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14 April 1972

I hereby certify that the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 9 and the regulations concerning the M.Litt. degree have been observed in the preparation and presentation of this dissertation.

Ann J. Kettle, Supervisor.

I hereby certify that this dissertation has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Maureen E.Hodge was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M.Litt.in October 1970.

Ann J.Ket~~l~~le, Supervisor

SIR JOHN FASTOLF

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

MAUREEN E. HODGE

Dissertation submitted for the degree of  
Master of Letters of the University of  
St. Andrews, May 1972.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>B.I.H.R.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
<u>C.C.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls</u>
<u>C.F.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Fine Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Inq. P.M.</u>	<u>Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem</u>
<u>Cal. Papal Reg.</u>	<u>Calendar of Papal Registers</u>
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
<u>Cal. Rot. Hib.</u>	<u>Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae</u>
<u>Cam. Econ. Hist.</u>	<u>Cambridge Economic History of Europe</u>
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>E.E.T.S.</u>	<u>Early English Text Society</u>
<u>Ec. H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review</u>
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>Hist. Jnl.</u>	<u>Historical Journal</u>
<u>H.M.C.</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission</u>
<u>P.L. (D.)</u>	<u>Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, ed. N. Davis</u>
<u>P.L. (G.)</u>	<u>The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509, ed. J. Gairdner (Library Edition)</u>
	Note: The Paston Letters are cited by volume number, and by letter number except where otherwise stated.
<u>P. and P.</u>	<u>Past and Present</u>
<u>Pro. Ord. P.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council</u>
<u>Rot. Parl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum</u>
<u>T.R.H.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria County History</u>

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study has been to gather together the information which exists about Sir John Fastolf in a variety of printed sources to form a composite picture of the man, and to attempt some assessment of his character and of the significance of his career. A biography of Fastolf seemed an appropriate choice of subject because his long and varied career illustrates many important aspects of fifteenth-century England, a fact which, in turn, serves to make his life interesting in itself. Furthermore, compared to other war captains, such as Lord Talbot, Sir Walter Hungerford of Farleigh and Sir William Oldhall, some of them more famous and more wealthy than Fastolf, a relatively substantial amount of material concerning him has survived to the present day.

The greater part of Fastolf's active life was spent in France, where he participated in many of the campaigns of Henry V and the regent, Bedford, and was responsible for the administration of a variety of captured castles, towns and territories. From an examination of his activities as commander in the field and as Bedford's military adviser, a good deal can be learned of the military strategy of the time, and something of the controversy surrounding the management of the war in its last stages. The range of administrative posts abroad to which he was appointed indicates the responsibilities entrusted to successful captains, even/

even if one learns little of the way in which he carried out his duties. The experience of Fastolf also throws light on the whole question of the profitability of the Hundred Years War to those who took part in it, although care must be taken not to base too general a conclusion on one well-documented case, and also on the modes of investing war profits, and the operation of credit and usurious loans.

Except in so far as the various reports he wrote on the conduct of affairs towards the end of the war make it clear that his sympathies lay with those who favoured the continuance of hostilities, not least because he stood to lose his extensive French possessions were the English to be driven from France, Fastolf was not involved in national politics. He was, after all, about sixty years old when he finally retired to England, and from that date devoted most of his time and energies to his own interests, although frequently he was called upon to perform public services of a local nature. The increasing disorder in East Anglia, as in other parts of England, which preceded the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses, and which reflected the growing crisis in central government and the pernicious influence at national and local levels of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and his associates, can be seen in the efforts made by Fastolf and others to curb the unlawful/

unlawful and oppressive activities of Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon of Baconsthorpe, who were protected first by Suffolk, and later by Lord Scales.

Fastolf is a good example of an acquisitive fifteenth-century landowner. His experiences illustrate the hazards presented by defective titles to unwary purchasers - expensive lawsuits and forcible seizure of estates by rival claimants. In his correspondence with his servants can be caught glimpses of the day-to-day work of the emergent profession of lay estate managers, and the problems with which they had to cope, above all arrears of rent. References to ships owned by Fastolf show that he did engage in trade, but disappointingly little is known of his commercial activities. The development of one very important fifteenth-century industry, the manufacture of woollen cloth, can, however, be clearly seen on one of Fastolf's manors, Castle Combe in Wiltshire, the thriving condition of which was apparently in no small part due to the astuteness of its landlord.

Turning to the domestic sphere, it must be admitted that practically nothing is known of Fastolf's family life, either as a child or as a married man. However, something of the prevailing and, by modern standards, calculating and inhuman attitude/

attitude towards children can be seen in his various transactions in the wardship of fatherless minors, particularly of Thomas Fastolf of Cowhaugh and of Fastolf's own stepson, Stephen Scrope.

The late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries were a great age of domestic architecture in England, and Fastolf was responsible for building one of the outstanding castles of the age at Caister. From the evidence of its remains and of inventories of its contents can be formed a picture of the latest refinements designed to increase the comfort and convenience of the well-to-do. In his own person, with his gorgeous clothes and jewels, Fastolf exemplifies the medieval love of display and conspicuous consumption.

Fastolf's attitude to religion seems to have been conventional, and he followed a current trend by bequeathing the bulk of those possessions he left to the Church, not to the monastic orders, but to establish numerous chantries, in particular a college of priests and poor men at Caister Castle.

The circle of Fastolf's immediate associates included a number of interesting men, some of them literary figures, the best known being Stephen Scrope and William Worcestre . The connection with the latter is especially significant, for Worcestre/

Worcestre left not only his Itineraries, which contains some miscellaneous information about his master, but also his notebooks and records relating to his duties connected with the administration of Fastolf's estates. While I have not had access to these unpublished documents, considerable use of them has been made by G. P. Scrope in his History of Castle Combe. The loss of Worcestre's Acta domini Ionnis Fastolf is greatly to be regretted; although it is an overstatement to say, as Anstis does, that by it 'we are reduced to the Necessity of collecting Scraps and Fragments scattered here and there, like saving Planks after a Shipwreck,' (1) nevertheless, because Worcestre spent many years in Fastolf's service, both on his estate business and in close, personal attendance on him, he was uniquely well placed to compose a record of his master's entire life. Historians owe a further debt to William Worcestre, for he collected various documents relating to Fastolf's career in France, including the reports drawn up by him as Bedford's chief military adviser. These have been published by J. Stevenson in Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France which contains, in addition, other information about Fastolf's military and administrative duties overseas./

(1) J. Anstis, The Register of the Order of the Garter, (1724), 135.

overseas. Especially useful among the chronicles of the period are those by Waurin and Monstrelet. Waurin actually served for some time in France under Fastolf's command and so was able to give eye-witness accounts of certain events, notably of the battle of Patay, while Monstrelet gives a contradictory account of the same battle, which has given rise to controversy over Fastolf's reputation as a soldier.

Especially fortunate for a student of Fastolf's life was his association with John Paston, the result of which was that a considerable amount of evidence relating to Fastolf, including numerous letters written by him, has survived among that family's uniquely well-preserved correspondence. The Paston Letters have provided some of the most valuable source material for this study. (1)

Much information about various aspects of Fastolf's career is contained in the Fastolf Papers and other documents relating to Fastolf's affairs, now in the Muniment-room of Magdalen College, Oxford; these include the title-deeds of those of his manors which came into the possession of the College. Unfortunately/

(1) Professor Norman Davis is currently preparing a new edition of the Paston Letters, part i of which was published in 1971. I have, wherever possible, preferred this most recent edition, although I have relied principally on the New Complete Library Edition of James Gairdner.

Unfortunately lack of time has prevented me from consulting this material, but K. B. McFarlane has drawn on it extensively for his articles entitled 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', 'A Business-partnership in War and Administration' and 'William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey', as has P. S. Lewis in 'Sir John Fastolf's Lawsuit over Titchwell 1448-1455.'

Among older secondary works those which have proved most helpful are the Register of the Order of the Garter by J. Anstis, Blomefield's History of Norfolk and Scrope's History of Castle Combe; especially valuable among modern writings have been the work of K. B. McFarlane, particularly the articles already mentioned, and also that of E.M. Carus-Wilson on Castle Combe, and of H. D. Barnes and W. D. Simpson on Caister Castle.

The most recent publication on the subject, Sir John Fastolfe, a Medieval Man of Property, by Jessie Crosland, is disappointingly superficial. For a book of its small size it contains an undue proportion of not very relevant 'padding', while omitting much material of significance for an overall assessment of Fastolf. It lacks a proper balance; for instance, several pages are devoted to late medieval European tastes in literature and an account of some popular didactic works, <sup>(1)</sup> although Fastolf's interest/

(1) J. Crosland, Sir John Fastolfe, A Medieval 'Man of Property', (London, 1970), 51-6.

interest in books has not been shown to be more than moderate, whereas Castle Combe merits only one paragraph, (1) and the important question of the source and extent of the great wealth accumulated by Fastolf does not receive the prominence it should surely have. The lack of a bibliography and the paucity of footnotes are further disadvantages, especially in view of Dr. Crosland's uncritical acceptance of certain sources. It is by no means certain, for example, that Talbot did replace Fastolf as governor of Anjou and Maine. (2) Nor is it 'evident that he [Fastolf] was not a popular landowner', (3) indeed he became something of a rallying point for the local opposition to Tuddenham and Heydon. Fastolf's difficulties in establishing claims to property and retaining possession of it, and in procuring his rents were not a reflection on his popularity, but were the common lot of landowners whose estates were coveted by others, in an age when developments in the land law tended to obscure and complicate the descent of manors. One of the most unwarranted statements made by Dr. Crosland is that Fastolf 'was well known as one who had profited by the war, but had done little to save the reputation of his country.' (4) Whatever Fastolf's chief motive, self-interest or/

(1) Ibid., 41.

(2) Ibid., 27.

(3) Ibid., 57.

(4) Ibid., 61.

or patriotism, he remained in France almost until the final loss of Normandy, by which time he was sixty years old, and even after his retiral advocated the continuation of the war, although the situation for England was by then desperate. It is hard to see what more could have been expected of him. Finally, it is surely inaccurate to say that 'most of the records of his doings which have survived are written by those who were never well-disposed towards him.' (1) Such a description could hardly apply to the bulk of the contemporary evidence, even allowing for the hostility of Stephen Scrope and the occasional bitter remarks of some of Fastolf's servants, and for the imputation to him of cowardice by Monstrelet, which was taken up by later chroniclers and popularised by Shakespeare. But Shakespeare had no pretensions to historical accuracy, although Dr. Crosland does at one point at least apparently fail to distinguish between history and drama somewhat loosely based on it, when she introduces the fictional Sir John Fastolfe into a discussion of the actual Fastolf's military career in France. (2)

There are naturally large gaps in the evidence which has no far come to light about Fastolf's life. One should like, for example, /

(1) Ibid., 43.

(2) Ibid., 31.

example, to know more of his early years and education, his service in Ireland, his marriage, and his trading and agricultural ventures, and more precise details about the profits he and other captains made from the war would give a more accurate idea of how typical he was in this respect. Perhaps the unpublished documents in Magdalen College will provide answers for some of the outstanding questions.

PART I

FAMILY BACKGROUND.

John Fastolf was born about 1378 in the manor-house of Caister, Norfolk. (1) The Fastolfs were an old and well known family in that county, with several branches, one of which had settled at Caister. John's father, also named John, inherited the manors of Caister and Reedham from his father, and purchased additional property in Norfolk, including the manor of Vaux in 1456. (2) He was at one time an esquire in the household of Thomas Beauchamp, eleventh earl of Warwick, (3) and later in that of Edward III; for his service to the king he was awarded an annuity of £20 from the farm of Yarmouth for his life in 1374. (4) He also retained an interest in trade in Yarmouth, with which several members of his family had been profitably connected. (5) He was apparently a capable and trusted figure, for in 1374 he was one of three men selected by the king to undertake certain secret and important negotiations overseas. (6) Two years later he was again/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, p.148.

(2) D.N.B., sub Fastolf; F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, (London, 1805-10), xi, 205-6.

(3) Cal. Papal Reg., Petitions, i, 454.

(4) C.P.R. 1370-74, 405.

(5) K.B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', T.R.H.S., 1957, 114.

(6) Foedera, vii, 33.

again engaged in diplomatic business, this time in connection with a truce with France. (1)

John Fastolf senior and some of his relations, however, did not have entirely unblemished reputations. In 1355 he and his brother, Hugh, who was a lieutenant of the admiral of the seas north of the Thames, were pardoned for having caused the death of Walter de Horsted, a goldsmith, (2) and in 1359 were accused once more of assault. (3) On 7th March 1380 the two men entered into recognisances to pay 600 marks to the king if the goods in a captured ship from Barcelona were proved not to belong to the enemy. (4) In 1342 their father, Alexander Fastolf, grandfather of Sir John, who was a shipowner and several times bailiff of Yarmouth and was on one occasion elected a jurat of the city, was pardoned for his part in illegally boarding and plundering a large ship called 'la Taryte', because he volunteered to go to sea for two months with his ship 'la Blyth Falstof,' at his own expense. (5) Alexander, apparently unchastened, was accused with many others by Sir Robert de/

- (1) T.D. Hardy, Syllabus of the Documents contained in 'Rymer's Foedera,' i, 476.
- (2) C.P.R. 1354-58, 220.
- (3) C.P.R. 1358-61, 276.
- (4) C.C.R. 1377-81, 362, 492-3.
- (5) H. Swinden, The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Burgh of Great Yarmouth, (Norwich, 1772), 135, 924-5; C.P.R. 1340-43, 483.

de Morle of similar misdemeanours at Lowestoft and Yarmouth in 1343, <sup>(1)</sup> and in the following year he was again granted a pardon, this time for having ridden, with banners displayed, in an armed force which had held men to ransom and perpetrated 'homicides, arsons and other evils against the peace'; one of those assaulted in this manner was Richer de Gymmyngham, sergeant of Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, who had deposited stores in Gymmyngham's house in Yarmouth. Alexander Fastolf and others were accused of having stolen from the house goods worth £200, and of having forced Gymmyngham to pay a ransom of £40. <sup>(2)</sup>

The name Fastolf derived from the Old Norse form 'Fastulfr' <sup>(3)</sup> An inscription on a coin of King Edgar's time, reading 'Fastolfes Mo [netarius],' shows that a certain Fastolf was master of a mint at that period, <sup>(4)</sup> and in Domesday Book it is recorded that one, Fastolf, had a free church with eight acres in Stamford. <sup>(5)</sup> Fastolf was a common name in Norfolk and indeed it is not easy to discern clearly the relationships between the members of the various branches/

(1) C.P.R. 1343-45, 166-8.

(2) Ibid., 323-6; C.P.R. 1340-43, 109.

(3) E. Ekwall, Street-Names of the City of London, (Oxford, 1954), 173.

(4) A. Fountaine, 'Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica,' in G. Hickes, Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus, (Oxford, 1705), table 5.

(5) Domesday Book, ed. A. Farley, (London, 1783), i, 336.

branches of the family. William Worcestre in his Itineraries noted several Fastolfs in his list of deaths of noble persons of Yarmouth, including Agnes, wife of Hugh Fastolf, 'a woman of distinction', who died in 1370. (1)

The Fastolfs counted among their number knights and royal officials such as sheriffs and collectors of customs and taxes, and several, in addition to Fastolf's grandfather, were bailiffs of Yarmouth from the time of Edward I. (2) The chief justice of Ireland early in the reign of Edward III was Nicholas Fastolf, (3) and Laurence Fastolf, a canon of London, along with the bishops of London and Winchester, was chosen by the king to deputise for him at a meeting of the council called in 1335 to deal with a threatened invasion, and was authorised to raise loans for the crown in the following year. (4) In 1344 Edward III again entrusted a Fastolf with an important mission; this time Master Thomas, archdeacon of Norwich, was included in an embassy to the papal court, there to negotiate with the envoys of Philip of Valois, (5) and/

(1) William Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey, (Oxford, 1969), 179, 181, 185.

(2) Swinden, History of Great Yarmouth, 660, 922-7.

(3) C.C.R. 1327-30, 145.

(4) Foedera, iv, 658-9; Syllabus of Documents in Foedera, i, 284.

(5) Foedera, v, 420-1.

and four years later, when he was archdeacon of Wells, he and two others were empowered to prorogue the truce made with France. (1)

In London the name was commemorated in 'Fastolf Aley', named after Hugh Fastolf, grocer, who was a member of parliament in 1381, and alderman of the Tower ward in 1381-2 and of the Bridge ward in 1386-9, and a sheriff in 1387-8. (2)

In 1382 he was one of fourteen merchants chosen to consider the question of raising a loan for Richard II's proposed expedition to France. (3)

Hugh Fastolf was not without enemies for, during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, his house was ransacked and documents, weapons, wine and beer stolen, and five years later the cutlers presented a petition to parliament that he should no longer hold public office in London because, they alleged, he was an accomplice of the former mayor, Nicholas Brembre. (4)

The mother of John, later Sir John, Fastolf was Mary, daughter of Nicholas Park, esquire, and widow of Sir Thomas Mortimer of Attleborough, Norfolk, by whom she had three daughters. (5) One of them, Cecily, became the wife of Sir John Radcliff, and had a/

(1) Foedera, v, 623.

(2) Ekwall, Street-Names of London, 173; R. Bird, The Turbulent London of Richard II, (London, 1949), 144.

(3) Bird, London of Richard II, 51.

(4) Bird, London of Richard II, 54-5, 94.

(5) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 206.

a son of another marriage, Sir Robert Harling, who was killed at the siege of St. Denis in 1435. (1) The children of Mary Park's second marriage, to John Fastolf, were John and Margaret, later married to Sir Philip Braunche, who was also killed in France. (2) John Fastolf, father of Sir John, died in 1383 and was buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas and St. Erasmus in the parish church of Yarmouth. (3) In his will dated 28 September of that year he bequeathed certain sums to local churches, double wages to his servants, a cup to his brother Hugh and another to his sister Ada, and all his other goods, together with 52s. annual rent from lands and tenements in Yarmouth, to Mary, his wife. (4) As her third husband Mary married John Farwell of Cowlinge in Suffolk, an esquire in the household of the earl of Suffolk's grandmother; he afterwards became 'master and governor' to John of Lancaster, later duke of Bedford. (5) Mary was widowed for a third time in 1401 and herself lived until 1406. (6)

Nothing specific or definite is known about the upbringing and education of the young John Fastolf. It is likely that, following the usual practice of gentry families, he would have been sent/

- (1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, pp. 156-7; A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, trans. J. Shirley, (Oxford, 1968), 296-7.
- (2) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 207; P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, p.157.
- (3) Worcestre, Itineraries, 267.
- (4) Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Consistory Will Register: Harsyk, f. 5v.
- (5) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 104.
- (6) Worcestre, Itineraries, 351; Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 207.

sent as a page to some suitable household, possibly that of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, where he would have received a training befitting a landed gentleman and a soldier. (1) In 1404 his mother granted to him the manors of Caister, Caister Hall and Repps in Bastwick, together with the advowson of the free chapel of St. John the Baptist at Caister, so that he embarked on his career with a modest patrimony which yielded in the region of £46 per annum. (2)

(1) D.N.B., sub Fastolf.

(2) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 4, p. 4; McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War,' 103.

PART II

FASTOLF ABROAD

i IRELAND

In 1401 Henry IV appointed his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, then aged fourteen, his lieutenant in Ireland. (1) Royal service in Ireland was neither lucrative nor satisfying, for the long years of neglect by successive English governments and absentee landlords had taken their toll. The Irish had made deep inroads into English-held territory: in the words of Curtis, 'after Richard [II] the English Lordship of Ireland in any real sense ceased to exist.' (2) For Thomas of Lancaster the main problem was lack of funds to pay his soldiers, which resulted in frequent desertions and his having to pledge much of his own jewelry and plate. (3) In September 1403 he was allowed to return home, (4) although in March 1406 his commission was renewed. (5) He was in Ireland in 1408, (6) but the following year finally returned home, although retaining his title of lieutenant of Ireland until 1413. (7)

By 1401 John Fastolf was an esquire in the household of Thomas/

(1) C.P.R. 1399-1401, 507.

(2) E. Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland from 1110 to 1513, (London, 1923), 318.

(3) C.C.R. 1402-05, 446-7.

(4) C.P.R. 1401-05, 188.

(5) C.P.R. 1405-08, 143.

(6) The Annals of Loch Cé, ed. and trans. W.M. Hennessy, (Rolls Series, 1871), ii, 125.

(7) Curtis, History of Mediaeval Ireland, 328-9.

Thomas of Lancaster. (1) Little is known of his exploits during this period, but he, too, had spent some time in England, for in November 1408 he was given a protection on his return to Ireland in the company of Lancaster. (2) It was while he was in Ireland, on 13 January 1409, that Fastolf married Milicent, daughter of Sir Robert Tiptoft and widow of Sir Stephen Scrope. (3) Milicent was some ten years older than Fastolf, (4) and, if any credence can be given to an anecdote of Holinshed, a woman of considerable character. Her father had died while she was still a child, and she became the ward of Richard Scrope, 1st Lord Bolton, whose third son, Sir Stephen, she married in 1372. (5) Sir Stephen Scrope also went to Ireland in 1401 in the retinue of Thomas of Lancaster (6) and became his deputy in 1403, when Thomas was given leave of absence. (7) Like his master, Sir Stephen spent much of his time away from Ireland, but it was when he was there in 1408 that he contracted the plague and died. (8) According to Holinshed/

- (1) Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, ed. J. Stevenson, (Rolls Series, 1861-4), ii, pt. 2, [759].
- (2) C.P.R. 1408-13, 41.
- (3) Worcesterre, Itineraries, 349.
- (4) G.P. Scrope, History of the Manor and Ancient Barony of Castle Combe, (1852), 78.
- (5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 78, 80, 141.
- (6) C.P.R. 1399-1401, 507.
- (7) Cal. Rot. Hib., i, 177.
- (8) Annals of Loch Cé, ii, 125.

Holinshed, Scrope's violence and extortion had so aroused the hatred and resentment of the people in Ireland that Milicent had declared she would no longer stay there with him unless he solemnly swore to mend his ways. This he did, so that henceforth his name was blessed instead of cursed. (1)

At the time of their marriage, Fastolf bound himself in £1,000 to pay his wife during her life the handsome sum of £100 per annum, 'at her chamber,' (2) which he was now in a position to afford, since Milicent brought to the marriage considerable estates as coheiress of her father. (3) She had inherited one third of Sir Robert Tiptoft's lands, situated in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset, which were worth respectively £137, £60, £35 and £8 per annum, (4) and which included the manor of Castle Combe in Wiltshire. In 1390 this inheritance had been settled jointly on Milicent and Sir Stephen Scrope and on their issue. (5) In 1410, however, it was resettled jointly on Milicent and John Fastolf, and after on her issue, (6) despite the fact that Milicent/

(1) R. Holinshed, Chronicles England, Scotland and Ireland, (London, 1807-8), vi, 260.

(2) Worcester, Itineraries, 349, 351.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 78.

(4) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 103.

(5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 144-5.

(6) Ibid., 169-70.

Milicent had at least three surviving children by her first husband, Stephen, Robert and Elizabeth. (1)

John and Milicent had no children, but Fastolf apparently had an illegitimate son named William, who became provost of the monastery of Fécamp and later of 'Eslo', and who was buried in the Abbey of St. Benet, Hulme. (2) In his will Fastolf requested that prayers be said for the soul of ' [Dan] Willyam Fastolf, of my consanguynite, prophessyd in the monastery of Seynt Benettes, and aftyr Abot of Fescamp in Normandye, whiche deide at Parys.' (3)

(1) Ibid., 263; Testamenta Eboracensia, iii, ed. J. Raine, (Surtees Soc., xlv, 1865), 38-40. Robert is not named in the will, but it was dated 1 January 1405, more than three years before Scrope died, and possibly before Robert was born.

(2) Worcester, Itineraries, 223.

(3) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, p. 157.

ii FRANCE

On 8 June 1412 Thomas of Lancaster was given a new command, to lead the expedition which was to be sent to France to the assistance of the Armagnac lords under the terms of the treaty of Bourges signed in the previous month. In return for this force of 1,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 archers, the Armagnacs promised Henry V help in the recovery of all Aquitaine and recognised his right to hold it in full sovereignty. (1) In July Thomas, who had previously been named lieutenant of Gascony, was created earl of Albemarle and duke of Clarence. (2) It was not until 10 August that the English army landed at St. Vaast-de-la-Hogue, (3) by which time the Armagnac leaders, with the exception of the count of Alençon, had renounced their alliance with England and joined with the duke of Burgundy. (4) Undeterred by this, Clarence marched his troops through Normandy and south to the valley of the Indre, spreading terror and destruction as he went. At this point the Armagnac dukes offered to buy the English out, and their offer was accepted, the price being fixed at 210,000 crowns, to raise which the duke of Berry had to pledge a number of rare masterpieces from his chapel at Bourges. (5) Clarence and his army then passed on to Bordeaux, where they spent the winter. (6)

For/

(1) Foedera, viii, 745.

(2) Ibid., viii, 757.

(3) P. Cochon, Chronique Normande, ed. C. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, (Rouen, 1870), 263; Waurin, Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne, ed. W. and E.L.C.P. Hardy, (Rolls Series, 1864-91), ii, 153.

(4) Wylie, Henry IV, iv, 79.

(5) Ibid., iv, 81.

(6) Ibid., iv, 85.

For John Fastolf, retained as an esquire in Clarence's retinue at 1s. 6d. per day, <sup>(1)</sup> this campaign was the start of a long military career in France. William Caxton tells us that Fastolf exercised "the warrys in the Royame of France and other countrees ffor the diffence and vnyuersal welfare of bothe royames of englond and ffrance by fourty yeres enduryng the fayte of armes hauntyng. And in admynstryng Iustice and polytique. gouernaunce vnder the kynges, that is to wete Henry the fourth, Henry the fyfthe, Henry the syxthe." <sup>(2)</sup> Fastolf's first official position in France was deputy to the constable of Bordeaux, Sir William Clifford. <sup>(3)</sup> William Worcestre actually calls Fastolf constable, <sup>(4)</sup> but this is inaccurate, although he may possibly have acted as such in the interim between the death of the previous incumbent and the arrival of Clifford in Gascony. It was as deputy constable of Bordeaux that Fastolf received from the duke of Orleans 765 gold crowns, an instalment of the sum the Armagnacs had contracted to pay the English. <sup>(5)</sup> After the news of his father's death had reached Bordeaux, Clarence had returned home, leaving military affairs in the hands of Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset. Fastolf remained in Gascony, acting as Clifford's deputy until/

(1) Ibid., iv, 75.

(2) From the proem to "Tullius of Olde Age", in The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, (E.E.T.S., Orig. Series no. 176, 1928), 41.

(3) M.G.A. Vale, English Gascony, 1399-1453, (Oxford, 1970), 247.

(4) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 94.

(5) J.H. Wylie and W.T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry the Fifth, (Cambridge, 1914-29), i, 123.

until November 1413 <sup>(1)</sup> and participating in the sorties led by Dorset, in the course of one of which, in June 1413, the English captured Soubise, and Fastolf took the lord of the town prisoner. In 1415 he was allowed to have 130 tuns of Gascon wine brought to Great Yarmouth in compensation for his captive's ransom. <sup>(2)</sup> During his stay in southern France Fastolf was also made captain of the castle of Weires, by Henry V. <sup>(3)</sup>

In 1415 Fastolf was retained by the recently appointed seneschal of Gascony, John Tiptoft, to provide troops for him, at a yearly wage of £100. In the event, however, it was to Normandy that Fastolf went, for Henry V ordered his contingent to be transferred to his own expedition of 1415, and on 28 June a protection was issued to Fastolf, stated to be in the retinue of the king. <sup>(4)</sup> The force provided by Fastolf consisted of 10 men-at-arms and 30 archers. <sup>(5)</sup> This was a creditable number for a man of the rank of esquire: Michael Powicke has estimated that most of those who contributed contingents of this size were knights. The largest force, of 240 men-at-arms and 720 archers, was brought by Clarence. <sup>(6)</sup>

The/

- (1) Vale, English Gascony. 247.
- (2) C.C.R. 1413-19, 173.
- (3) D.N.B., sub Fastolf.
- (4) 44th. Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 566.
- (5) Foedera, ix, 270.
- (6) M.R. Powicke, 'Lancastrian Captains', in Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke, (Toronto, 1969), 373-5.

The first task of the English army on its arrival in France was to capture the strategically important and strongly defended port of Harfleur, which eventually surrendered on 22 September. Fastolf was present at this siege, and probably fought at Agincourt, (1) but soon found himself back at Harfleur, where the earl of Dorset was now captain. The garrison there had constantly to be on the alert against enemy attacks and, as a precaution against surprise, every man of the watch kept 'a masty hound at a lyes, to berke and warne yff ony adverse partye were comyng to the dykes'. (2) Short of provisions, the English made frequent raids into the surrounding countryside in search of food and fodder, on one of which, led by Fastolf in November 1415, they penetrated to within six miles of Rouen. (3) However, while returning to base at Harfleur, they were attacked and lost not only the prisoners which they had taken near Duclair, but also some of their own men. (4) At the beginning of the new year the hard-pressed garrison was relieved by 900 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, (5) and John Fastolf, John Blount and Thomas Carew were appointed to be the lieutenants of the earl of Dorset. (6) In March 1416 Fastolf and Blount were with Dorset when he/

(1) D.N.B., sub Fastolf. N.H. Nicolas, The History of the Battle of Agincourt, (London, 1827), lists Fastolf among those present, but cf. Wylie and Waugh, Henry V, iii, 50, where it is stated that the so-called 'Agincourt Roll' is a list of combatants in 1417, not 1415 as was formerly thought.

(2) The Boke of Noblesse, ed. J.G. Nichols, (Roxburghe Club, 1860), 16, (on the information of Sir John Fastolf).

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 172.

(4) Wylie and Waugh, Henry V, ii, 332.

(5) A.H. Burne, The Agincourt War, (London, 1956), 99.

(6) Boke of Noblesse, 15; Wylie and Waugh, Henry V, ii, 332.

he led a raiding party north, (1) almost to the Channel coast, burning and lying waste as they went. Having fired Cany, near St. Valéry, they turned homeward, only to find their way barred near Valmont by the count of Armagnac with a large army. (2) The English, who probably numbered about 1,000, drew up in battle order but were forced to retire, with the loss of 160 men, in face of the enemy attack. However, largely thanks to the fact that the French were more interested in looting the baggage than in following up their initial advantage, they succeeded in escaping to the coast under cover of darkness, (3) although they had to fight off another enemy force which charged down on them from the Chef de Caux before they got back to Harfleur. (4) This foolhardy venture, while it demonstrated the courage and fighting qualities of the English soldier, and was enthusiastically acclaimed in England, (5) was nevertheless costly in terms of men and materials, and achieved little. The situation of the Harfleur garrison, short of provisions and supplies of every kind, and blockaded by land and sea became increasingly desperate.

In/

(1) Ibid, ii, 333.

(2) 'Chronique de Normandie', in Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta, ed. B. Williams, (London, 1850), 173.

(3) Wylie and Waugh, Henry V, ii, 334-5.

(4) Waurin, Croniques, ii, 239.

(5) Henrici Quinti Gesta, 72-3.

In the Boke of Noblesse we learn that 'a wreched cowys hede was solde for vjs. viijd. sterling, and the tong for xld.' and that losses from starvation were said to be over 500 soldiers. (1) The naval victory by Bedford on 15 August 1416 over the French and their allies of Genoa and Navarre broke the stranglehold on the English supply-lines, although Fastolf was still finding difficulty in obtaining resources in 1417, when the office-bearers of Harfleur were ordered by the king to ensure that certain victuals which they had seized were speedily returned to Fastolf. (2)

By 29 January 1416 John Fastolf had been knighted for his services to the crown and was granted the manor of Frilense, near Harfleur, for his life. (3) It is as Sir John Fastolf that he is mentioned as being present at the first important engagement of Henry V's 1417 expedition to France, the siege of the town and castle of Caen in September of that year. (4) He was in the army which captured Falaise, in 1417-8. (5) In late July 1418 Henry's successful progress through Normandy brought him to the walls of Rouen. The subsequent siege of the city, which lasted for/

(1) Boke of Noblesse, 16.

(2) Rotuli Normanniae, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1835), i, 367-8.

(3) Foedera, ix, 329.

(4) Worcester, Itineraries, 353.

(5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 173.

for more than half a year, resulted in great misery for the townspeople who were reduced to eating 'hors, doggis, Mis, Rattis and Cattis', all sold at exorbitant prices, and there was also a brisk market in worms. (1) Despite appeals to the duke of Burgundy, no help was sent to the beleaguered city, and on 20 January 1419 the garrison surrendered. Fastolf, who had taken part in the siege, (2) was soon made captain of Fécamp and was granted the castle and lordship of Bec Crespin which he had been ordered to seize. (3) In the summer and autumn of 1420, after the treaty of Troyes, he was present at the capture of Montereau and Melun, (4) before moving to Paris, there to take up his appointment as captain of the bastille of St. Antoine. An indenture dated 24 January 1420/21, between the king and Sir John Fastolf, states that Fastolf is to have the keeping of the bastille for one year, assisted by a force of 19 other men-at-arms and 60 archers. He himself was to be paid 2s. per day, each man-at-arms 12d. plus the 'usual rewards', and each archer 6d. The normal arrangements/

- (1) The Brut, pt. ii, ed. F.W.D. Brie, (E.E.T.S. Orig. Series no.136, 1908), 400.
- (2) D.N.B., sub Fastolf.
- (3) Ibid., where it is also stated that Fastolf was governor of Condé-sur-Noireau; Worcestre, Itineraries, 353. On pp. 353, 355 Worcestre gives a list of offices held by Fastolf in France. In addition to those mentioned in the text, they were captain of Le Mans, Mantes, Fresnay-le-Vicomte, Honfleur, Pont Meulan, 'Sulyse', and the palace of Rouen; lieutenant of the castle of Calais, marshal and grand butler of Normandy.
- (4) Biographica Britannica, 702.

arrangements for 'profits of war' were made, i.e. those under Fastolf's command were to give him one third of their winnings, and the king would receive from Fastolf one third of that, as well as one third of Fastolf's own gains, and all captains and lieutenants they might capture, for whom they would receive compensation. (1) The author of the Boke of Noblesse illustrates Fastolf's efficiency in ensuring that every garrison of which he had charge had ample provisions, by recounting an incident which occurred when he was captain of the bastille. For some reason the duke of Exeter, then captain of Paris, had arrested Jean de Villiers, Seigneur de l'Isle Adam, whose popularity with the Parisians caused them to rebel in protest. Exeter took refuge in the bastille and, in answer to his query 'how welle he was stored of greynes, of whete, of benys, pesyn, and aveyn for horsmete, and of othyr vitaille', Fastolf was able to reply that he had sufficient for half a year, and more, which greatly reassured the duke. (2)

Fastolf's talents were now increasingly being recognised, and utilised in the royal service, as he was promoted to more responsible/

(1) J.G. Nichols, 'An Original Appointment of Sir John Fastolfe to be Keeper of the Bastille of St. Anthony at Paris in 1421', Archaeologia, xliv (1873), 114-5.

