

Planning for the future. William last lord of Botreaux, his dynasty and his soul

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PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE. WILLIAM LAST LORD BOTREAUX, HIS DYNASTY AND HIS SOUL¹

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INTRODUCTION

The 50-year career of William Botreaux, third and last Lord Botreaux, lacked obvious distinction. His involvement in the Hundred Years War was fleeting and he made no mark on parliament or government. He escaped the Courtenay-Bonville feud that engulfed the West Country, including the so-called ‘Siege of Taunton’ in 1451, and the First War of Roses of 1459-61 that destroyed most of the other noble families of south-western England. Botreaux was committed throughout to the future of his dynasty and health of the soul. Sadly, however, his endeavours were conspicuous failures. The male line of the Botreaux family terminated with him – he left only a single daughter and heiress, Margaret, who carried his barony and estates to the Hungerfords and thence to the Hastings family – and both his new religious foundations of North Cadbury College and his chantry in Bath cathedral proved abortive. Botreaux was not to blame for the failure of his male line – he fathered at least two sons who died in infancy – but it was his own hesitations and unwillingness to cement his foundations that meant nothing was achieved. It is not certain where he was buried and he failed even to update his ancient testament before his death. This paper considers the strategic choices that the last lord faced and his successive efforts to shape the future of his lineage in this world and the next.

BOTREAUX’S SOMERSET INHERITANCES

The last Lord Botreaux was head of the Cornish family of Botreaux that was first documented about 1080 at Botreaux in Evreux, Upper Normandy. Thereafter they were established for many generations at Boscastle Castle in Cornwall. Many of the heads of the Botreaux family were called William, including the last five in succession. Their genteel fortunes were transformed by three marriages that raised them into the English peerage in 1368 and that elevated William (d. 1462), the third and last baron Botreaux, into a Somerset notable and indeed one of principal noblemen in south-west England.

The first of these marriages was to Isabel Moels,

a coheirress of Nicholas Lord Moels of North Cadbury in south Somerset. She and her husband William Botreaux both died in 1349, probably of the Black Death. It was their son William who was first summoned to parliament in 1368 and became the first Lord Botreaux. In 1390 he settled much of his lands on trustees (feoffees) to pay debts and legacies of £1,000. His heir William II did not live long to enjoy it.² William I died in 1391 and was outlived for many years by his widow, the Somerset heiress Elizabeth Daubeney, the daughter of Ralph Lord Daubeney by Katherine, sister and one of the four coheirresses of Thomas Lord Thweng (d. 1374). Elizabeth became the foundress of North Cadbury College. She lived onto her eighties, until 1433, and it was presumably she who commissioned the splendid table tomb bearing their two effigies in North Cadbury church.³ They bore one daughter Anne and four sons: William, the second baron; Thomas, perhaps the oldest, who died young; Sir Ralph Botreaux (d. 1433) and John Botreaux. Both her younger sons Ralph and John married and founded cadet branches. Sir Ralph married Maud, probably the daughter of Lord Grey of Rotherfield and certainly the widow of Sir Ralph Hastings of Slingsby (Yorkshire). John Botreaux was married first to Anne, daughter of John Lord Talbot, and secondly, after 1422, to Anne dowager-countess of Devon (d. 1441).⁴ Ralph was hostile and indeed murderous towards his nephew, the last baron.

