

Sir John Popham, knight banneret, of Charford

Speaker-elect in the Parliament of 1449-50

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IN 1415 Henry V went to war with France, and in the seven years before his death in August 1422 had been recognized by Charles VI of France (in the Treaty of Troyes) as his Regent and Heir, had married Katherine, Charles's daughter, by whom he had had a son (Henry of Windsor), and had conquered most of the French kingdom north of the Loire. On Charles VI's death in October 1422 Henry V's infant heir became King of France as well as of England. For a time all went well in France under the Regency of John, duke of Bedford, Henry's elder surviving brother. But the effort to make Henry VI's French title more of a reality eventually ceased to be effectual, and before Henry VI could be crowned in France (in December 1431) the supporters of his uncle and competitor, Charles VII, had already won considerable military success. The English struggled, increasingly however by diplomatic activity, to retain their diminishing hold on French territory. The defection of Burgundy from its English alliance at the Congress of Arras in 1435 and the untimely death of Bedford in the same year were hard blows. Much was expected of the accommodation which resulted in 1445 in the marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, niece of Charles VII's Queen. But the losses by diplomacy—the surrender of Anjou and Maine in return for the marriage—surpassed even those which had been the product of military inefficiency and strain. The marriage resulted in an uneasy truce. But early in 1449 fighting broke out again and, when parliament met in November following, almost all that was left to the English in France was in process of being rapidly lost: Rouen was recently gone; Harfleur was soon to go; before long only Calais would remain. The policy of peace through diplomacy, pursued by Cardinal Beaufort and by his kinsman through marriage and political heir, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, was utterly discredited. England was disturbed by a deep sense of national frustration and bitterness.

The Lancastrian government was politically bankrupt and perhaps seemed to be moribund. Before parliament met in November 1449, the Treasurer (Bishop Lumley) had resigned. He was quickly followed by the Keeper of the Privy Seal (Bishop Moleyns) and then by the Chancellor (Archbishop Stafford). In the first parliamentary session there was open hostility to the duke of Suffolk and, in the second, the Commons impeached him of treason, especially for surrendering Anjou and Maine. Suffolk, although not formally convicted, was banished by the King and then, when the parliament was beginning its third and last session in the spring at Leicester, was murdered at sea on his way to exile.

The domestic malaise was intensified by the prevalent uncertainty of the succession to the throne. The problem had been brought into sharper focus by the death in 1447 of Henry VI's only surviving uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and by the continued failure of the royal couple to produce a direct heir. The claim of Richard, duke of York, as

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

both heir-male and heir-general of Edward III, was not the only one in this circumstance for which a plausible case could be made out, but his keenest rival, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt, had been associated not only with the policy of peace with France but also with the latest phases of the military débâcle in Normandy. York was the natural leader of any opposition to the discredited party of the Court. That a potential danger from this quarter had already been anticipated by the Lancastrian government is suggested by its earlier removal of York from military control in France in favour of Somerset, and by his appointment in 1447 as King's Lieutenant in Ireland. This appointment was regarded at the time as equivalent to banishment. York managed not to leave England for a year and a half, but when the parliament of November 1449 met he was in Ireland and was to stay there until the late summer of the following year.

Sir John Popham of South Charford, knight banneret, first elected to represent Hampshire in the parliament of 1439-40, was once more elected knight of the shire to the parliament which met in November 1449.¹ On this occasion, he was promptly elected by the Commons to be their Speaker. Just as promptly he declined to accept office. Since 1381, when Sir Richard de Waldegrave had asked (but with no success) to be excused from the Speakership, it had been common form for the Speaker-elect to refer modestly to his own inadequacy and request to be passed over. It had been equally common form for this excusation not to be admitted. Popham's case is remarkable, therefore, because his request to be exonerated was granted. And the Commons went on to elect in his place a lawyer, William Tresham, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who had already been Speaker in three out of the previous five parliaments.

In making his request to be discharged from the office of Speaker, Popham had pleaded age and also ill-health because of wounds received in the wars. There may have been something in all this. He was probably about sixty years old, and he certainly had seen much military service in France under Henry V and since, and after his 'active service' had ended he had been, on and off, quite strenuously engaged in diplomacy across the Channel. On the other hand, although he now began to retire from public affairs, he survived this parliament of 1449-50 by nearly thirteen years, and he was at any rate hale enough at the time to attend it. It may very well be that the Lancastrian court party found Popham's Speakership a discomfiting prospect, in spite of his once (in 1437-9) having held the Treasurership of the royal Household, and that he preferred, in order to ensure the least embarrassment to himself and all concerned, to seek exoneration. An examination of the known facts of Popham's career goes far to substantiate such a hypothesis.

It is almost sure that of all the Commons elected to this parliament of 1449-50, Popham alone was a veteran of Henry V's opening campaign of the attack on France in 1415. (He had been rewarded by Henry V for his prowess at Agincourt.) And certainly none of the Commons knew at first-hand as much as he did about the French conquest and the hard struggle to maintain it, whether under Henry V, or under Bedford, to whom he had been chamberlain in France, or since Bedford's death. In 1449, as a knight banneret and in age, he was senior among those of the Lower House who were knights by rank, and, in fact, he was one of the very few professional soldiers returned. (He had recently, in 1447, been nominated, if unsuccessfully, for election to the Order of the Garter.) It is possible that the Commons had all this in mind when they chose Popham to be Speaker, and not improbable that it was also remembered that, under Bedford, he had held the office of Chancellor of Anjou and Maine, those very provinces which Suffolk had let go in his effort perhaps to

1. *C.F.R.*, 1437-45, 139; *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, i, 342; *Rot. Parl.*, v, 171.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

salvage Normandy and Guienne. But the foremost single reason behind Popham's election is almost certain to have been his long connection with the duke of York and earlier members of his family: a retainer of York's uncle and predecessor in the title, Edward of Norwich, who had been killed at Agincourt, Popham had eventually become a pensioner of York himself (after the duke came of age), and he had been a member of York's council when the duke held an over-all command in France as the King's Lieutenant-General in the late 'thirties and the early 'forties.