(2) Boke of Noblesse, 68-9.

responsible positions. After Clarence was killed at Baugé in 1421, he joined the retinue of the duke of Bedford and became master of his household in January 1422, (1) a post he held till the end of Bedford's life. (2) On the death of Henry V Bedford, now regent in France, appointed him lieutenant of Normandy, (3) and in 1423 governor of Anjou and Maine, (4) and he served as a member of Henry VI's French council from 1422 until 1439. (5) In 1423 it was necessary for the English to recapture Meulan, which had been snatched from them by the French: the earl of Salisbury and 'messire Jehan Fastre' were among those chosen by the regent to negotiate the terms of surrender. (6) In the diplomatic sphere, he was present in the cathedral of Amiens when the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy and Brittany swore a defensive alliance on 17 April 1423. (7)

At the beginning of his regency Bedford concentrated on consolidating the gains made by Henry V, on keeping open his lines of communication and on clearing enemy enclaves from English-held territory. An example of this kind of action was the siege, in 1424, /

(1) D.N.B., sub Fastolf.

(2) The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-43, (Oxford, 1938-47), ii, 587.

(3) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 104.

(4) D.N.B., sub Fastolf.

(5) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 104.

(6) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 11.

(7) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, (530).

1424, of Compiègne, which had been taken from the Burgundians by the French in the previous year. In 1423, while taking the castle of Pacy, Fastolf had captured Guillaume Remond, who had been the commander of the forces in Compiègne. The unfortunate man was brought by the English from Paris and forced to sit in a cart beside the gibbet outside the town walls, with a rope around his neck and the threat that it would be used to hang him unless the garrison surrendered. Fortunately for him, they did. (1)

Fastolf was among the leaders of the army which was assembled by Bedford when he decided to resume the conquest of French-held territory by invading Anjou and Maine, and which won the important victory of Verneuil in August 1424. (2) In recognition of his part in the engagement he was created knight banneret. (3) Having largely destroyed the French army in this battle, Bedford now divided his forces into sections, one of which was led by Fastolf and Lord Scales, and was to be responsible for the subjection of Maine. (4) Fastolf, who in this indenture (5) is styled governor of Alençon, was retained by the regent for one year from/

(1) Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland,  
(London, 1807-8), iii, 140.

(2) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, 394.

(3) Worcestre, Itineraries, 335.

(4) Burne, Agincourt War, 216.

(5) Wars of English in France, ii, pt. i, 44-50.

from 29 September 1424, to serve in the conquest of Maine and neighbouring districts occupied by the king's enemies and in any other place to which Bedford thought fit to send him. In 1415 he had indented to provide 10 men-at-arms and 30 archers: now, in 1424, his force consisted of 80 men-at-arms and 240 archers. The campaign had largely succeeded in its object by late 1425: in the course of it Fastolf took part in the siege of Le Mans, and was made lieutenant of the town, the earl of Suffolk being the captain. (1) In another successful engagement he went with Lord Willoughby to intercept a French contingent, to whom a Gascon member of the garrison had arranged to deliver Alençon. (2)

Fastolf's contribution to the English successes in France was an important one, and this fact was now recognised by the bestowal on him of two notable honours. He was created a baron of France, taking his title from a castle which had recently surrendered to him, Sillé-le-Guillaume, (3) and in the following year, 1426, was elected to the Order of the Garter, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the earl of Westmorland. There had/

(1) Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 143.

(2) Ibid., iii, 143-4.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 174. (Scrope says that Sillé-le-Guillaume was almost immediately recaptured by the French, who lost it again seven years later to the earl of Arundel.)

had been two candidates for the vacant stall, Fastolf and Sir John Radcliffe, and they had received an equal number of votes, but Bedford, as the king's deputy, gave his casting vote to Fastolf. Anstis commented that 'This Preference, upon a Competition, shews the Largeness of his Desserts, especially when determined by so great a Judge of them as the Duke of Bedford.' The fact that, shortly afterwards, Bedford successfully supported Radcliffe's election to another vacancy in the Order seemed to Anstis to underline the 'Amplitude, Dignity, and Excellence' of Fastolf's merits. The earls of Warwick, Salisbury and Suffolk were sent to France to receive Fastolf's oath, and to invest him with the Garter. He did not attend the installation ceremony in person, but deputed Sir Henry Inglose and Sir William Breton to take possession of his stall in St. George's Chapel, and to offer his mantle, helmet and sword, and to take the required oath.<sup>(1)</sup>

Late in 1425 Bedford had returned home in response to an appeal from Henry Beaufort, whose relations with the duke of Gloucester had reached a critical point. When Bedford came back to France the following March he was accompanied by Talbot, who henceforth/

(1) J. Anstis, The Register of the Order of the Garter, (1724), 131-2.

henceforth played a prominent part in the war. (1)

Not long after their arrival the English army suffered heavy losses while attempting to besiege Montargis, and on the very same day Fastolf was defeated at Ambrières in Maine, the news of which triggered off a series of revolts in the area. (2)

Bedford decided that he could better keep order in Maine if he could capture the town of Laval, which duly fell to Talbot in March 1428, but not before Fastolf had prepared the way by taking several smaller places in the vicinity, (3) including St. Ouen-des-Toits and la Gravelle, where hostages given by the garrison were openly put to death before the town walls, because the defenders broke their agreement to surrender unless help had come by a certain day. (4)

In 1428 the English commanders faced a vitally important decision, whether to attempt to link up their possessions in Gascony with those further north by completing the conquest of Anjou, beginning with its capital Angers, or to attack Orléans which/

- (1) Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 158, states that in 1427 he was made governor of Anjou and Maine, and that Fastolf 'was assigned to an other place'. However, in Wars of English in France, ii, pt. ii, [535], [549], Fastolf is called 'governor of Maine' for the years ending Michaelmas 1428 and 1434 respectively. In P.L. (G), ii, no. 27, reference is made to Fastolf as governor of Anjou and Maine for the year 1434-5.
- (2) E. Carleton Williams, My Lord of Bedford, 1389-1435, (London, 1963), 154-5.
- (3) *Ibid.*, 155.
- (4) Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 157.

which, situated midway between Paris and Bourges, capital of Dauphinist France, was of prime importance to both sides. Against Bedford's better judgement the latter course was chosen, and in August 1428 the English army, led by the earl of Salisbury, set off towards the Loire. (1) The siege of Orléans was not long started when, in October, Salisbury, a highly talented and respected leader, was mortally wounded. His successor, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, a more cautious and less forceful personality, withdrew the main army from Orléans for the winter. However in December, with the arrival on the scene of the Lords Talbot and Scales, now associated with Suffolk in the command, the bombardment recommenced. Bedford did not take part in the operations himself, but from his headquarters at Chartres concerned himself with ensuring that his army was as well supplied as was possible, for convoys ran considerable risk of enemy attack. It was while he was in charge of one such convoy in 1429 that Fastolf performed his most famous military exploit. With Sir Thomas Rampston and Sir Philip Hall he had been sent by Suffolk to request supplies of the/

(1) Carleton Williams, Bedford, 158-9.

the regent, then in Paris. (1) Bedford had assembled several hundred carts and wagons which had been filled by local merchants with artillery and various provisions. (2) The provost of Paris, Simon Morhier, various other officials, and a number of the city guard and of Bedford's household were detailed to accompany Fastolf and his men, (3) who then numbered about 1,600 combatants and 1,000 others. (4) They left Paris on Ash Wednesday 1429, and made steady progress until they drew near the village of Rouvray, in Beauce. (5) Here they learned of the approach of a large Franco-Scottish army, several thousand strong, led by the count of Clermont, Sir John Stewart, constable of the Scots in France, the Bastard of Orléans, la Hire, and other distinguished commanders, (6) which was on its way to reinforce the Orléans garrison, but had made a detour to snatch what they supposed would be an easy victory. (7) Fastolf found himself in a very difficult position, for not only was he greatly outnumbered, but his convoy was cumbersome and slow, and presented the enemy with an easy target. However he showed considerable ingenuity/

(1) Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 162.

(2) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 254.

(3) Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 162.

(4) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 254.

(5) Monstrelet, Chronicles, trans. T. Johnes, (London, 1810), vi, 249-50.

(6) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 255, 258.

(7) Polydore Vergil, English History, ed. H. Ellis, (Camden Soc., 1844), 21.

ingenuity by adopting tactics which were 'most unusual, if not unprecedented, at that period.' (1) He drew up the wagons in the form of a stockade, within which he placed all his men, the archers guarding two openings left in the perimeter, and the men-at-arms nearby. In the best defended spot he put the horses, and the merchants, pages and other non-combatants. (2) Having ascertained that the French would refuse to ransom any prisoners, but would put them to death instead, Fastolf and his men took cover behind the carts and awaited the enemy attack. (3) The French were over-confident, for they were far more numerous than their enemy, and furthermore not more than 600 of those were 'real Englishmen, the rest being composed of all nations.' (4) Clermont bombarded the wagons with his many cannon, and had inflicted considerable damage, (5) when it became obvious that there was serious disagreement between him and his Scots allies. Stewart wished to fight on foot and, impatient of waiting, ordered the Scots to dismount and charge. The English archers, protected by their carts, inflicted heavy losses on them and on the French cavalry which followed, (6) many of those who escaped the arrows being impaled on/

(1) Burne, Agincourt War, 234.

(2) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 256.

(3) A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, trans. J. Shirley, (Oxford, 1968), 228.

(4) Monstrelet, Chronicles, vi, 251.

(5) Burne, Agincourt War, 235.

(6) Monstrelet, Chronicles, vi, 251-2.

on the stakes driven into the ground by the archers: the survivors fled 'like animals scattered by a wolf'. (1) The engagement was a triumph for Fastolf and his troops, who had killed large numbers of their opponents, including Sir John Stewart and other nobles, (2) while they themselves lost 'only one man of note', Simon Morhier's nephew. (3) The remainder of their journey to Orléans was uneventful and they were joyfully received there by their countrymen, to the sound of the trumpet and the clarion. (4) The 'Day of the Herrings', as this encounter was nicknamed, because many of the wagons were filled with fish for Lent, some of which had spilled on to the field as a result of the bombardment, was the most glorious episode in Fastolf's military career; there was soon to follow the most controversial, his part in the battle of Patay.

When the siege of Orléans was raised in May 1429, Suffolk retired to Jargeau with some of his forces, sending the others either to Meung or Beaugency. (5) The triumphant French army, led by the duke of Alençon and Dunois, accompanied by Joan of Arc, captured Jargeau in June, and then advanced along the Loire to besiege Beaugency./

- (1) A Parisian Journal, 229.
- (2) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 258.
- (3) Monstrelet, Chronicles, vi, 253.
- (4) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 259.
- (5) Carleton Williams, Bedford, 170.

Beaugency. Bedford had previously assembled an army to go to the assistance of the threatened English garrisons, with Fastolf as its commander. (1) When Dunois reported to Joan of Arc that he had heard that Fastolf had reached Janville, she seemed elated, and exclaimed, 'Bastart, Bastart, ou nom de Dieu, je te commande que tantost que tu scauras la venue dudit Fastolf, que tu le me faces scavoir; car, s'il passe sans que je le sache, je te prometz que je te feray oster la teste.' (2) In the ranks of Fastolf's army was the chronicler, Jehan de Waurin, (3) who gives a valuable account of the events which followed, of many of which, including the battle of Patay, he was an eye-witness. (4) Fastolf and his company were waiting at Janville for expected reinforcements when they heard the news of the fall of Jargeau, the reduction to French obedience of Meung, and the investment of Beaugency. As they conferred together as to what should be their next move, Talbot arrived with a small troop and joined their council of war. Fastolf argued that, because of recent English losses and consequent low morale, in contrast to the buoyancy of the French, they should withdraw to certain strongholds/

(1) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 284.

(2) J.E.J. Quicherat, Proces de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle, (Paris, 1841-9), iii, 212.

(3) Waurin, Croniques, iii, 283.

(4) Ibid., iii, 285-304.

strongholds to await the promised reinforcements, leaving the garrison of Beaugency to make the best surrender-terms it could. This apparently sensible plan did not commend itself to some of the other captains, notably Talbot. Although he had less experience in the field than Fastolf, whose reputation as a wise and formidable soldier was then at its height, Talbot declared that, even if he had only his own men and those willing to follow him, he meant to fight the enemy with the help of God and St. George. The dispute continued the following morning, even as the army stood drawn up in the fields, banners flying and ready to march. In vain Fastolf emphasised the greatly superior French numbers, and the folly of risking everything that Henry V had won, when all might be saved by patiently awaiting the extra troops. In the end he had no choice but to follow Talbot and the others in the direction of Beaugency, where they hoped to relieve the garrison. Near Meung they came in sight of the enemy, drawn up in battle-order on a hill. The French rejected the English suggestion that three knights from each side should decide the issue, saying that they hoped to see their opponents at closer quarters on the next day; but when the news of the surrender of Beaugency reached the English on 18 June, they turned/

turned in the direction of Patay. On learning that a large French army was in pursuit of them, they halted two or three miles to the south of the village. The vanguard, artillery and baggage were placed alongside some hedges, to give them protection, while the main body guarded a gap between two strong hedges, through which the French would have to pass. These hedges also concealed the English from their enemy, an advantage they foolishly threw away by shouting aloud when a stag blundered into their ranks. The French charged without delay, before all the English had had time to take up their positions, and swept right through the pass guarded by Talbot.

At this point Waurin's account of Fastolf's part in the proceedings diverges from that of Monstrelet. Fastolf's companion-in-arms says that his leader then rode to join the vanguard, but they, thinking all was lost, followed their captain in flight. Fastolf, although advised that the English cause was hopeless and that he might as well save himself, 'a toutes fins voulloit rentrer en la bataille et illec attendre l'adventure tele que nostre Seigneur luy volroit envoyer, disant que mieulz amoit estre mors ou prins que honteusement fuyr et ainsi ses gens habandonner.'

Waurin/

Waurin states quite definitely that it was not until Talbot was taken prisoner, and until the French were in a position of overwhelming superiority, with hundreds of English dead lying on the field, that Fastolf most reluctantly departed, being only just prevented from re-entering the fray by his companions, especially the Bastard of Thian. Waurin went with him, for Fastolf was his captain, whom he had been ordered by Bedford to obey.

According to Monstrelet, as soon as the French charged the English, Sir John Fastolf, the Bastard of Thian and many other knights, none of whom had dismounted, fled at a gallop, leaving their companions, who had not had time to drive in their customary defensive stakes, to be killed or captured. Foremost among the prisoners then taken were the Lords Talbot, Scales and Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampston. (1)

The question of which is the truer account of Fastolf's conduct is a matter for speculation. It is possible that Fastolf, having been totally opposed to the idea of confronting the enemy at that stage, felt that he was justified in washing his hands of an obviously hopeless affair. Yet his high reputation as a soldier and/

(1) Monstrelet, Chronicles, vi, 273.

and commander makes it seem unlikely that he would abandon an action once started, leaving his comrades and his men to their fates, in such a cowardly fashion. It could be argued that Waurin fabricated his account, as much to justify his own conduct as that of his captain, but he was, after all, an eye-witness of the battle and there seems to be no very good reason to discard him in favour of Monstrelet who was not. Fastolf's words of advice to young knights, as reported in the Boke of Noblesse, indicate at least his opinion of what a captain's conduct in the field should be. Fastolf first differentiates between two kinds of men, 'manlye' and 'hardye' (foolhardy), saying that the former is more to be commended, 'for the hardy man that sodenly, bethout discrecion of gode avysement, avauncyth hym yn the felde to be halde courageouse, and wyth grete aventur he scapyth, voydith the felde allone, but he levyth hys felyshyp destrussed. And the manly man, ys policie ys that, or he avaunce hym and hys felyshyp at skirmysse or sodeyn racountre, he wille so discretely avaunce hym that he wille entend to hafe the ovyr hand of hys adversarye, and safe hymself and hys felyshyp.' (1)

Waurin/

(1) Boke of Noblesse, 64-5.

Waurin and Monstrelet both go on to say that the regent bitterly reproached Fastolf for his conduct and deprived him of his Order of the Garter, although this was later returned to him because the opinions he had expressed at the council of war before the battle were considered to be reasonable and because of 'other circumstances and excuses he made'. (1) This statement too has given rise to a certain amount of controversy. Anstis says that, since the regent had not the authority to invest anyone with the Order, it is unlikely that he could divest them, especially without the agreement of the sovereign and the other knights: that it was quite foreign to the character of Bedford that he should take such a grave step without properly investigating the truth of the charge. Furthermore he states that the penalty of degradation from the Order for any knight fleeing from battle was not adopted until the time of Henry VIII, and even then had to have the assent of the king and the members of the Order. (2)

Of one further outcome of the battle, the bitter relations between Fastolf and Talbot, of which both Waurin and Monstrelet inform us/

(1) Monstrelet, Chronicles, vi, 275-6; Waurin, Croniques, ii, 306.

(2) J. Anstis, The Register of the Order of the Garter, (1724), 139.

us, there seems little doubt, for Talbot laid a charge against Fastolf of conduct unbecoming a knight of the Garter. (1)

It would appear that, even if Bedford's anger at this serious defeat was directed at Fastolf, his displeasure did not last for long. In 1430 he appointed Fastolf lieutenant of Caen. (2) In the year beginning Michaelmas 1433 he still held this post and had charge of a garrison of 3 equestrian lances, 27 foot lances and 90 archers. In that same year he was also lieutenant of Alençon and captain of Fresnay-le-Vicomte, in which two places he commanded a total of 57 equestrian lances, 23 foot lances and 240 archers; (3) in 1434-5 he was captain of Le Mans. (4) In May 1432 he had been chosen, along with Lord Willoughby, to lead a force of 300 lances and 900 archers raised at the request of the Norman Estates, who had voted a tax to pay for it, to recover certain places on or near the borders of Normandy. (5)

The Council of Basel had been given authority by Martin V to attempt to arrange an end to the wars in France. In December 1432 a safe-conduct was issued to John, Bishop of Rochester, Sir John Fastolf and/

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 200.

(2) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 140.

(3) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [541-4].

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 27.

(5) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. i, 204-10.

and Master Thomas Bekynton, doctor of laws, who were appointed the ambassadors of the king, with full powers to treat with Charles of Valois and to conclude a truce or perpetual peace. (1) In May 1436 Fastolf was sent on a similiar mission, this time in the company of Richard, duke of York, Louis of Luxemburg, chancellor of France, and the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. (2)

A week before the Franco-Burgundian treaty of Arras was signed on 21 September 1435, the Duke of Bedford died in Rouen. In his will, dated 10 September, he names John Fastolf as one of his executors. The administration of the will, which was proved in 1441, was to be a long-drawn-out affair. (3) In 1454 Fastolf was still writing to John Paston and in 1455 to Nicholas Molyneux, asking them to enlist the help of the archbishop of Canterbury and others in recovering Bedford's goods. (4) Also in 1455, in a letter to John Paston and John Bocking, asking their assistance on Fastolf's behalf, William Worcestre says that his master is so concerned about the matter that he 'carpyth so oft on it dayly'. Worcestre later complains that the reason the will had been in dispute for the past twenty/

(1) Foedera, x, 527, 530-1.

(2) Ibid., x, 642.

(3) Register of Henry Chichele, ii, 585-8.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, nos. 266, 304.

twenty years was that it was made in such brief and general terms.<sup>(1)</sup> By January 1456 Fastolf was the sole surviving executor,<sup>(2)</sup> and was still 'labouring' to recover Bedford's goods and to have his lands sold to execute the terms of the will, and was advising John Paston and others to make themselves known to those close to the archbishop of Canterbury, that such people might use their influence on his behalf.<sup>(3)</sup> In August 1457 Joan, widow of Richard Bokeland, claimed that Fastolf, as one of Bedford's executors, owed her £1,073 16s., plus £200 damages for non-payment of this sum. In part-payment she accepted a gold cross with a gold foot set with precious stones and pearls, in the shape of a sepulchre, which was valued at 510 marks, and which had been given to her as security for the debt.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the same month in which Bedford died, in his capacity as military adviser to the king's council Fastolf submitted a report on the management of the war to the English ambassadors at Arras, with the prior agreement of Bedford and his council.<sup>(5)</sup> Dealing first with the demands of the French embassy, that the English king renounce his claim to the French crown and that he do homage to the French king for his/

(1) *Ibid.*, iii, nos. 305, 314.

(2) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 317.

(3) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 319.

(4) Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1437-57, ed. P.E. Jones, (Cambridge, 1954), 155-6.

(5) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [575-85].

his possessions in France, which demands had been rejected by the English ambassadors, Fastolf says that if these had been accepted it would have been held either that the king of England had no right to the French throne, or no power to sustain his right. In any case, the French were notorious for failing to keep faith in any truce or treaty they might make, a fact the king should consider carefully before entering upon another. Fastolf is in no doubt that the king should maintain his claim to the French kingdom by force of arms, undeterred by any destruction this may involve, 'for better is a contrey to be wasted for a tyme than lost', and put his trust in God's help. Having justified the continuation of the war in defence of all the English claims, and the rejection of the French terms at Arras, Fastolf then gives his advice on military matters. The king should attempt no further conquests outside Normandy as yet, and in view of the great size of the territory to be won and of recent developments in armaments and strategy, and of sympathy for the enemy cause among many who should be true subjects of Henry VI, the accustomed method of proceeding by sieges should be abandoned as being too expensive in men, time and materials. Instead, two discreet and notable commanders should be chosen, each to lead mobile columns of/

of 750 picked men-at-arms, who would embark on a campaign of systematic destruction in northern France, to discourage rebellion and cow the native population into submission. The king would be able to pursue such a policy without being thought a tyrant, for he had previously proposed that the war be restricted to fighting-men, but the French had said that none should be spared, and had themselves begun to lay waste the countryside of Normandy. Recourse should be had to sieges only in the case of places likely to surrender quickly and men should be spared for garrisons only in towns of strategic importance. This harsh method of waging war should be pursued for at least three years, but only during five months of summer and autumn. Fastolf then stresses the importance of 'keeping the sea', and of the rigorous punishment of traitors, and suggests alliances with Venice, Genoa and 'alle soche othere landis bothe of olde frenship and othere as shalbe thoughte expedient'. In conclusion he remarks that the war should be 'counceilled and gouverned' more by Englishmen and less by French.

Of all the ideas put forward by Fastolf in his report of 1435, it is the so-called 'scorched-earth' policy which has received most attention from later writers. Lander described it as 'politically/

'politically disastrous' since it alienated French sympathy from the English cause. (1) In fact, as Fowler says, the method of proceeding by siege and garrison continued to be the strategy most favoured by the English. (2) Most of the devastation and misery which did occur in the later stages of the war was the work of brigands and deserters from both sides, over whom the depleted garrisons were unable to exercise proper control.

Brill commends Fastolf's report, with justice, as a 'grave and reasoned strategic and tactical disquisition ..... based upon hard realities,' (3) which looked constructively to the future, rather than merely advocating vengeance for past failures. (4) He says that the policy of destruction recommended by Fastolf was not purposeless revenge; while this is true, surely it had another purpose in addition to the one mentioned by Brill, the rendering useless of the Norman frontier area as a base from which the French could launch attacks. (5) Fastolf says 'it is thoughte that the traitours and rebellis must nedis have anothere manere of werre/

- (1) J. R. Lander, Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth - century England, (London, 1969), 66 - 7.
- (2) K. Fowler, The Age of Plantagenet and Valois, (London, 1967), 165.
- (3) R. Brill, "The English Preparations Before the Treaty of Arras: A New Interpretation of Sir John Fastolf's 'Report', September 1435", Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, vii, (1970), 218.
- (4) Ibid., 222.
- (5) Ibid., 221.

werre, and more sharpe and more cruelle werre than a naturelle and ancoien ennemye', (1) and speaks of reducing the enemy to a state of famine. (2) There would seem to be, in the terms used to describe the disaffected population of the English conquest, some spirit of revenge, not purposeless, but designed to terrorise rebels into accepting foreign rule.

Brill is particularly concerned to show that the ideas expressed in the report were not original, but for a year or two before 1435 were already being put into practice by Bedford. Accepting for the moment, that Brill is correct in his view that military strategy underwent a radical change in 1433 and 1434, it does not seem logical to assume that Fastolf, as Bedford's senior military adviser, did not have a hand in it, although all the credit given to him by Brill is that he would be aware of the new tactics, and reflect them in his memorandum. (3) It is true that many of the policies put forward did not originate with Fastolf: they did not originate with Bedford either but have a much longer history. Under Edward III the chevauchée, or expedition by a mobile/

(1) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [580].

(2) Ibid., ii, pt. ii, [582].

(3) Brill, 'Sir John Fastolf's Report', 246.

mobile contingent of mounted knights, men-at-arms and archers, was typical military practice. One of the chief aims of the chevauchée was 'to work havoc, to inflict damage or loss or ruin or destruction on the enemy and his subjects by devastation.' (1) Devastation was a very old accompaniment of war, and was used by Edward III to wear down the enemy, since even at that time it was recognised that France was too large to make its occupation practicable. (2) The report submitted by Fastolf had probably been drawn up, in consultation with Bedford and other English leaders, because the time had come to face the hard fact that Henry V's method of proceeding systematically by sieges and garrisons imposed an intolerable strain on the English treasury and on the supply of manpower. It was to save money on wages that Fastolf suggested that the mounted columns should serve for only five months in the year, (not all year, as Brill says), from June till the end of October, which would allow them to destroy all the crops and livestock. (3) That the ways of conducting war recommended in the report were already in use in the years immediately/

- (1) H. J. Hewitt, The Organisation of War under Edward III 1338-62, (Manchester, 1966), 99-100.
- (2) Ibid., 116-7.
- (3) Ibid., 221; Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [582] .

immediately before it appeared is probably true up to a point, although Brill seems to exaggerate the suddenness and deliberateness of their adoption. He uses the 1434 campaigns of the earl of Arundel, and the Lords Willoughby, Scales and Talbot to support his contention, (1) but they still relied also on the methods used by Henry V to conquer Normandy. St. Cénéry held out for three months before it surrendered to Arundel, (2) and so could scarcely be described as 'righte prenable', the only kind of town Fastolf thought to be worth besieging: (3) Creil withstood a siege of six weeks before it was delivered to Talbot, who left a large garrison there before he moved on; while Mont St. Michel proved invincible and Scales and Willoughby were forced to raise their siege. (4)

In 1439 Fastolf retired from the war, as governor of the Channel Islands, under Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, finally returning to England in the autumn of the same year. (5) He had spent almost forty years overseas in the king's service, twenty-eight of them in France, broken only by short spells in England./

(1) Brill, 'Sir John Fastolf's Report', 239-46.

(2) Carleton Williams, Bedford, 238.

(3) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [581].

(4) Carleton Williams, Bedford, 238.

(5) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 94.

England. In 1415, 1426/7, 1428, 1432 and 1434 he received letters of protection on returning to France after visits home. (1) In 1450 he was indirectly involved in the storming of Fougères by François de Surienne who, defending himself against a charge of breaking the truce with the French, in his turn accused the dukes of Suffolk and Somerset, alleging that Suffolk arranged to have Fastolf's property of Condé-sur-Noireau delivered to him as a suitable base for his attack. (2)

Fastolf's direct part in military affairs was over, although he was still acting in an advisory capacity in March 1448, when he offered recommendations to the duke of Somerset, then about to depart as lieutenant and governor-general of France and Normandy. Fastolf stressed the importance of loyal friends and councillors who could be relied upon to act for him in his absence: of a wise chancellor and impartial justices: of skilled and disinterested captains and of the prompt payment of troops and sufficient fortification of border towns: on the appointment of a notable knight/

- (1) 44th. Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 556; 48th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 246, 300; Foedera, x, 408, 525.
- (2) Wars of the English in France, i, 278-83.

knight as lieutenant in Gascony, and of the safeguarding of the seas. (1)

In 1450, when he was a member of the king's council, Fastolf prefaced a further report, giving instructions for the relief of the duke of Somerset, besieged in Caen, by blaming the final English loss of Normandy on the fact that his advice had not been followed. Even at this late date he advised the raising of an army of at least 3,000 men to save Normandy, but events moved too fast to allow of this. (2)

(1) Ibid., ii, pt. ii, [592-4].

(2) Ibid., ii, pt. ii, [595-7].

PART III

FASTOLF AT HOME

I PUBLIC LIFE

Fastolf's retirement from military life did not imply the end of his service to the crown. He took part in numerous commissions of the peace and commissions of array in Norfolk, even up to the year of his death.<sup>(1)</sup> On several occasions he was called upon to serve on commissions of oyer and terminer in Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey, Kent and Sussex.<sup>(2)</sup> In a letter of 4 September 1450 John Paston I says that there is satisfaction in Norfolk on hearing reports that such a commission is to sit in the county, although he, concerned to recover his manor of Gresham, would rather that Fastolf were not a member, but were free to be a plaintiff with himself.<sup>(3)</sup> Fastolf also served on a number of commissions which were to perform a variety of duties for the king. In 1442 they were to enquire into the evasion of customs in Norfolk and Suffolk by merchants exporting wool, fells, and other goods;<sup>(4)</sup> in 1455 they had to raise money in Norfolk for the defence of Calais.<sup>(5)</sup> Fears of a French invasion were responsible for the appointment in 1456 of Fastolf and others to compel all who kept watch on the Suffolk coast,

(1) On one occasion, on 12 March 1443, he was appointed to a commission of array for Surrey: C.P.R. 1441-6, 200.

(2) C.P.R. 1446-52, 381, 388, 435.

(3) P.L. (D.), i, no. 39; (G., ii, no. 136).

(4) C.P.R. 1441-46, 108.

(5) Pro. Ord. P.C., vi, 238.

coast to perform their duty diligently, (1) and the following summer Fastolf had to attend to the defence of Great Yarmouth and surrounding parts. (2)

In 1450 Fastolf was among those present at a meeting of the king's council, when it was decided to send men to Rochester to arrest the goods of Jack Cade. (3) Fastolf also served on the council of Richard, duke of York: by letters patent dated 7 May 1441, the duke granted his 'beloved councillor' an annuity of £20. (4) On the occasion of York's reappointment as lieutenant of France in 1440, Fastolf and others of his council submitted their recommendations on the management of the war, which dealt also with the duke's conditions of service, the financing of the war, the supply of armaments, foodstuffs and men, and advised the granting of the captaincies of notable towns to military commanders who, by their service, were deserving of them, rather than to lords, knights, squires and others who were not resident in the places concerned, letting their captaincies to farm and doing nothing to advance/

(1) C.P.R. 1452-61, 344.

(2) Ibid., 371.

(3) Pro. Ord. P.C., vi, 98.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 40.

advance the king's conquests. (1) In 1441 the duke of York petitioned the king for permission to enfeoff the bishop of Lincoln, Sir Ralph Cromwell, Sir John Fastolf, and others with certain of his manors, to the use of himself and his wife. (2) In 1452 York gave Fastolf certain jewels, because he had stood pledge for a loan of £3,000 borrowed from the executors of Cardinal Beaufort, and also in recompense for £466 13s. 4d. borrowed from Fastolf, for £266 13s. 4d. 'pre aliis justis causis', and for his great labours and vexations when York was the king's lieutenant in France. (3) In 1461, after Fastolf's death, they were handed over to Edward IV by John Paston and Thomas Howes, in return for 700 marks, paid over four years. (4)

As McFarlane says, the fact that Fastolf was a member of the duke of York's council does not necessarily mean that he was committed to the Yorkist cause, indeed he served various other nobles in the same capacity from time to time, including Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, John, duke of Somerset, John, duke of Norfolk and Thomas, duke of Clarence./

(1) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [585-91] .

(2) Pro. Ord. P.C., v, 136-8.

(3) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 223; iv, no. 638, p. 233.

(4) C.P.R. 1461-67, 96.

Clarence. However, the fact that they saw their hard-won gains from the war jeopardised by the policies and by the incompetence of those in power encouraged many who had served under the duke of Bedford to look to York and his allies for sympathy and support, Fastolf among them. (1) In fact Fastolf seems to have taken no active interest in politics, although this did not prevent his being denounced by Cade and his followers as 'the grettyst traytor that was in Yngelond or in Fraunce'. Writing to John Pasten in 1465, Fastolf's servant, Payn, described how, in 1450, he was sent by his master to Blackheath to discover the rebels' demands, and how, when Cade learned who had sent him, he proclaimed to all present that Payn was a spy sent by Sir John Fastolf, 'the wech was the cause of the lesyng of all the Kyngs tytyll and ryght of an herytaunce that he had by yonde see'; and who 'had furnysshed his plase with the olde sawdyors of Normaundy and abyllments of werr, to destroy the comens of Kent whan that they come to Southewerk.'. Payn, who narrowly escaped execution thanks to the intervention of his friends and to his promising to aid the rebels, returned to his master to advise him to get rid of his war veterans and armaments, which Fastolf did, and then took refuge in the Tower. Payn claimed that Fastolf's property in Southwark was saved from the insurgents' wrath only by/

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 106-7.

by his buying them off, for which he was still claiming restitution. Payn suffered further by being forced to take part in the fighting on London Bridge where he was seriously wounded, by having his house ransacked and all his possessions stolen, and his family put in fear of their lives, by being thrown into the Marshalsea on orders from the queen, yet he refused to impeach Fastolf for treason, even when he was once again threatened with execution. Happily his loyalty was rewarded by a royal pardon, obtained for him by cousins of himself and his wife, although he makes no mention of whether his master took steps to have him released, or to compensate him for his devotion. (1)

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 126.