William, the eldest brother, second baron, died in his twenties in 1395. He was predeceased by his wife Elizabeth St Lo of Newton St Loe, who was heiress both of her father Sir John St Lo and her maternal grandfather John Clyvedon. The St Los were buried in Bath cathedral.⁵ Elizabeth St Lo’s mother Margaret (née Clyvedon), ‘lady of St Lo’, was widow in turn of Sir John St Lo and of Sir Peter Courtenay (d. 1405), nephew of Edward Earl of Devon (d. 1419). In 1406 she settled the six manors of Standerwick and Rodden by Frome (Somerset), Binstead, Flexlond and Bedenham (Hampshire), and Hardenhuish (Wiltshire), and other properties, on the third Lord Botreaux and his wife Elizabeth Beaumont on their marriage. Much of their remaining inheritance devolved on Lord Botreaux only in 1412 on Margaret’s death.⁶

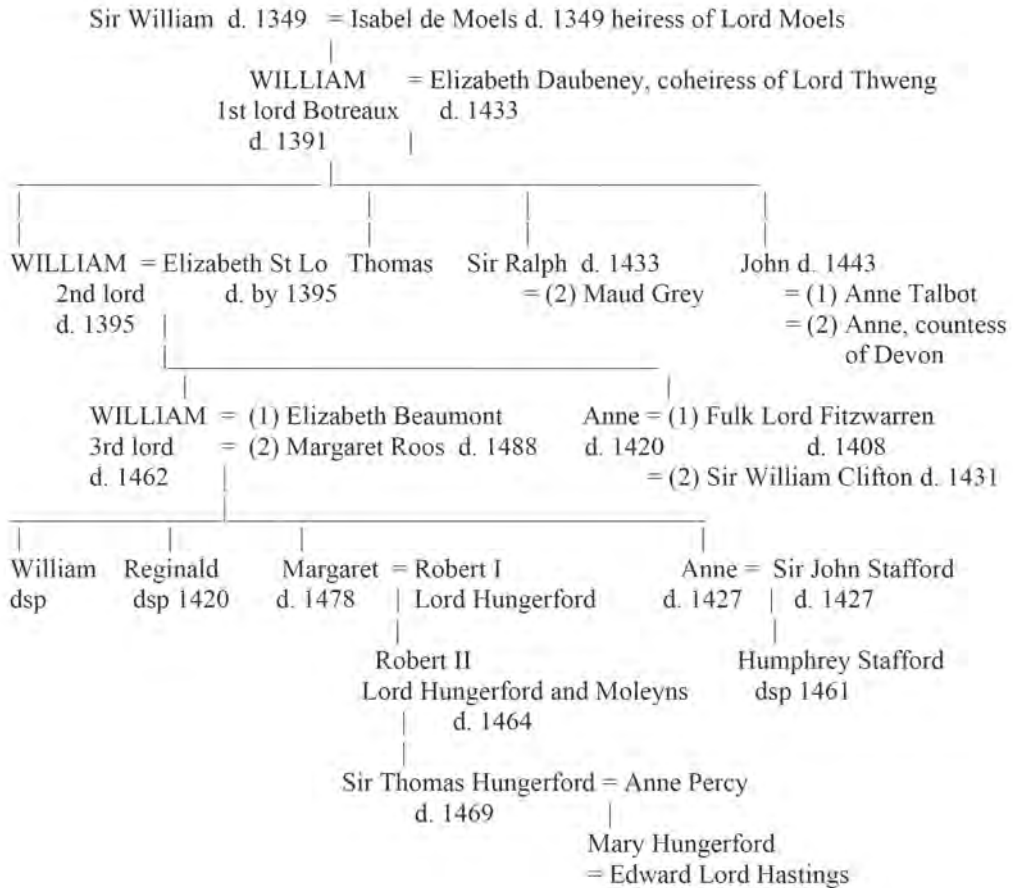


Fig. 1 Chest tomb of William Botreaux and Elizabeth Beaumont, North Cadbury church (Image: CC0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=17575085>)

The second baron and Elizabeth St Lo were buried in the Franciscan friary at Bridgwater. The St Lo and Clyvedon inheritances comprised 56% of the third Lord Botreaux's income in 1421. These marriages brought to the Botreaux family substantial shares of three of the petty baronies of southern England, sufficient to meet the higher qualifications expected to be a baron after 1400. These matches demonstrate that the Botreaux family including their younger sons moved amongst the enhanced parliamentary peerage and related them several times over to the Courtenays, the principal magnates of the West Country.