In this larger context of mid-fifteenth century English politics, Popham's biography should prove of use in testing the theory I have proposed to explain his peculiar exoneration from the Speakership in November 1449. But his career is also worth the attention of the local historian, if only because he is the sole parliamentary representative for the county of Hampshire to have been elected as Speaker, with the single exception of Charles Shaw-Lefevre, member for North Hampshire, who was Speaker between 1839 and 1857.

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Sir John Popham's family, whose main stock resided at Popham (between Basingstoke and Winchester), had long been established in Hampshire, certainly from the reign of Henry I. Members of it had frequently represented the county (in over a score of parliaments) during the fourteenth century. Sir John's uncle, Henry Popham, who died in 1418, had sat as knight of the shire in seven parliaments between 1383 and 1404 and been sheriff in 1388-89; Sir Stephen Popham, Henry's son and Sir John's cousin, represented Hampshire in the parliaments of 1420, 1423, 1425, 1431, and 1442, and was sheriff of Hampshire in 1427-8 and 1440-1 and, in the meantime, of Wiltshire in 1434-5. Sir John's father, Sir John Popham, himself a younger son, had been knight of the shire in the parliaments of January 1397, 1402, January 1404, and 1407. He was sheriff of Hampshire for no more than a month early in 1404 and did not account, but in March 1404 he was made constable of Southampton castle and was confirmed in this office by Henry V ten years later (by patent of 9 March 1414)². Sir John, the father, was evidently still alive in January 1418, when he was executor to his brother Henry, but was presumably dead by October 1418 when Sir John, the son, the subject of this biography, was granted the custody of Southampton castle. Nothing is known of Sir John's mother, except that her name was Matilda.³

What were the estates of this cadet branch of the Popham family to which Sir John belonged is not precisely known. But he certainly resided at Charford in the valley of the Avon in south-west Hampshire. And here in 1428 he held a quarter of a knight's fee and in South Charford a third of one. From 1445, by virtue of an entail, he was also in possession for life of his cousin Stephen's former manor of Binstead in north-east Hampshire, similarly the manors of West Dean (in West Tytherley) and East Grinstead (across the Wiltshire border near Salisbury), and the manors of Alvington and Fairlee (in the Isle of Wight), these two last places as tenant of the Yorkist honour of Carisbrooke. Apart from this related *bloc* of lands in Wessex, by 1433 he had come to have a possessory interest in the manor of Great Paxton (Huntingdonshire), in the manor of Rolleston (Leicestershire), and in a rent from the manor of Chesham Boys (Bucks). He probably had estates also in Berkshire and

2. *D.N.B.*, xvi, 146; *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 110; *ibid.*, 1413-6, 168.

3. E. F. Jacob, *The Register of Archbishop Chichele*, ii, 138-9; *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, 64; *ibid.*, 1422-9, 111. Sir John Popham, the subject of this biography, had a cousin John, the son of Henry Popham and brother of Sir Stephen Popham, but he seems not to have been knighted.

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

Oxfordshire at his death in 1463.⁴ By this time, certainly, he had a place in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate, London, and as early as 1436 he had a town house in English Street, Southampton.⁵

It is just possible that the John Popham who, as a commoner of Bishop Wykeham's new College of St Mary of Winchester, was pardoned by the founder in 1400 for 31 weeks' arrears of commons, was our John Popham and not a cousin of his of the same name.⁶ Paying scholars, largely drawn from the gentry, were admitted, and normally between the ages of eight and twelve years. If the identification of the Wykehamist of 1400 with the Speaker-elect of half-a-century later could be presumed, we might conjecture that our John Popham had been born sometime between the years 1388-92. However this may be, nothing further is heard of him during the course of Henry IV's reign.

Sir John, the father, was from March 1404 constable of Southampton castle. He shared the commission of mustering the duke of Clarence's forces before they left Southampton for Aquitaine in July 1412, and it was he who, three years later, just before Henry V set sail on his first expedition to Normandy in 1415, had custody in Southampton castle of Richard of Conisborough, earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham, and others implicated in the Southampton Plot, pending their arraignment on charges of high treason.⁷ At this time John Popham, the son, was a member of the household and immediate entourage of the earl of Cambridge's elder brother, Edward of Norwich, duke of York, whose reputation for fidelity was none of the best but who had been expressly exonerated by his brother of all complicity in this plot.

Both John and his cousin, Stephen Popham, were among the 'launces' of the retinue which the duke of York now took overseas, and when on 17 August, 1415, during the siege of Harfleur, the duke made his will, he bequeathed to John Popham 'mes nouvelles brigandiers couvertez de rouge velvet queux Grove me fist, mon bassinet qe je port, et mon meilleur chival except ce dessus'. Popham fought at Agincourt, where York was killed when commanding the English right wing, and presumably was knighted before or after the battle. On 28 January, 1416, the ducal feoffees granted to him for life a yearly rent of 20 marks from the Wiltshire manor of Vastern (in Wootton Bassett). This was done at the request of the late duke by his letters patent and for good service, and Sir John junior was put in possession by payment of half a noble; under York's will he was still enjoying the annuity in 1433 when the duke's young nephew and heir, Richard, duke of York, on entering his inheritance, undertook with the feoffees to continue it.⁸ Popham's work in the field at Agincourt had meanwhile evidently commanded Henry V's attention. For, as he claimed nearly forty years later in a petition (against the Resumption Act of 1455), it was expressly in recognition of his services at Agincourt that Henry V on 12 February 1417 granted to him an annuity of 100 marks charged on the Lower Exchequer. The allowance was handsome enough. But it was not

4. *Feudal Aids*, ii, 349, 371; *V.C.H., Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, IV, 562; II, 484; IV, 522, 562; V, 199, 228; *C.F.R.*, 1445-54, 94; *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Octavo publications*, no. XXXVII, *Cal. of Feet of Fines, Huntingdonshire*, 1194-1603, ed. G. J. Turner, p. 104; *Cal. of Ancient Deeds*, i, B 910; ii, B 3127-8; John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the county of Leicester*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 442; *C.F.R.*, 1461-71, 94.

5. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509, Biographies*, 693, n. 1; *C.C.R.*, 1435-41, 48.

6. *V.C.H., Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, ii, 272.

7. *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 431; *P.P.C.*, II, 33; *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 66 (*D.N.B.*, XVI, 147, is at fault in describing Sir John Popham junior as keeper of Southampton castle in 1415; John the father had been confirmed in office on 9 March, 1414 [*C.P.R.*, 1413-6, 168]).

