

## ADDENDUM

TNA E101/45/17 m.5: The Retinue led by Sir William Eure.

Some further consideration should be given to the E101/45/17 m.5 item and its tentative dating to 1415 in the The National Archives catalogue along with mm.1-4. To begin with, it is not obvious what it is. It looks like a muster list and most names have a point against them to signify the man's 'presence' at the time of the list's use. Yet, there is no indication of a man's military rank which would be necessary if the list was to be used as a basis of payment. It could be that this is a list prepared by Eure's own administrator prior to the muster day and so did not need to be explicit about rank. In that case, it might have been used at the initial muster of the retinue with their captain and prior to the campaign 'proper'. The note attached between E101/45/17 mm.1-4 and m.5 suggests a muster before transportation by ship to the English south coast. The note also mentions some possible desertions which might explain there being names which are not 'pointed'. Whether it is Eure's own record, or the one he handed to the men taking the official muster before embarkation for France, it seems to have become part of the final record retained by the Crown.

Analysis of the surnames of men in Sir William Eure's retinue detailed on m.5, show a predictable large number of connections with Yorkshire, a major area of Eure's land holdings. Few of the men listed are identifiable personally, but those that are, are found active between 1419 and 1432 although this does not mean they were not capable of military service outside these dates.<sup>1</sup>

The life of Sir William Eure himself is reasonably well documented. He was said to be aged 26 when he was named as the heir to his father Sir Ralph Eure at the latter's inquisition post mortem in June 1422.<sup>2</sup> He was not described as being a knight there but he was when he was recorded as a witness to a land transaction in Yorkshire in March 1418.<sup>3</sup> His family name was also written as 'Evers' in his time and in 1415 a William Evers knight is found in France, in the retinue of his father-in-law, Henry 3rd Lord Fitzhugh.<sup>4</sup> He is also mentioned as being commissioned to 'keep the sea', using eight main ships, in the Parliamentary Rolls of 1442. Evidently he enjoyed a long military career on land and sea.

Even so, although an important figure in Yorkshire, William Eure's movements, year by year, are not so easy to trace. It seems he was married in 1411 at the age of about 15 and had a large number of children with the same wife at regular intervals up until 1430. After his father's death in 1422, it is likely that he spent a good part of his life in the county and he was elected knight of the shire in the same year with Sir William Gascoigne who had campaigned in France in 1417 and 1421. As Eure is not shown as part of his father-in-law Henry Fitz-Hugh's retinue in 1417, it could be that the muster list shown on E101/45/17 m5 details his own first captaincy. However, although he did witness a memorandum of acknowledgement involving Sir John de Etton on 18 March 1418 in Yorkshire, it was early enough in the year to have allowed him to campaign in France during that summer and other than this, we know nothing for certain about his whereabouts up to 1422.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> John Brantyngham, Thomas Grove, J de Neuport and Richard Cawod: sources ' the MMC and Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem (CIPM).

<sup>2</sup> MMC; CIPM, pp. 21-961 at Morpeth, Northumberland.

<sup>3</sup> Close Rolls (CR), 1413-1419, p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> 'The History of the Barons of Eure (online) and SLME; BL Harley 782, f79.

<sup>5</sup> CCR. 1413-1419 p. 459.

In view of the connection of E101/45/17 m.5 to membranes 1-4 in the catalogue, it is tempting to see Eure's company as perhaps travelling south from Scarborough and Hull along the English east coast with other men from the North who would form part of Salisbury's Expedition in 1428. Yet this seems unlikely as we know from the Close Rolls that Salisbury's muster was to take place on 30 June 1428 at Barham Down, near Sandwich in Kent whereas Eure's was apparently headed much further along the south coast.<sup>6</sup> On that basis it could well be that E101/45/17 m.5 was a record of an action which took place at a completely separate date.