11 PROFITS OF WAR

When Fastolf first went to France in 1412 his possessions were relatively modest, and in the main had come to him on his marriage to Milicent Scrope. In 1439 he returned to England a wealthy man. How had he acquired this wealth, and of what order were his total profits? There was a variety of ways in which a captain could turn his military service to advantage. Postan thinks that the terms of his contract probably allowed him a margin of profit, and in addition he could economise on the provisioning of his troops (not always from choice, sometimes from lack of funds), encouraging them to take from the local inhabitants what he had been paid to supply and sharing in the loot so taken. (1) We have no means of judging Fastolf's success in exploiting these sources, although we do hear of one incident when Fastolf had taken money and plate, allegedly worth 5,636 s. tournois, from the palace of the bishop of Seez, and had delivered it to Bedford. No mention is made of Fastolf's share in the spoils, although in 1449 he petitioned the king for assistance because the present bishop had arrested all his property in Normandy in retaliation. (2) Something is however known of the prisoners he took and the ransoms he obtained. Early in his career in France he had captured/

(1) M. M. Postan 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', Ec. H.R., 1942, 8.

(2) Wars of the English in France, i, 493-5.

captured the lord of Scubise, in compensation for whose ransom he was permitted to receive a quantity of Gascon wine, free of all customs, subsidies and prisage. (1) In 1423 he took prisoner the captain of Pacy, Guillaume Remon, who agreed to pay him 32,000 saluts (8,000 marks) for his release. Remon was handed over to Bedford on behalf of the king, who customarily received the most important prisoners, and in compensation Fastolf received, on 2 January 1433, lands worth 1,600 saluts (400 marks) a year, lands which he later lost. Some twenty years later he complained that 4,000 marks of the ransom were still due to him. (2) Fastolf's most distinguished captive was the duke of Alençon, taken at the battle of Verneuil in 1424 by Lord Willoughby and himself, and also delivered to the duke of Bedford. A sum of 40,000 marks was decided upon for his ransom, (3) but in 1456, by which time Willoughby was dead, Fastolf was still making efforts to procure the balance of their share of 5,000 marks each, on behalf of himself and Willoughby's executors, claiming that they had each received only 1,000 marks and were therefore owed 4,000. (4) Fastolf claimed to have won 20,000 marks at Verneuil alone, which is an indication of the amount he and/

(1) See above, p. 14.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 309, p. 58. According to McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 106, the agreed ransom was 20,000 saluts.

(3) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 309, p. 59.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 321.

and his fellow captains could earn,<sup>(1)</sup> although no exact estimate of his total profits from ransoms can be made, and although he himself was clearly aggrieved not to have made more from them. However Henry Inglose, John Berney and 'Mautbye Sqwyer' had good reason to be grateful for his success in this field, for they were apparently released from prison in France in exchange for three of Fastolf's French prisoners, 'Burd Vynollys', 'Johan de Seint Johan, dit Dolot', and 'Johan Villers'.<sup>(2)</sup> In one respect Fastolf was certainly more fortunate than many other captains, English and French: he was never himself taken prisoner and in the unfortunate position of having to pay a ransom.

Fastolf's profits of war included the salaries paid to him as administrator of various towns, castles and territories, as royal councillor and head of Bedford's household.<sup>(3)</sup> Again, little information survives as to the amounts actually received by Fastolf under this heading. Among payments to be made by the regent for the financial year 1427-8 was one of 1,000 francs to John Fastolf, as a member of the regent's council and governor of Maine.<sup>(4)</sup> In a list of claims against the crown/

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 95.

(2) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 39. Gairdner suggests that 'Mautbye Sqwyer' was Margaret Paston's father.

(3) See above, pp. 13, 15, 18, 20, 35.

(4) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [535].

crown, drawn up in 1455, Fastolf enumerated various sums due to him. These included 4,599 marks 5s. 6d. for 'prestys and othir charges for saufgarde and keping of certeyn forteresses, castellys, and townes, and for othir costs, prests, and charges by hym born in his [Bedford's] service.' (1) He went on to complain that for his services in England to Henry VI, his father and grandfather, he had received no fees nor even expenses. A second list, totalling 6,125 marks 9s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., gives details of the sums due. Certain debts dated from his days in Gascony: £227 15s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for costs incurred when he was constable of Bordeaux, and £202 10s. in wages due for service to the duke of Clarence, lieutenant of Gascony. For his expenses as lieutenant of Harfleur he claimed £133 6s. 8d., for keeping and provisioning the bastille of St. Antoine, £42, for defending Pont Neulan, £89 10s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and no less than 5,082 marks 13s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for prests and wages for himself and his retinues for service to Henry VI in France and Normandy, including the defence and government of Alençon, Fresnay-le-Vicomte, Verneuil and Honfleur. (2) It would seem from a letter from Hugh Fenn to John/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 309, p.59.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 310; see above, p. 13. McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 93, says it was unlikely that Fastolf had actually paid his troops from his own pocket, so that this item at least was probably exaggerated.

John Paston, probably written in 1456, that active steps were being taken to recover these arrears. (1)

From 1417 onwards Henry V rewarded many of his followers by granting them the confiscated estates of those Normans who refused to acknowledge him, usually on condition that they were responsible for defending them, and this policy was continued by Bedford as regent. According to Allmand Fastolf held more estates and lordships in France than most, mainly in the vulnerable areas of the Pays de Caux and Maine. (2) Most of these had been granted by Henry V and Bedford, some in lieu of money due to him, and Fastolf had purchased others. In 1418 he had been given the castle and domain of Bec Crespin and several manors, which had belonged to French knights, to a yearly value of 2,000 crowns. (3) A rising in Caux in 1435 caused the revenues of his lands there to fall from £200 to £8: ten years later the actual worth of his most valuable property, the barony of Sillé-le-Guillaume, was only one fifth of its normal peace-time value of 1,000 marks per annum. (4) Some of his possessions were more profitable. In December 1433 an enquiry was instituted because/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 324.

(2) C.T. Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50', Ec. H.R., 1968, 461-5, 473.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 173.

(4) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 106.

because it was suspected that certain lands granted to Fastolf yielded more than had been intended when they were given to him. (1) However Fastolf saw an annual revenue of more than £675 from his French estates steadily decline, until, with the loss of Normandy in 1449-50 he suffered a sudden, heavy loss. Fortunately he had had sufficient foresight to begin disposing of property several years before, although sometimes for less than it was normally worth. (2) In 1436 he sold the fief of Ussy in the bailliage of Caen to Guillaume Fortin for 1,200 livres tournois, which represented 12 years' purchase, with the proviso that if the revenue happened to exceed the purchase price by more than 100 livres tournois, Fastolf was to receive an additional sum. (3) Fastolf clearly did not wish to throw away any opportunity of making a profit, although his sale of the property shows he thought the chance of this was remote. When he finally returned to England in 1439, more than a quarter of his income from land came from his French estates, the clear annual value of which was £401 in 1445. (4) Five years later he received nothing from this source. He had at least as good reason/

- (1) E.M. Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy, 1435-50', (Oxford Univ. B. Litt. thesis, 1958), 253.
- (2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 106.
- (3) Allmand, 'Lancastrian Land Settlement', 475.
- (4) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105.

reason to feel aggrieved by the duke of Suffolk and his faction as Jack Cade or any of his followers had. Henry VI promised restitution to all who suffered by the surrender of Maine, especially such as had been granted lands and offices by himself, his father, and 'other lords and governors'. Fastolf claimed compensation on the same scale as that already awarded to the earl of Dorset. Nicholas Molyneux, the master of the chamber of accounts at Rouen, ordered the commissioners of Charles VII to attend to the matter, but they disclaimed responsibility which, they said, rested with Henry VI. (1) In 1455 Fastolf claimed 2,500 marks for the loss of Sillé-le-Guillaume and Lasuze, both in Maine, which he had captured and been granted for life, and for which he had received no compensation. At the same time he also listed various loans to the crown, which had never been repaid. These were £1,000 in September 1436, 1,000 marks in February 1437, 200 marks in 1449-50 for Sir Thomas Kyriell's expedition to France, £100 for the queen's coronation, £100 yet unpaid from the sum lent for Thomas Daniel's voyage to Brittany, (2) £400 to redeem jewels which he had pawned in order to raise money to make a loan towards the costs of the earl of

(1) Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [677-8, 687-9].

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 309, pp. 57-8, 60.

of Shrewsbury's expedition to Gascony. (1) The evidence of debts due to Fastolf is useful in indicating the scale of his rewards, although they must be treated with caution for, knowing he was unlikely to receive full payment of what he asked, he may well have exaggerated the sums involved. Nor have we any means of knowing how much was repaid to him. Three slender pieces of information show that in 1440 a certain Main le Herault had to have an assignment on the confiscations of France and Normandy changed, because Lord Scales, Sir John Fastolf and others had prior claims on the revenue: (2) on 19 January 1444 Fastolf received from the exchequer £100 in repayment of a loan to the king; (3) and in 1439-41 he received six instalments of a debt of 900 marks owed him by Louis of Luxemburg. (4)

During the period of his service in France, Fastolf maintained one household there and another in England, each with a staff of estate officials. Those of his archives which survive are almost all of his English officials, who naturally did not record his profits and expenditure in France. Insufficient evidence exists to give a precise estimate of Fastolf's total earnings in France, and the proportions derived from loot, ransoms, his/

(1) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 310, p.64.

(2) C.P.R. 1436-41, 444.

(3) F. Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III - Henry VI, (London, 1837), 450.

(4) H.M.C., 8th. Rep., pt. i, append., 268a.

his wages as soldier and administrator, and his estates. However there are records of the amounts he sent home to his English officials, which give a clearer impression of what those profits were. On 23 January 1426 Fastolf gave 2,000 marks to Sir William Breton, the bailli of Caen, and Jean Roussel, who were to deliver it to John Wells, alderman and grocer of London, and to Fastolf's receiver-general in England, John Kirtling, who was responsible for revenues accruing from his English lands, and for those from his French lands which were transferred to England. The £1,000 which Breton remitted to Wells on Fastolf's behalf before Michaelmas 1431 may have been part of this sum or may have been additional to it. Using Italian merchants as intermediaries, Fastolf transferred 500 marks on 26 April 1430. In the year ending Michaelmas 1434 Wells delivered £74 and 350 marks which he had received from Italians, and Fastolf himself brought back 1,000 marks and £271 worth of plate when he visited England. Other entries for the same year include £466 13s. 4d. from the treasurer of Calais, and £60 from 'Johannes Lukes lumbard', (who later received back £200 and £10 respectively). In the following year Kirtling received £1,000 and £135 6s. 8d. from France. (1) As Miss Burney remarks, international credit was costly, and only those few with large capital assets in France/

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 94-8.

France could find it worthwhile to transfer money to England in this way. (1)

An examination of the ways in which Fastolf invested his money serves not only to demonstrate his interests, but throws further light on the capital he had available for investment, i.e. his profits of war. In the first place sums of money he transferred from France were often not immediately delivered to his English officials, but were used by his intermediaries, such as John Wells to 'merchandise' with, for which privilege Fastolf received interest at the rate of 5% per annum. (2) Wells often retained Fastolf's money for this purpose for several years, while the 500 marks which the Genoese, Bartolomeo Spinola, delivered to Wells and Kirtling on 26 April 1430 had been deposited by Fastolf with another Italian merchant and banker nearly nine months previously. (3) Other examples are the £500 borrowed by William Cavendish, a London mercer, in 1433-4, and the £448 13s. 4d. by Sir Henry Inglose in 1435-6. (4) It is possible that some of the profit made by foreign merchants as a result of these arrangements may have gone to offset the cost of the exchange. (5)

McFarlane/

(1) Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy', 255-7.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 100.

(3) Ibid., 96.

(4) Ibid., 97, 100.

(5) Ibid., 101.

McFarlane thinks that such investments were merely temporary. Most of Fastolf's money eventually went into building and furnishings, jewelry and plate, and land. (1) Land was the investment most favoured by gentry, merchants and successful soldiers alike, but the collecting of landed property amounted in Fastolf's case almost to an obsession. William Worcestre was reported to have said of himself 'he wold be as glad and as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of poetre as my Mastr Fastolf wold be to purchase a faire manoir'. (2) Valuable information about the extent and value of Fastolf's estates is to be found in various surviving documents: a will of lands dated 22 February 1420, and two valors, one of 1444-5 giving net values, after the deduction of 'reprises', and the purchase price of each holding, and another of 1446 which is less complete, as well as an assortment of accounts, memoranda and title-deeds. (3) In 1445 his total net income from estates was £1,463, distributed as follows: £401 from the lands he still held in France, (4) about £46 from the two manors at Caister and a third at Repps, Bastwick, which was his inheritance from his father, £240 from his life interest in his wife's one third share of the Tiptoft lands.

The/

(1) Ibid., 101.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, 370.

(3) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 101-3.

(4) Ibid., 105.

The remaining £775 derived from manors he had bought at a total cost of £13,855. (1) In 1433-4 he spent £1,222 on land, and in 1435-6 £889, largely in East Anglia. Between the late 1430s and 1450 he turned his attention rather to Southwark, where he purchased three tenements for a total cost of more than £1,000, and also the Bear's Head Tavern. (2) At a time when the usual purchase price of land was estimated to be twenty times its annual value, McFarlane rates Fastolf a careful buyer, for, although he could pay as much as 30 years' purchase, on occasion he acquired property for 11, and his average price was 17.8 years' purchase. (3) The Paston Letters give glimpses of Fastolf or his officials negotiating these transactions. On 24 September 1425 John Kirtling, on his master's behalf, agreed to exchange with Richard Boson, esquire, the manor of 'Peekhalle' for that of Bosons in Caister, plus £60. (4) In, or before, 1449 Fastolf negotiated to buy land from Lord Scales, for whom he had bound himself in the sum of 500 marks, which Scales was unable to pay. Fastolf was anxious to discover which of his places stood 'most cler to be solde', before committing himself to a choice. (5) On 23rd November/

(1) Ibid., 103.

(2) Ibid., 104-5.

(3) Ibid., 110.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 9.

(5) Ibid., ii, no. 97.

November 1450 he agreed to sell Mundham for 200 marks to the Church of St. Giles. (1) McFarlane reckons that Fastolf invested a total of £13,855 in land, from which he received a net income of about £775. (2) Bloxam says that at the time of his death his manors numbered 94. (3) Inquisitions post mortem taken in 1459/60 and 1460/61 list 15 manors, one third part of another manor, and 100 acres of land in Norfolk, 6 manors and a parcel of land in Suffolk, 2 manors, an honour, and the advowson of a church in Yorkshire, 1 manor and advowson in Wiltshire (the property in Yorkshire and Wiltshire being Tiptoft lands), and 51 messuages, 2 water-mills and 7 gardens in Surrey (in Southwark). (4)

The evidence which survives is too patchy to allow an exact profit and loss account to be drawn up of the proceeds of Fastolf's war service, but there is sufficient to show that he was very successful, transforming himself from an esquire of ordinary means into one of the wealthiest non-baronial landowners in England. Gray shows that, in the records of the tax on income derived/

(1) Ibid., ii, no.156.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 110.

(3) J.R. Bloxam, A Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies, and Other Members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford, (Oxford, 1853-85), iv, p.xiv.

(4) Cal. Inq. P.M., iv, 287; cf. H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 268a, where, according to Kirtling's account roll of 1433-4, the profits of all Fastolf's manors, together with the money coming from France, is stated to be £6,700, less £3,749 17s.4d. expenses.

derived from freehold land in England which was levied in 1436, only three men of less than noble status were named as having incomes of £400 or more (although there may probably have been ten such, including one of £660 per annum, the recipient of which is not named.) Sir John Fastolf of Norfolk and Sir John Stourton of Wiltshire were each credited with £600 per annum, and Sir Robert Umfraville of Northumberland with £400. Gray designates all commoners who earned more than £100 per annum from land 'greater knights', for, although they were not all actually knights, they were, strictly speaking, obliged to assume knighthood because of the size of their income from lands. The average landed income of this group was £208, a great deal less than Fastolf's, which exceeded several of the smaller baronial incomes. (1)

The partnership of Nicholas Molyneux and John Winter, which has been studied by McFarlane, provides a measure of comparison with Fastolf, although neither of the two men was in the same class as he, and neither was a war captain. In 1421 Molyneux/

(1) H.L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', E.H.R., 1934, 616-8, 621-3; cf. the important criticisms of Gray's article by T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', B.I.H.R., 1953. Because allowance was made for grants to servants, officials and followers, they believe that gentry incomes were made to seem larger in relation to baronial incomes than was actually the case. (Ibid., 13.) On the other hand, the revenues from Fastolf's French estates were not taken into account.

Molyneux and Winter had formally sworn to become brothers-in-arms, agreeing to pool their spoils of war, to assist each other in raising a ransom if either should be captured and, in the event of the death of one, the survivor was to provide for his widow and children. (1) Both were in Fastolf's service. Molyneux rose to be his receiver-general in France by December 1433 and also played a significant part in the English government of France, becoming the master of the chamber of accounts in Rouen and a royal councillor, and serving on or leading important commissions. He was also responsible for gathering the profits of the seal and signet in Anjou and Maine on behalf of Bedford, and served as receiver-general for Richard, duke of York and the earl of Rutland for certain of their French estates. (2) Winter, too, served Fastolf in France, one of his tasks being to collect debts due to his master, and by October 1437 he was back in England, acting as the steward of Castle Combe. (3) Only certain details of the actual profits made by Molyneux and Winter survive. On 22 January 1436 Molyneux gave 2,000 saluts d'or (500 marks) to Fastolf/

(1) H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 265a.

(2) K.B. McFarlane, 'A Business-partnership in War and Administration, 1421-1445', E.H.R., 1963, 299-300.

(3) Ibid., 301.

Fastolf, who bound himself to deliver it to Winter, then in England, to invest in property for them both. (1) In his will Winter disposed of three manors and other lands and messuages near London, whose value is not known. There is sufficient evidence for McFarlane to form the judgement that the partnership had been able to acquire quite valuable property, which yielded a 'modest competence'. (2) As it happened, Winter broke the terms of the agreement by making bequests of their joint property, (3) and by agreeing to alienate to Fastolf the Boar's Head in Southwark, which had been bought with part of his and Molyneux's war profits, under the terms of their agreement. Fastolf was Winter's feoffee for the tenement and took advantage of his position to gain possession of it on Winter's death. Molyneux challenged the legality of the transaction, and the verdict of the arbiter was more or less in his favour. As a result Fastolf was induced to offer £213 6s. 8d. for the property, which was below its market value, and of this sum he actually paid only £100, alleging that the balance would cancel debts due to him by Winter. Yet Fastolf must have been aware of the contract between the two men, having himself/

(1) H.M.C. 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 265a.

(2) McFarlane, 'A Business-partnership', 304.

(3) Ibid., 304-5.

himself assisted them in the transfer of money to England on their joint behalf. (1) The example of Molyneux and Winter shows that quite humble men could, with careful management, make a comfortable profit from the war, although the costs of litigation with regard to Winter's will, together with the loss of English lands in France and the obligation to provide for Winter's family, meant the end of prosperity for Molyneux. (2)

Once again lack of evidence makes an exact comparison between Fastolf's fortunes of war and those of his fellow captains difficult. Postan thought that the war captains and royal clerks responsible for the provisioning of the army and navy and for the administration of the war treasuries were the two groups most likely to benefit from the war, (3) although he warned that even they could by no means be assured of sizeable profits. Captains might have to wait years before receiving funds to pay their troops or might never receive them, and the award of offices or estates was as likely to be a source of loss as of profit. Booty usually tended to come the way of the ordinary soldier rather than his commander, and while some captains received large sums/

(1) Ibid., 303-5, 307-8.

(2) Ibid., 307-8.

(3) Postan, 'Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', Ec. H. R., 1942, 7-9.

sums as ransoms for prisoners taken, others had to pay them; in any case the ransoms actually delivered generally turned out to be much smaller than those originally contracted, especially after deductions to superiors had been made, and expenses for collecting them and for the upkeep of hostages had been met. Men of modest backgrounds who made their fortunes at this time often did so chiefly as a result of rewards from the king. They owed their success not to the war only but to a number of social and political changes which were perhaps accelerated by the war but not caused by it. (1) McFarlane, who disputed Postan's theory that England on the whole lost more than she gained by the war, said that Henry V's conquest of Normandy offered great opportunities for enrichment until about the mid 1440s, but that the ordinary soldier increasingly suffered because of wage-arrears. (2) Most of the profits went to the aristocratic military commanders, although 'military skill and opportunity enabled some men of mere gentry stock to rise to prominence and riches, but they were rarely able to outshine, let alone replace, their social betters'. (3) Presumably McFarlane was here thinking of men like Fastolf. Elsewhere/

(1) M.M. Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years' War', P. and P., 1964, 43-53.

(2) McFarlane, 'A Business-partnership', 294.

(3) K.B. McFarlane, 'War and Society 1300-1600', P. and P., 1962, 11.

Elsewhere he describes him as the 'perhaps not quite so prosperous contemporary' of Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Ralph Boteler. (1) Allmand believes that many found their French estates much less profitable than they had expected, especially towards the end of the war, and concluded that the more important military commanders and administrators would have been likely to receive the lion's share of the spoils of the war, although he thought few could have been as successful as Fastolf, (2) a judgement with which Fowler and Perroy agree. (3) Miss Burney considers that in comparison with those of men like Sir Andrew Ogard (said by William Worcestre to have drawn about £1,000 per annum from estates and offices in France, and to have had a store of French gold worth 7,000 marks), (4) Sir William Oldhall and Sir Walter Hungerford, Fastolf's fortunes 'must have followed a far more normal pattern', although she agrees his profits were substantial. (5) What can be said with certainty is that Fastolf retired from France in 1439 a very wealthy man, having in the course of the war amassed greater profits than most of his fellows.

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 92.

(2) Allmand, 'Lancastrian Land Settlement', 472-3, 478.

(3) The Hundred Years War, ed. K. Fowler, (London, 1971), 11; E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War, trans. W.B. Wells, (London, 1951), 256.

(4) Worcestre, Itineraries, 49.

(5) Burney, 'The English Rule in Normandy', 251-3.

111 THE LANDOWNER

Life for a fifteenth-century landowner was anything but carefree, and Fastolf's letters are full of complaints and problems arising from his various manors. He employed a staff of officials to look after his lands, whom he supervised personally. His estates being extensive, they were obliged to travel about the country a good deal; in one letter his servant, William Worcestre, speaks of riding to Dedham on his master's business, going on afterwards to Caister and then to Yorkshire. (1) Fastolf often found cause to castigate his servants. John Rafman, recently his receiver at Yarmouth, was, in May 1448, described as his prisoner. (2) On 27 May 1450 Fastolf wrote to Thomas Howes of strange rumours which had reached him of the management of Caister and other places where, it was said, his chattels and lands were being turned to profit by others, asking the assistance of Howes in rectifying the matter, and telling him to 'suffre no vityouse man at my place of Castre abyde, but well gouverned and diligent, as ye woll aunswer to it.' (3) Doubtless he had frequently been dissatisfied with the manner in which Henry Windsor, another of his officials, carried out his duties, for the latter confided to John Paston that Fastolf was known to be 'cruell and vengible .....

and/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 315.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 111.

(3) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 125.

and for the most parte with aute pite and mercy.' (1) Suspicious of inefficiency or worse probably prompted the request to John Paston, on 10 November 1456, to visit Dedham to examine the accounts of barley and to check on the standard of husbandry there. (2)

Towards the end of his life it was found necessary to draw Fastolf's attention to shortcomings in the management of his estates. In 1457 John Paston had advised that a statement of household expenses should be presented to him, and that definite sums from his revenues should be allotted for these and other costs. According to William Worcestre, the auditors had not drawn up proper household accounts for Caister for some time, and the accounts for Hellesdon were also in arrears. Such negligence had not occurred in the past, even when Fastolf was overseas. Worcestre was also concerned about the money wasted by his master in keeping up a house and several ships at Yarmouth, and the losses he incurred in selling corn and wool. (3) In May 1458 Bentley in Yorkshire was apparently in a bad state due to mismanagement. John Paston and Thomas Howes reported it to be 'yn the shrewdest reule and governaunce', and said that tenants had been evicted and their lands let to others, to Fastolf's loss, and that some rents/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 332.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 349.

(3) Ibid., iii, nos. 355, 356.

rents had been unpaid for years, arrears totalling £140. (1) It would seem that, in his declining years, Fastolf lacked the energy to make a sustained effort to extract all possible profits from his investments.

Rent arrears were a major problem, and the valor of 1446 lists many rents overdue. (2) Fastolf allowed no feelings of delicacy to delay his claims for a settlement. 'Item, Sir Parson', he wrote to Thomas Howes on 20 December 1450, 'where it ys soo that my cosyn Boys ys passed to God, whoos soule God assoyle, ye shall fynde amonges my bokes of accomptes at Castre, or amonges othyr wrytynges, he owed me money for a ferm he heeld of me, as Watkyn Shypdam ys remembred; and also I lent hym xls. whych I shuld have an obligacion at Castre off, praying you to inquire off thys dewteez, and see recuvere may be made off it.' (3) Sometimes rent arrears arose because the ownership of a manor was disputed, and one claimant would threaten the tenants with distraint or eviction if they paid any money to the other. A letter of 1 June 1456, written by John Russe, a servant of Fastolf, to John Paston, shows what steps were taken to try to remedy this kind of situation. Russe reported that his master had taken a surety for payment from the farmer of Bradwell, but the farmer of Kyrley Hawe had refused either/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, no. 53 (G., iii, no. 368).

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 111.

(3) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 162, pp. 198-9.

either to pay his rent or to be bound to do so, and therefore they were obliged to distrain upon his goods. (1)

The hounding of debtors must have occupied a good deal of Fastolf's time and attention after his retirement, and his correspondence is peppered with references to sums of money due to him. In addition to that claimed from the crown, and arrears of tenants, he alleged that certain of his servants were in debt to him. On 7 July 1436, when he was succeeded as Fastolf's receiver-general by Walter Shipdam, John Kirtling was charged with £280 9s., being the residue of £1,000 which had passed through Sir William Breton's hands to John Wells by the autumn of 1431, and then to Kirtling in instalments over five years. (2) John Wells, mayor of London in 1431, and several times master of the Grocers' Company and M.P. for London and Southwark, was at one time Fastolf's English receiver and broker. (3) Wells died in 1442, and years later, in 1456, Fastolf was still making efforts to obtain the intercession of the archbishop of Canterbury to recover from Wells's executors the 'great good' he alleged was owed to him. (4) As John Winter, who had been responsible for collecting debts for Fastolf/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 333.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 96-7.

(3) Ibid., 99-100.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 349. McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 99, is unconvinced by Gairdner's dating, and thinks the letter might be earlier.

Fastolf in France, lay on his death-bed, he was harassed for the sum of 1,000 gold saluts, said to have been received by him from Thomas Gwilym, Fastolf's constable at Alençon, and Fastolf managed to obtain from his executors 160 marks which he said Winter had received on his behalf from Louis of Luxemburg, and 10 marks which he had lent Winter when in France. (1) The codicil of Winter's will ordered, quite illegally, that certain properties which actually belonged jointly to the testator and his brother-in-arms, Nicholas Molyneux, be sold to pay his debts, a step which McFarlane thinks was probably taken at the instigation of Fastolf, anxious to procure what he regarded as his just dues. (2)

Fastolf claimed money from a wide range of persons. On 26 November 1446 a pardon was issued to Edmund Stapilton, esquire, of Framlingham Castle, who had been outlawed for not appearing in court to satisfy Fastolf of a debt of £6, with damages of 26s. 8d., since the said debt had now been paid. (3) On 10 April 1448 the king ordered Richard Elys, a merchant of Yarmouth, to be brought before his council to answer for a debt due to Sir John Fastolf. (4) Among numerous other pardons given to those who had defaulted on payments to Fastolf were one on 11 June 1453, to William Welllys, chaplain/

(1) McFarlane, 'A Business-partnership', 301-2.

(2) Ibid., 305-6.

(3) C.P.R. 1446-52, 19.

(4) Pro. Ord. P.C., vi, 326-7.

chaplain of the chantry of St. Helen, Colchester, who had owed 20 marks, <sup>(1)</sup> and another of 21 May 1454, to John Fletysmouth of Manningtree, Essex, husbandman, who owed £14. <sup>(2)</sup> Some of Fastolf's creditors were less lowly in station. In November 1454 he had sent a servant, William Barker, to obtain £100 owed him by the duke of Norfolk, who promised to pay it within fourteen days. <sup>(3)</sup> In a letter to John Paston probably written in 1456, Fastolf described efforts to recover 200 marks from the duchess of Suffolk which her chaplain, Symond Brayles, asserted had been paid when the duke was still alive. <sup>(4)</sup> Fastolf also had trouble with his ecclesiastical tenants. On 10 July 1455, he complained to John Paston that the prior and convent of Norwich had failed to pay the rent for lands which they occupied in Harlyston, including two candles weighing 2 lb., which they owed him each year and which he had not received for eighteen years, representing a loss of 21s. <sup>(5)</sup>

The greatest problem facing landowners was not, however, incompetent officials nor unpaid debts, but the risk of defective and disputed titles, and the expensive litigation, 'labouring' and bribery these might involve. By the late middle ages the frequent/

(1) C.P.R. 1452-61, 12.

(2) Ibid., 134.

(3) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 265.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 337.

(5) Ibid., iii, no. 298.

frequent employment of entails and enfeoffments to use had further complicated the land law. Fastolf considered that expenditure on arranging enfeoffments was money well spent: according to William Worcestre, he thought it 'lyttille ynough to kepe hys lond owte of trouble ..... for a peny yn seson spent wille safe a ponde.' (1) Shortly after her husband's death on 29 October 1466, Margaret Paston wrote to give her eldest son counsel which was indispensable to every landowner: 'And in alwyse I avyse you for to be ware that ye kepe wysly youre wrytyngys that ben of charge, that it com not in here handys that may hurt you heraftere. Youre fadere, wham God assole, in hys trobyll seson set more by hys wrytyngys and evydens than he dede by any of his moveabell godys.' (2) Fastolf was not always as careful as he might have been in the matter of ensuring that the titles to the land he bought were reliable, although he did not spare his servants when it came to searching out the family histories of those who laid claim to his property or for entails which might have been forgotten or deliberately concealed by the seller of the land. He was not prepared to stand idly by if his men were molested in the course of their duties, even if the vigour of his protest doubtless sprang as much from indignation at what he regarded/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 355.

(2) P.L. (D.), no. 198 (G., iv, no. 649).

regarded as a personal affront as from concern for them. On 27 May 1450 he wrote to Thomas Howes, 'I pray you sende me word who darre be so hardy to keck agen you in my ryght. And sey hem on my half that they shall be qwyt as ferre as law and reson wolle. And yff they wolle not dredde, ne obey that, then they shall be qwyt by Blackberd or Whyteberd; that ys to sey, by God or the Devyll.' (1)

William Worcestre, in a letter probably written in 1456, advised John Paston and Thomas Howes to 'sort my maister evidences, and that ys one the grettist thyng nedefull for the seurtee of hys lyfelode.' (2)

Pastolf may have lacked the inclination to attend personally to such meticulous and painstaking tasks, and certainly had no formal legal education, but his essentially litigious nature is obvious in many of his letters. Enclosed with one to Howes in August 1450 were eight writs of green wax for certain lawsuits he was conducting in Norfolk. In the same letter he observed that Howes had omitted to mention to a commission of oyer and terminer several of the extortions he had suffered and, as a precaution against his enemies resorting to more direct tactics, concluded by ordering 'at the leest v. doseyn long bowes, with shot longyng thertoo.... also quarell hedys.' (3) Another letter of the same year/

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 125.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 315.

(3) Ibid., ii, no. 130.

year indicated some of Fastolf's current preoccupations: a bill in parliament about the extortions perpetrated against him during the past dozen years, sheep distrained at Drayton, a matter of trespass between himself and Lady Bardolph, 'Chevers matter' in Blickling, an unpaid annuity at Hickling, decays at Titchwell, the whereabouts of the £100 intended for 'Busshop', the reinforcement of Caister, Winterton, Hellesdon and Drayton, and what Lampet has done in this matter and whether his attitude is friendly. (1)

One lengthy dispute was that concerning a rent of 25 marks per annum from the manor of Netherhall in Hickling, payable by the prior of Hickling. Fastolf had bought this rent in 1428 for 500 marks, but there was doubt as to whether Sir Hugh Clifford, who sold it to him, held it to himself, his heirs and assigns, or only to himself and his heirs, and the prior took advantage of this doubt to withhold payment from Fastolf, who was an assign. (2) In October 1447 a lawsuit was pending, for Fastolf instructed Thomas Howes and John Grene to find out what they could about a witness whom the prior's counsel intended to call. (3) Two of his own counsel, William Wangeford and William Jenney advised him, that as Clifford's assign, he could not recover a forfeit of £20, but was perfectly entitled to the annual rent of 25 marks. Shortly after, the 'obstinate' prior died, but optimistic hopes of his successor/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 104.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 110.

(3) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 71.

successor being more amenable were soon dashed. By 1450-1 the bishop of Norwich, who had been making strenuous efforts to end the dispute, was warned by Lord Scales, who was himself involved in the proceedings, to meddle no further in the matter since he was drawing suspicion upon himself. The bishop, writing to give this news to Fastolf, then expressed his deep gratitude for the work Fastolf had in hand at St. Benet's Abbey, Hulme, and solicitude for his 'health and heart's ease', which suggests that his concern in the affair may have been prompted by fears that the obduracy of the prior of Hickling might have unfortunate repercussions on Fastolf's generosity to the Church. (1) In fact Fastolf did express just such a reaction when he wrote to Thomas Howes on 28 June 1451 that 'the untrouthe of the Pryour of Hykelyng draweth away my devotion in such causes'. (2) On the advice of Sir Henry Inglose, Fastolf was considering proceeding against the prior by means of a special assize to recover his money. (3) By September 1451 the bishop of Norwich was probably alarmed at the steps being taken by Fastolf, who, expressing his intention of making an example to other religious houses of the prior and convent of Hickling by invoking both spiritual and temporal law against them, had made an agreement to transfer the manor in question to Clifford's heir. The bishop, Fastolf complained, had/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 72.

(2) Ibid., ii, no. 200.

(3) Ibid., ii, no. 162, p. 119, no. 173.

had been delaying a final settlement of the dispute and he justified his course of action by pointing out that he had received encouragement from at least some ecclesiastics, his own confessors. (1) The priory was not in fact deprived of the manor, and the dispute dragged on for several more years. In May 1456 Fastolf wished the bishop of Norwich to command the prior to be bound by an obligation to keep an agreement that had been reached between them, (2) while by 31 July Fastolf was writing to John Paston to tell him that a writ had been issued in London, permitting them to distrain on the prior's goods and chattels, although he expressed misgivings as to whether the distress would be executed, since Lord Scales was reported to be coming to Hickling and, for fear of displeasing him, the bishop had refused to co-operate. (3) The quarrel was not completely settled in Fastolf's life-time, for in his will he directed his executors and feoffees to maintain his right to the rent, and to the arrears due to his feoffees, which the prior and convent were strictly bound, under their seals, to pay. (4) The rent passed after Fastolf's death to John Paston and his heir who, in 1471, made a release of it and other property of Fastolf's to William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester. (5)

The/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 205.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 329.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 341.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p. 154.