William, the third baron, was born at Wath in the parish of Kilmersdon near Radstock on 20 February 1389.⁷ He had a sister Anne who was married twice, to Fulk Lord Fitzwarren who died aged 18 in 1408, and then to Sir William Clifton (d. 1431). She died

in 1420.⁸ Just possibly there was another unmarried sister, Margaret Botreaux, who was bequeathed gowns and a bed in 1411 by their grandmother Margaret Clyvedon. This Margaret was certainly not Margaret Clyvedon's daughter as stated in her will.⁹ It was as an orphan aged five that William succeeded to his title and estates. At once his grandmother Elizabeth Daubeney secured his wardship and marriage and then in 1397 the farm of the lands mortgaged by the first baron. Obviously she already possessed her own Daubeney inheritance, additionally a substantial jointure including North Cadbury, and certainly some dower too. Elizabeth (and therefore William) resided some of the time at Boswithy in St Erth in Cornwall, where she was licensed to have mass celebrated in her chapel of St Mary Magdalen in 1395 and again in 1398,¹⁰ and after her grandson's majority at North

THE BOTREAUX LINEAGE**[BOTREAUX]**

Cadbury in south-east Somerset. It was she who arranged William's marriage whilst still in under age to Elizabeth, the daughter of John Lord Beaumont (d. 1396), a noblewoman but not an heiress, presumably with a substantial cash dowry. It was on 17 May 1406 that the manors of Standerwick and Rodden (Somerset) were settled on the young couple by his maternal grandmother Margaret Clyvedon.¹¹ If not then, certainly the young couple were married before 27 June 1410 when a licence was secured to celebrate divine service in their chapel at Boswithgy.¹² It seems William can have enjoyed few other lands in Somerset until he inherited from his grandmother Margaret Clyvedon, who bequeathed to him her kitchen equipment at Aller in the Somerset Levels and

Newton St Loe near Bath. She also gave him twelve dishes, two chargers, and saltcellars of her better suite, all in silver, and three splendid beds.¹³ Elizabeth Daubeney also remitted some of her property to him.

It was Botreaux's succession in 1412 to his grandmother Margaret Clyvedon that brought his principal seats in Somerset. He seems to have relocated to Somerset. Never after 1410 had he any more licences from the bishops of Exeter. Aller was in the Somerset Levels, equidistant from Taunton and Bridgwater, a 13th-century house described as an 'ancient castle-like place' in 1633. It was at Aller in 1413 that Botreaux enfeoffed lands, at Aller in 1415 he sealed an indented charter declaring his use (or last will), there in 1417 that the feoffees restored his lands

to him, there in 1420 that he re-enfeoffed his lands, there that his son Reginald died on 30 July, and there where he scheduled the wedding of his elder daughter Margaret.¹⁴ Perhaps Newton St Loe near Bath was where he resided in his declining years. There survives a crenelated tower, part of a large house, and a gatehouse that perhaps he had remodelled.¹⁵ North Cadbury passed to him in 1433. The third lord had ambitions worthy of his station. It is not known what moveable goods he had inherited, but in 1415 he proudly itemised his cups, basins, ewers, and other vessels of gold and silver, a basin and five goblets with a ewer of silver 'newly made by me', and his covered cup of gold 'newly made by me' that befitted (he thought) his baronial status.¹⁶ Possibly these vessels were bought on credit.