Usefully a number of the men in Eure's retinue can be tentatively identified and this might help in proposing a date for their muster. At the head of the list are a group of four men named Clifton who presumably are from the same family. Like the rest of the list, they are not given any rank. These are John, Roger, Thomas and Edward. There are three Clifton families who might be involved here. The first is mentioned by W Miller in his *'Essay Towards a Topographical History of Norfolk'* (1809) where a Sir John Clifton of 'Bokenham Castle', last in the family line died in August 1447. His will mentions his 'good Lord the Marquis of Suffolk'. His brother Robert Clifton knight, was sheriff of Norfolk in 1412 and died in 1442 and his nephew Thomas Clifton, esquire died in 1452. A John Clifton and Robert Clifton knights are shown in William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk's retinue of 1417, together with a John Clifton, man-at-arms.<sup>7</sup> A John Clifton man-at-arms had also served in France under de la Pole in 1415.<sup>8</sup> Sir John Clifton of Norfolk obtained a letter of attorney in 1421 and a letter of attorney in 1425.<sup>9</sup> The Sir John serving in 1421 took a retinue of his own whose personnel can be shown to have had strong links to Norfolk.<sup>10</sup> However there is no overlap of names with the retinue listed in E101/45/17 m.5.

The second Clifton family who might be relevant is mentioned in a biography of Sir John Clifton of Clifton, Notts.<sup>11</sup> This John Clifton was dead by 1403, but the author states that the John Clifton who campaigned with the earl of Suffolk in Normandy during the reign of Henry V, was knighted for his services and died in about 1430, was probably his son. However, they give no evidence for this. A John Clifton is noted as the subject of an inquisition post mortem in the index for CIPM for Notts series 1 Hen VI (21/09/1425 - 31/8/1426) but the original is lost.<sup>12</sup>

The third Clifton family of interest seems the most promising being based in Yorkshire. The earliest reference to them is in a writ dated 30 June 1401 concerning a debt owed to Thomas Chandos, rector of Wath upon Dearne in Strafforth Wapentake, West Riding by Thomas Fleming, knight, his sons and John and Thomas de Clifton.<sup>13</sup> In January 1423 an inquisition post mortem was held on Margaret, wife of John Clifton, esquire at Pontefract, Yorkshire, in which her heir was said to be Ralph de Clyfton aged 40 years and more.<sup>14</sup> The feudal aids list for Yorkshire in 1428 also gives Ralph and John Clyfton holding Bustardthorp in Ansty Wapentake.<sup>15</sup> John Clyfton is given as Ralph Clyfton's son and heir aged 36 years and more, at Ralph's inquisition post mortem held at Heworth, Yorks in

---

<sup>6</sup> E101/45/17 mm.4-5, attached note.

<sup>7</sup> E 101/51/2 m.13.

<sup>8</sup> E 101/46/24 m.3.

<sup>9</sup> C76/104 m.13; C76/107 m.3.

<sup>10</sup> E 101/50/1 m.3.

<sup>11</sup> C. Rawcliffe, 'Clifton, Sir John', *HoP*, <[www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/clifton-sir-john-1403](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/clifton-sir-john-1403)>, [Accessed 6 July 2018].

<sup>12</sup> C139/20/1.

<sup>13</sup> C241/192/1.

<sup>14</sup> CCR, 1405-1409 p. 467.

<sup>15</sup> CIPM, Yorkshire p. 284.

October 1442. Ralph is said to be holding land at Bishopthorpe which is immediately south of Bustardthorpe.

In early 1422 a John Clyfton is twice mentioned as captain of John Austyn 'travelling man' of Yorkshire in letters of protection<sup>16</sup> and a John Astyn is found in Sir William Eure's retinue on E101/45/17 m.5. A John Astyn of Pensthorpe, Yorkshire, is shown in a charter of warranty in the calendar of close rolls for 1408.<sup>17</sup> The inquisition post mortem of Elizabeth, widow of John de Nevyl, 'chevalier' ( writ dated 6/11/1423, inquisition dated 13 November), gives information on her land holdings in Yorkshire held by John de Clyfton. This apparently included Aislaby and is described as lately held by John de Clyfton.<sup>18</sup> Another inquisition post mortem on Margaret, widow of John de Clyfton esquire of Yorkshire taken at Old Malton on 1 March, 1424 refers to tenements in Bustardhall and Middlethorp.<sup>19</sup>