(5) P.L. (D.), i, no. 262 (G., v, no. 779).

The prior of Hickling was not the only cleric whom Fastolf found troublesome. On 4 December 1450 he wrote to Thomas Howes and John Bocking, suggesting that it be brought to the notice of the commission of oyer and terminer, shortly to sit at Beccles, that 'Sir John Bukk, Parson of Stratford, physshed my stankys at Dedham, and help brake my damme, destroyed my new mille, and was ayenst me allwey at Dedham, to the damage of 20l.,' nor were they to forget the twenty-four swans and cygnets taken from Dedham by the same gentleman and one, John Cole. (1) According to the tenants of Dedham, the real instigator of the destruction of the dam had been Sir John Squyer, abetted by John Waryn, who had also held court there. (2) The manor had been claimed by the duke of Suffolk, who had forcibly entered it, (3) causing Fastolf to lose an annual rent of 100 marks for three years and involving him in the expenditure of 200 marks more to recover it. (4) In a letter which Gairdner thinks was probably written in 1458, Henry Windsor described the researches which he and William Worcestre had undertaken on their master's behalf into the pedigree of the de la Pole family, with a view to disproving their claim, he himself having/

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 160.

(2) Ibid., ii, no. 161.

(3) C.C.R. 1447-54, 230.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 309, p.56.

having had to 'examyn olde and mony records, written by some Frenshman, concernyng the manour of Dedham; that was a comborous labour for these copies were full defectif.'<sup>(1)</sup> Quite apart from the affair of Dedham, Fastolf alleged that he had suffered 'grete oppressions, grevous and outrageous amerciemants and manye grete horrible extorcions' at the hands of the duke, the total of which he assessed variously as 5,000 or 6,000 marks.<sup>(2)</sup>

A good example of the trouble and expense caused to Fastolf by dubious titles is provided by the case of Beighton, Bradwell and Titchwell. Fastolf had spent about £1,230 on property in these places, the clear annual value of which was just over £77 in 1445, which, at less than twenty years' purchase, represented a good bargain. Unfortunately for Fastolf, the defence of what McFarlane calls his 'very questionable title' cost him an additional £1,085 in legal fees and bribery.<sup>(3)</sup> For the manor of Titchwell he had paid, in 1431, £400 (20 years' purchase price) to John Roys, who was the widower of Margery Lovel, apparently the last of that branch of the Lovel family which had owned Titchwell since the thirteenth century. Fastolf foolishly made the transaction without obtaining the chief deeds: in fact the descent of the manor was extremely complicated for there were two entails, one made/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 370.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 309, pp. 55-6, no. 310, p. 65.

(3) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 113.

made in 1270, the other in 1341. John Roys may have been unaware of them or he may deliberately have concealed them when he sold Titchwell. However, in 1448, an inquisition post mortem into Margery Roys's estates decided that Titchwell was held in chief and must therefore be seized into the king's hands. The jury also declared that Margery Roys had heirs, the sisters Margery and Agnes, nées Lovel, now the wives of Sir Edward Hull and Thomas Wake, esquire, respectively, and that Titchwell belonged to them.<sup>(1)</sup> On 14 December 1448 the manor was farmed to Sir Edward Hull for 10 marks per annum.<sup>(2)</sup> Hull and Wake, backed by the notorious John Heydon of Baconsthorpe, claimed that their wives' father was a cousin of Margery Roys, which, if it were true, would have meant they were entitled to Titchwell under either entail.<sup>(3)</sup> Fastolf, who was certain that the verdict of the inquisition had been wrongfully procured by the under-escheator Dalling (labelled by him 'the false harlot')<sup>(4)</sup> decided to traverse it, in the hope of having it reversed and of regaining Titchwell.<sup>(5)</sup> While his lawyers argued his case in chancery, William Worcestre, Thomas Howes and/

(1) P.S. Lewis, 'Sir John Fastolf's Lawsuit over Titchwell 1448-1455', Hist. Jnl., 1958, 2-6, 10; Cal. Inq. P.M., iv. 235.

(2) C.F.R. 1445-52, 105.

(3) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 7.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 164.

(5) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 9.

and others were set to find out all they could of the Lovels, which, since there were so many of that name, turned out to be a most complex task, which finally baffled them. (1) It is probable that the relationship of Margery Hull and Agnes Wake to Margery Roys was not what it was claimed to be, but Fastolf was unable to prove this. (2) One piece of information they did manage to elicit from Dalling: Heydon had made him swear to keep no copy of the proceedings of the inquest, nor to give Fastolf any information about it. (3) On 20 December 1450, in a letter to Thomas Howes, Fastolf expressed his intention of traversing all three inquisitions, for Titchwell, Beighton and Bradwell. (4) Late in 1450 Nicholas Bocking had succeeded in extracting from the jurors of the 1448 inquest an admission that they had never sealed the inquisition, which had been forged by Dalling and his assistant, William Willy. (5) Fastolf instructed John Berney and Thomas Howes to 'labour' the jurors to appear before the session of oyer and terminer due at Lynn in January 1451, to testify on his behalf. (6) He also planned to have Dalling kidnapped and held at/

(1) Ibid., 9, 13, 16; H.M.C., 4th Rep., 462.

(2) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 16.

(3) Ibid., 8.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 162, p.199.

(5) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 16-7.

(6) P.L. (G.), ii, 164.

at Caister until he confessed the truth about the conduct of the inquest. (1) However, despite all his efforts, Fastolf's case did not prosper: Dalling was not captured, the traverse, if it was ever brought, failed, nor did his lawyers have any greater success in chancery. Even a loan of £40 to the crown in 1450, with a view to depriving Hull of the farm of Titchwell, was of no avail. (2) The basic difficulty was that Sir Edward Hull was a very influential man, a king's knight with powerful friends, the lack of which, as on several other occasions, seriously handicapped Fastolf. The situation was suddenly transformed when, in July 1453, Hull, along with Fastolf's old rival, Talbot, and his son, were killed while attempting to relieve Castillon. (3) Fastolf lost no time in taking advantage of his good fortune, and was awarded the farm of Titchwell on 14 September 1453. (4) In order to get the manor out of the king's hands a fictitious action was arranged. On 12 February 1455 Titchwell was committed to Hugh Fenn because he offered to pay 20d. per annum more for the farm than Fastolf's 10 marks. (5) In May of the same year Fastolf traversed the/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 162, p. 200.

(2) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 17-8.

(3) Ibid., 18-9.

(4) C.F.R. 1452-61, 64.

(5) Ibid., 132.

the whole 1448 inquisition, Fenn defaulted, and the jury accepted all Fastolf's claims, that Titchwell was not held in chief, that the 1270 entail was never made, that Titchwell was held by Fastolf directly of William, Lord Lovel. By 1 April 1456 the manor was once again in the possession of Fastolf's feoffees. (1) Whether or not Margery Hull and Agnes Wake genuinely had a claim to it is uncertain, and, in the circumstances, mattered little. In the case of a doubtful title to land what counted was influence in the right places. Fastolf was finally successful because, by pure chance, a powerful opponent was replaced by someone much more obscure, Thomas Wake, who does not seem to have made any great effort to protect his wife's interest.

Another lengthy and complicated lawsuit concerned the wardship of the great-great-grandson of Fastolf's uncle, Hugh Fastolf. (2) Towards the end of 1459 Sir Philip Wentworth presented a petition to the parliament at Coventry, in which he stated that Sir John Fastolf had tried to traverse an inquisition which had ordered the wardship and marriage of a minor, Thomas Fastolf, son and heir of John Fastolf of Cowhaugh, to be seized into the king's hands: among the lands to be seized was the manor/

(1) Lewis, 'Lawsuit over Titchwell', 19-20.

(2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 100.

manor of Bradwell. (1) Fastolf alleged that this inquisition also, was corrupt. (2) Wentworth in addition claimed that in 1447 he had bought the wardship and marriage for 110 marks from Marmaduke Lumley, treasurer of England, and that his legal and other expenses concerning the case totalled more than 500 marks, and further, that Fastolf had been ordered to pay £109 13s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d., the issues he had improperly taken from the ward's lands. (3) In the case of Bradwell, however, Fastolf denied the charge, claiming that he had bought the manor in a straightforward way. (4)

On 18 November 1447 there had actually been granted to Robert Constable, Wentworth's brother-in-law, the keeping of the lands late of John Fastolf of Cowhaugh, until his heir came of age, and also of the boy's marriage. (5) A renewal of this grant was made on 15 April 1448. (6) On 9 June 1449 the keeping of the manor of Bradwell was given to Fastolf and was several times renewed, (7) and in the following year he was making arrangements to indict those responsible for 'forging the office of Boyton (Beighton), as well as for Bradwell', and to 'traverse the inquisitions/

(1) Rot. Parl., v, 371.

(2) P.L. (G.), ii, 160.

(3) Rot. Parl., v. 371.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 350.

(5) C.F.R. 1445-52, 79.

(6) C.P.R. 1446-52, 144.

(7) C.F.R. 1445-52, 112, 148, 175, 199, 252; C.F.R. 1452-61, 17.

inquisitions. (1) On 7 February 1453, the wardship was transferred to Wentworth, (2) but the efforts of the Fastolf party were crowned with success in the following year when, on 6 June it was granted to John Paston and Thomas Howes. (3) Wentworth then resorted to force and went to Colchester with a hundred armed men to carry the boy off. However he was not there, although, presumably in error, 'ther was had anoder chyld lyk hym', who was released after they had ridden a couple of miles. (4) In the autumn Wentworth caused his servant, 'Long Bernard' by name, to hold court at Cowhaugh, in defiance of Howes and others. (5) Fastolf and his friends still did not have possession of the boy, for on 11 November Fastolf wrote to John Paston that he could not see how this was to be achieved without trustworthy friends in 'that contree.' Yet he asked Paston to do his best to find some reliable intermediary, for he was loath, having got so far in the matter, to see it fail, especially since he had heard that Paston was interested in marrying one of his daughters to Thomas, a scheme which met with his full approval. (6) On 12 December 1454 the wardship again changed hands, this time going to John Bocking and William Worcestre, who offered 20 marks more than John Paston/

(1) P.L.(G.), ii, nos. 159, 160, 162, p.199.

(2) C.P.R. 1452-61, 46.

(3) C.F.R. 1452-61, 92-3; but cf. C.P.R.1452-61, 158, where there is a renewal of the grant of the wardship to Wentworth, dated 16 July 1454.

(4) P.L.(G.), ii, no. 248.

(5) Ibid., iii, no. 263.

(6) Ibid., iii, no. 266.

Paston gave. (1) Early in 1455 Fastolf decided to appeal to the duke of Norfolk: he maintained that Wentworth had illegally purchased letters patent granting him the wardship of Thomas Fastolf, against the last will of John Fastolf of Cowhaugh and the best interests of the boy, and of Fastolf himself: and, despite the fact that certain of his friends had had letters patent from the king, granting them Thomas's property to hold to Fastolf's use, before they were ever granted to Wentworth, the latter had illegally occupied the lands in question. (2) Fastolf, his friends and servants continued their fight against Wentworth, and in November 1456 they presented writs to the sheriff of Suffolk to attach him and some of his associates and to bring them before the barons of the exchequer, to answer charges that on 8 June 1454 they had entered Sholond Hall, Suffolk, Foxhole, Bentley Houses and other places, taking rents to the value of £360 and underwood worth £40. (3) As usual in such cases, the tenants of the disputed property suffered, with both sides demanding payment from the farmers of Cowhaugh and the other manors concerned, under threats of distraint or eviction. (4) Fastolf reported that, on 18 and 19 June 1456 'long Bernard, with a priest of Kent, to the/

(1) C.P.R. 1452-61, 208.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, nos. 277, 278.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 352.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 333.

the number of 16 horse, hafe, at Nacton, Bentley, and other places of F., and entered by colour of a deed of feoffment made to the Lady Roos and others, and hafe right proud language to the farmers, that they will obtain their intent.' (1) By July 1459 the wardship had apparently been disposed of to Lady Fulthorp, for Fastolf was pressing Paston and Hugh Penn to get speedy payment of the 300 marks due to him in return for it. (2)

Sir Philip Wentworth's petition, which was actually presented after Fastolf's death, ended with a complaint that on 6 June 1454 John Paston and Thomas Howes were granted the wardship and marriage of Thomas Fastolf, and that they paid only 10 marks for it, when it was worth £200, and in addition were released from the obligation to repay the £109 13s. 8½d. taken by Fastolf from the estates. Wentworth asked the king, in view of the fact that in July 1455 the treasurer denied in parliament ever having made such an agreement with Paston and Howes, that the contract be cancelled. The king granted the petition. (3) By 1460 the two sides were moving towards some kind of compromise, (4) although the problems were not all solved, for in 1461 Thomas Fastolf sought the help of John Paston in recovering his 'lyvelod', since he was then/

(1) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 336.

(2) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 380.

(3) *Rot. Parl.*, v, 371-2.

(4) *P.L. (D.)*, i, no. 154 (*G.*, iii, no. 423); *P.L. (G.)*, iii, no. 414.

then of age, which was denied by these who had the keeping of his estates. (1)

Fastolf had an interest in several other wardships in addition to that of Thomas Fastolf and his stepson, Stephen Scrope. On 23 March 1437 Sir John Radcliffe, John Winter and he were granted the manor of Burley, lately held by Alice, the widow of Sir Richard Arundell, during the minority of her son, William Burley, the farm to be agreed between them and the treasurer. (2) Probably while he was still in France, Fastolf agreed to sell another wardship, that of Robert Monpynson's son to Walter, Lord Hungerford; (3) and in 1438 he arranged the marriage to Sir William Chamberlayne of Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Harling, for whose wardship he had paid 500 marks, in return for which marriage he received £1,000. (4)

In addition to the lawsuits concerning solely his own property, Fastolf was involved in legal disputes of a wider interest. He shared in a general abhorrence of the malign influence of Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon, not least because he had suffered from it himself on numerous occasions. On 1 August 1450 a commission of oyer and terminer had been issued, to/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, no. 163 (G., iv, no. 488).

(2) C.F.R. 1430-37, 325.

(3) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 97, p.116.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 337; H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 268a.

to investigate the state of unrest in Norfolk and Suffolk, <sup>(1)</sup> but had still not begun its work several weeks later. It was arranged by various local landowners that Fastolf should write to the duke of Norfolk, asking him to inform the king and council that 'the cuntre of N. and S. (Norfolk and Suffolk) stonde right wildely', and in need of the leadership which a high-born sheriff of substantial means could provide, and that it was essential that the commission of oyer and terminer come to the area, as had been arranged. <sup>(2)</sup> The commission's first session began at Swaffham on 17 September 1450. <sup>(3)</sup> Despite great pressure from the opponents of Fastolf and his friends, <sup>(4)</sup> Yelverton did come to Norfolk and, agreeing on the need for a strong sheriff and undersheriff, approached Fastolf, as a man of standing in the district, to persuade the king, chancellor and lords of this, and to defend his honour in those quarters, should his enemies slander him. <sup>(5)</sup> On 20 December 1450 Fastolf wrote to Howes of his satisfaction that Lord Scales, Tuddenham and Heydon were to appear at the Lynn session of oyer and terminer at Christmas, although he expressed fears that Scales would be induced to 'maintain' the other two. He urged that all who had suffered at their hands should 'effectually labour to my Lord Oxford, and to my/

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 119.

(2) Ibid., ii, no. 146.

(3) Ibid., ii, no. 119.

(4) Ibid., ii, no. 153.

(5) Ibid., ii, no. 154.

my brothyr Zelverton, Justice, that they wolle as ferre as justice, reson, and concience do that justice may [be] egallie mynistred.' Displaying an unwonted concern for the fate of the 'pore peple', who had been reduced to misery and poverty by the depradations of Tuddenham, Heydon and their associates (which meant they were unable to pay their rents!), he warned that, unless a stand were taken against the evil-doers, the greater part of Norfolk and Suffolk would be destroyed. In particular he directed Thomas Howes to instruct John Jenney and Robert Ledham, both members of Lord Cromwell's council, to complain to the commission of attempts being made by Tuddenham, Heydon and John Gent to dispossess Cromwell of a knight's service in Saxthorpe, the reason for his anxiety being that, through their failure to remedy the situation, he himself was losing £20 per annum. (1) The Paston Letters at this time are full of plans for the forthcoming commission, and of fears of reprisals. A list was drawn up of those to be indicted, with their alleged crimes, including murder, robbery, false arrest, intimidation, riding armed and disturbing the peace, and of those who had been wronged, among whom were Fastolf, Zelverton and John Paston. (2) Rumours that Tuddenham and Heydon would appear at Norwich with a large following, and that Justice Prisot, who favoured/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 162.

(2) Ibid., ii, nos. 175, 176.

favoured them, was to be present, proved to be only too well founded. (1) In a letter of 9 May 1451 Thomas Howes described the results to his master. When formal complaints against those indicted had been presented by the city of Norwich, the township of Swaffham, Sir Henry Inglose, Fastolf, John Paston and others, 'the Juges by ther wilfulnesse myght nat fynde in ther hert to gef, not als moche as a bek nor a twynclng of ther eye toward, but toke it to deriscion', and Priset decreed that the commission adjourn from Norwich to Walsingham, according to Howes 'the most parcial place of alle the shire', where the accused need fear no opposition. Tuddenham and Heydon, it was said, were accompanied by more than four hundred horsemen, and, of all the plaintiffs, only John Paston dared show his face, and when their spokesmen attempted to put their case, Priset 'took it as a venom, and took them by the nose at every thred word whiche myght well by knowe for open parcialte.' (2)

The solution of the problem of Tuddenham and Heydon had to await the accession of a strong king, Edward IV, who in 1461 released Sir Thomas Montgomery from his household, to be sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, there to deal firmly with such disturbers of the peace. The collapse of the case against them in 1451 was an object-lesson in the effectiveness of influence, bribery and strong-arm/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 186.

(2) Ibid., ii, no. 192.

strong-arm methods, not that many litigants of the time needed such a demonstration. Fastolf himself was an old hand at 'labouring' and bribing those in a position to advance his causes. In December 1450 he directed Thomas Howes to 'purvey of gode frendys as be aboute Flegg that passen yn jureez', that they might testify in his favour regarding Titchwell before the commission of oyer and terminer in Lynn. Howes was to 'do hem goode chier and cost, uppon hem after that the case shall requyre'.<sup>(1)</sup> In April 1451, in the course of the dispute with Sir Philip Wentworth, Howes was to 'labour to the Sheriff for the return of such panels as will speak for me, and not be shamed, for great labour will be made by Wentworth's party', and to 'entreat the Sheriff,' as well as he could by 'reasonable rewards'.<sup>(2)</sup> In connection with his lawsuit over Bradwell, Howes told Fastolf that to 'labour the Jure to London' would cost 20 marks, and advised him to use his influence to have Yelverton on the bench, and to ensure that Prisot had nothing to do with the case.<sup>(3)</sup> Even chief justice Fortescue was not incorruptible: Fastolf secured his favour for Thomas Howes, imprisoned in the King's Bench, with the gift of a crimson velvet gown valued at £6 13s. 4d.<sup>(4)</sup> In acting thus/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 162, p. 200.

(2) Ibid., ii, no. 188.

(3) Ibid., ii, no. 192.

(4) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 214.

thus Fastolf was only conforming to normal practice and, although his concern for law and order was often prompted by self-interest, he allied himself to those who were working for an end to intimidation and violence in East Anglia.

In March 1456 Hugh Fenn wrote to John Paston, 'Now, Sir, for Goddis sake, as I have meved you a fore, help to sette my maister in a worchepful dyreccion of his maters to his honour, his profyte, and his hertis ease, that which so doon he shall have the better leysour to dysspose hym self godly, and be sette his londs and his goodys to the plesour of God, and the wele of his sowle, that all men may sey he deyeth a wyse man and a worchepfull.'<sup>(1)</sup> Fastolf, in fact, lived for three more years and almost to the end, as a very old man indeed, continued to manage his affairs, giving directions to his servants and advisers, safeguarding his property against outside interference. In a letter which he wrote to John Paston on 3 July 1459 he mentioned the matter of a new feoffment of Dedham, and that he had arranged the patent for 'Rauff Alygh's fee': Paston was to oversee the evidences of his tenement by St. Olave's Church, which Laurence Donne had questioned, ('Philip Grocer on London Bridge is a great maintainer of Donne'): Daunson and Yelverton had been empowered to deal with/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 324.

with the matters moved by Stephen Scrope and Richard Bingham;  
and, finally, he wished the repayment of a debt to be speeded up. (1)  
Obviously it was not in Fastolf's nature to retire to spend his  
days in leisure, contemplation and preparation for the life after  
death.

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 380.

iv CASTLE COMBE

Among the lands which came to Fastolf as a result of his marriage to Milicent Scrope was the manor of Castle Combe in Wiltshire, which had belonged to Milicent's father, Sir Robert Tiptoft, who had died in 1372, leaving as his heirs three daughters under age. (1) In 1375 their wardship was granted to Richard, 1st Baron Scrope of Bolton, who administered their property during their minority. (2) In 1385, on or after Milicent's marriage to Lord Scrope's third son, Stephen, a tripartite indenture was made, by which Sir Robert Tiptoft's possessions were divided among his three daughters. (3) The share allotted to Milicent and Stephen consisted of the manors of Wighton (valued at £40 2s. 2d. per annum), of Bentley and Hamthwayte (valued at £104 10s. 1d.), all in Yorkshire, of the manors of Oxendon in Gloucestershire (valued at £31 0s. 3d. per annum) and of Castle Combe (valued at £44 9s. 1d.), with all fees and advowsons attached to them. By a deed of 1390 these estates were entailed on Stephen and Milicent Scrope and their heirs, with remainder to Milicent's right heirs. (4) In 1410 a second deed settled the property on Fastolf and Milicent and on her heirs, so that Fastolf enjoyed the manors not only during the life of his wife as was customary, but until the end of/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 78.

(2) Ibid., 80.

(3) Ibid., 142.

(4) Ibid., 144-5.

of his own, thus depriving his stepson, Stephen, of his inheritance for many years. (1) Millicent probably died in 1446 for, according to a contemporary writer who may have been William Worcestre, she and Fastolf lived together thirty-eight years. (2) During this time practically nothing is heard of her.

The later middle ages saw a rapid expansion in England of the manufacture and export of woollen cloth. Wiltshire in general and Castle Combe in particular shared in this growth. Not only did the quantity of cloth produced in the area greatly increase, but there was a marked improvement in quality, and Wiltshire became famous for middle-priced white broadcloths, most of which were exported. (3) The area was particularly well suited to the manufacture of woollen cloth, for it had excellent supplies of fine wool, fuller's earth and water-power which, since the invention of the water-driven fulling-mill, was of considerable importance, and one reason for the general movement of the industry from the towns into the countryside. (4) As its name suggests, Castle Combe/

(1) *Ibid.*, 169-70. Scrope says this deed was of itself 'clearly invalid'. It broke the entail of 1390 by creating a life-interest for Fastolf which, since there were no children of his marriage, he would not normally have enjoyed. However he did obtain the consent of the heir, Stephen Scrope, to this arrangement.

(2) *Ibid.*, 263.

(3) *V.C.H. Wilts.*, iv, 2.

(4) *Cam. Econ. Hist.*, ii, 417. Miss Carus-Wilson's views on the vital role of fulling-mills have been modified by E. Miller, 'The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry in the Thirteenth Century', *Ec. H.R.*, 1965, 71-3, 77, 82.

Combe is traversed by a narrow valley in which flows the Box Brook, which supplied the manor's water-power. Beside it lay the township of Nether Combe, where the cloth was made, while a second township, Over Combe, was situated on the uplands and was the agricultural centre of the manor. (1)

The desire to escape from the restrictive rules of urban guilds was another motive behind the clothiers' migration from the towns to the country, where they were free to employ any workers they chose, at whatever wages proved to be acceptable, and to practise any method of manufacture, subject only to regulations controlling the size of cloths and to prevent fraud. (2)

Like other successful rural industrial sites, Castle Combe offered these two advantages, water-power and freedom from guild restrictions, and, in addition, enjoyed for fifty years the benefit of a shrewd and energetic landlord who, although he never lived there and may never even have visited the place, took a lively interest in its development, and employed, as his supervisor, William Worcestre, whose notebooks and records are a valuable source of information/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 207.

(2) E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of Industrial Growth on Some Fifteenth-century Manors', Essays in Economic History, ii, ed. E.M. Carus-Wilson, (London, 1962), 165-6.

information about an industrialised manor. (1) Worcestre tells us that for a period of at least twenty-two years Fastolf annually bought from his tenants in Castle Combe red and white cloth to the value of over £100, thus distributing the rents and profits of Castle Combe itself and of Oxendon and Bathampton among the tenants and clothiers. (2)

The cloth was used to make liveries for the soldiers under Fastolf's command: a bailiff's account for 1411-2 shows that three white cloths and one other were bought from Robert Webb for a total of £10 11s. 8d. 'pro magna liberatione domini ultra mare.' (3)

Miss Carus-Wilson has estimated that Fastolf would receive about 40 broadcloths, or approximately 1,000 yards of material, for his yearly expenditure of £100, which must have done much to stimulate production. (4)

Worcestre also says that Fastolf bought several privileges for his tenants. These included the reconfirmation of the market and fair (towards which the tenants themselves had contributed 100s.), originally granted by Edward II but challenged/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 202-3, says that parts of the manor-house at Castle Combe were let as dwellings to tenants, and the demesne lands were also leased. The park was kept stocked with rabbits, hares and deer: the right to hunt rabbits was rented out and, while the tenants and neighbours seem to have been allowed to take an occasional deer, most of the venison was given in presents by Fastolf to his friends.

(2) Ibid., 201-2.

(3) Ibid., 255.

(4) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 130.

challenged by Lord Hungerford, lord of the nearby and rival town of Chippenham, who was alleged to have molested Fastolf's tenants: the market was to be held every Monday and the fair was to be annual and to last for three days. Fastolf also purchased for his tenants exemption from the royal right to take oxen, sheep, horses or other animals for the king's use, and from the obligation to contribute to the expenses of members of parliament. The latter exemption was customarily extended to the tenants of manors which had formed part of the ancient royal demesne. As a result of a request made by Fastolf that a search be made in Domesday Book, Castle Combe was declared to be such a manor, a verdict that was in fact mistaken, because Castle Combe was confused with Combe Bisset, also in Wiltshire, which had been within the royal demesne. (1)

In Worcestre's opinion, the prosperity of Castle Combe was mainly due to the securing of these rights by Fastolf, to his annual purchases of cloth, to the uninterrupted ownership of the manor for eighty-seven years by Millicent Tiptoft and Fastolf, and to Fastolf's firmness in insisting on law and order, which were enforced by a series of able stewards. (2) The population of Castle Combe had been swollen by many new tenants attracted by the success of the cloth industry, and this presented social problems.

In/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 200-1, 206.

(2) Ibid., 200.

In a bid to reduce drunkenness, it was decreed that no one should frequent taverns after 9 p.m. in summer and 8 p.m. in winter, the penalty for disregarding this rule being a fine of 6s. 8d. (1)

Gambling was forbidden and even in their own homes tenants were not allowed to play at dice or tables after 9 p.m. (2) The manor court rolls give evidence of the range of crimes one would expect to find in such a community. In 1416 John Coventry was fined 4d. for making an affray by breaking the window of John Duke (3) and William Yendovere assaulted a tything-man who was collecting a fifteenth for the king, (4) and in 1419, at a single court hearing, eighteen people were bound over to keep the peace. (5) In 1424 Walter Beorde was found guilty of lying in wait for, and raping various women, for which he paid a fine of 4d.! Several persons were fined for keeping brothels, including Joanna Mountagu, herself the victim of rape within the house in question. (6)

Poachers made regular appearances in court, and in 1443 no tenant was permitted to play any game nor take exercise in the lord's/

(1) Ibid., 246.

(2) Ibid., 245.

(3) Ibid., 235.

(4) Ibid., 234.

(5) Ibid., 236.

(6) Ibid., 237.

lord's park, without a licence from the keeper. (1) A particularly heavy penalty was exacted from the parson of Castle Combe, John Grene, accused in 1438 of having cut down one ash tree and some thorns in the park, valued at 2s. 6d., and also of having destroyed other timber and a considerable number of deer and rabbits. The fine imposed amounted to £26 12s. 4d., which was double the assessment of the damages suffered by Fastolf, and which Grene was unable to pay in full at the time, although Fastolf was apparently successful in recovering the residue after his death. John Grene was regularly convicted of similar offences against his lord, yet in 1433 he had given to John Allnasche and Isolda, his wife, certain property in Castle Combe in return for an annual rent of 12d. and an undertaking to provide for the celebration of three masses annually on St. Clement's day, for the souls of Sir John Fastolf, Dame Millicent, Sir Stephen Scrope, Stephen and Robert Scrope, their sons, and for his own soul, and those of his parents and benefactors and all the faithful. (2)

There was the usual crop of offences relating to the sale of unwholesome victuals and various other forms of fraud, those connected with the manufacture of cloth being of particular interest. One common malpractice was the stretching of cloths on the racks or/

(1) Ibid., 243.

(2) Ibid., 226-7, 241.

or tenters so that, when washed, it shrank excessively. In 1422 Adam Hill and others denied such a charge. <sup>(1)</sup> In 1444 Richard Halwey and Richard Dixton were named wardens of the craft of fullers and dyers for one year, <sup>(2)</sup> and two wardens of the craft of weavers were also appointed. It is not known whether these were regular appointments, nor what the duties of the wardens were. <sup>(3)</sup> These may have been in the nature of police work for it is unlikely that they were principally concerned to enforce regulations relating to the manufacture of cloth, since in Castle Combe, as in other rural areas, these hardly existed.

Here, as elsewhere, Fastolf had trouble with his officials. In 1439 John Todeworth, surveyor of Castle Combe and Bathampton was examined by Fastolf's auditors in connection with rent arrears due from him, amounting to £52 8s. 8d., and 30 marks which had been allowed for various repairs. Todeworth was dismissed, and certain of his expenses disallowed, including 10s. for material for a gown, because he had not carried out his duties in such a way as to profit his master. <sup>(4)</sup> Fastolf also had difficulty in getting one receiver and bailiff, Thomas Hakborne, to submit accounts, for, in 1445, Hakborne was pardoned for/

(1) Ibid., 237.

(2) Ibid., 243.

(3) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 165.

(4) Scrope, Castle Combe, 259.

for not appearing to satisfy him, by which time he no longer held his post. (1)

Cloth had been manufactured in Castle Combe long before Fastolf gained possession of the manor. The rental of 1340 shows that there was already one fulling-mill, held by John Danyel. (2) In 1349 a cottage holding was taken by one, William Touker, who later also rented a mill, and in 1374 Thomas Touker paid an entry fine of over £10 to take possession of 'Playstede's' fulling-mill. (3) William Worcestre noted that these two men, along with Huchecock Touker, were the first 'artificers of wool and cloths' in Castle Combe, and that a certain Roger Young, junior, was a clothier there in the time of Edward III. (4) Spinning, weaving, fulling and dyeing were all carried out at Castle Combe. By the mid fifteenth century there were at least five fulling-mills, (5) and cloth was hung to dry on racks or tenters on the slopes known as Rack Hill and Tenterfield. (6) The men of Castle Combe showed enterprise in the use of new methods: the rental of 1454/

(1) C.P.R. 1441-46, 380.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 147.

(3) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 160.

(4) Scrope, Castle Combe, 248-9.

(5) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 164.

(6) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 132.

1454 shows that Margery Haynes possessed a gig-mill, <sup>(1)</sup> which had been built by her husband, William. <sup>(2)</sup> This mill, which had teazles attached to rollers which were driven by water-power, eliminated the labourious task of raising the nap on cloth by hand.

By the 1430s at the latest cloth from Castle Combe was on sale to English and foreign buyers at Blackwell Hall in London, where it was much in demand. In 1431-2 four red cloths of John Rede of Castle Combe, which had been confiscated by the aulnager in London, were valued at 46s. 8d. each, and in 1438-9 crimson kersey, also from Castle Combe, was valued at 1s. 10d. per yard. <sup>(3)</sup> In 1457 cloths belonging to Robert Douswell and seized for a debt owed by him, were described as 'Castlecombes', which had come to be the trade name for a particular kind of fine red woollen cloth. <sup>(4)</sup> White cloth was also made, but it was for reds, and especially crimson kersey, that the place was really famous. <sup>(5)</sup> So renowned were the dyers of Castle Combe that cloth was sent there from other parts to be dyed red. The Cirencester clothier, Roger Robyns, sent twelve white cloths for this/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 216.

(2) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 163.

(3) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 130.

(4) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 162.

(5) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 139.

this purpose in 1434. (1)

Before 1413 the aulnagers' accounts for Wiltshire had been drawn up under only two headings, Salisbury and the rest of the county. Early in the reign of Henry V several other wool-producing areas were considered sufficiently important to merit separate headings, among which was Castle Combe, which was credited with 71 cloths for part of a year. (2)

Naturally many outsiders were attracted to Castle Combe to work in its thriving industry. For permission to stay on the manor, without holding as tenants of the lord, each had to pay a 'chevagiium' of 2d. a year. (3) The average number who paid this capitation fee in the years 1435-40 was 50, rising to 60 during the next 5 years, and to 70 in 1450. (4) In addition there were those incomers who acquired property and did not therefore pay this tax. The expansion of the population resulted in a considerable amount of new building: according to Worcestre, 50 new houses and 2 mills were erected during Fastolf's lordship of the manor. (5)

The men who paid chevage were the journeymen artificers, some of whom remained landless wage-earners, working for a master, all/

(1) Ibid., iv, 130.

(2) Ibid., iv, 128.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 217.

(4) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 161.

(5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 249-50.

all their lives. Others managed to save sufficient capital to buy property and become entrepreneurs, supplying raw materials to the craftsmen they employed and selling the finished cloth, often combining the role of clothier with that of artisan, farmer or shopkeeper. (1) Such a man was Walter Power, a native of Ireland, who came to Castle Combe between 1420 and 1435, as an artificer servant employed by the clothier, Robert Webb. By 1441 he had saved £13 6s. 8d. with which to purchase the reversion of a messuage with a virgate and one and a quarter acres of woodland, into the possession of which he entered two years later. By this time he employed servants and apprentices of his own, (2) and was able to buy silver plate, (3) and by 1458 had rebuilt his house. (4)

One outstandingly successful career was that of William Haynes. Although a villein-in 1435 he paid 13s. 4d. to Fastolf for a licence to marry his daughters outside the manor (5) he was in fact a wealthy clothier who, with Thomas Haynes, rebuilt a tenement and mill at a cost of £30. (6) An inquisition held at Caister in 1435/

(1) Cam. Econ. Hist., ii, 424.