8. *Exchequer, Accounts Various*, P.R.O., E 101/45/2; E. F. Jacob, *Chichele Register*, ii, 65; *C.C.R.*, 1413-9, 294; *ibid.*, 1429-35, 260. In the duke of York's will of 17 August, 1415, John Popham is not described as 'knight'; in the grant of 28 January, 1416, he is referred to as John Popham knight, junior.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

until four years later that, on 17 February 1421, Popham was granted at the Receipt two assignments for payment of a mere part of only his first year's annuity, amounting to no more than £41 15s. 1d.⁹

At the time of the original grant of this annuity Popham was already committed to taking part in Henry V's resumption, on a larger scale than in 1415, of the war of conquest in France. And on 23 February, 1417, the Treasurer for the War was instructed by the Council to pay Popham his own wages and those of the 10 men-at-arms and 30 archers in his retinue for a first quarter's service; a second quarter's pay would be advanced on the day of their muster, which was to take place on 19 March at Southampton. From there Popham was to cross to Harfleur.¹⁰ He was perhaps a member of this garrison until the King's own crossing late in July, soon after which he very probably joined the royal forces in their task of reducing first Lower and then Upper Normandy.

The Sir John Popham who was a commissioner for supervising musters at Southampton in November 1417 and April 1418 and then a commissioner of array in Hampshire is most likely to have been the father,¹¹ for on Christmas Eve 1417 Sir John the son had been appointed *bailli* of Caen, and in the spring of 1418 he was certainly in France. It was while Henry V was at Caen, superintending from this centre the piecemeal penetrations of his lieutenants and doubtless planning the siege of Rouen, that, on 5 May, 1418, Popham received a royal grant in tail male of the castles and lordships of Torigny-sur-Vire and Planquary and of a number of houses in Caen and Bayeux. Three months after the siege of Rouen began, namely, on 27 October, 1418, and by letters dated from before the Norman capital, Popham was appointed governor of Southampton castle, presumably after the death of his father (whom Henry V had confirmed in office in 1414).¹²

Through the next few years of extending conquest in northern France, Popham remained in control of the *bailliage* of Caen, certainly in 1419, 1420, 1421, and 1422, and presumably at least until Henry V's death,¹³ having been appointed in the meantime, on 18 January, 1421, as captain of the castle and town of Bayeux, a score of miles to the west.¹⁴ This was shortly before Henry V returned for his last brief visit to England. It is possible that Popham came back with him. Certainly, a week before the coronation of the new Queen (Katherine of Valois), he was given assignments at the Exchequer representing the first two terms' arrears of the annuity of 100 marks granted him early in 1417. A further payment, in cash, of the arrears of Easter term 1418 was made to him in July 1421, but as this was made by the hands of a Chancery clerk it would seem that Popham had returned to France (assuming that he had ever left it).¹⁵

Whether after Henry V's death in August 1422 Sir John Popham returned to England or stayed in France under the Regent, John, duke of Bedford, and, if he stayed in France, whether or not he retained the *bailliage* of Caen and the captaincy of Bayeux, is not clear.

9. Ancient Petitions, P.R.O., S.C. 8, file 28, no. 1364; C.P.R., 1416-22, 64; Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/646, mem. 14.

10. P.P.C., ii, 213; C.P.R., 1416-22, 75.

11. C.P.R., 1416-22, 145, 148, 197, 199.

12. *Rotuli Normannie*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 231; D.K.R., XLI, 681; 686; 702; *ibid.*, XLII, 367.

13. D.K.R., XLI, 753, 759; XLII, 27; Exchequer, Accounts Various, E 101/187/14 (account-book of William Allington, Treasurer-General of Normandy and France, 30 April 1419-20); Exchequer, Enrolled Foreign Accounts, L.T.R., E 364/61, mem. C.

14. D.K.R., XLII, 397; E 364/61.

15. Exchequer, Issue Rolls, E 403/646 (mem. 14), 649 (mem. 13).

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

But it seems more probable, the question of his formal retention of the Norman offices put on one side, that he was in England in the first years of Henry VI. It is likely that he was embarrassed by his financial relations with the government, as were others of Henry V's captains. On 12 May, 1423, by advice of the Council and by warrant of the privy seal, Popham was enabled to take out a letter patent confirming his annuity of 100 marks granted him in February 1417 and the custodianship of Southampton castle to which he had been appointed in October 1418. On 5 June, 1424, he was paid at the Lower Exchequer in cash £68 5s. 5d. and by assignments £340 5s. 11d. in settlement of the arrears of his annuity which had accrued since 1417. These payments represented as much as 86 per cent. of what had become due to him in the course of over seven years; but of these arrears he was now only receiving roughly a fifth in cash. Almost certainly Popham was in England at this time, the conjecture being strengthened by the fact of his appointment (for the first time) as a justice of the peace in Hampshire on 20 July, 1424.¹⁶

Early in 1425, however, Popham was preparing to resume military activities in France. Here the English cause had gained a renewed momentum from the duke of Bedford's victory at Verneuil in August 1424. But there was no prospect of the war being ended, and English relations with Burgundy were now distinctly uneasy. On 22 March, 1425, Popham was paid at the Lower Exchequer an advance of some £412 for the first quarter's wages of his considerable force of 30 men-at-arms (himself as captain included) and 90 archers. On 16 May following, a commission was issued for his and other companies to be mustered at Dover nine days later, an order which was countermanded on 20 May by writs ordering the muster to be at Calais instead. On 1 June, along with other captains, Popham was given a commission to take the whole force in charge and convey them to the duke of Bedford, the Regent in France, or where he should order.¹⁷ On 26 June the Exchequer paid him his second quarter's wages, another £412 odd. Popham's contingent evidently joined the force with which the earl of Salisbury conducted a highly successful campaign in Upper Normandy, in Maine where he received the surrender of Le Mans, Mayenne, St Suzanne and other towns, and in Anjou. It was then that Popham was made captain of St Suzanne, and it is most likely then also that he was appointed to the more important office of Chancellor of Anjou and Maine. Probably sometime after this date, but before 1435 (when Bedford died), Popham was a member of the duke's household; William of Worcester refers to him as the duke's chamberlain (*camerarius ducis*).¹⁸ Between 1425 and July 1429, when Popham was confirmed in his office of J.P. in Hampshire, there is no discovered English record-evidence bearing upon his activities, and the inference is that he was in France during that time. His re-appointment as J.P. in 1429 suggests his temporary presence in England, and this conjecture is confirmed by the fact that on 16 November, 1429, he was party to a recognisance, the condition of defeasance of which was that he should ensure the payment overseas of 250 gold marks to John Lord Talbot. Lord Talbot had recently been defeated and taken prisoner by the French in the skirmish at Patay, and this recognisance was probably a part of the negotiation for his ransom.¹⁹