In 1413 Botreaux settled (enfeoffed) nine manors in Cornwall, eleven in Somerset, two in Wiltshire, three in Hampshire, and another at Clifton in Bristol in trust on Bishop Bubwith and nine other feoffees.¹⁷ By his charter of 1 June 1415 Botreaux declared the trust (his last will of his lands) which required his feoffees to raise £6,000 for the decade or more after his death towards his debts, legacies, and the health of soul. His last will included his ordinance to his feoffees for a new chantry of three chaplains in North Cadbury church.¹⁸ His last will and also his testament of his chattels dated 20 July 1415 were shaped by his involvement in the Agincourt campaign and the eventuality of his premature death and consequently of the lengthy minorities of his young heirs. Botreaux however survived. Because his last will had taken the form of an indented charter, the trust could not be changed unless the use itself was cancelled. This explains why in 1417 his feoffees re-enfeoffed the estates to Lord Botreaux, who conveyed them to a new panel of feoffees who were not governed by the previous trust.¹⁹ Evidently he thought better of his extravagant dispositions, which otherwise would have bound his hands for many years.

These new inheritances moved the family's centre of gravity from Cornwall to Somerset. Boscastle itself was ruinous. Sadly there is no Botreaux cartulary, nor a collection of deeds, and no ministers' or household accounts to substantiate his change in domicile. There are two valors at the Huntington Library, California. The family's change of geographical focus emerges in William's pious bequests in 1415 to 20 religious houses: the Austin, Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan friars of Bristol; the Franciscan friars of Bridgwater and the Dominicans of Ilchester; the Benedictine nuns of Barrow Gurney and the Carthusian monks of Hinton and Witham, all in Somerset; the Carmelites friars of Marlborough and Franciscans in Salisbury in Wiltshire; and further

west only two houses of friars at Exeter and the single house of Franciscan friars at Bodmin in Cornwall.²⁰ Allegedly William oppressed Launceston priory in the 1430s.²¹ He served on the commissions of the peace for Somerset, Wiltshire and Cornwall and other commissions, but none for Devon nor Dorset.²²

Botreaux's own records valued his estates at £777 in 1421, above the minimum qualifying income for an earl, and he had further expectations from the inheritance, jointure and dower of his grandmother Elizabeth Daubeney, which conceivably might have raised his revenues above a thousand pounds. Strangely the assessment of his income tax in 1436 is missing.²³ However he had settled £200 jointure on his daughters and intended alienating £133 6s. 8d. to his college at North Cadbury, amounting together to a third of his income and reducing him from the richest of barons to a more modest prosperity.

Yet Botreaux was a leading figure in the South West. In 1409 he became a feoffee in Cornwall of Edward Courtenay, eldest son of Edward Earl of Devon.²⁴ Following the deaths of the earl and his son in 1418-19, Botreaux served in 1420-1 with his kinsman Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devon, shortly before that earl's death. He did not serve again, either in France or at sea. Apparently Botreaux was not involved in the Courtenay-Bonville feud waged between Earl Thomas and William Lord Bonville in the 1450s.

The three lords Botreaux had longstanding connections with the Hungerfords. The first two had designated Sir Thomas Hungerford (d. 1398) of Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset) amongst their feoffees. Hungerford mattered in the West Country. He was chief steward of the South Parts for John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (d. 1399) and steward also to William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1397). He served 17 times as M.P. and was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1377.²⁵ Sir Thomas's son Sir Walter Hungerford was therefore well-known to the last Lord Botreaux when, about 1420, he contracted for the marriage of his eldest son and heir Robert Hungerford I to Botreaux's elder daughter Margaret. Robert and Margaret were heirs apparent of half of the Botreaux estate until Robert's death in 1459. Seven times as M.P. and Speaker of the Commons in 1414, Walter Hungerford served on the royal council and as treasurer of England and was created Lord Hungerford in 1426. He was a major landowner on the Somerset/Wiltshire border. It was he who completed Sir Thomas Hungerford's brand new castle at Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset).