(2) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 164.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 246.

(4) Ibid., 249.

(5) Ibid., 217.

(6) Ibid., 223, 249.

1435 valued his goods and chattels at £2,000. This estimate was drastically reduced by a local jury who maintained that, after deductions to meet debts and charitable bequests, his goods were worth only £200, (1) a sum which Miss Carus-Wilson considers to be an underestimate. (2) His widow, Margery, after paying £27 in funeral expenses, 40s. for the repair of a mill, and £43 12s. 4d. to William's son, Thomas, was charged an entry fine of £40 to possess her husband's moveable goods, and the house in which she lived; for this house William had paid an entry fine of only 30s. in 1408. (3) In 1437 Margery had to pay a further fine of £100 for permission to marry a Welshman, Edward Jones, and to enter into all William's property, which included cloths, wool, madder, the gatehouse of the manorial buildings with its garden, a dovecot, a shop, a grain-mill, a fulling-mill, and a gig-mill. (4) Margery later built two tenements, one in the middle of the market-place, the other in West Street, (5) and in the year 1439-40 was shown by the alien subsidy roll to be employing/

(1) *Ibid.*, 223.

(2) *V.C.H. Wilts.*, iv, 131.

(3) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 162.

(4) Scrope, *Castle Combe*, 224-5. Miss Carus-Wilson, *V.C.H. Wilts.*, iv, 131, says that the total paid in fines was £140, not £240 as stated by Scrope.

(5) Scrope, *Castle Combe*, 249.

employing two French manservants. (1) The success of William Haynes demonstrates that villeinage was not necessarily a barrier to prosperity but, since labour services had been commuted to money rents, was probably of little significance, except for the obligation to buy from the lord licences to inherit property, and to marry a daughter or to live outside the manor. Margery's brother was Richard Halway, who, Scrope thought, was doubtless one of the principal clothiers in Castle Combe at this period. In 1450 he employed nine artificers. He had arable land and woodlands, and two fulling-mills, and had erected nine new tenements in the village, and rebuilt his own house and another tenement. (2)

The woollen cloth industry of Castle Combe made the fortunes of numerous clothiers, and Fastolf also profited from it. Although the rents of the demesne lands and of lands held by the year did increase as time went by, rentals of 1443 and 1454 show that there had been little change in the fixed rents of freehold and copyhold tenants, except when a fixed rent was agreed for a newly built tenement. It was not rents, but entry fines, which were the chief source of revenue for Fastolf. (3) The prosperity of the cloth industry at Castle Combe generated a keen demand for holdings/

(1) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 131.

(2) Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 163-4; Scrope, Castle Combe, 249.

(3) Ibid., 256.

holdings there, and Fastolf took advantage of this situation, virtually to auction them. Tenements went to those willing to pay the highest fine, and for his first year in possession the successful occupant had to be prepared to match any subsequent higher bid, or relinquish his holding. (1) Typical of the steady rise in the level of entry fines are 'Abbot's Place', granted for 16s. 8d. in 1400 and for £3 in 1446, and 'Playstedes' Mill', the fine for which rose from £10 6s. 8d. in 1374 to £20 in 1420. (2) William Worcestre's account book shows that the total gross revenues of the manor varied between £50 and £150 according as the amount paid in entry fines fluctuated from year to year. (3)

The increased demand for wool resulting from the growth of industry in Castle Combe was partly satisfied by an expansion of sheep-rearing within the manor, although wool was also bought in from Northamptonshire and the Welsh border. (4) In 1446 and 1451 restrictions had to be imposed on the grazing of sheep, since they had been damaging young corn and encroaching on pasture intended for oxen. (5) Some clothiers were also graziers: Richard Halway leased grazing land, and Margery Haynes held land in/

(1) Ibid., 257-8; Carus-Wilson, 'Some Fifteenth-century Manors', 167.

(2) Ibid., 166.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 257.

(4) V.C.H. Wilts., iv, 2.

(5) Ibid., iv, 132; Scrope, Castle Combe, 207.

in Over Combe, possibly for this purpose. (1)

After Fastolf's death the woollen cloth industry of Castle Combe prospered for a time, then a gradual decline set in, as clothiers and craftsmen moved to areas where water was more plentiful, such as the lower Avon valley, which decline was very pronounced by the late seventeenth century. (2) Scrope, writing in 1852, remarked that 'the inhabitants of our parish are now almost exclusively engaged in agriculture; the woollen manufacture, a remnant of which struggled on here within the memory of many, having entirely disappeared'. (3) In his opinion the time of Sir John Fastolf was 'the golden age of Castle Combe.' (4)

(1) Ibid., 208, 212. McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 116, calls Fastolf 'quite a substantial grazier', with 7,800 sheep on his East Anglian manors in the year 1446. In P.L.(G.), v, no. 638, William Worcestre says that, after Fastolf's death, John Paston took possession of 2,456 sheep valued at £143 5s. 4d. from Caister and other manors, and of wool valued at £26 13s. 4d. from the store at Hellesdon, all of which had belonged to Fastolf.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 315.

(3) Ibid., 381.

(4) Ibid., 378.

v CAISTER CASTLE

In an age when increasing importance was attached to comfort and convenience, to luxury and conspicuous consumption, Fastolf expended a considerable part of the great wealth he had won in France on building, and on the contents of his various houses. On building works alone, excluding repairs, his recorded expenditure amounted to £9,495, of which £670 was spent on Hellesden, £418 on Cotton, and £200 on Dedham. (1) In Yarmouth, a town with which his family had a long connection, he built, for £200, a mansion, the upkeep of which, (after Fastolf had settled permanently at Caister, Worcestre thought an unnecessary expense. (2)

In Norwich, too, he built a town house costing £246, (3) 'Fastolff's Place', which stood opposite St. James's Church in Pokethorp. Blomefield had seen the house, and described one window as being adorned with the images of the Virgin Mary and various saints, including St. Blase, holding a wool comb, and another with ten effigies of heroes, such as David, Samson and Hercules, 'ornaments suitable to the taste of so great a warrior as Sir John was'. Two of these figures, Blomefield guessed, represented Fastolf and a French noble whom he had captured and kept at Caister until he paid a very large ransom; unfortunately the upper part of Sir John had/

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105.

(2) Ibid., 105; Scrope, Castle Combe, 186; see above, p.71.

(3) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105.

had vanished, but a good part remained of the Frenchman, who had 'a noble presence' and 'a prolix white beard' ! (1) Fastolf had other links with the city, a fact commemorated in the church of the Austin Friars, where his arms were depicted in a window next to the high altar. (2) He was a member of the influential Gild of St. George, to which he presented a silver and gilt reliquary in the shape of an angel, which contained an object claimed to be an arm of St. George. (3) Fastolf declared in 1451 that there was no city he loved or trusted better than Norwich, at least not until 'they did so unkindly to me and against truth in the Lady Bardolf's matter', and he expressed the hope that the mayor and his predecessor were aware of all his benefactions to their city, and would allow their actions at a forthcoming session of oyer and terminer to be guided by suitable feelings of gratitude. (4)

In Southwark Fastolf owned, as well as the Boar's Head, houses known as 'the High Bere house' and 'le Harte Horne', alias 'le Bucke Head', two water-mills, tenements and gardens called 'Walles' and/

- (1) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, iv, 436, xi, 208. When Blomefield saw it in the late eighteenth century, the great hall was being used as a 'baking office'.
- (2) Worcestre, Itineraries, 239.
- (3) M. Grace, Records of the Gild of St. George in Norwich, 1389-1547, (Norfolk Record Society, ix, 1937), 23, 30.
- (4) P.L. (G.), ii, nos. 174, 203.

and 'le Dyhouse'. (1) His new town residence there, beside the Thames, cost him £1,100 to build, and when it is remembered that he spent more than £1,000 on land to provide a site for it, (2) it can easily be imagined why it was described as a 'palace'. (3) As late as September 1465, John Paston, as Fastolf's executor, received 'a bille askyd by on Frauneses for makyng of houses in Southwerk.' (4)

It was for his birth-place, Caister, that Fastolf reserved his most ambitious schemes. In 1363 the manors of Caister and Caister Hall, near Great Yarmouth, had come into the possession of the Fastolf family. (5) There had been a manor-house at Caister since the time of Edward I, (6) which, in the course of the Peasants' Revolt, on 18 June 1381, had been looted and damaged by a party of rebels led by one of the servants of John Fastolf, Sir John's father. (7) Part of this older house may have been retained when Fastolf replaced it by his much more splendid structure, for the north-eastern forecourt of the later building is of a different, and/

- (1) H.M.C., 4th. Rep., 464a; see above, p. 66.
- (2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105.
- (3) Bloxam, A Register of Magdalen College, iv, p. xi.
- (4) P.L. (D.), i, no. 77, p.141.
- (5) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 178.
- (6) W.D. Simpson, Castles in England and Wales, (London, 1969), 138.
- (7) H.D. Barnes and W.D. Simpson, 'Caister Castle', The Antiquaries Journal, 1952, 35.



and possibly earlier, style and brick from the rest of it. (1) In October 1404 Mary Farwell granted her son the two manors in Caister, along with the advowson of the free chapel of St. John the Baptist, a life-interest in all of which she had been given after the death of her second husband, John Fastolf. (2)

Nicholas Pevsner has described Caister Castle as one of the most impressive fifteenth-century English castles, and the best mid-century example of a brick building in Norfolk, where the finest brick architecture of the period is to be found. (3) Fastolf began the building of it in 1430-1 and, according to William Worcestre, it continued for thirty years. (4) The undertaking was on a grand scale. The entire complex occupied a site of some six acres, and consisted of three basic parts, the central, principal building, flanked to the north-east and south-west by forecourts. The main building measured approximately 165 by 145 feet, excluding towers, and the north-eastern court had a frontage of about 200 feet. There were round towers at the two outside angles of this court, where the buildings were more regular than in the south-western court, which had a low round tower in one corner. Around the/

(1) Ibid., 50; Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 187.

(2) See above, p. 7.

(3) N. Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich, (Penguin Buildings of England Series, 1962), 41-2, 109.

(4) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 638, p. 235.

the main building and the north-eastern court was a moat, with a cross-cut which separated these two parts of the castle from each other. <sup>(1)</sup> In the north-west wall of this forecourt was situated the main entrance, which had a gatehouse and drawbridge, and gave access, via a second drawbridge over the cross-cut moat, to the main part of the castle. <sup>(2)</sup> The principal building was rectangular in plan, with towers at each corner and a gatehouse in each of the north-eastern and south-western walls, and it enclosed a third courtyard. Its most spectacular feature was the slender tower at the western corner, only about 23 feet in diameter, rising to the height of 90 feet, and with a hexagonal stair-turret abutting on to it for its entire height, and projecting a further 8 feet beyond it. <sup>(3)</sup> In 1443 Fastolf obtained a royal licence to fortify his house <sup>(4)</sup> for, although the emphasis in building was increasingly laid on comfort rather than security, many still favoured a military style of architecture. In addition to the moat, two drawbridges and the towers, Caister was provided with machicolations and gun-loops; <sup>(5)</sup> later events were to prove that they were not superfluous.

Barnes/

- (1) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 38-40; Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich, 109.
- (2) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 180.
- (3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 38-9, 41.
- (4) Scrope, Castle Combe, 184.
- (5) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 41.

Barnes and Simpson have called the high tower at Caister one of the finest pieces of medieval English brickwork. (1) The bricks used at Caister are mainly pink and pale yellow, but some are of deep purple, (2) and they were made on the estate. The building accounts list sums spent on stakes, faggots and turfs for firing bricks, on rushes to cover them to prevent them sticking together while they hardened, on the maintenance of the lord's kilns, and on wages for the men who made the bricks and for those who carted them to the building site. (3) In the opinion of Glendenning, they were manufactured from estuarine clay at a spot on the banks of the Bure, a mile and a half south of Caister Castle, where there are still traces of ancient brick-works, fragments of brick from which were found to match bricks in the walls of the castle. (4) Barnes and Simpson think that the clay from some of the castle ditches may also have been used to make bricks. (5) The brickwork is in 'old English' bond, and is especially regular in the great tower. It is combined with stone which, like the plaster of Paris used on the internal walls, was brought by Fastolf from France. (6) The base/

(1) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 179.

(2) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 40.

(3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 183.

(4) Ibid., 186.

(5) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 38.

(6) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 184, 187.

base of the great tower is of ashlar, and stone was also used for dressings, copings and gun-loops. The contrast between the brickwork and the stone is seen to particular advantage on the western curtain wall, where stone corbels crowning a buttress with an ashlar plinth have been carved into grotesque human heads. (1)

Large quantities of bricks, stone and other materials were transported to Caister by boat. On 16 October 1443 the king granted Fastolf a licence, and exemption from royal purveyance, for six ships, two 'playtes', two balingers, a 'cogship' and a 'farecost', to carry stuff necessary for his building operations. (2) The building accounts of Caister show that Fastolf owned several vessels before 1443: in 1433-4 the repair of boats cost £1 9s. 7d., and in 1435-6 £15 8s. 6d. was spent on buying a new boat, and on some work done on it. (3) In 1441 Fastolf bought the 'Bonaventure' from Sir Thomas Kyriell, (4) and in 1446 there were eight of his ships at Yarmouth, and he may in fact have owned more at that time. (5) In 1451 one of his ships was called 'The Blythe'. (6)

Fastolf/

(1) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 41-2.

(2) C.P.R. 1441-46, 206.

(3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Building Accounts of Caister Castle', 182, 185. Although Barnes and Simpson say that the accounts are for the years 1432-5, they are actually dated Epiphany, 11 Henry VI - Epiphany, 14 Henry VI.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 41.

(5) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 115.

(6) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 173.

Fastolf did not use his boats only for transporting building materials, but also for trading in grain, malt, wool, cloth and bricks. They generally sailed between London and Yarmouth, but also went to other east coast ports, such as Newcastle, and on one occasion even carried a cargo of fish from Norfolk to France. (1)

Fastolf's interest in ships continued into his extreme old age: in May 1456 he wrote to remind John Paston of his scheme to 'kyt out a litell fleet rennyng by twix the Comouns of your lordship of Maulteby and Castre there it was of old tyme, and now is overgrounded and growen by reedes,' suggesting that they share the cost of clearing the water-way. (2) Fastolf's enthusiasm was not shared by William Worcestre, who considered that Fastolf was wasting money in maintaining ships at Yarmouth. (3)

To reach Caister, boats sailed up the Bure and the Pickerill Fleet into a channel known as the 'Barge Ditch', which led into the castle moat and then through the wide low 'Barge Arch', constructed under a building in the south-western forecourt, to the 'Barge Yard', where they were unloaded. This route was apparently more practicable than the road from Yarmouth, whose bad state of repair made/

(1) Ibid., ii, nos. 171, 174; McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 115.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 329.

(3) See above, p. 71.

made transport difficult, especially in winter. (1)

The interior of Caister must have matched the exterior in magnificence. The remaining part of the main building shows it to have been of three storeys, while the inventory of Fastolf's possessions at Caister mentions between thirty and forty rooms. (2) A very unusual feature was the provision of two halls, for summer and winter, such as were found also in the palace of the grand masters of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg in Prussia, built in the late fourteenth century. (3) The summer hall, the larger of the two, measured 59 by 28 feet, according to William Worcestre, and was two storeys high, being lit by a row of windows on the outer wall, and probably from the inner, courtyard side as well. (4) It is likely that the winter hall was the room with a large oriel window, which would admit maximum light during the darker months. (5) The great tower, externally circular, had five storeys, each of one hexagonal room with large windows, which comprised Fastolf's private suite and probably, on the top floor, a look-out post and muniment room, and possibly also a treasure chamber. The four lower rooms had fireplaces/

(1) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 38.

(2) S. Toy, The Castles of Great Britain, (London, 1966), 288; P.L. (G.), iii, no. 389.

(3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 43.

(4) Worcestre, Itineraries, 187; Toy, The Castles of Great Britain, 288.

(5) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 43.

fireplaces, and garderobes which were housed in a square projection jutting out from the tower, with three shafts, carried over each other on brick arches and emptying into a soil-pit and thence into the moat. (1) One particularly fine stone fireplace was removed to Blickling, where it still survives; (2) also taken to Blickling was a sculpture of Fastolf's coat of arms, which had been over a window in Caister. The arms, which consisted of a shield, quarterly gold and azure, with a bend gules, on which were three crosslets gold, were surrounded by the Garter, supported by feathered angels with four wings, and accompanied by Fastolf's motto, 'me ffaitt ffare' (I must be doing). (3)

Caister Castle is now in ruins, and little except the great west tower, portions of the curtain walls and the north-east forecourt, remain to give an impression of its former splendour. There also survives the low bastion tower in the south-west forecourt, where a modern house has been erected. (4)

There was a tradition, mentioned by Anstis, but nowhere substantiated, that Caister was built with the money received by Fastolf as the ransom of the duke of Alençon, and in the style of his/

(1) Ibid., 41; M. Wood, The English Mediaeval House, (London, 1965), 172.

(2) Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich, 43.

(3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 37; Friar J. Brackley, 'Book of Arms', The Ancestor, 1904, 91. The usual form of Fastolf's motto is 'Me faunt fere'.

(4) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 40.

his castle at Verneuil. (1) Yet, if Fastolf is to be believed, by 1456 he had obtained only 1,000 marks of the ransom, a small part of the total cost of the castle. (2) Further, Barnes and Simpson point out that there was in fact no similarity between the two buildings, although this story shows that Caister, principally because of its unusually lofty, slender tower, was considered to be different from other contemporary English castles. They themselves believe Caister Castle to be unique in England for its strong resemblance to the Wasserburgs of the Rhineland, especially Schloss Kempen, which were also of brick and had similar towers, water defences and general lay-out. (3) If Fastolf actually did go to Basel as a member of the English embassy to the Council there in 1432, which is not certain, he may have seen some of these castles for himself. (4) On the other hand, the Rhenish towns were affiliated to the Hanse, and Hanseatic merchants were established in Norwich, Yarmouth and other Norfolk towns, and there were numerous cultural as well as commercial connections between England and the Rhineland. (5) Such German influences could account for the likeness of Caister to the Wasserburgs, although there may have been a more direct link between/

(1) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 142.

(2) See above, p.52.

(3) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 35, 44-6.

(4) See above, pp.35-6.

(5) Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 47-9.

between them. The names of the craftsmen who worked at Caister are not known, but it seems probable that they could have included some of the numerous Flemish and German brick-makers and masons who were at that time employed in eastern England: one of them might have been the master mason, largely responsible for the design of the castle. The fact that one of the fireplaces at Caister is decorated with a type of moulding commonly found in the Baltic countries reinforces the likelihood that craftsmen from that area did work there. (1)

One of their number, Baldwin Brekeman or Dutchman, played an important part in the construction of Tattershall Castle. (2) At the same time at which Caister was being built Ralph, Lord Cromwell, added to his house at Tattershall a great tower, which has been described as 'the most astonishing piece of fifteenth-century brickwork in England'. Of red brick, with dressings of green and red Salmonby sandstone and grey Ancaster limestone, it measures 62 by 48 feet, and is 118 feet high. It was connected by corridors to existing buildings, and comprised Lord Cromwell's private apartments, arranged on six storeys. Especially notable in a magnificent interior are three very fine heraldic fireplaces. Like Caister/

(1) Ibid., 42-3, 49-50.

(2) The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle 1434-1472, ed. W.D. Simpson, (Lincoln Record Society, lv, 1960), p. xxviii.

Caister, Tattershall has a military appearance, yet is well-lit, particularly remarkable being a set of perpendicular traceried windows on the main façade of the tower. (1) Again like Caister, Tattershall shows signs of European influence, this time of certain French castles such as Poitiers, and has features in common with the grand master's palace at Marienburg. Simpson makes the suggestion that the design was the work of Baldwin Dutchmen, who was apparently the master mason, and would naturally be familiar with current styles of northern European architecture. (2)

William Worcestre says that Fastolf spent £6,000 on building Caister Castle, which is very close to the cost of over £6,046 given in the valor of 1445. (3) Useful comparisons are also provided by Worcestre: the cost to Sir William Oldhall, another veteran war captain, of building the 80 foot square, 100 foot high tower at his manor of Hunsdon, near Ware, and various other additions, was £4,667 ls. 6<sup>d.</sup>, while Lord Cromwell paid more than £2,666 13s. 4d. for the extensions to Tattershall. (4)

Fastolf spared no expense when it came to furnishing his great house. An inventory made in 1448 unfortunately does not give/

- (1) Simpson, Castles in England and Wales, 141-3; Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle, p. xv.
- (2) *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, xxviii-xxix. On p. xxvi Simpson points out that 'Dutch' was equivalent to 'Deutsch', and denoted anyone of Teutonic origin.
- (3) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 638, p. 235; McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War' 105.
- (4) Worcestre, Itineraries, 51, 73.

give the values of the items listed, yet is an invaluable source of information about the contents of the castle. (1) Numerous costly tapestries and arras cloths hung on the walls or adorned benches and beds: for only two of them Fastolf had paid more than £220. (2) Some of the tapestries portrayed religious subjects, like the 'Assumption of Our Lady', and some were hunting scenes, such as 'iiij archowrys on scheting a doke in the water withe a crosse bowe'. Others apparently illustrated myths and legends: such was the one which hung over the dais in the main hall, showing 'j wodewose [a savage] and j chyld in his armys'. Of especial significance to Fastolf must have been that which depicted the siege of Falaise, at which he had been present many years before. Some hangings and covers were unpatterned, of red, green, white and blue, and some had silk fringes. (3) There was an abundance of cushions and pillows, of white silk embroidered with blue lilies, of blue silk, and purple silk and gold, of 'Rede Felwet beten upon Satayne', of green silk 'full wythin of Lavendre', of fustian and of linen. The bed-covers and hangings were also colourful and of equal/

- (1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 389; T. Amyot, 'A Transcript of two Rolls, containing an Inventory of Effects formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe', Archaeologia, 1827, pp. 252-79.
- (2) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 108.
- (3) Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 257-9.

equal magnificence: green silk lined with blue, red silk, pale green and white with leaves of gold. (1) There was a considerable amount of cloth, lengths of damask, velvet, satin, silk, cloth of gold, canvas, linen and worsted, for making clothes and articles required in the household. (2)

Most of the numerous chambers contained feather beds, bolsters, pillows, sheets and fustian blankets. In contrast to the sparsely furnished room allotted to William Worcestre, 'Inglose Chambre' was hung with various tapestries and had a green carpet, while the bed was furnished with red curtains and cushions, and a cover 'furryd with menevere': the cook's bed sported a red cover with the unlikely combination of 'rosys and blood houndys hedys'. (3) A few bedrooms had chairs or joint stools, and moveable beds, presumably for personal attendants. Fastolf's own room contained 'j longe Chayre' and 'j grene Chayre', a little pallet, six white cushions, two little bells, a folding table and a hanging candlestick of laton, and was hung with green worsted, while the bed-hangings were of arras. Milicent slept in a 'hongyd Bedde of fyne whyte' which had a red coverlet and a leather pillow: also in her room were 'ij lyttyll Ewers of blew glasses powdered withe golde'. (4)

In/

(1) Ibid., 256-7.

(2) Ibid., 255-6, 259-61.

(3) Ibid., 265, 267, 269.

(4) Ibid., 268-9.

In the winter hall, which was adorned by an arras depicting a morris dance, stood two chairs with fringes, and six small red chairs. No mention is made of the lord's table, but some idea of its size can be had from the measurements of the cloths intended for it, two of which were six yards long, and two of which were nine. (1) There were two chairs in the summer hall, one red and one green, and the walls were decorated with weapons, such as cross-bows, a boar-spear and a target. Details of a considerable amount of other arms and armour are given in the inventory; (2) according to William Worcestre, John Paston took possession of a quantity of it, to the value of £150, after Fastolf's death. (3)

In the kitchen quarters was a fine collection of pots and pans, including three brass pike pans, ladles, spits, knives, some with ivory handles, racks, trivets, sieves, a pestle and mortar, a butcher's axe, equipment for brewing ale, and many other utensils. In the larder were salting-tubs and barrels of fish but, surprisingly, the cellar contained only two pipes of wine. (4)

In the chapel there were richly embroidered vestments, one 'of divers colurs, withe a Crosse of golde to the bakke, iiij birdys quartelye'. There was an altar cloth of white damask with a representation/

(1) Ibid., 273, 275.

(2) Ibid., 270-3.

(3) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 638, p.234.

(4) Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 273, 277-9.

representation on it of the Holy Trinity, and three red velvet cushions, embroidered with flowers, lay on the altar. Silver and gilt crucifixes and candlesticks, images of the Virgin and Child, and of St. Michael, and all the utensils necessary to celebrate the Mass are also listed. (1)

Apart from that in his chapel, Fastolf owned a very great quantity of plate, much of it of ornate workmanship. Among the pieces at Caister were 'ij Potell Pottes of silver, wrethyn, the verges gilt with braunches enameled with j tree in ye lyddys', weighing 132 ounces, 'iiij Cuppes gilt like founteyns with j columbyne floure enameled in the myddes,' weighing 96 ounces, and two large salt-cellars, one 'well gilt, with many wyndowes', the other 'like a bastell, gilt with roses', weighing 86 and 77 ounces respectively. (2) Unfortunately little is known about the contents of Fastolf's other houses, although another inventory, (3) of the plate and bullion which passed into the hands of his executors on his death, includes, as well as that at Caister, a large quantity of money and some plate, deposited in the Abbey of St. Benet at Hulme, money from Bentley and London and more plate from his house of retirement at Bermondsey, including 'vj Parys Cuppes of silver of the Monethes, with lowe fete, the bordures gilt.' (4) The total weight of the plate/

(1) Ibid., 243-4, 276-7.

(2) Ibid., 240-1, 243.

(3) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 388; Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 238-51.

(4) Ibid., 251.

plate given in the inventory is 121 ounces of gold and 15,639 ounces of silver, which, taking the value of gold as 40s. per ounce, and of silver as 2s. 10d., would altogether be worth £2,457 10s. 6d. for the metal alone. In addition there was the sum of £2,643 10s. in coin. (1)

There is no comprehensive inventory of Fastolf's jewelry, although we do have a description of the pieces given to him by Richard, duke of York. (2) They were 'a nowche of gold with a greet poynted diamand sette up on a roose enameled white; a nowche of gold in facion of a ragged staf, with ij ymages of man and woman garnysshed with a ruby, a diamande, and a greet peerle; and a floure of gold, garnysshed with ij rubyes, a diamande, and iij hanging peerles.' Their respective values were 4,000 marks, 500 marks and £40: McFarlane thinks that the first mentioned is the most valuable jewel recorded in fifteenth-century England, apart from those belonging to the king. Fastolf also possessed a cross on a chain valued at £200, which he wore daily. (3)

To judge from the contents of his wardrobe at Caister, Fastolf must have cut a fine figure. There were gowns of many colours, of cloth of gold, of red, blue, and black velvet and of russet, some/

- (1) *Ibid.*, 239; *P.L. (G.)*, iv, no. 638, p. 232. These are my calculations, cf. McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 108.  
 (2) *P.L. (G.)*, ii, no. 223, iv, no. 638, p. 233; see above, p. 48.  
 (3) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 108-9.

some trimmed with fur; one was of Lord Cromwell's livery. There were doublets, jackets lined with linen or blanket cloth, 'pettecotes', and hose of scarlet and of black, one pair 'vampayed with lether.' Fastolf had a fine selection of headgear in rich materials. One hood was of 'blakke felwet with a Typpet halfe damask and halfe felwet y jaggyd', and another of 'skarlet with a rolle of purpill felwet, bordered with the same felwet': there was a 'Blewe Hoode of the garter', a hat of 'bever lynyd withe damaske gilt, girdell, bokkell, and penaunt with iiij barrys of the same', and even 'ij Strawen Hattis.' (1)

Among Fastolf's personal effects were four pairs of tables for the popular games of backgammon and chess, one with 'here men in baggys longyng ther too.' (2) Fastolf also had a varied collection of books at Caister, as befitted a man whose circle included several writers. As well as William Worcestre and Stephen Scrope, these were Friar John Brackley, a famous preacher, a chaplain of Fastolf and also his close friend, who wrote the 'Book of Arms', a work on heraldry, (3) Luke Nantron, Christopher Hanson and Peter Basset. In addition to his contribution to the so-called 'Basset's Chronicle', (4) Peter Basset wrote 'Acta regis Henrici V.' no copy of which has been traced, although it is recorded/

(1) Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 252-5.

(2) Ibid., 256.

(3) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, iv, 115; Friar J. Brackley, 'Book of Arms', The Ancestor, 1904, 87-97.

(4) See below, p. 166.

recorded by both Bale and Tanner. <sup>(1)</sup> The size of Fastolf's library is not known, since the inventory <sup>(2)</sup> names only those volumes found in 'the Stewe hous', where there were some two dozen, all in French. They included the Bible, some chronicles, 'a booke of Jullius Cesar', books on astronomy and chivalry, religious and didactic works, the 'liber de Roy Artour', the 'Romaunce la Rose', Glanville's 'lez Propretez dez Choses' and 'Problemate Aristotilis'. In addition to these, and to the books he commissioned from Worcestre and Scrope, Fastolf is known to have possessed Cristoforo Buondelmonte's 'Liber Insularum', a description of the isles of Greece, <sup>(3)</sup> and 'De Sacramentis Dedicacionis, Sermo', by Ivo of Chartres. <sup>(4)</sup> In the chapel at Caister there were two antiphoners, one 'Legande of hoole servyce', two missals, one not noted, the other 'noted and closyd wyth sylver', a psalter with silver clasps and the arms of John and Milicent Fastolf, and a martyrology with white 'ledes' [lids]. <sup>(5)</sup>

On the strength of the evidence of two letters written by William Paston II to John Paston in July and September 1454, announcing the forthcoming arrival of Fastolf in Norfolk, to 'dwelle at Caster',  
Gairdner/

- (1) J. Bale, Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus, (Basel, 1557), 568; T. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 79.
- (2) H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 268a.
- (3) Worcestre, Itineraries, 373.
- (4) R. Chandler, The Life of William Waynflete, (London, 1811), 135-6.
- (5) Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 275-6.

Gairdner and Davis assume that Fastolf had not lived at Caister before this time, that he settled there only in the autumn of 1454. (1)

However, it would seem from the inventory of furnishings that Fastolf occupied Caister several years earlier, for one chamber was described as lately belonging to Milicent, who apparently died in 1446. (2)

Furthermore, the valor giving the building costs is dated 1445. (3)

There is one letter written by Fastolf at Caister, nominally dated 10 July 1449, although Gairdner is certain that the year is mistaken, principally because of his assumption that Fastolf did not live there at that time. (4) However, it is certain that Fastolf did spend his last few years almost exclusively at Caister.

Complete with its rich furnishings and Fastolf's treasures, Caister Castle must have been magnificent: some years after Fastolf's death it was described by Margaret Paston as the 'fayere-este flowere of owr garlond'. (5) Even during Fastolf's lifetime it was coveted by others. About 1452 Agnes Paston repeated to her son, John, the rumour that the duke of Norfolk claimed to have been given Caister by Fastolf, and the duke persisted in his efforts to obtain the/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, nos. 25, 83, 84; P.L. (G.), i, p.150, ii, no. 254, iii, no. 260.

(2) Amyot, 'Inventory of Effects', 269; see above, p. 99.

(3) See above, p. 126.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 92.

(5) P.L. (D.), i, no. 216 (G., v, no. 803).

the castle right up to the end of Fastolf's life, and beyond. (1)

In 1456 Fastolf told John Paston that the duchess of York had visited him and 'sore moved me for the purchase of Castre'. (2) However by

that time Fastolf planned to found a college of priests and poor men there, and consequently was not prepared to entertain offers for the

castle from anyone. As it happened, there was to be a long, bitter struggle over its ownership after his death, and in the end the aspirations neither of the duchess of York, nor of the duke of Norfolk, nor even of Fastolf himself were to be realised.

(1) Ibid., i, no. 25 (G., ii, no. 222); P.L. (G.), iv, no. 543.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 350.

PART IV

FASTOLF'S CIRCLE

1 STEPHEN SCROPE

When Milicent Scrope married John Fastolf in 1409 she already had at least three children by her former husband, two sons and one daughter. Of the daughter, Elizabeth, and the younger son, Robert, little is known except that Robert's life was apparently a short one, and that in 1433 he joined his brother in confirming Fastolf's life interest in their mother's property. (1) As one would expect, the relationship of the elder son, Stephen, with his stepfather is more fully documented, since he was the heir of his mother, the disposal of whose possessions was the source of contention and bitterness between the two men.

The foundation for their unhappy relations was laid soon after the marriage of Fastolf and Milicent, when Fastolf sold the wardship and marriage of Stephen, then aged about ten or twelve, to the chief justice of England, Sir William Gascoigne, for 500 marks. It was agreed that Stephen should marry one of Gascoigne's daughters, and that Milicent and John Fastolf should settle the manor of Rosehall and lands and tenements in Wighton and Shipton on the couple and their heirs. In addition Fastolf gave an undertaking not to alienate any other part of his stepson's inheritance. For some reason the projected marriage did not take place, and the boy was/

(1) C.C.R. 1429-35, 257; Scrope, Castle Combe, 263.

was sold back to Fastolf for the same sum. (1) Stephen found the transaction a humiliating experience, bitter memories of which lingered for years. About the year 1452 he drew up a 'Schedule of Grievances' against Fastolf, in which he stated: 'It is to remembre that in the firste yere that my moder was married to my fader Fastolf, he of his plesure solde me to William Gascoyne, that tyme chief justice of this lande, for v.c. marke. The wich he had in his possession a iij. yere. Thorough the wiche sale I tooke sekenesses that kept me a xiiij. or xiiij. yere swyng; whereby I am disfigured in my persone and shall be whilest I lyve.' In a later 'Bill of Charges', presented to Fastolf's executors, he said, 'he bought me and soilde me as a beste, ayens al ryght and lawe, to myn hurt more than M.<sup>l</sup> marks.' He was not impressed by Fastolf's defence that he had acted at the 'instance, plesir, and grete prayer' of Millicent, for he had heard his mother deny this, and in any case he considered that neither had the right so to dispose of him. (2)

Poulett Scrope suggests that the reason for the failure of the marriage plans may have been that Gascoigne died in 1413, before Stephen was old enough to complete the contract. (3) However, writing from Rouen about 1430, Fastolf stated that Gascoigne intended/

(1) Ibid., 264-5. The indenture states that the wardship was to be sold for 450 marks, but subsequent references give the price as 500 marks.