Ten days before this recognisance was made, Henry VI had been crowned at Westminster. In France, Joan of Arc's star had already waned, but her success while it lasted had been phenomenal and had at least revealed the possibility of English defeat, and in the

16. C.P.R., 1422-9, 111; 563; E 403/666, mem. 6.

17. E 403/669, mem. 18; C.P.R., 1422-9, 299, 300, 302.

18. E 403/671, mem. 9; *The Wars of the English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson (R.S.), vol. ii, part ii, 412, 435; *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcester*, p. 89; *Edward Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809), p. 127.

19. C.C.R., 1429-35, 27.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

autumn of 1429 the French had made important gains in the Seine valley: English military prospects were not hopeful. It was felt necessary to have Henry of Windsor crowned in France; hence his coronation in England first. Sir John Popham was commissioned on 6 March, 1430, to help raise Crown loans in Hampshire against the expense of the royal expedition, of which he became a member with a retinue of 11 men-at-arms and 36 archers.²⁰ It is possible that he now remained continuously in France, attached to Bedford's entourage, for the next three years. He was not re-appointed as a justice of the peace when the Hampshire commission was changed in April 1431. Bedford returned to England in June 1433, and probably Popham came back with him. Certainly, he was present at a Great Council held at Westminster between 24 April and 8 May 1434 when Bedford and Gloucester quarrelled over the criticism of Bedford's conduct of the French war implied in Gloucester's offer to take charge of it.²¹ Both Popham and his cousin, Sir Stephen Popham, appeared on the list of Hampshire notables who were to be sworn to the peace, following the nation-wide issue of commissions for this purpose on 1 May, 1434. A year later, by patent of 22 May, 1435, they were both included in a commission of array for the county.²²

The duke of Bedford had returned to France in July 1434. If Popham returned with him, evidently he did not stay on continuously. For he was certainly in England when he was appointed a proper member of the English embassy sent to the great diplomatic congress held at Arras in the summer of 1435. The English military situation in France had recently deteriorated still further, and the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, upon which so much depended, was in serious jeopardy. It was Burgundy, in fact, who was bent on making the English government realize the necessity of peace on the basis of an acceptance of the claim of Charles VII to the French throne, that is, on the basis of a repudiation of the Treaty of Troyes of 1420. The formal proceedings of the Congress of Arras lasted from 4 August to 6 September, 1435, when the English embassy withdrew after refusing to discuss the possibility of Henry VI's renouncing the French Crown. Burgundy's defection from the English alliance was the work of the Congress's later stages. Popham's mission was regarded by the Exchequer, which paid him a pound a day for his personal expenses, as having begun on 13 July, although an advance of £91 was not made to him until 19 July. His retinue comprised eight horsemen. After the English had left the Congress Popham returned to Calais on 10 September. From there he sailed with the earl of Suffolk, his fellow ambassador, round to Harfleur (a manoeuvre very significant of the military situation in Picardy), whence they proceeded overland to Rouen. Whether they arrived before Bedford's death there on 14 September, is doubtful.

Popham's diplomatic mission was officially (in the Exchequer) regarded as ending on 15 November, by which time he had presumably returned to England.²³ He immediately plunged into the maelstrom of useless activity which resulted from the strong emotional reaction of the English to Burgundy's perfidy. Parliament had already agreed to a greater effort against France and the extension of the war against Burgundy, who was immediately bent on attacking Calais. Less than a month after his return to England, Popham was ordered on 12 December to take musters of nearly a thousand men at Portsdown after

20. *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 51; *D.K.R.*, XLVIII, 271; Privy Seal warrants for issue, P.R.O., E 404/46/208.

21. *P.P.C.*, IV, 212.

22. *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 396, 473.

23. Exchequer, Accounts Various, Q.R.; P.R.O., E 101/322/nos. 38-9; *Wars of the English in France*, *op. cit.* vol. ii, part ii, p. 431; E 403/719, mem. 12 (Popham had evidently taken advantage of his *rapport* with the Exchequer to secure (on 16 July) assignments for the payment of instalments of his life annuity of 100 marks for the period Michs. 1433-35 [*ibid.* mem. 7]).

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

Christmas, and on 18 January, 1436, to act as a commissioner of array in Hampshire. A month later, when on 14 February writs were issued by the Council's order requesting loans for a new expeditionary force to Normandy, Popham was put down for a subscription of 100 marks.²⁴

This new expedition was to be under the supreme command of Richard, duke of York, who had recently been chosen to fill the place in France vacated by the death of the Regent, Bedford. York was to be called Lieutenant-General and Governor of the kingdom of France and the duchy of Normandy. Now in his twenty-fifth year, Richard of York had inherited the entailed lands of his father, Richard of Conisborough, earl of Cambridge, who had died a traitor's death at Southampton in 1415, the estates of his paternal uncle, Edward of Norwich, duke of York, who had been killed at Agincourt, and the great Mortimer properties in England and Ireland which had been his since the death of his maternal uncle, Edmund, earl of March, in 1425. He had also inherited the Mortimer claim to the Crown which had been disregarded at the accession of Henry IV in 1399. In 1436 it was over twenty years since the death of Sir John Popham's lord, Edward of Norwich, and since then Popham had made his own successful way in the French wars, for the most part apparently in the household of the duke of Bedford. With Bedford dead, the circumstances were clearly propitious for a renewal of Popham's Yorkist affiliations. Some sort of connection between Popham and Richard of York was already there; it only needed cultivation and development. On 1 July, 1433, shortly before his coming of age, York had agreed with the feoffees of Edward of Norwich to make certain appropriations of revenue from the estates which he was about to possess, in order to fulfil his uncle's will, including the continued payment (for which Duke Edward had provided) of the annuities of a number of his retainers, of whom Sir John Popham was by this time the most important.²⁵ Already, therefore, as an ex-retainer of Edward of Norwich, Popham was a pensioner of Duke Richard. The link soon matured into a complete, and apparently exclusive, connection.