Another West Country notable was Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke in Dorset, ten times shire knight for Dorset. Sir Humphrey arranged the marriage of his

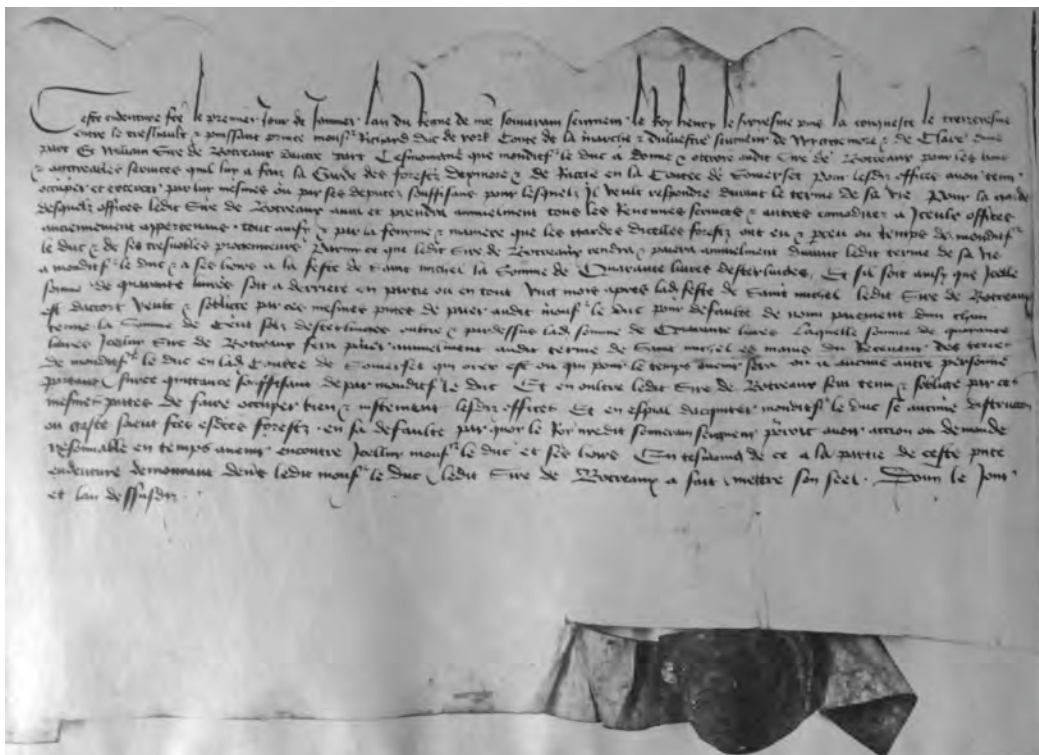


Fig. 2 Indenture dated 1 January 1435: grant by Richard Duke of York to William de Botreaux, 3rd Baron Botreaux of office of forester of Exmoor and Neroche (Image: British Library; Public Domain, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=34180163>)

second son Sir John Stafford to Botreaux's younger daughter Anne in 1426. Anne died in childbirth in 1427, the same year as the death of her husband, leaving behind a sole infant son, another Humphrey, who was heir apparent to the other half of the Botreaux estate until his death in 1461.²⁶ Aged 34 at his death, Humphrey is unlikely to have been unmarried, but no wife or widow is recorded. He died childless. The jointure of his mother Anne Botreaux at Rodden next Frome (Somerset) and Maiden Newton (Dorset) reverted to Lord Botreaux and should then have passed to Margaret Hungerford had Lord Botreaux not sold it shortly before his death.²⁷ Humphrey's Stafford estates passed to another Humphrey Stafford, created in 1461 Lord Stafford of Southwick, who was briefly earl of Devon in 1469.

As sole surviving daughter, Margaret Hungerford became sole heiress of the last Lord Botreaux. However Botreaux left liabilities which, compounded with other difficulties, forced her to sell of her land, mainly Botreaux properties.