It may be that all three branches of the Clyfton family were connected and certainly the Nottinghamshire line had estates near the Yorkshire border and held property in Melton, near Banburgh, Yorkshire, around 1403. It could be that they agreed to campaign together. In any case, it seems that all the references found to knighted Clyftons related to the Norfolk branch of the family and conversely, no Clyfton esquires are found outside of Yorkshire in the 1410-30 period. Assuming, then, that Eure was recruiting predominantly in Yorkshire, it is interesting that the John Clifton esquire with property there seems to have been alive in January 1423 and dead by the following November. This might give some indication of the latest year that the retinue under study here operated (1423).

The next identifiable name on the retinue list is Thomas Wandesford. This family held a manor in Kirklington in North Riding at least between 1384 and 1436.<sup>20</sup> A Thomas Wandesford appears in the Close Rolls in June 1428 as having been a co-executor of the will of John Roys citizen and mercer of London when it was proved in October of 1421.<sup>21</sup> This man went on to be an alderman and ultimately sheriff of London, still active in 1437.<sup>22</sup> However, it is the heirs of Thomas Wandesford who are mentioned in the feudal aids list for Yorkshire of 1428 as being tenants in Thorntondale.<sup>23</sup> So, while it seems there were two men of the same name in the first half of the fifteenth century, the one who was a tenant of the king in Yorkshire, required to give him feudal aid and so quite possibly also owing him military service, had died by 1428.

John Brantyngham is first found at an inquisition in Warwickshire on 28/10/1413 where he presented a charter of enfeoffment by his father in the manor of Oxhill.<sup>24</sup> He held at least eighteen virgates of the king in chief and was said to be 30 years old and more. Brantyngham is mentioned again in 1413 as inheriting Catteshull Manor near Godalming, Surrey, and was recorded as still

---

<sup>16</sup> C76/4 m.4; CPR 1416-22 p. 441.

<sup>17</sup> CCR, 1405-1409 p. 467.

<sup>18</sup> E149/128/2 m5 ; MMC, E- CIPM 22- 355.

<sup>19</sup> C139/13/37, (Margaret Clyfton widow of John de Clyfton) MMC, E-CIPM 22- 346.

<sup>20</sup> Victoria County History (VCH), 'A History of York: North Riding' Kirklington Parish pp. 371-377.

<sup>21</sup> CCR, 1442-29, p. 405.

<sup>22</sup> British History Online; 'Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London' - 1437.

<sup>23</sup> Inquisitions and assessments relating to feudal aids; with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office. A.D. 1284-1431. Volume 6 (CIPM), list for Yorkshire, p. 312 and Edward Page, 'A History of the County of York: North Riding', vol 2, London 1923, pp. 492-497.

<sup>24</sup> H.E. Malden, ed, 'A History of Surrey', vol 3, VCH, 1911, fn 104 and 105.

holding it in 1421 before selling it in 1430.<sup>25</sup> Given that Brantingham is a placename in the East Riding of Yorkshire and John Brantingham is found in a retinue of many Yorkshiremen, he must have retained close links and possibly military service obligations to it so that the Eures were able to recruit him. So, being 30 in 1413, Brantingham would have been capable of campaigning from at least 1400 and therefore providing us with an earliest likely date for the mustering of the retinue in E101/45/17 m.5.

Richard Dynelay (Dyneley) was said to be son and heir of John Dyneley of Downham Manor in Lancashire at John's inquisition post mortem taken at Ormskirk on the 26 April 1416. He was said to be '15 years and more'.<sup>26</sup> His own inquisition post mortem dated 25 June 1423 explained that when he inherited Downham (held 'of the king in chief') he was still a minor in Henry V's wardship.<sup>27</sup> The age of John, brother and heir of Richard was proved in July 1424 as 22 as he was born on 29 June 1402.<sup>28</sup> So Richard being born by September 1401, would be unlikely to have campaigned before 1416. Richard died on 26 June 1420 and the retinue being investigated probably mustered between 1416 and this date.