It was not until towards the end of May 1436 that York formally undertook to serve in France for one year. When he landed at Harfleur in the following month, Paris had been re-taken by the French and a great part of Normandy was already in their hands.

For some time before York left England, Popham had himself been negotiating with the royal Council the terms on which he would join the duke's expedition as a member of his council in France. It was on 5 May that the articles of his petition were formally considered. His requirements were largely financial, his desire being to secure a favourable balance between what he owed to the Crown and what was due to him, especially the arrears of his annuities. Firstly, he asked to be discharged of the prets for which he was still held responsible in the accounts of William Allington, a former Treasurer of Normandy, but all that he secured here was a surcease of process while he was overseas with York. His demand for the £38 odd still due to him for his mission to Arras and Rouen was granted. So was his request that he should be given fresh Exchequer tallies of assignment for arrears of his 100 marks annuity amounting to some £265, and that he should immediately be paid the instalments of this annuity of 100 marks for the last two previous terms. To his demand that the annuity should henceforward be taken from the revenues of the coinage of tin or from other income of the Duchy of Cornwall by the hands of the duchy receiver, it was merely answered that he should be preferred before other aspirants to such an appropriation. His demand that the tenure of his Norman lordships of Torigny, etc., should be converted from fee tail male to

24. *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 525, 522; *P.P.C.*, IV, 326.

25. *C.C.R.*, 1429-35, 260.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

fee simple seems to have been ignored; perhaps, in the military situation of the day, it struck the Council as rather irrelevant. Popham evidently was not over-satisfied with what he got, for on 11 May he indentured to serve in France for half a year with only a small retinue comprising no more than 3 men-at-arms and 12 archers (he himself taking 4 shillings a day); but he undertook to have this force ready for muster at Winchelsea on 14 May. He was clearly bent on extracting the best terms that he could get for himself, because, in addition to the demands he put to the Council on 4 May, he subsequently asked that his term of service as a member of York's council in Normandy should be limited to a year, that he and his retinue should be paid in advance for their first half-year of service, and that afterwards he should take what other members of this council for Normandy of his rank were receiving. These requests were conceded. Another demand that he should be given command of a force of 40 men-at-arms and 400 archers was committed to the discretion of the duke of York. An additional demand, that he should have a free home-coming (that is, expenses of enshippment) at the end of a year's foreign service, was not, however, there and then answered.²⁶

The Exchequer did not entirely implement, in fact, the Council's concessions, such as they were. By 9 May Popham had been paid £136 odd, the wages of his company for half a year, but the promise to pay his 100 marks annuity for the previous year was redeemed by nothing more substantial than an Exchequer grant of assignment on 30 June.²⁷ By this time he was presumably in France with the duke of York. Certainly, on 15 May the muster of his retinue was due to take place, evidently after a postponement, at Winchelsea four days later. Here had been mustered the retinues of York himself and of the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, amounting together to 800 men-at-arms and 3,760 archers; Popham, along with the master of the royal ordnance in France, was commissioned on 22 May to muster this company on its arrival overseas.²⁸ The expedition had a limited success in Normandy. But York found the financial strain heavy and, against the wish of the royal Council, insisted on returning to England at the end of the agreed year of service. And soon after his successor, the old earl of Warwick, had gone out in August 1437, York came home.

Popham had seemingly been back in England at the beginning of the year, because on 23 January, 1437, he and his cousin, Sir Stephen, had both been made royal commissioners to inquire about the merchandise of certain Genoese and Hanseatic merchants which had been illegally seized at Southampton.²⁹ Certainly, he was in England when on 10 April, 1437, he was one of four men nominated by the Council in Henry VI's presence—the other three were Sir Henry Bromflete, Sir John Stourton, and Robert Whittingham—pending a final selection for the office of Treasurer of the royal Household. Popham's candidature was evidently favoured strongly, because he was sent for to come to the King with all haste, and a week later (on 17 April) he assumed office, there by succeeding to Sir John Tyrell. He was destined to hold the post for all but two years. It is important to notice that now, as Treasurer of the Household *alias* Keeper of the Wardrobe, Popham became *ex officio* Treasurer for the War as well.³⁰ It is not altogether improbable that his appointment was in some way connected with York's dissatisfaction at the financial difficulties which the duke's military service in France had brought him.

26. *P.P.C.*, IV, 337, 340, 342.

27. *P.R.O.*, E 403/724.

28. *C.P.R.*, 1429-36, 536, 608.

29. *Ibid.*, 1436-41, 86.

30. *P.P.C.*, V, 8; Exchequer, Accounts Various, E 101/408/13; E 101/408/23.

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

It is at any rate clear that Popham's connection with York was now of the closest and gained strength during his occupation of this office in the royal Household. On 12 February, 1438, the day on which Popham secured exemplification of the letters patent (of 1417, 1418, and 1423) granting and then confirming his Exchequer annuity of 100 marks and the custody of Southampton castle (on the grounds that the originals had been lost), he acquired the concession that for his life he might have the annuity charged on the fee-farm which, as heir of the Mortimers, the duke of York paid to the Crown for his possession of the castle and cantred of Builth (on the border of Radnor and Brecknock). It is interesting to note that, on 30 April following, the rest of the fee farm—70 marks—was released to York, who was also then granted the reversion of Popham's annuity, should the latter die before him; in that event a total remission of York's fee-farm for Builth would occur.³¹ The new arrangement, whereby Popham would draw his annuity from his lord instead of from the Exchequer, was obviously to his advantage. He had always had trouble at the Exchequer over its arrears, as well as over his Exchequer assignments on other counts. In fact, only six days after this change of source for his long-standing 100 marks annuity, namely on 18 February, 1438, he received fresh assignments at the Receipt of the Exchequer for as much as £254 odd in lieu of payment of some £287, for which he held as many as twelve tallies of assignment. These he now restored to the Exchequer as a fictitious loan; nine of them, together nominally valued at £218 odd, were between nearly five and nine years old.³²

The Exchequer had incurred fresh liabilities to Popham in his capacity as Treasurer of the Household, and at this point was about to incur more. For, on 17 March, 1438, along with Lord Scales, the Abbot of Fécamp, and others, he was appointed as a member of an embassy to treat for peace with France. In January, in fact, Popham had already been appointed by the English Council to go first to the earl of Warwick and the Council of Normandy and then to the duke of Brittany, and on 22 January he had received a prest of £100 for this purpose. He and one of his companions had been also empowered since then to see to the state of the garrisons in France while they were about it, and to report back.³³ Not until after mid-March, however, did Popham begin his mission.

