of armes and archers accompaigned with him such wages and reward as the said Erle shall take of the kyng or souerain lord or any other his Capitaigne duryng the said viage with Shyppeson and reshyppon resonable for him his said men and horses such as other [of] his degree shall have in the compaigne of the said Erle. And the said Erle shall have of the said Sir John the thrides of all maner prisoneres prises and wynnayges bi him taken or gotten bi way of Fortune or aventure of werre and the thrides of the thrides of all maner of prisoneres prises and wynnynges by any of his men accompaigned with him taken or gotten bi way of fortune or aventure of wer duryng the said viage. And the said Sir John nor non of his men so accompaigned with him shall putte no prisoner by him or any of his said men taken or gotten to finaunce nor Rannsoum but as lawe of armes woll. In witnesse whereof the parties abovesied to these presentz endentures enterchaungeably have put to there sealles yeven at the Castell of Stafford the v^t day of September anno xx^o [1441].

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 35

An endenture of Retynue made betweene the right mighti prince H. duc of Buk' etc. on the one partie and Rauf Basset esq. on the other his annuoll fee being x marcz out of the manor of Norton in the more^d in the Countie of Stafford. The like to Henry Bradburne etc.

^d Norton on the Moors.

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 49

An endenture of retenue of John Gresley esq. for £10 fee for hiafter during his life and he to ride with the duke this side the see with iii yemen ii pages and five horse and beyond see with as many as shall pelese the duke to call etc. xxix [1450-51].

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 49.

The Indenture of retenue of William Feins knight lord Say of Sele for £10 fee during his life out of the revenues of the office of Constable of the Castell of Dover and warden of the five portes and the said lord Say to doe the duke service to fore all other except our soueraigne lord the king and his heires in maner following viz he shall ride with the duke in allplace this side of the see with competent fellowship according to his estate or such as the said duc shall assigne him to doe him service etc. xxix [1450-51].

N. L. W., Peniarth MS. 280D, f. 47

This endenture made betwene the right highe and mighti prince H. duc. of Buk' on the one partie and mauster Thomas Edmond fesiciaun on the other partie. The duc graunteth him an annuall fee of £10 during his life out of the revenue of Tunbridge in Gloucestershire to be his fesicsan and to do him service afore all other in maner following. The said Thomas shalbe redy at all tymes when it shall like the said duc to commaund him to come to his presenc to and in all partes and places as on this side of the see as beyond to do with him service and with him to sojourne and ride with iii horse a yeman and a page for which the said Thomas shall have of the said duc for him his said passage and horses such Bouche etc. as before.

Agreement unto mauster Thomas Fesiciaun his said annuitie out of the revenues of the manor of Thornbury in the Counte of Gloucester.