(2) Ibid., 278-81.

(3) Ibid., 265.

intended to break his side of the bargain by reselling the boy, or by marrying him to some other girl so that 'he schulde have byn despereiged', and that it was at the request of Stephen and his friends that he bought him back. (1)

Stephen Scrope may thereby have escaped a dishonourable marriage, but in other respects his circumstances do not seem to have improved, for he was kept by his stepfather in such great penury that when he wished to take service with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, he had to sell the manors of Hever Cobham and Heverbrocket, and all the other lands in Kent which he had inherited from his father, for 500 marks. (2) Gloucester had apparently promised him the Isle of Man, or reasonable recompense for it. (3) The island had belonged to Stephen's uncle, the earl of Wiltshire, but had been confiscated when he was executed and attainted for treason in 1399. (4) In 1408 Sir Stephen Scrope had put forward a claim to it which was dismissed by the Tynwald as 'a falsehood and a blasphemy'. At that time the annual/

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 97. Gairdner has reservations about assigning the date 1449 to this letter; cf. M.E. Schofield, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, (Philadelphia, 1936), 13-4. Miss Schofield thinks the letter was written about 1430, since it speaks of Lord Hungerford and Milicent Fastolf, both dead before 1450, as if they were still alive. Furthermore it was written in Rouen, where Fastolf was in 1430, but never after 1440.

(2) Ibid., 11.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 279.

(4) Ibid., 117-8.

annual revenue of the island was estimated to be in the region of £400. (1)

On hearing of Scrope's plan, Fastolf wrote to Millicent from France, telling her to advise her son to abandon it and to join him instead. (2) Scrope fell in with his stepfather's wishes and served with him overseas for several years, mainly in Honfleur, with a yeoman and a page at his own expense, as he was careful to point out. During this time the relationship between the two men appears to have been quite harmonious: Fastolf showed Scrope 'so good faderhoode' that he was glad to serve him. (3) This happy state of affairs did not last, however, and in some dispute between Scrope and the marshal of Honfleur, Fastolf sided with the latter, 'the wich methought an unkyndenes, I beying in the right [and they in the wrong]', Scrope later commented. Scrope immediately left Honfleur and came home to his mother, but before a year was out he was ordered by Fastolf to pay for his meat and drink, or to find a home elsewhere. (4) Scrope apparently had told his/

(1) Wylie, Henry IV, ii, 294.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 266.

(3) *Ibid.*, 279. In his 'Schedule of Grievances' Scrope maintained that Fastolf had promised at this time to pay him each year three times the annual revenue of Wighton, which was £40. Fastolf denied having made this promise but Scrope insisted it had been given in a garden in the park of Alençon: *ibid.*, 282.

(4) *Ibid.*, 279.

his stepfather that he was once again considering entering the service of the duke of Gloucester and had requested from Fastolf some means of support to enable him to do so. In a letter written to him about this time, Fastolf said that he would be glad if he were successful. He was to succeed by his own efforts, however, as Fastolf made plain; 'Mesemeth that if he have grete desire of your service, he wol do to yow that ye shul not nade nothyng of me to sustayne yow in hys service. And therefore seurlly I am not advised as yet to assigne yow eny lyvelode as for that cause.' He went on to assure his stepson that, if he made a profitable marriage which met with the approval of Milicent and himself, then he would have no cause to complain of the provision made for him by them. He further suggested that, should Stephen's plans come to nothing, he might return to serve him in France which, Fastolf thought, would be just as profitable for him, assuring him that 'ye shal find me alwey good fader unto you as unto my feble powere'. Apart from the unwillingness to offer Scrope financial assistance to make an independent career for himself, the tone of the letter seems affectionate, and in contrast to the angry words apparently used by Scrope to Fastolf, probably about the quarrel in Honfleur, the meaning of which mystified Fastolf.

Fastolf, and which he considered were 'unfyttyng, but if they be betwene as contrarie parties, as betwene an Englishman and an Arminake'. (1)

By 1433 Stephen Scrope had married, not by choice, but to put a roof over his head. (2) The identity of his wife is doubtful: she was called Margaret, (3) and she may have been that 'Fauconeris daughter of London, that Sir Reynalde Cobham had weddid', whose marriage to Scrope was the object of negotiation between Fastolf and Fauconer in or about the year 1430. Fastolf proposed that he and Milicent would grant to Scrope, his wife and their heirs the manor of Wighton, which would revert to Fastolf, Milicent and her heirs in the event of Scrope and his wife having no children. Should Fauconer refuse to contribute towards the marriage, Fastolf was willing to accept the wardship and marriage of Sir Reynald Cobham's heir, if it were worth 500 marks and provided that Scrope confirmed the grant to him of Milicent's estates. (4)

On 19 July 1433 Stephen and Robert Scrope did confirm Fastolf's life interest in their mother's lands, (5) and on 4 August a/

(1) Ibid., 270-1; Scrope dates this letter 1420, but it is more likely to have been written 1428-30, cf. Schofield, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, 12.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 279.

(3) C.P.R. 1429-36, 283.

(4) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 97.

(5) C.C.R.1429-35, 257.

a licence was issued to John and Milicent Fastolf to grant the manor of Wighton to John Doreward, Stephen Scrope, esquire, and Margaret, his wife, for the life of Margaret. (1) Even if this 'Margaret' were not Fauconer's daughter, the terms of the actual marriage settlement must have been similar to those proposed for Scrope's match with the London girl. Whoever his wife was, the marriage apparently did nothing to ease Scrope's lot but caused him to complain that he was 'bounde in sicke bondes that ever sithyn I have levyed in grete peyne and thought', for all of which he blamed Fastolf, for if he had made better provision for him, Scrope could have made a more advantageous marriage. (2) Worse was to follow, for Fastolf brought a suit against him by which he was deprived even of the property given to him when he was married, so that he 'endured iij. yere withoute any refuge save of God.' (3) No details of this suit are known, although in a revised 'Schedule of Grievances', accompanied by a 'Bill of Charges', presented to Fastolf's executors after Fastolf's death, Scrope complained that his stepfather had outlawed him for the sum of £40, although he had in his possession plate and other goods belonging to Scrope, to the value of £200. He also claimed restitution/

(1) C.P.R. 1429-36, 283.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 279, 282.

(3) Ibid., 279.

restitution for £1,200, representing the annual revenues of Wighton over a period of thirty years or more. (1) On 18 October, 1442 a pardon was granted to Stephen Scrope for not having appeared to answer Fastolf concerning a debt of 40 marks, but there is no evidence to suggest whether or not this incident was connected with the lawsuit. (2) On 26 May 1443 Fastolf gave a receipt to John Doreward for £75 which he had received in full payment of arrears of a pension of £20 a year, and which had been granted to him by John Doreward and Stephen Scrope during the life of Millicent Fastolf, 'as appears by indentures touching a recognisance for 200 l. by the said Stephen made in chancery.' (3) This reference is to a recognisance to Fastolf for £200 to be levied in Essex, entered into by Doreward and Scrope on 23 July, 1433. (4) For some reason John Doreward had been involved in the negotiations for Stephen Scrope's marriage, and Miss Schofield suggests that the reason for the recognisance may have been that Fastolf was unwilling himself to pay the full 500 marks required for the marriage settlement, and that Scrope borrowed the balance from Doreward, giving him in return a claim on the manor of Wighton. (5) This would explain why, on 13 July 1448, Scrope bound himself under penalty of 400 marks to pay £200 to Fastolf, in settlement of a debt due/

(1) *Ibid.*, 280-1.

(2) C.P.R. 1441-6, 116.

(3) C.C.R. 1441-47, 140.

(4) C.C.R. 1429-35, 253.

(5) Schofield, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, 15.

due to him by Doreward, and also, after Fastolf's death, to pay Doreward, his executors or assigns, an annuity of 20 marks. (1)

These obligations are probably the 'streyte bondes' into which Scrope was forced to enter in order to marry, (2) and it may have been in connection with them that Fastolf sued his stepson.

Ironically, one of the measures taken by Scrope to alleviate his hardship was the sale of the wardship of his small daughter and for less than she should have fetched, his financial situation being such that she could scarcely have been regarded as a good match. (3) He did receive sufficient, however, to allow him to support himself until about 1452, the time at which he drew up his first 'Schedule of Grievances', the aim of which was to claim compensation from Fastolf who, 'ayenste all gods conscyence, or tytylle of lawe' had enjoyed his inheritance since his mother's death, and had allowed it to be wasted, and had enfeoffed in it persons unknown to Scrope, so that he anticipated great trouble in taking possession of it after Fastolf was dead. (4) Fastolf refused to accede to Scrope's requests, and apparently had made accusations of his own; in his long detailed reply Scrope affirmed the justice of his claims, and said that no son begotten by Fastolf himself could have been/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 283.

(2) *Ibid.*, 282.

(3) *Ibid.*, 280.

(4) *Ibid.*, 280.

been more willing to serve him than he had been. He did not deny having signed over a life interest in his estates to Fastolf, but seems to have appealed to natural justice when he remarked, referring to their respective rights to the property, 'I am com of the blode and he but be gifte of jentilnes.' (1)

Scrope's first wife had died in the meantime and by 1449 he was negotiating for the hand of Elizabeth Paston, the sister of John Paston, whose mother, Agnes, reported that 'Ser Herry Ynglows is ryzth besy a-bowt Schrowpe fore on of his dozthers.' (2) Stephen Scrope was at this time a man of over fifty, disfigured by smallpox, while Elizabeth was a girl of about twenty. (3) Nevertheless her spirit was so broken by her mother's ill-treatment that she consented to the match, once she had received assurances that if she had a son, he would inherit his father's property, Scrope having promised that the daughter of his first marriage should then receive only 50 marks. (4) Mention is made in the Paston Letters that in 1454, during these protracted negotiations, Fastolf was coming to Caister Castle, bringing his stepson with him. (5) Scrope must regularly have stayed with Fastolf there, for the inventory drawn/

(1) *Ibid.*, 282.

(2) *P.L. (D.)*, i, no. 18 (*G.*, ii, no. 93).

(3) *Ibid.*, i, no. 388 (*G.*, vi, no. 1003).

(4) *P.L. (G.)*, ii, no. 94.

(5) *P.L. (D.)*, i, no. 83 (*G.*, ii, no. 254).

drawn up after Fastolf's death calls one of the rooms at Caister 'the Chamboure, suntyme for Stephen Scrope'. (1)

For some undisclosed reason, the marriage with Elizabeth Paston did not materialise, and Stephen Scrope married instead Joan, daughter of the judge, Sir Richard Bingham. (2) A fine levied in 1455 in Scrope's name for the manor of Wighton suggests that the property was restored to him by Fastolf on the occasion of this marriage. (3)

Scrope continued his efforts to extract more generous terms from Fastolf, and enlisted the aid of his father-in-law who wrote to Fastolf about 1455, begging him to allow Scrope to farm his inheritance until Fastolf's death, adding, very appropriately in the circumstances, 'if God will that he live therto.' In return, it was suggested, Scrope should pay 200 marks yearly, Bingham himself standing as surety. Drawing attention to Scrope's miserable poverty, a result of the fact that since his mother died he had received but 10 marks from Fastolf, Bingham asked Fastolf to make Scrope his almsman, if he were not considered worthy to be his son. It is doubtful if Fastolf proved to be the 'well of mercy' Bingham so flatteringly called him, (4) for in 1458 Thomas Howes and/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 389, p. 181.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 275.

(3) Ibid., 276, but cf. below, p. 147.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 308.

and John Paston were discussing with Fastolf the letting of Bentley and Wighton, both manors belonging to Scrope's inheritance, although two years previously Fastolf had sympathetically considered farming Wighton to Scrope. (1) Fastolf, however, did not hesitate to write to Scrope in 1457 to solicit the favour of his father-in-law, now a justice of the King's Bench, for himself and for Thomas Howes, summoned to face charges brought by John Andrews and John Heydon. (2)

Scrope was over sixty when, on Fastolf's death in 1459, he eventually came into his inheritance. Even then his financial troubles were not at an end because over the preceding years he had been forced to take various measures to support his family, the consequences of which continued to dog him. These measures included the reversionary grant of a messuage in Castle Combe he had made to a clothier in 1457, which was to take effect after Fastolf's death, and in return for which he received £20. (3) In 1458 he had entailed the whole manor on the heirs of his second marriage, failing whom on Richard Bingham and others. (4)

There is no evidence that the revised 'Schedule of Grievances' and the 'Bill of Charges' which Scrope presented to/

(1) Ibid., iii, nos. 349, 368.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 360.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 283.

(4) Ibid., 285.

to Fastolf's executors, hoping for some compensation from the estate, met with any success. The sums he claimed were, in addition to £1,000 for losses arising from the sale of his own wardship, and the £1,200 due from Wighton, £690 from Oxendon and Hamthwayte, and over £1,000 for the wastage of his estates, along with compensation for the moveable goods bequeathed to him by Sir Stephen Scrope, comprising silver plate, hangings, a bed, and a sword which had belonged to Edward III. (1) In 1466 he arranged to sell to the earl of Warwick the wardship of a second child, his only son, John, then aged six, for £200 and a reserved rent of £10 a year from the manor of Oxendon, which he made over to the earl on the understanding that when John came of age the manor was to be settled on him, his wife and their heirs. (2) In fact the transaction never took place, and in the following year Scrope sold John's wardship and marriage to John Newburgh of Bradpole and East Lulworth, and provision was made that the boy should marry Newburgh's daughter. Scrope received in return £200, a life interest in Castle Combe and £10 a year from Oxendon, both of these manors having been conveyed to Newburgh in trust for John, his wife and their heirs, failing whom to Richard Scrope, a distant cousin, and his heirs. Newburgh was to enjoy the revenues of Castle Combe for four years after Scrope's/

(1) Ibid., 281.

(2) Ibid., 285.

Scrope's death, and those of Oxendon for fourteen years from 1467, before handing them to his daughter and her husband. (1) Soon after, Scrope renounced his life interest in Castle Combe in return for an annuity from Newburgh of £34 12s. 4d. from the manor, half of the fines of the customary tenants and the right to hunt freely in the park. (2) In December 1465 Scrope had granted all his Yorkshire estates to this same Richard Scrope. (3) Stephen Scrope died in 1472, probably at Castle Combe, and in 1481 the manors of Castle Combe and Oxendon were duly delivered to his heir, John, and his wife Isabel, the daughter of John Newburgh, (4) but the Yorkshire estates which Stephen Scrope had inherited from Millicent Tiptoft were lost to his descendants for ever. (5)

Although, to judge from his own account of it, Scrope's life was neither a successful nor a happy one, he is still remembered for his translations of at least two books into English from French, a knowledge of which he may have acquired during his service abroad.

One/

(1) C.C.R. 1461-68, 441-2.

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 286-7.

(3) C.C.R. 1468-76, 89-90.

(4) Scrope, Castle Combe, 288.

(5) Cal. Inq. P.M., iv, 352, records that Stephen Scrope died possessed of the manors of Hamthwayte, Bentley and Wighton, of the honour of Tickhill and the advowson of Arksey, all in Yorkshire. But cf. Schofield, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, 21, where it is stated that the inquisition held at Sprotborough in the following year, 1473, found that he held nothing of the king in Yorkshire at the time of his death.

One was The Epistle of Othea by Christine de Pisan, which was widely popular in France and England, being a didactic work which 'epitomizes the culture of the noble and wealthy classes of mid-fifteenth-century England.'<sup>(1)</sup> Three versions of Scrope's translation survive, one dedicated to Sir John Fastolf, one to Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham and the third to an unknown 'hye princesse.'<sup>(2)</sup> The chief interest of the book in this present study is to be found in the dedication. Scrope begins this by paying flattering tribute to Fastolf's long and honourable service to the Church and to his country, and then says that, now his strength is waning with old age, it is time to occupy himself 'in gostly chevallrie off dedes of armes spirituall, as in contemplacion of morall wysdome and exercisyng gostly werkyys which that may enforce and cause yow to be callid to the ordire of knyghthode that schal perpetuelly endure and encrease in ioye and worship endelese.' It is at Fastolf's command that Scrope had undertaken the translation of this work, which should greatly assist Fastolf to prepare himself for the world to come. Perhaps Scrope may have hoped that, if the 'Epistle' was successful in this, he would reap the benefit of Fastolf's 'iustice keypyng ..... and magnanimite conservyng.'<sup>(3)</sup>

The/

- (1) S. Scrope, The Epistle of Othea, ed. C.F. Bühler, (E.E.T.S., no. 264, 1970), p. xxxii.  
 (2) Ibid., pp. xviii - xix.  
 (3) Ibid., 121-2.

The other work known to have been translated by Scrope is The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, a collection of maxims attributed in a haphazard fashion to a variety of philosophers, some real and some mythical. Originally compiled by an Arab philosopher in the eleventh century, it was first translated into Spanish, then from Spanish to Latin. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Guillaume de Tignonville, chamberlain to the French king and provost of Paris, made from the Latin version a French translation, which was that from which Scrope worked. (1) Like The Epistle of Othea this was a popular work, and no less than five English writers apart from Scrope were interested in it during the twenty or thirty years after 1450, including Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, and William Caxton. (2) Scrope's translation was produced in 1450 and revised by William Worcestre in 1473, yet neither Rivers nor Caxton was aware of its existence. (3) Scrope, in a brief preface, dedicated the book 'to John Fostalfe, knyght, for his/

(1) The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed. C.F. Bühler, (E.E.T.S., Orig. Series, no. 211, 1941), pp. x-xi. McFarlane, 'William Worcestre', 215, says the date is 1473, not 1472, as stated by Bühler.

(2) Bühler, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, p. xxxvii.

(3) Ibid., p. xlix, 2.

his contemplation and solace.' (1) There is no record of what reward, if any, he received for his literary services to his stepfather.

It is possible that Stephen Scrope produced two further books. The first is 'The Boke of Noblesse' whose editor, J. G. Nichols, was uncertain as to the identity of its author, but pointed out that it must have been a dependent of Fastolf, because he called him 'mine autor', related anecdotes probably heard from Fastolf, and had access to his account-books. In addition, two letters were bound into the volume, one at least of which was addressed to Fastolf. (2) C. F. Bühler and H. S. Bennett support Sir George Warner's suggestion that this work was translated and compiled by Scrope and later revised by Worcestre, although Miss Schofield thinks that Worcestre was also responsible for the original volume. (3)

The second book which may be the handiwork of Stephen Scrope is Tullius of Olde Age, a rendering into English of a French translation of Cicero's De Senectute. This was printed in 1481 by/

(1) Ibid., 2.

(2) Boke of Noblesse, p. 1.

(3) Bühler, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, pp. xl-xli; H. S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1947), 298; Schofield, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, 36-8.

by Caxton, (1) who, in a prologue, tells us that the work was translated 'by the ordenaunce and desyre of the noble Auncyent knyght Syr Johan Fastolf of the countee of Norfolk banerette.' (2) Various conjectures have been made as to the identity of the English author of the version printed. Leland thought it might be John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, (3) Anstis and H. Susebach suggested William Worcestre, and Blades and Bennett, Stephen Scrope. (4) Worcestre does say in his Itineraries, that on 10 August 1472 he presented a translation of 'Tully's book Of Old Age' made by himself to William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, and received no reward. (5) Miss Schofield agrees with Sir George Warner that this was possibly a second translation of the work, another having previously been made by Scrope: (6) Bühler is of the opinion that it was a revision of an earlier work by Scrope, arguing that, if the version Worcestre presented to Waynflete was the only/

- (1) W. Blades, The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, (London, 1882), 230.
- (2) Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, 41.
- (3) J. Leland, Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, (Oxford, 1709), ii, 481.
- (4) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 136; H. Susebach, 'Caxton: Tulle of Olde Age', Studien zur Englischen Philologie, lxxv, (1933), p. xviii; Blades, William Caxton, 232; Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, 298.
- (5) Worcestre, Itineraries, 253.
- (6) Schofield, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, 39.

only one, Worcestre would have to have kept it himself for at least thirteen years, since the dedication shows that it was written at Fastolf's request, which must have been made before November 1459. (1)

Although Stephen Scrope was hardly one of the major writers of his age, he is generally regarded by the critics as a competent translator. Whatever the true identity of the author or authors of The Boke of Noblesse and Tullius of Old Age, it is certain that Scrope did translate The Epistle of Othea and The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, no mean contribution to the literary output of fifteenth-century England.

(1) Bühler, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, pp. xlii-xliii.

ii WILLIAM WORCESTRE

Stephen Scrope was not the only, nor indeed the best known, literary figure in Fastolf's circle. This title belongs to William Worcestre, the most interesting and attractive of those who played a prominent part in Fastolf's life. He was born in 1415 in Bristol, the son of William Worcestre, a burghess of the city, and of Elizabeth Botoner who belonged to a wealthy Coventry family. (1) William often used the name Botoner, presumably because he wished to be associated with his mother's family, but not, as Gough pointed out, because he was a herbalist or 'botaner', the ingenious suggestion made by Lewis. (2)

Worcestre was educated at Oxford University and was a student at Hart Hall, then attached to Balliol College, by the Easter term of 1432. (3) According to Tanner, he was supported for four years at Oxford by Fastolf, but he gives no reason why Fastolf should have acted in this way. (4) Poulett Scrope says that Worcestre 'prosecuted his studies with great diligence and became eminent for his knowledge of history, medicine, and astronomy', although Scrope, after/

- (1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 193; Worcestre, Itineraries, p.x.
- (2) Biographica Britannica, 706, citing J. Lewis, The Life of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, (London, 1737), 53.
- (3) A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, (Oxford, 1957-9), iii, 2086. Emden points out that this is a different Hart Hall from that which became Hertford College.
- (4) Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 115.

after examining Worcestre's surviving works, dismisses this knowledge as 'rather superficial than profound.' (1)

William Worcestre did marry, though presumably not as a young man, for, writing to John Paston II in 1478 to ask his assistance in placing a boy, who may have been his own son, in Lincoln's Inn, he expressed particular concern that the lad should rise early in the morning, and should have nothing to do with women, remarking that 'I was kept froo her company xxx. yeres or ony suche were of my councelle, I thank God of yt.' (2) Margaret, his wife, was the niece of Thomas Howes, Fastolf's chaplain, and she must have been married previously, for in his Itineraries Worcestre notes that his stepson, William Baron, died of plague early in 1480. (3) Since Margaret outlived William this could not have been a stepson of a subsequent marriage. (4) When Worcestre died, about 1484, he left two sons and one daughter. (5) We do have a description of Worcestre's personal appearance, given by Friar Brackley, who said that he was of a swarthy complexion and had only one eye. (6)

Worcestre/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 193.

(2) P.L. (G.), v, no. 927.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 401; Worcestre, Itineraries, 255.

(4) P.L. (G.), vi, no. 985, p.61.

(5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 198.

(6) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 417.

Worcestre spent his entire working life in the service of Fastolf, entering it from university at the age of twenty-three. (1) He belonged to the emerging class of professional lay administrators of estates and great households, and his duties were many and varied, although he made clear that his authority was strictly limited, when he wrote to John Paston around the year 1456 that 'I bare nevere my maister purs, ne condyt nevere chargeable mater alone of hys yn lawe, for my discrecion ne connyng know not whate such maters menyth.' (2) He is often referred to as Fastolf's secretary and for many years did act as his amanuensis. At other times he is merely called 'servant', and McFarlane suggests that he probably held no regular office. He was principally engaged on estate business and was also Fastolf's personal attendant and physician. (3) During the early part of his career he was often concerned with Fastolf's affairs in France, including the charge, brought against his master by Talbot, of conduct unbecoming a Knight of the Garter at the battle of Patay, and, after the death of the duke of Bedford, he spent about nine months in Normandy, helping to put the duke's tangled/

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 199. McFarlane says that Worcester may have been Fastolf's surveyor at Castle Combe two years earlier, i.e. in 1436.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 346.

(3) Scrope, Castle Combe, 192; McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 199-200.

tangled affairs in order. (1) Worcestre made a collection of documents relating to the French wars; these include lists of sums paid out and received by the regent, the relative strengths of the various English garrisons, an inventory of munitions in the castle of Rouen, the names of places lost to the French under Somerset, the official correspondence relating to the cession of Maine, and the various reports on the conduct of the war drawn up by Fastolf and others. (2) Worcestre also made lists of offices and possessions held by Fastolf in France, and of magnates on whose councils he had served. (3) Worcestre himself did not entirely avoid the hazards of war, for he was captured by the French at Dieppe but managed to bribe some seamen to allow him to escape. (4)

The administration of Fastolf's many manors and the legal problems connected with them involved Worcestre in a good deal of travel, (5) and in frequent visits to London. In the case of Titchwell and other manors with disputed titles he was often engaged in painstaking research into family pedigrees and the descent of the manors in question. (6) He went regularly to Castle Combe/

(1) Ibid., 200.

(2) Published in Wars of the English in France, ii, pt. ii, [521-742]; for reports, see above, pp. 37-45.

(3) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 209-10.

(4) Ibid., 200.

(5) P.L.(G.), iii, no. 315.

(6) See above, pp. 83-4.

Combe, where he was surveyor, and his very complete 'extent and rental' of 1454, his account-books and detailed memoranda have already been shown to be valuable sources of information for Castle Combe. (1) Worcestre's position in Fastolf's household was no sinecure. On one occasion he complained to John Paston that permission for him to visit Bristol had been refused by Fastolf, presumably because his master felt that pressure of business did not allow Worcestre to take a holiday: Worcestre had been too offended to listen to Fastolf's reason but had told him 'it fytt not me to know it.' (2) As Fastolf grew to be a very old man he obviously required more and more physical assistance, which was given by Worcestre, (3) and there are signs, already remarked on, (4) that his attention sometimes had to be drawn to defects in the management of his estates, which resulted in extra responsibility for his servants. (5) Worcestre's services were in demand by others too and, after the death of Thomas Howes, he administered his estate, which caused him no little trouble and even led to his arrest. (6)

On/

(1) See above, pp. 100-1.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 314.

(3) McFarlane, 'William Worcestre', 201.

(4) See above, pp. 71-2.

(5) P.L. (G.), iii, nos. 355, 356.

(6) McFarlane, 'William Worcestre', 203.

On his visits to London Worcestre also performed a useful secondary function for his master and others in Norfolk, the relaying of the latest news of national and international importance, reporting the movements of the king and leading nobles; for example, in 1454 he reported that 'the Frenshmen hafe be afore the Isles of Gersey and Gernessey, and a grete navye of hem, and v<sup>c</sup>. be taken and slayn of hem by men of the seyde trewe Isles,' and that, in preparation for a recurrence of such an incident, 'a stately vessell, only for the warre, ys made new at Brystow by the Mayr, called Sturmyn.' (1)

During the later years of Fastolf's life, Worcestre lived for much of the time at Caister Castle, where there was a room described as the 'White Draught Chamber for Lewys and William Worcester.' (2) It is clear that Fastolf greatly relied on Worcestre for the management of his estates, yet Worcestre, like Stephen Scrope, had cause to complain of his stinginess. In a letter to John Paston, written about 1454, he told him, half in jest, half in earnest, not to address him as 'Maister' Worcestre, for the position he was given in Fastolf's household did not deserve to be dignified by that title. He made his discontent and disappointment/

(1) P.L. (G.), ii, nos. 247, 249.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 389, p.185.

disappointment clear to Paston: 'Iam not amended by my maister of a ferthyng yn certeynte, but of wages of housold in comune entaunt come nows plaira. By Worcestre or Botoner I hafe vs. yerly, all costs born, to help pay for bonetts that I lose.' On remonstrating with Fastolf, he had been told that it was a pity he had not been a priest, when his services could have been rewarded with a benefice; 'so I endure inter egenos ut servus ad aratrum,' concluded Worcestre, wryly adding, 'forgefe me, I wryte to make yow laugh; and our Lord bryng my maister yn a better mode for othyr as for me.' (1) Such flashes of dry humour appear in many of Worcestre's letters, even when he is voicing some apparently well founded grievance, making him a more sympathetic character than the ever dismal Stephen Scrope.

As well as Fastolf's lack of generosity, Worcestre had to endure the jealousies of his colleagues, who apparently were apt to blame him when actions he had taken on Fastolf's orders displeased them. (2) Worcestre not infrequently expressed anger and dissatisfaction with his master's treatment of him. 'God gefe hym grace of holsom counsell, and of a gode disposicion,' he exclaimed on/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 258.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 346.

on one occasion, 'non est opus unius diei, nec unius septimanae.' (1)

Yet one has the impression that fundamentally Worcestre had a genuine affection for the old man, an affection which he knew was returned. Writing to Margaret Paston years after Fastolf's death, and deploring the bitter quarrels which had divided Fastolf's former associates, he said, 'Wold Jesu, Maistras, that my gode maister that was som tyme your husband, yn my seyde Maister Fastolf lyfe dayes, as he shewed to me, their coude hafe founded yn hys hert to hafe trusted and lovyd me as my Maister Fastolf dyd.' (2)

Worcester's dominant characteristic was his intellectual curiosity, which ranged far and wide over a variety of subjects. At Oxford he had studied medicine and astronomy: (3) his Collectiones Medicinales still survive, (4) and consist of notes he made from books and from conversations with doctors, barbers and patients, providing valuable evidence of the state of the practice of medicine at that time. (5) In 1440 he drew up a table of all the fixed stars for Fastolf. (6) Astrology, mathematics, heraldry, geography, natural history, architecture, and botany all claimed/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 314.

(2) Ibid., iv, no. 681.

(3) T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity, (London, 1950), 30.

(4) D.N.B., sub Worcester.

(5) McFarlane, 'William Worcester,' 219.

(6) Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 115.

claimed his attention. His notebooks are full of snippets of information on all kinds of subjects, especially valuable to the historian because of his habit of giving dates and authorities for his statements. (1)

With his desire for knowledge went a love of books. In 1458 Henry Windsor confided to John Paston his fears that Worcestre might have put himself in debt to 'a Lumbard called Karoll Giles', from whom he had bought various books, but so confirmed was Worcestre's collector's mania that he declined to discuss the matter with Windsor. In order to extend the range of literature accessible to him he had 'goon to scole' to this same Giles, 'to lern and to be red in poetre or els in Frensh', and had at other times taken lessons in Hebrew and Greek. (2) Included among the volumes he owned were Poggio's translation of the Historical Library of Diodorus Siculus, and works by Sophocles, Euripides, Hesiod, Pindar and Theocritus. (3) Worcestre's letters often bear witness to his familiarity with classical authors: one written in 1460 begins with the words, 'A very frende at nede experience will schewe be deede, as wele as be autorite of Aristotle in the Etiques that he made of moralite. Also by the famous Reamayn Tullius in his/

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester,' 197.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 370; Kendrick, British Antiquity, 30.

(3) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 220.

his litell booke De Amicicia.' (1) Worcestre's literary interests were shared by some of his friends. In 1480 he noted, 'I also rode to Shirehampton to speak with Thomas Yong esquire to get back two of my books: one a large book of Ethics and another in a red leather cover called Le Myrrour de Dames, and I had breakfast with him.' (2) In the same year a memorandum to recover his book of grammar lent to Master Soole of Norwich was cancelled, and in the margin was written 'Liber gramaticus recuperat.' (3)

Worcestre was not only an insatiable reader but, as far as his duties to Fastolf allowed, a prolific writer, although there is doubt about the authorship of some works which have been attributed to him. (4) Accepting the argument that the writer of the Boke of Noblesse had some close connection with Fastolf, (5) Worcestre is an obvious alternative to Scrope as the possible author. McFarlane gives several reasons to support his belief that Worcestre was in fact responsible for the Boke, which he thinks was intended to be part/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 401.

(2) Worcestre, Itineraries, 263.

(3) Ibid., 313.

(4) Lists of works attributed to Worcestre can be found in Bale, Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie, 599-600, and Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed. R.L. Poole, (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford, 1902), 116-7, 488; Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 115; D.N.B., sub Worcester.

(5) See above, p.152.

part of a larger whole, along with the documents relating to the wars in France collected by Worcestre. These, McFarlane thinks, were to form a supplement to the Boke, by illustrating the administration of the French provinces under Bedford. The Boke of Noblesse, like Sir John Fortescue's Governance of England, was written to influence royal policy towards continuance of the war, and McFarlane considers it worthy of as much attention by historians. (1) The Boke is not wholly, nor even mainly, an original work, much of it, Nichols thinks, having been borrowed from the French and from existing works. (2) Worcestre is known to have revised Stephen Scrope's translation of the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers in 1473, (3) and is credited by Tanner and others for the translation of Cicero's De Senectute. (4) Scrope, Gairdner, Kingsford, Kendrick and McFarlane all accept at its face value the statement by Worcestre that he had himself translated the book which he gave to William Waynflete, and despite Bühler's reservations about the time-lag between the commissioning of the book by Fastolf and its completion, this conclusion seems to be justified. (5)

One/

- (1) McFarlane, 'William Worcestre', 210-4.
- (2) Boke of Noblesse, p.liv.
- (3) Bühler, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, pp. xl-xli.
- (4) Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 115.
- (5) Scrope, Castle Combe, 194; Gairdner, P.L., i, p.153; C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1913), 163; McFarlane, 'William Worcestre', 215; Kendrick, British Antiquity, 30. Kendrick mistakenly calls the recipient of Worcestre's book William Wykeham.

One subject which held great interest for Worcestre was history, and although he accepted the traditional account of British history, beginning with the arrival of Brutus, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, he was sufficiently scientific in his methods to attempt to date manuscripts by their handwriting. (1) McFarlane has challenged the traditional view that Worcestre wrote the 'Annales', a mediocre work which has been responsible for Worcestre being underrated as a historian. (2) He must have made some contribution to another chronicle of the French wars, the title of which states that it was compiled by Peter Basset, Christopher Hanson and Luket Nantron, 'by the diligence of William Worcestre,' but it is not known how great this was. (3) It would seem, however, that Worcestre was the sole author of the 'Acta domini Ioannis Fastolf' which, most unfortunately, does not survive. (4) It is possible that Worcestre was gathering material for this book from John Bussard, formerly one of Fastolf's servants, who in 1460 had written for Worcestre 'a cronekyl of Jerewsalem, and the jornes that my mayster dede whyl he was in Fraunce.' (5) On the other hand/

(1) Kendrick, British Antiquity, 30; McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 220.