PUBLIC CAREER

Lord Botreaux came of age in 1411 and first attended parliament in 1412.²⁸ He undertook no public office before 1416, or, perhaps more correctly, deliberately abstained from such commitments. In pursuance of a vow he was licensed by Henry V on 30 November 1413 to travel for two years on pilgrimage with men, servants, horses and harness to the Holy Land and other parts overseas, possibly including Rome.²⁹ The licence could have been fulfilled in 1414-15. Did Botreaux fit it in before embarking on the Agincourt campaign? Whilst it is not possible to establish whether Botreaux actually went, the crown assumed that he was not available for royal commissions, and there is nothing in his 1415 testament to indicate that he went. Anyway, this pilgrimage does not seem to have shaped his religious development.

The Hundred Years War resumed and in 1415 Botreaux participated in the Agincourt campaign. He indented for a personal retinue of himself, 19 other

men-at-arms and 40 mounted archers with effect from 21 March. His company mustered at Swanwick Heath (Hampshire) in July. On 20 July 1415 he made his testament. Once abroad, Botreaux was assigned first to the garrison of Harfleur. He was one of the many who fell ill and had returned to Dover on 19 October, thus missing the battle of Agincourt on 25th. He did not attend the session of parliament in 1416, but he headed the commission of the peace in Cornwall, Somerset from 1416, and of Wiltshire from 1419. He was J.P. for Devon in 1418-20, but never thereafter.³⁰ From 1417 he occurs in other commissions in the West Country, of sewers, of array, to tender oaths of allegiance, to levy loans, and to distribute allowances against tax.³¹ He was present at the autumn session of parliament in 1419.³² He was commandeering shipping in the West Country in 1419. Under the command of the earl of Devon, he indented for naval service for 300 men. He mustered in May 1420.³³

After Henry V's death, Botreaux attended the royal council on 5 November 1422. He was at parliament in 1425, for the precedence dispute of the earl marshal and the earl of Warwick.³⁴ In 1431 he objected to the increased salary of the king's uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester as Lord Protector.³⁵ He may have attended parliament more often, but never featured in the parliamentary proceedings. He was never a receiver or trier for petitions and he was definitely absent from parliament in 1416, 1433, 1449 and 1461. Botreaux was among the many lords who absented themselves from parliament in 1454 and 1456; he was summoned to attend repeatedly, without known effect.³⁶ He occurs in royal records principally as a commissioner in Somerset and Cornwall from 1416 to 1461.³⁷

Apparently the dominant local magnate at Bridgwater, Botreaux was courted with gifts of wine and capons from the town's common bailiff in 1441-2, 1443-4, and 1452-3 – the only years with surviving accounts. He may also have dominated the town of Taunton, just as convenient to his residence at Aller, but there are no corresponding records to reveal his role. In 1448-9 he negotiated on behalf of the town at Taunton with William Waynflete, the new bishop of Winchester, regarding the town's loan to the king.³⁸ Richard Duke of York appointed him as his forester of Exmoor and Neroche for life on 1 January 1435 (Fig. 2).³⁹

In 1426 Lord Botreaux reported an abortive conspiracy to kill him by necromancy by his uncle Sir Ralph Botreaux, with the unlikely intention of succeeding to his title and estates (which were not entailed in the male line but perhaps should have been). Incredible though it appears, the story apparently was authentic and indeed was covered up by the murder of John Newport, one of the

sorcerers. Sir Ralph Botreaux was briefly imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1426 and again in the Marshalsea, Southwark, in 1431, when he was eventually acquitted. In 1433 Sir Ralph was trying to thwart the reversion of his estates to his nephew, who secured a bond to prevent this. Sir Ralph died that year, childless. His heir was actually his younger brother John Botreaux.⁴⁰