Robert de Crayke was part of a family who had their main property holdings in Norfolk from at least the late fourteenth Century. A John Crake first appears as a witness in the inquisition post mortem of George Salvan in Pofelynton, Yorks, in February 1417/18, (presumably named for the village in Old Durham, now Yorkshire). A Robert Crayke was a witness at the inquisition post mortem of Walter Pedwaryn in Westmorland in 1405.<sup>29</sup> Robert's name is recorded most frequently in connection with Fundenhall and Creke in Norfolk. In August 1425 an inquisition post mortem for Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Duke of Norfolk mentions Fundenhall being held by the heirs of Robert de Crek.<sup>30</sup> Confusingly though, an inquisition post mortem for Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk held on 22 December 1399 in Norwich again gives four and a half fees in both Fundenhall and Creake being held by the same named heirs.<sup>31</sup> It may be that the details of the original inquisition post mortem were simply copied into those of the later one or there might just have been a father and son of the same name involved who had both died. There is, though, a Robert Crake juror at an inquisition post mortem in Somerset in Taunton in January 1424 concerning a John Arundel esquire of Bideford.<sup>32</sup> It seems then that the Robert concerned had a connection with Yorks as his captain and so many of his fellow soldiers can be linked to the county and he may have died by 1425, but a definite conclusion cannot be reached.

Further evidence for ties of the retinue's personnel with the county are abundant though. The following men's surnames are also contemporary Yorkshire place names (mainly drawn from the feudal aids list): Brawby, Clifton, Colly (Coely), Ellerton, Donnaton (Donnington), Frithby (Firby), Harswell, Brantyngham, Huddilston (Huddelston), Hampton, Huby (manor), Clementhorp, Brawby (Barneby, Baby), Ebchester, Cawod (Carwood), Clementhorpe (in York), Crayke, Moys, Neuport, Sneton (Sneaton), Sutton, Rouley (Rowley), Stanisby, Sutton, Tesdale (Teesdale). In addition some other retinue members or their obvious relatives can be traced to the county although without offering anything useful about the possible date of the muster list. These include Thomas Ebchester juror in York in 1415; John de Ellerton tenant at Helagh in Swaledale in Yorkshire in 1419 whose

---

<sup>25</sup> CIPM vol 20, Henry V, HMSO 1955? Item 45 and 'A History of the County of Surrey' (VCH) 1911 pp. 24-42; *Manor of Catteshull*.

<sup>26</sup> MMC, E-CIPM 20-675.

<sup>27</sup> MMC, E-CIPM 22-022.

<sup>28</sup> C139/13/47.

<sup>29</sup> E101/49/84/6, E137/48/22 mm.3-4.

<sup>30</sup> E101/49/132/7 m.9.

<sup>31</sup> C137/17/716 mm. 23-24.

<sup>32</sup> MMC, E-CIPM 22-291 no 292; C139/11/29, John Arundell of Bideford esquire: Inquisition 5th January 1424.

lands were held from Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland by knights service of the Honour of Richmond; John Ashfordby ( a village across the border in Notts) given in 1452 as the late custodian of the hospital of St Mary Bootham in York and who had been presented by William Eure, knight<sup>33</sup>; John Cruyer was one of a group of tenants of the king in chief led by William Eure in East Messe and Canveton in Ridall Wapentake in 1428; John Donnaton was auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster lands in the North between 1400-1422; A William Hudilston is mentioned as having been esquire to Richard Nevyll between September 1425 and August 1426); A John Neuport, a tenant at Newton sub Osberge, Yorks is shown in the feudal aids list of 1428 and the next tenant listed is William Eure 'militias dominus'); while Richard Cawod is listed as a juror in Selby at the inquisition post mortem of Sir Robert Roos of Gedney in 1442. Cawod's widow, Isabel had her own inquisition in Yorks in June 1430.<sup>34</sup>

However, despite this information on the civilian activity of these men, unfortunately there are no letters of protection or attorney recorded for Eure or any of his retinue between 1416 and 1420 which would help trace their military career. As mentioned earlier, Eure is last found as part of the retinue of his father-in-law Henry Fitz Hugh in 1415, but did not follow him when Fitz Hugh campaigned again in 1417 and 1418. A few of Eure's men on the E101/45/17 m.5 list can occasionally be identified though in the retinues of other men, between 1418 and 1420 which might suggest the year the retinue was active was either 1416 or 1417.<sup>35</sup>