The whole of the spring, summer, and early autumn of 1438 passed before his share in this business ended for the time being. He sailed from Poole on 19 March, met the earl of Warwick and his council at Rouen, and then rode west into Brittany. His visit to this province was to see the duke of Brittany and to treat for peace there with the Bastard of Orleans and other representatives of the duke of Orleans, who was still a prisoner in England, and with an embassy from King Charles VII as well. Popham returned to Cherbourg on 23 June, when the intention was that he should cross to England to give an interim account of the negotiations to Henry VI. Here, however, he was ordered from England to await the arrival of certain members of the English Council who were to carry the negotiations further. And Popham remained at Cherbourg for over two months until, on 28 August, a new commission for him and his fellow-ambassadors was sent out. This authorized a negotiation on fresh terms with Charles VII's party, and so Popham went from Cherbourg to Rouen again to consult with Warwick and his council. By 30 September no answer had been received from Charles VII himself, but the Bastard of Orleans had written from Blois saying that Charles, before treating for a truce or peace, must first send an embassy to confer with the duke of Orleans in England and have his reply. These multi-cornered negotiations clearly had

31. *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 134, 139, 168.

32. *Exchequer*, Issue Roll, B 403/729, mem. 12.

33. *D.K.R.*, XLVIII, 322; *P.P.C.*, V, 86, 88-9, 95.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

broken down so far as Popham's commission was concerned, and he subsequently returned from Rouen, sailing in *The Swan of Sandwich* from Honfleur. He reached London on 20 October after a fruitless absence of just seven months.

Popham's own payment at the rate of £2 a day as a knight banneret and the costs of his retinue of fourteen men had entitled him to £346 over and above any advances or assignments he had received at the Exchequer. Not until 4 February, 1439, was a privy seal writ issued authorizing an audit of his account for the mission.³⁴

Three weeks later, on 24 February, 1439, Popham was one of only five commoners who attended a Great Council of the lords held at Westminster.³⁵ But on 17 April following he surrendered his office as Treasurer of the Household to Sir Roger Fiennes. This was perhaps because his diplomatic usefulness was making him too much of an absentee, and perhaps also because the financial strain of his multiplied duties was proving over-strong—more than six years later he was still receiving assignments for debts owing to him from the time of his Treasurership.

Certainly, the government added to its already considerable indebtedness on Popham's account when it required him to go overseas again, on another embassy, not long afterwards. He was given a prest of £100 at the Exchequer on 13 May, 1439, but this was something of a nominal advance, because on the same day he was recorded as making a loan to the Exchequer of 100 marks, for which two days later (on 15 May) he merely received a tally of assignment.³⁶ It was on 23 May that he was made a member of an embassy to treat about commercial intercourse between England and Flanders and Brabant, and also a member of a bigger embassy to treat with a mission from Charles of Valois for a peace.³⁷ In 1438 the diplomatic plan of the French had been to waste time while the military situation continued to work in their favour. Now, in 1439, the English government was being compelled by the circumstances to consider the possibility of a renunciation of the French Crown, if a plan to partition France into two spheres of sovereign interest failed. A contraction of the English claims might pay dividends, provided it resulted in a renewal of the Anglo-Burgundian combination. The main body of the embassy did not cross to Calais, where the exchanges were to take place, until 26 June. Sir John Popham, however, had left London on 15 May in the company of Master Stephen Wilton, LL.D. These two inferior members of the embassy were engaged in preliminary discussions and arrangements for the formal meetings of the parties, and it was they who, on 30 June at St Omer, received oaths of security from the duchess of Burgundy in anticipation of the conference between her, the French embassy, and Cardinal Beaufort, the head of the English delegation. By 30 July the deliberations had reached a point where the English embassy was compelled to submit the French proposal, for Henry VI's renunciation of the French Crown in return for a long truce, to Henry VI himself; and a part of the embassy, including the archbishop of York, the earl of Stafford, Lord Hungerford and also Sir John Popham, returned to England on 5 August for this consultation. Popham returned to Calais on 30 August. The archbishop of York came on 9 September, his 'instruction', seemingly fabricated under pressure from Gloucester, being an utter refusal of the French terms. Nothing more could be done *vis-à-vis* France, although the English achieved the positive gain of a three years' truce with Burgundy, to the negotiation of which Popham was party. He was back at Westminster on 7 October. Allowed £2 a day as usual

34. Exchequer, Accounts Various, Q.R., E 101/323/5, 6.

35. P.P.C., V, 108.

36. P.R.O., E 403/735, mem. 3.

37. T. Carte, *Catalogue Des Rolles Gascons, etc.* (French Rolls), ii, 295.

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

as a knight banneret, his own expenses amounted to £290, of which £190 was still owing to him.³⁸

It was shortly after this that Sir John Popham was for the first time elected as knight of the shire for Hampshire to the parliament which met at Westminster on 12 November, 1439, and which, adjourned on 21 December following, sat at Reading from 14 January into the second half of February 1440. It was during the Christmas recess that at Windsor on 26 December he took out a patent exempting him for life from being put on juries of assize, or being made sheriff, escheator, collector of subsidies, etc. On 12 May, 1440, he mainperned William Lord Bardolf, an old companion-in-arms, formerly (in Henry V's time) Captain of Harfleur and Treasurer of the royal Household, when now he was given a 10 years' custody of Dunwich at an annual farm payable in the Exchequer.³⁹ The recent parliament had been stirred, by 'great murmur and clamour' at the non-payment of the royal Household, to make a special appropriation of revenues from the two royal duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall and from the parliamentary subsidy. The concession to Bardolf may well have been a device for paying him off as a royal creditor, similar to that by which, on 27 July following, Popham himself was given a new and additional annuity of £40 for life charged on the petty custom in the port of London, expressly in consideration of his good service to Henry V and the present King in England and overseas, his readiness to serve the King in war and on embassy, and his management of the office of Treasurer of the Household, for all of which he had had no reward beyond his custody of Southampton castle (worth no more than £4 a year) and his old annuity of 100 marks (now charged on the fee-farm of Builth).⁴⁰