(2) Ibid., 206. The 'Annales' are printed in Wars of the English in France, ii, pt.ii, [743ff].

(3) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 208.

(4) Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, 117.

(5) P.L. (G.) iii, no. 433.

hand Bussard may very well have been acting as a scribe for Worcestre.

Worcestre's principal claim to fame is as one of England's first two important antiquaries - his contemporary, John Rous, being the other. (1) Bale lists among Worcestre's works the 'Anglorum antiquitates' in three volumes but neither it nor 'De Agri Norfolciensis familiis antiquis', mentioned by Tanner, survive to the present day, although fragments of the latter have been preserved. (2) They indicate that the book was in an unfinished state, and was an early example of a county history, the loss of which McFarlane especially regrets because it dated from a time before any widespread forging of family pedigrees had been attempted, and before the reformers had destroyed large numbers of tombstones with their valuable evidence. McFarlane suggests the possibility that this book and Worcestre's most famous work, the 'Itineraries', formed two parts of the 'Antiquitates', in which case less of Worcestre's output has been lost than has generally been supposed. (3)

The journeys described in the 'Itineraries' were undertaken by Worcestre in the years 1477-80, and extended right across southern England, from Yarmouth and Walsingham in the east to St. Michael's Mount/

(1) Kendrick, British Antiquity, 19.

(2) Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, 116; Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 115. Tanner and McFarlane call the former work 'Antiquitates Angliae'.

(3) McFarlane, 'William Worcester,' 216-8.

Mount in the west. His years of service for Fastolf meant that Worcestre was well used to riding about the countryside, although it was not until late in his life that he was able to find time to do much of it for his own interest and pleasure. Doubtless his long experience of investigating the backgrounds and claims of those with whom Fastolf so often found himself in dispute was also of great value to him when carrying out his own researches. In the main the Itineraries deals with the topography of Britain and contains a good deal of historical material. He includes lists of rivers, bridges, islands and towns, often with the distances between them. One place Worcestre visited was Wookey Hole, near Wells, which he described as 'a certain narrow entry where to begin with is the image of a man called the Porter. One must ask leave from the Porter, to enter the hall of Wookey, and the people carry with them anglice sheaves of reed sedge to light the hall. It is as big as Westminster Hall and stalactites hang from the vault which is wondrously arched over with stone.' After giving an account of the various 'rooms,' Worcestre tells of a 'great race' which flows through Wookey Hole to the Mere near Glastonbury, on which there are mills, and in which there was an inexhaustible supply of fish until Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Wells, attempted to reserve the fishing/

fishing rights to himself, at which time the fish departed, not to return until the bishop relented and allowed the people to fish the river. (1)

The places described by Worcestre are not necessarily situated in the area through which he travelled, for his information came not only from personal observation but was also gathered from the libraries he visited and from the numerous individuals whom he questioned as he travelled about. From the writings of the hermit of Elsing in Denmark he learned about Scandinavia and Russia, that Novgorod, a city of merchants, abounded in gold and silver 'so that they even have the belfry of the church of Novgorod covered with gold-leaf.' (2) Of particular interest is his reference to the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores, 'the islands in the southern part of the world,' the details of which he had copied from 'a new chart.' (3)

In the same way the historical information he gives is sometimes related to the place in which he happened to be at the time, as when he details important events which took place in Yarmouth in the fourteenth century. (4) At other times it has no relevance/

(1) Worcestre, Itineraries, 291, 293.

(2) Ibid., 193.

(3) Ibid., 375.

(4) Ibid., 183.

relevance to his surroundings, except that it may be taken from a chronicle in a library he was visiting.

Worcestre was interested in the various peoples of the world, noting in 'Gerald's Topography of Ireland' that 'the Irish nation, as also the Welsh, is hasty to anger above other nations, and is found to be given to vengeance in life, so too in death the saints of those countries seem to be of a more vindictive spirit than elsewhere.' (1)

He was interested, too, in wild-life, and records that the island of Tresco 'continent in latitudine .3. miliaria et in latitudine .3. miliaria inculta cum cuniculis et avibus vocatis pophyns.' (2)

Most of Worcestre's interests are represented in the book. There are a recipe for cough-mixture and a remedy for 'the stone', mathematical calculations, notes on the astrolabe, two horoscopes, with diagrams, and a wealth of miscellaneous data. (3)

One very unusual feature is the detailed architectural descriptions, complete with measurements (often expressed in his 'steps'), such as had been given by no antiquary before Worcestre. (4)

There is even a sketch of the jamb/

(1) Ibid., 121.

(2) Ibid., 24.

(3) Ibid., 239, 241, 300-1, 369.

(4) Kendrick, British Antiquity, 31. In Worcestre, Itineraries, p.xv, Harvey points out that a 'step' measured only between 1 foot 8 inches and 1 foot 11 inches, and must have been equivalent to the length of Worcestre's two feet placed heel to toe.

jamb mould of a porch door in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, to accompany a detailed description of the stone carving decorating it: recognisable drawings of actual buildings were extremely rare before 1500. (1) It was of Bristol, his native city, that he made the fullest survey, which has been called by Kendrick 'the most painstaking and detailed piece of topographical fieldwork undertaken before the great topographers and cartographers of the next century began systematic work.' (2)

In parts the Itineraries is in the form of a diary, giving Worcestre's daily progress, his items of expenditure, telling where he spent each night. His board and lodgings at St. Benet's Abbey, Hulme in 1477 had obviously left much to be desired, as his remarks bear witness.

'A royal porch  
 a capital device  
 Filthy linen  
 Cabbage without salt  
 New ale  
 Stony bedding  
 A/

(1) Ibid., 315-6. On p.xiii Harvey says that the drawing was probably made by Benedict Crosse.

(2) Kendrick, British Antiquity, 32. The survey of Bristol was edited by J. Dallaway and published as Antiquities of Bristowe, (Bristol, 1834).

A filthy stable  
 Sword-like hay  
 Stingy hospitality  
 A chilly fire in the chimney  
 The servants' wages amount to nothing  
 Therefore the guests will leave without farewell.  
 Fastolf their benefactor in gifts generous  
 Very soon forgotten by the monks.' (1)

Other pages consist of a jumble of miscellaneous facts and observations, similar to the jottings in his notebooks, but with sources carefully given.

Condemning his Latin as 'barbarous', Dallaway called William Worcestre 'one of the minor stars in the dark hemisphere of learning' in the fifteenth century', conceding that 'as an indefatigable transcriber, and topographical investigator, his active perseverance deserves exclusive praise.' (2) Weiss found it remarkable that, despite his contact with the works of humanists, Worcestre 'remained unaffected by modern values.' To Weiss he was 'only a dilettante without qualifications for scholarship whose accomplishments lay rather in the direction of antiquarianism.' (3)

Worcestre's/

- (1) Worcestre, Itineraries, 3.
- (2) J. Dallaway, 'Bristol in the Fifteenth Century', The Retrospective Review, 1828, 450-1.
- (3) R. Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, (Oxford, 1957), 178.

Worcestre's Latin is not good: his style, although it has freshness and immediacy, lacks elegance and coherence. It seems obvious that Worcestre was much more concerned with what he said than how he said it. In certain respects he was, in fact, a very modern figure, a pioneer in the methods of field-study, and meticulous in his citation of the sources of any information obtained from others. McFarlane has no doubt that historians owe a great debt to Worcestre, not only because he asked, and answered, 'questions few scholars were to ask until the evidence for answering them had been destroyed', but also because of the documents which he collected and saved for posterity. (1)

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 221.

iii THOMAS HOWES and JOHN PASTON

Like many of the gentry in the later middle ages, Fastolf employed a domestic chaplain, Thomas Howes. Howes held the free chapel of St. John the Baptist at Caister and, Poulett Scrope suggests, acted as confessor to his master in his old age. (1) However the many duties of a secular nature which he performed for Fastolf must have allowed him little time to devote to his role as a priest, yet the fact that he was in holy orders enabled Fastolf to reward those services with the benefices which William Worcestre was not in a position to accept. In 1445 Howes was presented to the living of Castle Combe, but it is doubtful if he ever lived there, and he resigned the benefice ten years later. (2) By about 1460 he was rector of Blofield, Norfolk, (3) and had also received the benefice of Mautby at some time. (4) On 24 September 1465 he was instituted to the church of Pulham, (5) and during his tenure as rector, which lasted until 1468, the year of his death, (6) he used money left by Fastolf in his will for charitable purposes to make repairs to the church and to erect an effigy of Fastolf in one of/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 199; P.L. (D.), i, no. 239 (G., v, no.703).

(2) Scrope, Castle Combe, 198-9.

(3) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, vii, 211.

(4) H.M.C., 5th. Rep., 485.

(5) Worcestre, Itineraries, 253.

(6) P.L. (D.), i, no. 205 (G., v, no. 733).

of the windows, with his coat of arms and an inscription which read 'Orate pro animabus Domini Johannis Fastolf Militis, qui multa bona fecit in tempore vite, et Milecencie Uxoris eius et Domini Thome Howes istius Ecclesie Rectoris, et omnium fidelium defunctorum.' A similar inscription was to be found in the church at Blofield, which also benefited from Fastolf's estate. (1)

Howes spent most of his time on the same kind of business as occupied Worcestre, attending to the collection of rent arrears and other debts due to Fastolf, amassing evidence and procuring witnesses, often by bribery, for his master's many lawsuits, and generally assisting in the running of his estates. Like Worcestre he was a faithful and industrious servant, as Fastolf sometimes acknowledged: writing to Howes in December 1450, he referred to the 'greete labour and diligence' shown by Howes in furthering his cause before a commission of oyer and terminer, 'for whych y can you ryght gode thank and trustyng uppon your gode continuance.' (2)

At other times Howes did not escape Fastolf's scathing tongue. In July 1454 Fastolf wrote to him, 'Ryght trusty frende, I grete you well, and wolle ye wete that I thynk it to greete merveylle of your troth and wysdom that ye shuld haf, that ye hafe noysed me, and seyde to John Andreus at Yeppyswych, in presence of dyvers men, that/

(1) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, v, 391; Scrope, Castle Combe, 189.

(2) P.L. (G.), ii, no. 162, p.196.

that ye have suffisaunt waraunts undre my lettre and sele to safe you harmlese, in case ye be condempned yn the somme this Andreus sewyth you for. And know for certeyn, there passed no such warauntis undre my sele; nothyr I comaunded you not for to labour ne do thyng that shuld be ayenst the law, nether unlawfully ayenst ryght and trowth. And therfor y ought not ne wolle not pay for yow.' (1)

Howes apparently was involved in this dispute with Andrews and John Heydon because of actions he had taken on Fastolf's behalf at the session of oyer and terminer, whose verdict Fastolf planned to have reversed by bringing a writ of attainat. However, despite the rebuke he administered to Howes, Fastolf was not negligent in mobilising support for his chaplain. In March 1455 he sent him to John Paston to receive advice on how he should proceed in the case, (2) and in the following month begged the duke of Norfolk's favour for him, in the interests of having impartial justice in the county. (3) Andrews and Heydon were still pursuing their suit against Howes in 1457, when Fastolf wrote to William Yelverton, requesting a continuance of his support for Howes, and to Stephen Scrope, asking him to intercede with his father-in-law, Sir Richard/

(1) Ibid., ii, no. 251.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 276.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 278.

Richard Bingham, one of the judges before whom Howes was due to appear. (1) Worcestre, also, spoke up stoutly in defence of his colleague who, he maintained, was 'innocent yn such a cause.' (2)

On another occasion, around 1456-7, Howes expressed to John Paston great indignation at the treatment he had received from Fastolf who, 'of his owen frowardness, and of non other mannys mevyng', had told 'Cristefor' [Hanson?] to pay him no money until the £80 due for the patent granting the wardship of Thomas Fastolf of Cowhaugh to Worcestre and John Bocking had been paid. The postscript to his letter reveals the bitterness he felt; 'I shal nowt leve this mater to serve the most enemy that he hat in Ingland. I wele non of his good. I have lever other men go to the Dille for his good than I do.' (3)

Such incidents disturbed what, on the whole, seems to have been an amicable relationship between Fastolf and Howes; according to the abbot of Langley, 'John Paston, Squyere, and Thomas Howys ..... were the persones above all other that the seyde Sere John Fastolf put in hys most sengulere love and trust, and wold they shuld have the keypyng and dysposicion of hys goods.' (4) Indeed both Thomas/

(1) Ibid., iii, nos. 359, 360; see above, p. 146.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 372.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 347; see above, p. 88.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 407.

Thomas Howes and John Paston were to play a major part in the administration of Fastolf's will, and in the protracted litigation and controversy which it involved.

There was a family connection between Fastolf and the Pastons, since John Paston's wife, Margaret Mautby, was related in some way to Fastolf. Referring to the proposal that Thomas Fastolf of Cowhaugh should marry the Pastons' daughter, Fastolf expressed pleasure at the prospect that 'your blode and myne myght increse yn alliaunces', <sup>(1)</sup> and Thomas Howes described the girl as being 'desendyd of hym [Fastolf] be the modyr syde.' <sup>(2)</sup> It was not, however, primarily because of this relationship that Paston came to play such a large part in Fastolf's life, but, above all, because he was a capable lawyer, equipped with the legal expertise which Fastolf lacked, but which was so necessary to him as a landowner.

Paston advised Fastolf and acted for him regularly in his numerous lawsuits, including that concerning the wardship and marriage of Thomas Fastolf, in connection with which Fastolf asked him to hasten to London, because 'there is great labour against our intent' and he 'trusts no man's wit so much as Paston's.' <sup>(3)</sup> He advised Fastolf in his dispute with the prior of Hickling and the recovery/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 266; see above, p. 88.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 267.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 289.

recovery of the goods of the duke of Bedford, and was involved, with Fastolf and others, in the struggle against Tuddenham, Heydon and their associates. (1) The extent to which Fastolf trusted lawyers can be seen in a letter which he wrote to John Paston and Thomas Howes, admittedly near the end of his life, on 13 April 1459. Letters to 'certain lords' were to be composed, and he sent his signet to Paston, Howes and William Jenney, later a serjeant-at-law and justice of the King's Bench, giving full authority to any two of them to make out the letters in his name, since they knew best what should be written. (2)

Unlike Stephen Scrope, William Worcestre and Thomas Howes, John Paston does not seem to have incurred Fastolf's displeasure at any point, but was singled out for his especial gratitude and appreciation. William Paston, when he wrote to his brother, John, in July 1454, announcing the imminent arrival of Fastolf at Caister, reported that Fastolf had called John 'the hartyst kynysman and frynd that he knowyt,' and that he wished him to stay nearby, at Mautby. (3) Fastolf himself told Paston that he 'was never so much bound to any kinsman as to Paston, who tenders so much his worship and profit.' (4) Thomas Howes and William Worcestre acknowledged/

(1) See above, pp. 36-7, 78-80, 91-4.

(2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 376.

(3) P.L. (D.), i, no. 83 (G., ii, no. 254).

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 307.

acknowledged the special regard in which Fastolf held John Paston. Howes wrote to Paston in 1455, asking him to come to Caister on the same day as Yelverton and Jenney, both lawyers, for, he said, 'the conveyance of al materez shall be comounyd of; and I know verely your avyse shall peyse depper in my maisterys conceyt thanne bothyn thers shall do.' (1) Worcestre was at pains to point out to Paston that it was not at his instigation that Fastolf continually 'noyeth yow with so manye materes, for, be God, hym sylf remembryth the moste part of hem;.....yn trowth he boldyth hym to wryte to yow for the grete love and singler affeccion he hath yn yow before all othyr yn hys causes spedyng..' (2) On another occasion, in exasperation, he bade John Paston attend Fastolf as soon as possible, for he 'questioneth and desputyth with hys servauntes here, and wolle not be aunsuerd ne satisfied som tyme but after hys wyfulnesse, for hyt suffysyth not our simple wyttes to appease hys soule; but when he spekyth wyth Maister Zelverton, yow, or wyth William Geney and suche othyr as be auctorised yn the law, and wyth haboundance of godes, he ys content and haldeth hym pleased wyth your aunsuers and mocions, as reson ys that he be. So wold Jesus, one of yow iij., or som suche othyr yn your stede, myzt hang at hys gyrdyll dayly to aunsuer/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 273.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 320.

aunsuer hys materes.' (1) At times Worcestre did not attempt to conceal his chagri<sup>n</sup> at his master's preference for the counsels of others. Writing 'blontly' to Paston early in 1456 he said, 'I had foryete to hafe told yow Maister Fylongley meoved me to enforme my maister to hafe a generalle pease, so it myzt be worshypfull. Y hafe seyde no word, for I can not medle yn hygh maters that passyth my wyt; and therfor yff ye and W. Geney mete to gheders, ye know and can devyne best what ys to be doon.' (2) After Fastolf's death, Paston became estranged, first from Worcestre, and later from Howes also. Worcestre considered that Paston owed the favour shown him by Fastolf largely to himself, and noted bitterly in his Itineraries, 'J. Paston: A monstrous and wretched infamy that the new comer should force the old inhabitants to plough.' (3)

A consideration of the relationship of Fastolf to the members of the circle closest to him throws a certain light on his character. He is revealed as an exacting master who, it seems certain, often did not give adequate rewards to those who served him. He could be irritable and over-sensitive, as when he demanded of John Paston the names of those who had 'utteryd skornefull language' of him at a dinner in Norwich, promising that he would 'so purvey for hem as they shall not all be well pleasyd.' (4) Yet it must be remembered/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 316.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 314.

(3) Worcestre, Itineraries, 325.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 272.

remembered that by the time he appears in the Paston Letters he was seventy years old, and the inevitable decline in health and physical strength and the deterioration of his faculties would tend to aggravate his irascibility.

It is in his relationship with his stepson, Stephen Scrope, that Fastolf is seen in the most unattractive light. Scrope is the only one of the group whose feelings for Fastolf appear fundamentally bitter and hostile, and he certainly had the greatest cause to feel himself wronged by Fastolf. The reason for the transfer of Milicent Scrope's property to her second husband, and the means he used to achieve it, are nowhere stated, and it can only be assumed that it was a piece of rather sharp practice on Fastolf's part. Nevertheless it may be that Stephen Scrope himself bore part of the responsibility for the hostility between them: his abrupt departure from Honfleur suggests that he was of a touchy disposition, and it might have been that Fastolf was genuinely disappointed that he did not wish to continue in his service. (1)

On occasions during their many years in his household, Worcestre and Howes had cause to complain of Fastolf's harshness and lack of generosity; yet, presumably, to earn their loyalty and devoted service, he must have had also more positive, likeable attributes, one of which was the appreciation he often expressed of/

(1) Scrope, Castle Combe, 271.

of the efforts they made on his behalf. It was John Paston, who entered Fastolf's life later than the others, who more than any other won the old man's affection and esteem and whose fortunes were transformed by his connection with him. Fastolf's admiration for and need of lawyers, and Paston's own ability and efficiency probably do not completely explain the attraction which Paston had for him; perhaps Fastolf recognised in Paston a temperament not dissimilar to his own, energetic, determined, persistent, and not given to frivolity, light-heartedness nor undue sentiment.

PART V

THE LAST DAYS

i FASTOLF'S DEATH

Fastolf must have been of a remarkably robust constitution even to survive to the age of eighty years or so, let alone to continue, as he did, to take an active interest in the running of his estates. (1) However, for some years before his death he suffered some degree of incapacity. The Black Book of the Order of the Garter records that in 1454 he was given permission to absent himself from the annual feast of the Order because he was so old and infirm that travelling would have endangered his health; he never attended the feast again. (2) When he wrote to the duke of Norfolk, probably in March 1455, requesting his support in his dispute with Sir Philip Wentworth over the wardship of Thomas Fastolf, Fastolf excused himself from attending the duke in person, beseeching him to 'tender me in myn age and sekenesse that may not ryde ne help myself.' (3) By June 1456 he was asking John Paston to act without his instructions for, he said, 'Iam so visited by the hand of God that I may not deal with such troublous matters, without it should be to great hurt of my bodily welfare.' (4) Yet in 1455 and early in 1456 he had been considering making journeys to London, and apparently was in the capital in November 1458. (5) On 24 June 1459 William Barker reported to John Paston that Fastolf 'is as/

(1) See above, pp.96-7.

(2) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 141.

(3) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 277.

(4) Ibid., iii, no. 335.

(5) Ibid., iii, nos. 297, 319, 351.

as freshe as ever he was this ij yere,' (1) but within weeks Friar Brackley was writing to John Paston, urging him to hurry to Caister with William Yelverton, for Fastolf 'drawyt fast home ward, and is ryte lowe browt, and sore weykid and feblyd.' In his last days Fastolf looked to the man on whom he had come increasingly to rely, and daily asked that 'God send me sone my good cosyng Paston, for I holde hym a feythful man, and ever on man.' (2)

The illness which had attacked Fastolf was described as 'an hec tick Fever and Asthma' which continued for several months. (3) Fastolf's confession of faith was recorded by William Worcestre: 'Mayster, here ye what I say you. I wax full fibylle in myne wyttes and in my body, waste be sekene, and I doute me lest that I shuld raffe in my spirites and in myne speche. Wherefore I require you afor God, as ye wyll awnswere at the dredefull day of dome, that ye recorde how I am in the feyth of the chyrche stedefast as any Crystyn mane may bee, and if through fibylnes any word scape me that where agenst the feyth that ye awnswere for me at the dredefull day of dome that evermyne intente is to deye a Crystyn mane.' (4) Fourteen days after making the/  
the/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 379.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 383.

(3) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 140.

(4) H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 268b.

the confession, on 6 November 1459, Fastolf died. (1) He was buried, as he requested in his will, in the chapel which he himself had built in the Abbey Church of St. Benet, Hulme, by the side of his wife, Millicent. (2)

- (1) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 140-1; Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 207. The date of Fastolf's death is given as 5 November 1459 in D.N.B., sub Fastolf, P.L. (G.), vi, p.217, P.L. (D.), i, p.xliv.
- (2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 387, p.163; Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 207. There is no account of Fastolf's funeral, but in P.L. (G.), iv, no. 638, pp. 233, 235, William Worcestre mentions sums of over £140, £152 and £40 spent on black cloth for liveries for the funeral, and £333 15s. on wine and victuals, and on silk for banners.

11 THE WILL

Fastolf made a will in June 1459 but, it was claimed by John Paston and his supporters, parts of this were superseded by a nuncupative will dictated by Fastolf two days before he died. This nuncupative will made alterations in the terms of the establishment of a college at Caister Castle, and in the disposal of the bulk of Fastolf's lands. (1)

Fastolf had no direct heirs, and many of his relatives had died before him, including his wife, sisters and illegitimate son. In his will few beneficiaries are mentioned by name; consideration and preferment were to be given to his 'cosyn' Robert Fitzraf, in recognition of his loyal service, and provision was to be made for his nephew, Harry Braunche, on condition that he had prayers said for his parents, Fastolf's sister and brother-in-law. (2) Alms were to be distributed among the needy members of Fastolf's family and among his poor tenants, and his household servants were to continue in employment for six months after his death at their usual wages. (3)

Fastolf/

- (1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, is, as McFarlane has pointed out ('Fastolf's Profits of War,' 99) a copy of the earlier will, accompanied by alterations to be incorporated in the nuncupative will; it is wrongly identified by Gairdner as a draft of the nuncupative will. P.L. (D.), i, no. 54 (G., iii, no. 386) is a copy of the will of 3 November, together with John Paston's account of Fastolf's actions regarding the disposal of his property after his death. P.L. (G.), iii, no. 387 is a modern copy of a Latin version of the nuncupative will.
- (2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, pp. 153, 155.
- (3) Ibid., iii, no. 385, pp. 152-3, 156.

Fastolf gave the customary directions to his executors to pay all his outstanding debts and to compensate any whom he might have wronged. (1) Numerous claims were in fact presented to the executors, in addition to those made by Stephen Scrope. (2) John Bocking, son of Nicholas Bocking, formerly Fastolf's receiver-general, produced a list of expenses for which his father, no longer alive by that time, had never been reimbursed. (3) About a year after Fastolf died Sir Geoffrey Boleyn wrote to John Paston, requesting that he honour the promise made to him by Fastolf that he might have first option on the manor of Guton, for a reasonable price. (4) Other claimants included the duchess of Bedford, who asked for payment of the sum of £180, representing the balance due of the price of the manor of Westhurrock, which Fastolf had purchased from her late husband, the duke, many years before: (5) this matter was settled to the satisfaction of the duchess by November 1469. (6)

Fastolf/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p.152.

(2) See above, pp147-8.

(3) H.M.C., 8th. Rep., pt. i, append., 268b.

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 428.

(5) Ibid., iv, no. 609.

(6) Ibid., v, no. 739. W.D. Macray, Notes from the Muniments of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, (Oxford and London, 1882), gives a list of payments made by Waynfilete in settlement of Fastolf's affairs; they include £87 to the duchess of Bedford, 500 marks to the duke of Norfolk, 100 marks to the late Lord Beauchamp, £50 to William Paston, 50 marks to John Paston III, more than £60 to Nicholas Molyneux's son and £50 to Richard Fastolf.

Fastolf himself showed no signs of relenting in the pursuit of his dues. As well as instructing his executors to defend his rights in Hickling, <sup>(1)</sup> he demanded redress for the losses suffered in the manor of Bradwell and by the illegal entry of the duke of Suffolk into Dedham. <sup>(2)</sup> He ordered that the executors of John Wells, who had never given satisfactory account of all the money belonging to Fastolf which had passed through his hands, should now make good this omission. <sup>(3)</sup>

In addition to being asked to settle his outstanding debts, Fastolf's executors also received appeals for assistance on behalf of various churchmen. Writing in 1470 to an unnamed person, probably William Waynflete, William Worcestre requested alms for Friar Geoffrey Westvale, shortly to become a doctor of theology of Cambridge University, because twenty years earlier, when at a Yarmouth convent, he had 'belonged' to Fastolf, who had instructed Thomas Howes to help him in this way. <sup>(4)</sup> Two years later Margaret Paston was endeavouring to secure for Master Clement Felmyngham an annuity of eight marks promised to him by Fastolf. <sup>(5)</sup>

In his will Fastolf made a number of bequests to the Church.

To/

- (1) See above, p. 80.
- (2) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, p.154.
- (3) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p.155.
- (4) Ibid., v, no. 744.
- (5) Ibid., v, no. 805.

To the friars of all orders in Yarmouth and Norwich he left a 'sufficient' sum, the actual amount to be determined by his executors, on condition that they offered prayers for his soul and that they owned no property, but depended on charity. The parish churches in any places where he had estates were to receive one twentieth of one year's revenue from those estates for the repair of their fabric and for ornaments or other furnishings, including his coat of arms embroidered in the way most becoming to each church. (1) To provide for a mass to commemorate the anniversary of his father's death, lands to the annual value of 20s. were left to the parish church of Yarmouth where he was buried. Fastolf asked that on his father's tomb be laid 'a convenyent stoon of marbill and a flat figure, aftyr the facion of an armyd man, be made and gravyn in the seyd stoon in laton', with his coat of arms and a passage from the scriptures. Sufficient money was to be given to the Abbey Church of Langley to keep the obits of himself and his wife, Millicent, who had been related to the founders of the Abbey. Prayers were to be said for Fastolf's soul in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and for Mary his mother, in Attleborough Church, the clergy of both churches to be suitably rewarded by his executors. On Mary's tomb in Attleborough Church/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p.152, no. 387, p.164.

Church was to be placed a marble stone with the figure of a gentlewoman in her mantle, a biblical text and the coats of arms of her own family and of her three husbands. (1) An opportunity to buy the Buck's Head in Southwark for £20 less than its market value was to be offered to the neighbouring parish church of St. Olave, by London Bridge, in which church, at the discretion of the executors, a perpetual chantry was to be established to offer prayers for Fastolf's soul. (2) Fastolf also requested that prayers be said for the souls of several other persons, including Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Sir Henry Inglose, Matthew Gough, John Kirtling, and members of his own family. (3) To the church of the Abbey of St. Benet, Hulme Fastolf bequeathed relics and vestments for his chapel there. (4) During his lifetime he had been responsible for the complete rebuilding of the south aisle of the church at a cost of £616; (5) in return for his benefactions, the abbot had arranged for two priests to pray daily for his soul and those of his wife and parents, and had promised to observe his obit after his death. (6)

There/

(1) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 385, pp. 152-5.

(2) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 385, pp. 154-5.

(3) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 385, pp. 156-7.

(4) *Ibid.*, iii, no. 385, p.153.

(5) Worcester, *Itineraries*, 225; McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105; see above, p.79.

(6) *H.M.C., 4th. Rep., 461a.*

There were various charitable bequests of the usual nature. One hundred marks were left for the repair of the harbour and walls of Great Yarmouth and for the general benefit of the town and surrounding countryside, and provision was made for the upkeep of roads and bridges in the area. (1)

The main provision, however, of Fastolf's will was for the project which had occupied his thoughts for some years before his death, the establishment at Caister of a college where prayers would be said for the souls of himself, his wife, parents and other kinsfolk and friends, of the kings Henry IV and Henry V and the 'noble Dukys', for the prosperity of Henry VI, and for all Christian souls. (2) As early as 1456 Fastolf had been negotiating for a licence to found such a college, but he and his advisers considered that the fine demanded to allow him to amortise lands for its maintenance was excessive, especially in view of his long, and, to his mind, inadequately rewarded service to the king and to Henry V before him. However, as he told John Paston, he was 'soore sette therupon', and made efforts to enlist the sympathy of the archbishop/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 387, p.164.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p.149; P.L. (D.), i, no. 54, p.88  
(G., no. 386, p.160).

archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, and the chancellor, William Waynflete. (1) Two years later negotiations were still continuing, but Fastolf had not succeeded in getting from the king terms which he thought were suitable. (2) In the autumn of 1459 the knowledge that he was likely to die would increase for Fastolf the urgency of reaching a settlement of the matter, and in his letter telling John Paston to hurry to Caister because of the deterioration in Fastolf's condition, Friar Brackley asked Paston to bring a draft of the petition to the king concerning the arrangements for the college. (3)

In his will of 13 June 1459 Fastolf stipulated that the college at Caister should consist of a prior and six Benedictine monks, and that they should have granted to them in perpetuity the castle and sufficient of his estates to produce 300 marks a year, over and above necessary expenses such as the cost of repairs, to provide for their own upkeep and that of seven poor men. Should the executors of the will fail to obtain a licence for the college, they were to use the money to endow six additional monks and seven poor men in the Abbey of St. Benet. All property not amortised to the/

(1) P.L. (G.), iii, nos. 340, 351.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 370.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 383.

the college was to be sold, and the proceeds used to carry out the terms of the will and in other works of charity. (1)

The will nominally dated 3 November 1459 made certain modifications to the clauses relating to the college. It was no longer specified that the religious members were to be Benedictine monks, but simply that they were to be monks or priests. One of their number was to be the master of the college, with £10 a year, the other six clerics to have 10 marks each, and the seven poor men 40s. each. A comfortable lodging was to be provided for all of them within Caister Castle, the repairs to which were not to be charged to them. The responsibility for setting up the college was entrusted to John Paston who, if one year after Fastolf's death, was still being hindered by any means from fulfilling Fastolf's wishes, was to provide for seven priests in Caister Castle (or as many as could be found up to that number, the wages of those lacking to go in alms), until such time as the college was properly established. Should this finally prove impossible by reason of anyone attempting to seize the castle by force, Paston was to take the drastic step of pulling it down, 'every stone and stikke thereof', and was then to make provision for three/

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 385, pp. 147-51.

three priests or monks at St. Benet's, for one each at Yarmouth and Attleborough churches, and for one at St. Olave's, Southwark. (1) It would appear that the interim measure of settling priests at Caister was carried out, for Blomefield mentions an account roll of 1465-6, on which are noted payments made to six priests and six poor men. (2) In 1461 Margaret Paston had written to her husband reporting that the 'prestys of Castyr' were being molested by his enemies and that they 'thynk ryth longe tyl they [have] tydynggys from yow': (3) early in 1465 John Paston expressed displeasure at having heard rumours that his priests and poor men had not been paid, although his legacy from Fastolf was more than sufficient to cover the cost, and he ordered Margaret to set the matter right. (4)

The greatest difference between the wills made in June and November was in the roles assigned to Thomas Howes and, in particular, to John Paston, and in the disposal of Fastolf's estates. At various times Fastolf had appointed bodies of trustees to hold his property to his use during his life. In 1449 he had conveyed all his landed property to the archbishops of Canterbury/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, no. 54, pp. 88-90 (G., iii, no. 386, pp.160-2).

(2) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 216.

(3) P.L. (D.), i, no. 162 (G., iii, no. 472).

(4) Ibid., i, no. 72 (G., iv, no. 575).

Canterbury and York, the bishops of Lincoln, Winchester and Chichester, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, John Fortescue, the chief justice, William Yelverton, Thomas Howes and others, to hold for the fulfilment of his will. (1) A further conveyance of his lands was dated 20 August 1452, (2) and by 1456 John Paston and his brother, William, were included among his feoffees. (3) Not unnaturally John Paston was named also as one of Fastolf's executors, the others being William Waynflete, John, Lord Beauchamp, the abbot of Langley, John Stokes, doctor of laws, Friar Brackley, William Yelverton, Henry Filongley, William Worcestre and Thomas Howes. (4) However, the nuncupative will, unlike the will of 13 June, stipulated that only two executors, Howes and Paston, were to have powers to administer the estate, the other eight to act only when requested to do so by those two. (5)

The most striking change of all made by the nuncupative will was that in it Fastolf bequeathed in fee simple to John Paston, his 'best frende and helper and supporter', all his property in Norfolk, Suffolk and Norwich. All that was asked of Paston in return was that he pay the costs of the college at Caister and give 4,000/

(1) C.C.R. 1447-54, 228-9. Although dated 7 July 27 Henry VI, this document is enrolled under the year 1451.

(2) H.M.C., 8th Rep., pt. i, append., 268a.

(3) P.L. (D.), i, no. 54, p.90 (G., iii, no. 386, p.162).

(4) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 387, p.165.

(5) Ibid., iii, no. 385, p.157; P.L. (D.), i, no. 54, p.91 (G., iii, no. 386, pp.162-3).