This raises the interesting possibility that Eure and his men were involved in the response to Henry V's recruitment of men intended to raise the blockade of Harfleur and undertake a subsequent land expedition in 1416. This would fit with the mention in the note attached to m.5 of the meeting of ships between Southampton and the Isle-of-Wight. It might also be that the troops involved were part of those redirected to Calais once Henry had decided to go there and had left his brother Bedford as his lieutenant in command of the naval engagement. I notice in Anne Curry's article on the campaign in this year that Fitz Hugh was among those who likely went to Calais with the king and Eure might have been with him as he was part of Fitz Hugh's retinue in 1415. This would explain why there are no records of payment to Eure himself.<sup>36</sup>

The suggestion that Eure's retinue was involved in the relief of Harfleur is supported by R. A. Newhall's work on the English Conquest of Normandy between 1416 and 1424.<sup>37</sup> Actually, he identifies two English forces active at the time. To begin with, a squadron led by the earl of Huntingdon, patrolled the surrounding seas, attacked the French blockade and escorted English ships to the town. But in the meantime a larger expedition was prepared to land troops which would give permanent protection to the town. Officers of the Crown impressed ships in English ports and paid money in advance to owners and captains to ensure their arrival at the mustering point off Southampton. In late May proclamations were issued by sheriffs that anyone holding fiefs or annuities from the king should assemble at the city, fully equipped for three months military service or risk forfeiture. This led to indentures being signed by over 100 captains and their wages paid by June 6th. It seems likely that Sir William Eure was one of these captains. Newhall estimates that this

---

<sup>33</sup> VCH, 'A History of the County of York' vol 3 1974 pp.336-352; *Inquisitions and assessments relating to feudal aids with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office A.D.1284-1431*(Feudal Aids list). Volume 6 p. 314; E101/52/16; E101/210/2870; *Feudal Aids list* p.307

<sup>34</sup> CIPM Henry VI 28 June 1430 Volume 6 p. 366.

<sup>35</sup> John Randolph in 1418, Richard Dodyngton in 1419, John Clifton and William Tuchett in 1420.

<sup>36</sup> A. E. Curry 'After Agincourt, What Next? Henry V and the campaign of 1416' in *'The Fifteenth Century', 'Conflict, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages'* Ed. Linda Clark. Boydell Press, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> R. A. Newhall *The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424, A Study in Fifteenth Century Warfare*. London. 1924.

force numbered over 7000 soldiers with a ratio of men-at-arms to archers of 1:2, showing clearly that, at least initially, it was intended as a naval operation rather than a land expedition.

Proclamations ordering all those appointed to join the king at Southampton were issued on June 22. However, further ones were necessary during July and bad weather prevented the fleet from departing until the next month, with eventual arrival and battle on August 15. The engagement was successful and the blockade lifted.

To conclude then, on the evidence assembled above, it does not seem likely that E101/45/17 mm.1-4 and m.5 were related in any way and probably were produced several years apart by different captains. Eure certainly seems to have embarked for Southampton, but may not actually have crossed to France for the sea battle in the mouth of the Seine but followed his father-in-law and the King to Calais. Further research of issue rolls might reveal which it was.

#### NOTE

Since completing the original study of the E101/45/17 mm.1-4 retinue, it has proved impossible not to consider in more detail who the most senior men were whose names have been lost through the damage to the roll, given their probable importance in the recruitment and organisation of the body of men as a whole. A tentative identification also offers useful reinforcement or otherwise of the deductions made about the leadership of the retinue and the proposals made about their probable long-term connections with the Beaufort family. Lastly, it is interesting to investigate whether any of these men are also found in France in the years immediately following Salisbury's last campaign. Therefore, despite the danger of indulging in a certain amount of speculation about the men involved, appendix 8 is provided to help give a possible overview of the retinue as a whole.