This grant of a fresh annuity of £40, although retrospective in its formal justification, may well have been made to induce Popham to undertake further work in France or to reward him for having already agreed to do so. At the beginning of the month in which it was made, on 2 July, 1440, the duke of York had again been appointed the King's Lieutenant-General in France and Normandy, in succession to Cardinal Beaufort's nephew John, earl of Somerset. York had undertaken to serve for five years, until Michaelmas 1445, on certain conditions. His provisos included the royal Council's acceptance of at least one of three bishops, one of three temporal lords, and one of three knights, nominated by him, as members of his official council overseas. Sir John Popham was one of the three knights named by the duke.⁴¹ Perhaps mainly owing to difficulties between Cardinal Beaufort and the duke of Gloucester, to whose party York inclined, almost a whole year went by before the latter went over to France in June 1441. Certainly, Popham did not yet go overseas again: on 28 November, 1440, he was made a commissioner for raising a royal loan in Hampshire with a view to subsidizing York's expedition.⁴² Nor, when he went, was it as a regular member of York's council. On 13 November, 1441, he was chosen by the English Council to convey to York (at Rouen) instructions including warnings about the danger to Harfleur, Caen, and Honfleur, and he was to advise all captains of towns and fortresses on the French coast to keep strict watch and ward. The customs officials at Southampton on 24 November were ordered to requisition two large ships and a balingier to ensure a speedy passage for Popham and the members of an embassy to England, who were to accompany him to Normandy. Sometime before this, Popham had expressed his desire that his life-interest in the custody of the castle

38. Exchequer, Enrolled Foreign Accounts, E 364/73, mem. A^v; *P.P.C.*, V, 339, 377.

39. *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 363; *C.F.R.*, 1437-45, 154.

40. *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 432.

41. *Wars of the English in France*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part ii, 586.

42. *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, (502) 504.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

of Southampton should be cancelled in favour of the earl of Huntingdon (an hitherto unsuspected attachment), and this was done on 25 November. On 1 December Popham left on his mission, taking £5,000 with him for the payment of York's forces. He was away almost exactly three months, returning on 28 February, 1442. Having given him an advance of £120 on 20 November, the Exchequer owed him another £60 on his return.⁴³

This visit to Normandy in the winter of 1441-2 seems to have been Popham's last enterprise overseas, and he now begins to slip back out of the prominence which his long French experience had given him in the diplomacy of the last seven years. His activities by royal commission now take on a mainly local complexion. On 30 March and 28 August, 1442, he was again appointed to act as a commissioner for raising Crown loans in Hampshire.⁴⁴ On this latter date Popham was also ordered to take the musters of a force of 2,260 men-at-arms, archers, and seamen who were to man 28 ships and safe-keep the sea in 1442 and 1443 according to the provision of the financial grant made in the parliament of January-March 1442; the four captains of this force had all been knights of the shire in this recent parliament, one of them being Sir Stephen Popham, Sir John's cousin, who had been shire-knight for Hampshire.⁴⁵ In the following year Sir John was occasionally similarly engaged: on 12 March, 1443, when commissions of array were set up for the counties of the south and the west country, he was appointed for Hampshire, and on 7 June he was made one of a mustering commission at Portsmouth, prior to the departure of an expedition under the duke of Somerset. Three years passed before, on 1 June, 1446, he was included on another royal commission, this time a Crown loan-raising commission once more in Hampshire. In February 1448 he next served on an inquiry in Hampshire into cases of concealment of feudal and other forms of royal income.⁴⁶ What were his other activities at this time it is impossible to say. He himself had made a loan of £40 to the Exchequer on 25 August, 1444, the advance being met by an assignment in November on the customs of Southampton or, failing which, on the next parliamentary subsidy to be levied. The Exchequer was in the following summer (July 1445) still owing him moneys for the time when he was Treasurer of the Household, and in June 1448 he needed to secure a royal patent exemplifying a series of petitions and memoranda shown by him in Chancery in a suit brought against the administrators of the will of a former cofferer who had received moneys to pay Household expenses, part of which were still unpaid; these related to Popham's Treasurership.⁴⁷

Although, for reasons of age, he was past active employment in the field in this period of French military recovery, Popham's reputation as a veteran was high, and this may have prompted both the duke of Buckingham and Lord Sudeley to nominate him for election to membership of the Order of the Garter, at a chapter held at Windsor on 22 April, 1447, to occupy the stall vacated by the recent death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Popham was unsuccessful, the young King of Portugal, Alfonso V, being elected.⁴⁸

Two and a half years later, after lately serving on a royal commission of array and on another for raising Crown loans in Hampshire,⁴⁹ Popham was elected a second time as knight

43. *P.P.C.*, V, 155, 158, 162, 168, 179; *C.P.R.*, 1441-6, 48; E 403/745, mem. 14; Exchequer, Accounts Various, Q.R., E 101/324/3.

44. *C.P.R.*, 1441-6, 62, 92.

45. *Ibid.*, 106-7, 407; *P.P.C.*, V, 204. The use of Sir John Popham's name among the first list of captains is clearly an error.

46. *Ibid.*, 200, 201, 430; *ibid.*, 1446-52, 139.

47. *Ibid.*, 1441-6, 312; E 403/753, mem. 12; E 403/757; *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 134.

48. J. Anstis, *Register of the Order of the Garter*, 132-3.

49. *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 316, 299.