4,000 marks to the other executors, for distribution in charitable works. Moreover, Paston claimed that Fastolf, shortly before he died, excused him this payment, on condition that he executed the terms of his will, a claim which Paston repeated in a petition presented to the lord chancellor in 1461-2. (1)

The nuncupative will further stipulated that the residue of Fastolf's property be sold, the proceeds of the sale, together with any revenues from such lands, to be spent on works of charity. (2) Presumably it was with some of this money that Howes undertook the work in the churches of Pulham and Blofield. (3) £20 of it was given to the Abbey of Wendling to erect a new window, and £24 to Bromholm Priory, (4) possibly in response to a plea made by the prior to John Paston in 1461 'to releve our poor place' that it might be 'broder to Langele', to which abbey Howes had disbursed £80. (5) If Paston's account of Fastolf's intentions/

(1) Ibid., i, no. 54, pp. 88, 90, no. 60, p.101 (G., iii, no. 386, pp. 160-2, iv, no. 530, p.55). In P.L. (G.), iv, no. 638, p. 235, William Worcestre states that John Paston took possession of Fastolf's property in Norfolk, Suffolk and Norwich 'sine solucione alicujus summe.'

(2) P.L. (D.), i, no. 54, p.91 (G., iii, no. 386, pp.162-3).

(3) See above, pp.174-5.

(4) Blomefield, History of Norfolk, xi, 207.

(5) P.L. (G.), iii, no. 431.

intentions were the true one, the total amount left by Fastolf to be distributed in various works of charity was not large, in relation to the size of his estate.

It was hardly surprising that the nuncupative will immediately gave rise to controversy, allegations of forgery and distrust of John Paston's influence over the aged and dying Fastolf. Opinion was divided, for and against Paston. In a memorandum dated 26 November 1459, Robert Fitzraf declared that he had been present in Fastolf's bed-chamber, 'lenyng upon the gret bedde', when Paston, Brackley and Clement Felmyngham were discussing Fastolf's will with him a week before he died, and that he had heard them agree that Paston was to have Fastolf's Norfolk and Suffolk lands to found the college at Caister, in return for a payment of 4,000 marks. (1) On 6 January 1460 Geoffrey Sperlyng told John Paston that, a year before he died, Fastolf had informed him of this same plan, and in March 1463 Ralph Lampet testified that, as early as 1457, and in the presence of several people at Caister, Fastolf had announced his intention that John Paston should enter into possession of all his lands in East Anglia after his death. (2) Sir Roger Chamberlain, /

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 392.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 398, iv, no. 541.

Chamberlain, in a sworn statement dated 6 April 1463, told how he had been present when, in September 1459, the duke of Norfolk had failed to persuade Fastolf to sell him the reversion of Caister for the reason that Fastolf had already arranged that the castle and all the rest of his property in Norfolk and Suffolk was to go to Paston. (1) One executor who did not seem to resent the removal of his powers to act was the abbot of Langley, who saw nothing strange in Fastolf's choosing to commit the administration of his will to the two men in whom he had the greatest confidence in his lifetime. (2)

William Yelverton opposed Paston's claims from the start and denounced the nuncupative will as a forgery, saying that he had had a hand in making Fastolf's testament, with the inference that he knew Fastolf's wishes. (3) William Worcestre at first co-operated with the Pastons but, disappointed in his hopes that John Paston would make provision for him from Fastolf's estate, he later turned against them. (4)

In April 1464 Yelverton and Worcestre brought a suit against Paston and Howes in the archbishop of Canterbury's court of/

(1) Ibid., iv, no. 543.

(2) Ibid., iii, no. 407.

(3) Ibid., iii, no. 403.

(4) Ibid., iii, nos. 391, 401.

of audience, contesting their claim to be chief executors. (1)  
Paston was cross-examined by the court in the summer of 1465. (2)  
Asked whether Fastolf had made and sealed his will on 14 June  
1459, he replied that Fastolf had made a note of articles in his  
will, probably on that day, but that it was not sealed, and no  
executor was named; he did not know if the will was drawn up  
from this note. Paston added that Fastolf was in the habit of  
making changes from time to time in an older will which he had  
made long before. In answer to a suggestion that, after  
Fastolf's death, he and Howes had taken the will from the  
treasury at Caister, that it had been translated from English to  
Latin with some omissions and additions, and had been sealed with  
Fastolf's seal, Paston declared that he had been shown the  
document by Howes and Worcestre, that it had since been in the  
keeping of Howes and himself and, as far as he knew, had been  
neither translated nor sealed since Fastolf died: indeed  
Fastolf's seal and signet were placed in a sealed chest on his  
death, in the presence of himself, Howes, Brackley and others, and  
had/

(1) Ibid., iv, no. 565.

(2) Ibid., iv, no. 606.

had not since been used by him. (1) Paston maintained that Fastolf had expressed his intention of leaving him his property in Norfolk, Suffolk and Norwich as early as 1457, and that shortly before he died he had directed that Howes and he, John Paston, were to have sole administration of his estate, and that his will made in June be altered to take account of these changes. Paston made no attempt to conceal the fact that he had taken a prominent part in the discussions with Fastolf of the contents of his will, nor that he himself wrote some of it, but was adamant that no alteration had been made to the will after Fastolf's death which was not in accordance with Fastolf's wishes.

The rest of the evidence which survives from the hearing in the consistory court is from witnesses hostile to Paston. Most of them sought to prove that those who made depositions in favour of Paston and Howes had been bribed to give false evidence, and that several were not telling the truth when they claimed to have been at Caister on 3 November, the day on which it was alleged that Fastolf made/

(1) In his will Fastolf had expressed concern that any of his seals which, during his service in France, had been used by officials under his command, but which had never been returned to him, might be used to forge documents of any kind. Fastolf mentioned in particular a blank letter bearing his seal which had been in the possession of John Winter, who claimed to have lost it. P.L. (G.), iii, no. 385, pp.155-6.

made his final testament: such was the evidence given in 1464 by John Davy, a chaplain resident in the University of Cambridge. Another of the witnesses interrogated in 1464 was John Bocking, who asserted that one of Fastolf's seals had been given after his death to Clement Felmyngham and had never been returned, and that Fastolf had not released Paston from the payment of 4,000 marks. (1) Another group of depositions belongs to the year 1466. In the first of these John Monke, a smith of Norwich, named numerous witnesses bribed by Paston and Howes, among them Ralph Lampet. He denied that Fastolf, two days before he died, declared his intentions in a clear voice to the bystanders, as had been claimed, maintaining that by then Fastolf was so weak that he could scarcely be heard except by putting one's ear close to his mouth, and that on 3 November he did not join in the prayers said by his chaplain, as had been his unflinching custom. (2) Several other witnesses confirmed this account of Fastolf's condition, including Thomas Howes, but he added that Fastolf's mind was clear. (3) One of the witnesses called was Stephen Scrope; he stated that Fastolf had confided to him, on several occasions between 1457 and 1459, his plans for a college at/

(1) Ibid., iv, no. 565.

(2) Ibid., iv, no. 639.

(3) Ibid., iv, no. 565, p.104.

at Caister, such as were laid down in the will of 13 June. The last deponent whose evidence is recorded was Richard Fastolf, a tailor of London and a relative of Sir John, who had come to Caister about 14 September 1459 to ask Fastolf for money to enable him to marry, but Fastolf had told him that he was named as a beneficiary in his will, which he had made a few days previously and which he was unwilling to alter. (1)

The evidence of the witnesses produced by Yelverton and Worcestre was not very damning, and marginal notes show that several of them had been proved corrupt and unreliable. Bribery being as prevalent as it was, it is not unlikely that Paston and Howes did offer inducements to witnesses, but this was not necessarily in order that they should perjure themselves but, conceivably, to encourage them to undertake the inconvenient journey to the court, possibly in face of threats and intimidation from the opposing party.

The issue of the validity of the will is further complicated by the part played in the proceedings by Thomas Howes. For some years after Fastolf died, Howes and Paston worked together to carry out the terms of the will, together with the alterations to it contained in the nuncupative version. By 1464 Clement Paston was expressing/

(1) Ibid., iv, no. 639, pp. 244-5; see above, p.188, n.(6).

expressing doubts about the chaplain's loyalty in a letter written to his brother, John. Clement had gone to the immin London where Howes was staying, in order to ensure that he gave evidence on John's behalf in the lawsuit then beginning in the ecclesiastical courts, but he had been met by a messenger sent by Howes to say that 'he wasse not wyth-in.' When Clement eventually did speak with Howes, he found him 'passyng strawngely disposyd, and sor mevyd wyth consiens that ze xwld have the lond and fownd the colage but wyth an c marc'; he had the impression that Howes behaved in this way because he had suspicions that John Paston was unwilling to part with the money required to carry out the terms of the will. (1)

On 21 July 1467 Howes declared that a fresh lawsuit in the church courts against Yelverton and Worcestre, in the names of John Paston II and himself, had been instituted without his knowledge. John Paston II accused Worcestre of having procured by bribery false evidence against his father and Howes in 1465. Howes now expressed great remorse for 'the untrewre forgyng and contryvyng certayne testamentes and last wyll by naked wordes in my sayd Maister Fastolf name aftyr he was desesyd.' He further said that he, in the name of Worcestre and Yelverton, had been responsible for the appearance in the court of audience in 1465 of the witnesses in question (except for/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, no. 119 (G., iv, no. 564).

for Stephen Scrope and Richard Fastolf), that the only payment they had received was from his own hands, and was merely to cover legitimate expenses, and that his reason for persuading them to come to London was that they might tell the truth. In conclusion Howes made it clear that, since his discovery of 'the seyde John Paston is untrewedemenyng in the contryvynge of my Maister Fastolf testament and last wille', he had changed his allegiance and now supported Yelverton and Worcestre.<sup>(1)</sup> The following year, 1468, Yelverton, Jenney and he, three of Fastolf's trustees, enfeoffed the duke of Norfolk in the manor of Caister.<sup>(2)</sup> Shortly before his death in the same year, Howes made a further declaration 'for the discharge of his conscience', once again affirming that the nuncupative will had been forged by John Paston: in support of his assertion he said that in 1458, at Paston's request, he had asked Fastolf if Paston might buy three of his manors and live in his college, whereupon Fastolf 'mevyd and passyoned gretely in his soule, seyde and swar by Cryst ys sides, "'And I knewe that Paston wolde by any of my londes or my godes he shulde nevyr be my feffe, nother myn executor''.' According to Howes, the most that Fastolf would permit Paston was that he should have a lodging at Caister for his life.<sup>(3)</sup> It is difficult to know what construction to put on the/

(1) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 672.

(2) P.L. (D.), i, no. 200.

(3) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 689.

the confession made by Howes. One anonymous correspondent of Sir John Paston had no great regard for the chaplain's integrity.

Writing in October 1468, he suggested that Howes could be prevailed upon to abandon the case against the Pastons if he were 'put in hope of the moone shone in the water and I wot nat what, that such labour wer made that eythir he shulde be a pope or els in dyspeyr to be depryved de omni beneficio ecclesiastico for symony, lechory, perjury, and double variable pevyshnesse, and for admynstryng without auctoryte.' (1)

At first sight it would seem that Howes was not a credible witness, that either he had acted deceitfully for some years in collusion with John Paston, or else his confession was untrue. Friar Brackley, on the other hand, never wavered in his support for John Paston, and even in his death-bed statement to his confessor declared that the nuncupative will genuinely reflected Fastolf's wishes. (2)

On the evidence available it is not possible to reach any definite conclusion about the validity or otherwise of this will, although the circumstances are certainly highly suspicious. It is possible that the true verdict on John Paston would be neither a straightforward 'guilty' nor 'not guilty', that while technically innocent of forgery, he had put undue pressure on a sick old man, no longer able to express his wishes clearly. Perhaps Thomas Howes became/

(1) Ibid., iv, no. 690.

(2) Ibid., iv, no. 666.

became increasingly uneasy because he did not believe that the will represented Fastolf's real intentions, and finally decided to unburden himself lest he die with a guilty conscience.

William Worcestre, despite his long years of faithful service to Fastolf, was not a beneficiary under the terms either of the will of 13 June or of the later one which, in addition, deprived him of all powers as an executor. Early in 1460 Worcestre declared 'I wolde be to them as lowyng and as wele willyng as I gan, so I fynde cause, and other I wolnot be to my fadre, and he weere a liffe.' John Paston was to give him no cause for gratitude and, bitterly disappointed, Worcestre turned against him. He claimed that Fastolf had granted him 'a liffelode accordyng to my degre', and that his wife and her uncle, Thomas Howes, had been present when the gift was made, but when he asked Paston to honour Fastolf's promise, Paston was displeased. (1) In a letter of 12 November 1459 William Paston told his brother that he hoped he would treat Worcestre's request sympathetically, in view of the confidence Fastolf had placed in his servant, and 'the long zerys that he hathe be wyth hym in, and many schrew jorney fore his sake.' (2) Worcestre spent many years in an arduous and expensive struggle to obtain the reward which he said Fastolf had given to him, and which he undoubtedly de<sup>s</sup>erved./

(1) Ibid., iii, no. 401.

(2) P.L. (D.), i, no. 86 (G., iii, no. 391).

deserved. Yelverton and he even took their case to the papal curia. Their efforts involved them in journeys totalling over 7,000 miles and in costs exceeding 700 marks, and in the end they were defeated by a verdict in favour of John Paston. (1) Because of these great expenses and because he had received such a small part of the inheritance he had been promised, Worcestre wrote to William Waynflete in May 1470 that he had been forced to make economies by retiring from London to live in Cambridge. (2) It was not until Waynflete took over sole administration of Fastolf's will in 1470 that Worcestre's demands were satisfied. On 7 December 1472 he agreed to co-operate with Waynflete and in particular to hand over to him any money or goods and the many military, diplomatic and estate papers which had belonged to Fastolf and were still in his possession. In return Worcestre was given £100 and an allowance on all sums of Fastolf's money recovered by him, and he was to retain £40 of it, the amount which he was to have received on his marriage. (3) Worcestre did own some property, including Fairchilds manor in Norfolk, two tenements and two gardens in Southwark, a house in London (240 steps from the Cross!), and in Bristol a house and certain tenements, probably inherited from his/

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 201-2.

(2) P.L. (G.), v, no. 745.

(3) Ibid., v, no. 822.

his father. (1) Although his own poverty had been relieved, Worcestre continued to concern himself with the recovery of Fastolf's property until at least as late as 1477, and in the course of assisting Waynflete in this way was arrested for debt, imprisoned along with his wife, and had lands in Norfolk and Essex seized. (2) By 1485 he was dead. (3) In his Itineraries, under the heading 'Note for J. Fastolf', is a comment which, for Worcestre at any rate, summed up the whole controversy over Fastolf's will: 'Rarely or never has an Emperor left a son in succession, but has had either enemies or the unknown for heirs.' (4)

By the terms of the will of 3 November John Paston, the central figure in the struggle which followed, was transformed from a gentleman of moderate means to a considerable landowner. There was opposition to him from the start, and it was probably due to his enemies that the inquisitions post mortem into Fastolf's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk were delayed. (5) Paston's many adversaries included, as well as Yelverton, William Jenney, Worcestre and, eventually, Howes, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and Lord Scales. Paston/

(1) Ibid., v, no. 822; Worcestre, Itineraries, 153; Scrope, Castle Combe, 198.

(2) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 202-3.

(3) Worcestre, Itineraries, p. ix.

(4) Ibid., 323.

(5) P.L. (G.), iii, nos. 422, 427. The inquisitions are enrolled in Cal. Inq. P.M., iv as 38 and 39 Henry VI, no. 48.

Paston was continually involved in litigation in the local manor and county courts, at Westminster and in the ecclesiastical courts; he was three times imprisoned in the Fleet for not answering various summonses, several of his properties were forcibly entered by his opponents, and his wife, family and servants had to contend with physical violence at several of their manors, notably at the hands of the duke of Suffolk's men at Helleston and Drayton. If John Paston had in fact obtained Fastolf's property by underhand means, he must often have had cause to regret his actions. He died in May 1466 at the age of forty-five, doubtless worn out by the fight to defend his heritage, which had occupied the last years of his life and which did not end with his death. (1) Years later, when she wrote to her younger son, John, late in 1471, Margaret Paston expressed her weariness with the whole affair, and commented bitterly, of their legacy from Fastolf, 'I had lever ye had never know the lond. Remembre it was the distruccion of your fader.' (2)

In July 1466 Edward IV recognised Sir John Paston's right to all the lands left by Fastolf to his father, and on 26 August 1467 probate of Fastolf's will was granted. (3) Several more years, however, were to be spent by the Pastons in unremitting efforts to keep/

(1) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 648.

(2) P.L. (D.), i, no. 213 (G., v, no. 792).

(3) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 641; H.M.C., 4th Rep., 459.

keep possession of their inheritance; the campaign of violence against them culminated in the successful siege of Caister Castle by the duke of Norfolk in August and September, 1469.

By the end of 1468 both John Paston I and Thomas Howes were dead, and on 13 February 1470 sole administration of Fastolf's estate was granted to William Waynflete. (1) An indenture made between Sir John Paston and Waynflete on 14 July gives his reasons for accepting the charge: (2) he was the only surviving executor able and willing to do so, and the great wastage in Fastolf's goods and estates, 'pité and compassion that of so blessed and charitable entent of the seid John Fastolf no commendable effect shuld ensue,' and the confidence which Fastolf had placed in him made it desirable that he should act decisively to settle Fastolf's affairs. By the terms of the agreement Fastolf's lands were to be divided between Waynflete and Paston. Paston was to receive Caister and various other manors, and a half share in Drayton, Hellesdon, Tolthorp and certain tenements in Norwich; the remaining properties were to go to Waynflete, who would dispose of them to the benefit of Fastolf's soul. Waynflete was to obtain dispensation from the pope to allow him to transfer the endowment of seven priests and seven poor men from/

(1) P.L. (D.), i, no. 248.

(2) Ibid., i, no. 252 (G., v, no. 750).

from the proposed college at Caister to his own foundation of St. Mary Magdalen at Oxford. Sir John Paston was discharged from the obligation to pay the 4,000 marks mentioned in the nuncupative will, and was permitted to keep any money and goods formerly belonging to Fastolf which had come into the hands of the Paston family. Paston and Waynflete both promised to deliver all documents concerning Fastolf's properties to be kept in a chest with two locks in the Priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, one key to be held by each of them.

In 1473 Sir John Paston and Waynflete must have been negotiating a redistribution of the property, for John Paston reported to his brother, John, that he was to have all the lands in Flegg (which would include Caister), Hellesdon, Tolthorp, tenements in Norwich and Erlham, except Fairchilds, but 'farewell Drayton, the devyll doytt them!' (1) In fact some time was to elapse before the Pastons were able to take possession of all of their share of the Fastolf lands. They had to wait for the death of the duke of Norfolk in January 1476 before they could resume residence at Caister Castle. By May of the same year the king and council had again acknowledged Sir John Paston's right to Caister and on 30 June/

(1) Ibid., i, no. 277 (G., v, no. 834).

June he wrote to his brother, John, 'blissed be God, I have Caistre at my will.' (1)

Although John Paston I had acquired a licence to establish a college at Caister in 1464 for a payment of 300 marks, (2) the unsettled situation resulting from the dispute over the will had prevented him from realising Fastolf's intentions. After Paston's death, William Worcestre had suggested, as a suitable location for the college, Cambridge University, considering its proximity to Norfolk and Suffolk, where most of Fastolf's properties lay. (3) The schools of law and philosophy at Cambridge had possibly already benefited from Fastolf's estate, (4) but nothing came of Worcestre's proposal.

In 1474 William Waynflete obtained papal permission to use the money left by Fastolf for his college at Caister to provide for/

(1) Ibid., i, nos. 295, 299, 300 (G., v, nos. 881, 891, 892).

(2) P.L. (G.), iv, no. 571.

(3) Ibid., iv, no. 681.

(4) Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, 142. Anstis, *ibid.*, 142-3, also states that Fastolf had been a benefactor to Magdalen College during his lifetime, but cf. H.M.C., 4th. Rep., p. xix, where this is stated to be untrue. Chandler, William Waynflete, 207, repeats a story that seven senior students, representing the seven poor scholars, received an allowance to buy liveries which eventually yielded only 1d. per week, and earned the unfortunate scholars the name of 'Fastolf's buckram-men.'

for seven priests and seven poor scholars at Magdalen College, (1) and in 1479 the College was granted a considerable number of the estates formerly belonging to Fastolf. (2) Waynflete ordained that Fastolf be remembered in daily prayers and masses in the College, in gratitude for his large, though unintentioned, endowments. (3)

John Paston II having died a bachelor, the family estates were inherited by John Paston III and his descendants. In 1597 his great-grandson, Sir William Paston, moved the principal family seat from Caister Castle to a new mansion he had built at Oxnead. (4) The Pastons continued to prosper, and their fortunes reached a high point when Robert Paston, great-great-grandson of this Sir William, was created first earl of Yarmouth in 1673. (5) Disaster soon followed, however, for Lord Robert's son, William, second earl of Yarmouth, who had married firstly a natural daughter of Charles II, and then a daughter of Lord North, fell heavily into debt and was forced to sell his estates, including Caister Castle which was bought/

(1) D.N.B., sub Waynflete.

(2) C.P.R. 1476-85, 143.

(3) Bloxam, A Register of Magdalen College, ii, pp. xvii, xxix, xxx, xxxi.

(4) D.N.B., sub Paston, Sir William.

(5) Ibid., sub Paston, Robert.

bought by one of his creditors, William Crow, an upholsterer and money-lender. The earldom of Yarmouth died with William Paston, for his sons had predeceased him. Caister Castle was allowed to fall into ruins, a process hastened by the use of its fabric as building material. (1)

(1) Ibid., sub Paston, Robert ; Barnes and Simpson, 'Caister Castle', 37.

CONCLUSION

Loaden with the laurels he had gathered in France, [Fastolf] raised a new plantation of them in his native country.... As his valour made him a terror in war, his humanity made him a blessing in peace: all we can find in his retirement, being elegant, hospitable and generous, either as to the places of his abode, or those persons and foundations on which he showered his bounty.

Biographica Britannica, 706.

To avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the Sun is bright.

T. Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, ii, 131.

Talbot. I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,  
 To tear the Garter from thy craven's leg,  
 Which I have done, because unworthily  
 Thou wast installed in that high degree.  
 Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest:  
 This dastard, at the battle of Patay,  
 When but in all I was six thousand strong,  
 And that the French were almost ten to one,  
 Before we met or that a stroke was given,  
 Like to a trusty squire did run away.

Henry VI Part One, IV, i, 14-23.

The/

The fulsome praise of Gough and Fuller, and the speech which Shakespeare puts into Talbot's mouth, condemning Sir John Fastolfe as having proved himself unworthy of knighthood, represent extreme judgements of Fastolf. Before attempting a more realistic assessment of his character and achievements, consideration must be given to the connection between Fastolf and characters in certain of Shakespeare's plays.

A Sir John Fastolfe appears in Henry VI Part One; in the text of the First Folio he is called Sir John Falstaffe. (1) He is portrayed as an unmitigated coward whose shameful behaviour contrasts sharply with the heroism and integrity of Talbot. The play is full of historical inaccuracies; the time-scale is compressed, the order of events altered, and fictional scenes are introduced. There is no evidence, for example, that Fastolf ever fled from Rouen, (2) and if he did indeed forfeit, for a time, his insignia of the Garter, it would not be Talbot who removed it since he was at the time a prisoner of the French. There is nowhere any suggestion that Fastolf actually suffered the humiliation of hearing himself addressed by his sovereign in words like/

(1) Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, ed. G. Bullough, (London, 1960), iii, 26.

(2) W. Shakespeare, Henry VI Part One, III, ii, 104-9. The edition I have used is the New Temple Shakespeare, ed. M. R. Ridley, 40 vols., (London 1934-6).

like those given to Henry VI in the play:

'Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight;

Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death.' (1)

For his description of Sir John Fastolfe's conduct at Patay Shakespeare clearly followed Hall and Holinshed, both of whom relate how 'from this battle [Patay], departed without any stroke stricken Sir John Fastolfe.' (2) In Act I of Henry VI Part One a messenger announces the outcome of the battle to the lords assembled for Henry V's funeral, blaming the English defeat on Sir John Fastolfe who

'Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.' (3)

Hall and Holinshed, in their turn, had based their account upon that of Monstrelet, which was hostile to Fastolf. Even if he had been familiar with Waurin's contradictory version, Shakespeare would probably not have changed his portrayal of Fastolfe, who is presented as a flat, one-sided character whose function in the play seems to be to enhance, by contrast, the fine qualities of Talbot.

Nevertheless, the Sir John Fastolfe, or Falstaffe, of Henry VI Part One is definitely based on the historical Fastolf. More problematic is the link between Fastolf and the famous Falstaff/

(1) Ibid., IV, i, 46-7.

(2) Hall, Chronicle, (London, 1809), 150; Holinshed, Chronicles, iii, 165.

(3) Henry VI Part One, I, i, 134.

Falstaff of Henry IV and The Merry Wives of Windsor.

One of the sources upon which Shakespeare drew for material for Henry IV was an anonymous sixteenth-century drama entitled The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth.<sup>(1)</sup> In this play Prince Hal's boon companion is called Sir John, or Jockey, Oldcastle, which was in fact the name originally given by Shakespeare to the role in Henry IV later allotted to Falstaff.<sup>(2)</sup> For some reason Shakespeare dropped Oldcastle's name, perhaps, it has been suggested, because of objections from pious Protestants who regarded him as a martyr, or from Oldcastle's descendants, the Cobhams, one of whom, William, seventh Lord Cobham, was lord chamberlain in 1596-7.<sup>(3)</sup> Certainly Sir John Oldcastle bore little obvious resemblance to the gross, drunken, cowardly, boastful, rascally, yet jovial knight that was Falstaff, except that he did happen to be a friend of the future Henry V, and fell from his favour because he was a Lollard, and led a rebellion against Henry after he had become king. An oblique reference to Oldcastle occurs in Henry IV Part One where the prince of Wales calls Falstaff 'my old lad of the castle.'<sup>(4)</sup> In the epilogue to Part Two of the play Shakespeare seems to apologise for slandering/

(1) Bullough, Sources of Shakespeare, iv, 159.

(2) *Ibid.*, iv, 168.

(3) *Ibid.*, iv, 156, 171.

(4) W. Shakespeare, Henry IV Part One, I, ii, 41.

slandering Oldcastle with the words 'If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France. Where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died martyr, and this is not the man.'

Sir John Fastolf was no more like Falstaff than was Sir John Oldcastle, and both were still young in the early fifteenth century, although Falstaff is portrayed as an old man by then. There is no historical evidence that Fastolf was a friend of the prince of Wales, nor that he was involved in the incidents which occur in the plays, such as the battle of Shrewsbury. L. W. Vernon Harcourt has suggested that the model for Falstaff was Sir John Fastolf of Cowhaugh, whose name was linked with that of John, Lord Cobham (Oldcastle's father-in-law) through a lawsuit brought against him by Cobham, in an effort to recover a debt owed him by the defendant's late father. In the course of the court proceedings there was a brawl; Harcourt argues that, if the prince of Wales had been involved in the disorder as an accomplice of Fastolf, this incident could be the basis for Prince Hal's assault on the chief justice, about which we hear in Henry IV Part Two, and that Shakespeare could initially have confused/

confused the names and called the prince's ally Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham). (1)

A simpler and more obvious solution to the problem is that Falstaff was modelled on no historical personage, that he was a creation of Shakespeare's imagination, and that the name Oldcastle was selected without a great deal of reflection as having been a friend of Prince Henry, and who was later disgraced; that after Shakespeare, for whatever reason, decided to discard the name of Oldcastle and cast around for an alternative, he remembered the cowardly Sir John Fastolfe of his earlier play, who had been alive during the period in question, and substituted his name for Oldcastle's. There is no evidence that any other changes were made in Henry IV, except for the mention of Oldcastle in the epilogue to Part Two and if Shakespeare actually wrote 'Falstaffe' for 'Fastolfe' in Henry VI, Part One, as it appears in the First Folio, there was not even any slight alteration in the spelling of the knight's name.

The career and character of the real Sir John Fastolf are very different from those of the stage Falstaff. In 1412, when Fastolf first went to France, he was an esquire, a member of a respected but not particularly important or influential family.

One/

(1) L. W. Vernon Harcourt, 'The Two Sir John Fastolfs', T.R.H.S., 1910, 47-62.

One can, therefore, only conclude that the responsible posts which he held there and the great rewards he received, he earned by his efficiency, intelligence and reliability. Whatever the truth about his retreat from the field of Patay, the fact that only months before, at Rouvray, he had shown commendable coolness and ingenuity in face of heavy odds argues that his actions were less likely to have been prompted by cowardice than by prudence, a quality in which Talbot proved himself to be deficient. Possibly Fastolf did bear the brunt of Bedford's immediate anger and frustration at the English defeat, but on recovering his composure the regent demonstrated his fundamental confidence in his servant by continuing to employ him in positions of importance. The reports which Fastolf drew up in his capacity as military adviser to the English council in France exhibit the same realism and willingness to adopt tactics suitable to an unpromising situation as he had shown before Patay. The sound reputation he had built up for himself abroad was reflected in the respect he enjoyed in his native county of Norfolk; he was frequently called upon to serve the king on a variety of commissions, and, considering his great age, played a prominent part in the fight against unrest and corruption in East Anglia.

Admittedly Fastolf's own life was not above reproach, witness his regular use of bribery and the underhand methods he used/

used to obtain the Boar's Head, Southwark from John Winter. Doubtless even his positive achievements, his service in the war and his stand against Tuddenham and Heydon, were motivated more by self-interest than patriotism or altruism. Certainly he devoted the twenty years of his retirement to supervising his great possessions, which offered ample scope for his considerable energies.

Of recent years there has been argument, especially between M. M. Postan and K. B. McFarlane, about whether the Hundred Years War was a source of gain or of loss to England as a whole. <sup>(1)</sup> The case of Fastolf will, of course, not answer this complex question, but goes to show that huge profits could be made from the war by individuals, although lack of precise evidence makes it impossible to put any kind of definite figure on Fastolf's total winnings, or to relate them accurately to those of his fellow captains. All that can be said is that Fastolf was probably among the most successful, certainly of the knightly class, although, as McFarlane has pointed out, the greatest prizes of all went to the aristocracy. <sup>(2)</sup>

The bulk of Fastolf's profits was invested, as were most of/

(1) Postan, 'Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War' and 'Costs of the Hundred Years' War'; McFarlane, 'War and Society.'

(2) Ibid., 11.

of the gains made in the war, in land and also in building, plate and furnishings; on land and building alone he is known to have spent £23,350. (1) In one respect Fastolf may have been unusual; according to Postan very few invested their winnings in industry and trade, (2) but Fastolf did so, both at Castle Combe and in Norfolk, although to what extent is not known. Although he was not directly involved in the manufacture of woollen cloth, his firmness and shrewdness as landlord of Castle Combe ensured the prosperity of the manor.

As well as providing the most absorbing interest of Fastolf's later years, his manors presented him with numerous problems, especially since most of them had not previously been in the possession of his family but had been more recently acquired, making it easier for others who desired them to produce some sort of claim. Fortunately for Fastolf he could rely on the devoted service of men such as William Worcestre and Thomas Howes, and on the advice and assistance of lawyers, like William Yelverton, William Jenney and, above all, John Paston. Fastolf's lawsuit in connection with the manor of Titchwell is a perfect example of the powerlessness of an individual opposed by someone more influential than himself. The patronage of some great lord would probably have/

(1) McFarlane, 'Fastolf's Profits of War', 105.

(2) Postan, 'Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', 91.

have helped Fastolf in this instance, and indeed he did look to the duke of Norfolk for support on various occasions, though he did not always receive it. (1) Fastolf himself does not seem to have been much concerned to attract support by offering patronage and protection, which was common practice in the system known as 'bastard feudalism.'

That Fastolf's life was dominated by his love of money and material possessions is further seen in his determination to recover all debts, large or small, which he considered were owed to him. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he was mean and avaricious, without pity for his creditors and severe on his servants who were driven hard to ensure that no one took advantage of him. It is possible that these unattractive traits and his sensitivity to slights, real or imagined, were aggravated by old age and maybe by loneliness, for his wife died many years before he did, and he had no legitimate children. Unfortunately his relationship with his stepson, Stephen Scrope, was anything but happy, and it is from Scrope that we receive the most damaging impression of Fastolf's personal qualities. Yet even he at times apparently managed to live on reasonably amicable terms with Fastolf who, although he was a hard taskmaster, and gave them ample cause to complain of his lack of generosity, must surely have possessed/

(1) P.L.(G.), ii, no. 193, iii, no. 277.

possessed other, more likeable characteristics to earn long and faithful service from men like Howes and Worcestre.

Indeed, Fastolf was more than a grudging, niggardly old man. He delighted in fine clothes, jewels, tapestries and plate, on which he spent lavishly. He had various houses, some built by himself, some to which he had made additions. His residence at Southwark was apparently very splendid, while at Caister he erected one of the most notable of fifteenth-century brick buildings in all England. While one could scarcely describe Fastolf as a scholar, the fact that he commissioned translations of works from Stephen Scrope and William Worcestre, and his varied collection of books at Caister, which possibly represented only a part of his library, show him to have had an interest in literature. Although Fastolf himself probably had no very extensive formal education, William Worcestre says that the original idea of founding a university at Caen was his.<sup>(1)</sup> He was also said to have supported Worcestre as a student at Oxford, and to have been a benefactor of Cambridge University. Ironically, his really large bequest to Magdalen College, that for which he was remembered in the prayers of the scholars, resulted not from a deliberate/

(1) McFarlane, 'William Worcester', 209.

deliberate act on his part, but from the disappointment of his dearest hopes.

Fastolf's piety would seem to have been conventional and unremarkable. He did carry out fairly extensive building works at the Abbey of St. Benet, Hulme, during his lifetime, and in his will made relatively modest bequests to a number of churches and religious foundations. Fastolf, however, intended his greatest memorial to be the college at Caister, established in the building that was his creation, and with the duty to say prayers for himself and those closest to him for ever; as a childless widower he had no better way of perpetuating his name and his memory. Fastolf's true intentions as to the disposal of the greater part of his lands, and the part played by John Paston in the affair of Fastolf's will, remain an enigma.

The life of Sir John Fastolf is the success story of a largely self-made man. He was not one of the dominant figures of his age, one of those who influenced the affairs and government of his country. On a humbler level, however, he made his mark, in his long years spent overseas as soldier, administrator and diplomat in the service of his country, as a great landowner, respected in his locality, as one who encouraged the developing woollen cloth industry, and as a great builder. To the historian his/

his long, varied career is important because it demonstrates that a capable, shrewd, energetic and ambitious professional soldier could, from modest beginnings, build a large fortune; it also illustrates the uses to which most war profits were probably put, and gives a vivid picture of the troubled life of a landowner in fifteenth-century England.

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