SIR JOHN POPHAM OF CHARFORD

of the shire for his county. This parliament sat for two sessions at Westminster, from 6 November to 17 December, 1449, and from 22 January to 30 March, 1450, and at Leicester for one which lasted from 29 April following to early in June. When the first session began, Rouen had just fallen; when it closed, Harfleur was about to fall. By the end of the parliament, the English in Normandy were vainly defending Caen, the chief hold in the duchy still in their control. It was at the beginning of a presumably very stormy first session that, on 7 November, 1449, Popham was elected by the Commons as their Speaker. Whether it was because of his Yorkist connection or on account of the wounds which (as Popham stated) he had received in the service of Henry V and Henry VI and his infirmities and age, when he asked to be exonerated his excuses were accepted, a suspiciously unique proceeding in the case of the medieval Speakers. And so the Commons elected a lawyer instead, William Tresham, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a member who had already been Speaker three times.⁵⁰ The Commons' first choice of Popham, in view of his long military and diplomatic career, clearly suggests their concern for the situation in France, and possibly the growth of a feeling of sympathy with Popham's lord, the duke of York. Before the first session even began, the dismissal of the Treasurer of the Exchequer had already taken place; before it ended, the Keeper of the Privy Seal had also resigned. The second session saw the impeachment for treason and the banishment of the duke of Suffolk himself; and also the great seal changed hands. All this recrimination came too late to affect events across the Channel: by mid-August 1450 the English rule in northern France was ended.

Sir John Popham did not sit in parliament again, and, although he lived on for another thirteen years, there is little to record of this last phase of his life. After the parliament of 1449-50 he was made, on 8 August, 1450, one of the Hampshire commissioners for the assessment of the recently granted subsidy on incomes from freehold land. On 15 October following he was also put on a commission set up to investigate a breach of the truce between England and Burgundy occasioned by the seizure of a hulk of Bruges homeward-bound from Portugal. In January 1453 he was a member of a royal commission appointed to raise loans in Hampshire for the relief of the necessities of the earl of Shrewsbury, then operating in Aquitaine. He himself contributed to the loan and received assignment at the Exchequer by way of repayment.⁵¹ In this year, by patent of 16 May, he saw fit to renew the exemption for life from jury service and from appointment as sheriff, escheator, collector of subsidies, etc., that he had first obtained in 1439. On 19 August, 1453, he was authorized to act as a royal commissioner for the taking of musters at Portsmouth. Apart from a commission of array in Hampshire, to which he was appointed in September 1457, this was the last royal commission upon which Popham was directed to serve.⁵² That he was no longer in close touch with affairs is suggested by the fact that in the parliament of 1455, summoned to meet after the Yorkist military victory at St. Albans, he was not able to secure a complete exemption from the Resumption Act passed in that parliament, regarding his annuity of 100 marks which, first of all charged on the Exchequer in 1417, had been charged since 1438 on the duke of York's fee-farm for the castle and cantred of Builth. Now, in 1455, the Lords scaled down this grant to 40 marks, unless Popham wished it to be re-charged at the old rate on the Exchequer, a much more uncertain source of income, as he had good reason to know.⁵³

50. *Rot. Parl.*, V, 171-2.

51. *C.F.R.*, 1445-54, 173; *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, 432; *ibid.*, 1452-61, 52; E 403/791, mem. 9.

52. *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, 74, 125, 400.

53. *Rot. Parl.*, V, 312a; Ancient Petitions, P.R.O., S.C. 8, file 28, no. 1364.

HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB PROCEEDINGS

It is very doubtful whether Popham played any part at all in the circumstances which brought the Yorkist dynasty to the throne in 1461. On 4 October, 1462, as 'late of South Charford (Hampshire), *alias* late of St. Sepulchre-outside-Newgate in the suburbs of London', he took out a royal pardon, and he died on 14 April, 1463.⁵⁴ One of his executors was Maurice Berkley esquire of Beverstone (Glos.), who, in his place at Bisterne (Hants) in the valley of the Avon, was a neighbour of Popham's; Berkley was a firm Yorkist and by 1467 was an Esquire of the Body to Edward IV.⁵⁵ Writs ordering the royal escheators in the counties where Popham had landed interests to take inquisitions post mortem were issued from the Chancery on 1 May, 1463. There is no certain evidence that Sir John Popham ever married, and his heir was Alice, wife of one William Harteshorn. Ultimately, his estates in Hampshire and Wiltshire went to the four coheirs of his cousin, Sir Stephen Popham, who had died in 1444.⁵⁶

Sir John Popham was buried in the London Charterhouse, the House of the Salutation of the Virgin Mary of the austere and spiritually progressive monastic order of the Carthusians, founded, in 1371, by one of the greatest of Edward III's captains of war, Walter Lord Mauny. Among the early donors of cells had figured another great soldier, Sir Robert Knolles, and also William of Ufford, earl of Suffolk. Sir John Popham had been one of this class of knightly benefactor to the London Carthusians, having (by 1453) endowed two chapels on the south side of the priory church; he gave his property at Rolleston (Leics.) to the Charterhouse for this purpose. He was admitted on 1 July, 1460, to the confraternity of the priory and at his death was buried in one of the two chapels which he had established, the one dedicated to St Michael and St John the Baptist.⁵⁷

54. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies*, p. 693. The date of Sir John Popham's death is confirmed by a remnant of his commemorative brass (which went to form a palimpsest) which is now in the church of St Lawrence, Reading: it is inscribed, 'Hic jacet Johannes Popham miles quondam dominus de Gurney in Normandia et dominus de Chardeford, de Dene, ac de Alvyngton et Alibi in Anglia qui obiit xliiio die mensis Aprilis Anno domini millesimo CCCCLXIIIo cuius anime propicietur Deus' (*V.C.H., Berkshire*, iii, 373). I am grateful to Lady Stenton for confirming the transcriptions.

55. *Catal. of Ancient Deeds*, vol. ii, B 2168; J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

56. *C.F.R.*, 1461-71, 94.

57. D. Knowles and W. F. Grimes, *Charterhouse: the medieval foundation in the light of recent discoveries* (1954), pp. 29-30, 58; J. Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 442.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes :

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| <i>Rot. Parl.</i> | - | <i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> (Records Commission). |
| <i>P.P.C.</i> | - | <i>The Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council</i> , ed. N. H. Nicolas. |
| <i>C.P.R.</i> | - | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> . |
| <i>C.C.R.</i> | - | <i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> . |
| <i>C.F.R.</i> | - | <i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i> . |
| <i>D.N.B.</i> | - | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> . |
| <i>V.C.H.</i> | - | <i>Victoria County History</i> . |
| <i>P.R.O.</i> | - | Public Record Office. |
| <i>R.S.</i> | - | Rolls Series. |