It is not clear when Lord Botreaux's first wife Elizabeth Beaumont died. She is last documented in 1426, but could have survived until the 1450s. He then remarried to Margaret Roos, daughter of Thomas I, Lord Roos (d. 1430), and sister of Thomas II, Lord Roos (d. 1461) and the poet Sir Richard Roos. Obviously Margaret was not an heiress. Presumably because the Roos estate was so encumbered by four long-lived dowagers, it appears that Margaret had no dowry, but in his last will (which is not extant) her father Thomas I had dedicated some enfeoffed lands to pay his debts and legacies, to sustain his younger children Richard and Margaret until Richard's majority (not later than 1451), and thereafter to finance Margaret's marriage portion. William and Margaret repeatedly claimed her dowry of £500 (or £600) from the surviving feoffees Sir Thomas Chaworth (d. 1459) and William Eton and then sued for it in the court of chancery. This was between 1456 and 1459. The feoffees denied that there had been any enfeoffment, any such trust, and the existence of any residue. The feoffees also claimed that the lands were in the hands of Thomas II Lord Roos. Although the chancery suit seems unlikely to have succeeded, it is the earliest evidence of Botreaux's second marriage.⁴¹ As William's lands were already enfeoffed in or after 1454, his new wife had no right of dower, so he conveyed a jointure to her before 1461.⁴²

Botreaux missed the battle of St Albans in 1455 and also avoided the bloody battles of the First Wars of the Roses in 1459-61. Yet Botreaux's second wife Margaret Roos had powerful connections at court. Her mother Eleanor Beauchamp, daughter of Richard Earl of Warwick (d. 1439) by his first countess Elizabeth Berkeley, coheiress of the barony of Lisle, had remarried to Edmund Beaufort, eventually duke of Somerset (d. 1455), the favourite of King Henry VI. Margaret Roos was therefore sister to Thomas II, Lord Roos and half-sister to Henry Duke of Somerset, two ardent Lancastrians who perished on the Lancastrian side in 1464. Another two of Lord Botreaux's grandsons, Sir Arnold Hungerford and Robert II, Lord Hungerford and Moleyns, also died on behalf of the Lancastrians. A third grandson Humphrey Stafford of Maiden Newton in Dorset died on 6 August 1461 while in exile in Scotland, leaving his aunt Margaret Lady Hungerford as sole heiress of

the whole Botreaux inheritance at Lord Botreaux's death in 1462. This Margaret's eldest son Robert II, Lord Hungerford and Moleyns, was attainted by the new Yorkist regime, suffered forfeiture and was executed in 1464. Moleyns' eldest son Sir Thomas Hungerford was executed in 1469. However William Lord Botreaux, admittedly an old man, evaded involvement in civil wars.

DYNASTY

The Botreaux family and the third baron in particular wished to perpetuate the family name, but nevertheless, perhaps strangely, they did not entail their inheritances in the male line as so many late medieval noblemen did. Clearly Sir Ralph Botreaux thought that they should do so, but instead the barony and estates were permitted to devolve on the third lord's daughter, Margaret Lady Hungerford. William Botreaux and his first wife Elizabeth Beaumont had at least five children: Reginald, William, Margaret and Anne, and another unspecified (another William?). Apparently Margaret was born by 1411.⁴³ There were two daughters Margaret and Anne, in that order, who were Botreaux's heiresses apparent in 1415, when he allocated to each £500 in dowry should he beget a male heir. They were again his coheiresses apparent in 1420, and again in 1426. Twice they were supplanted by brothers. There is no doubt in 1415 that William Lord Botreaux had wanted a son to continue the line. One son Reginald Botreaux was born after 20 July 1415, but died on 30 July 1420, probably at Aller, where his tombstone survives.⁴⁴ Another son William was interred at North Cadbury and was presumably born there. It is not clear at what date he lived and died. In 1435 his body was exhumed and moved to the Franciscan friary in Bridgwater. A third infant was also disinterred and relocated at the same time. So was William's daughter Anne Stafford.⁴⁵ Evidently there were three identifiable gravestones (like Reginald's and now lost) alongside the table tomb of the first Lord and Elizabeth Daubeney in the choir at North Cadbury. If Botreaux's wife Elizabeth Beaumont was still living, she was at least 40 years old by 1435 and perhaps beyond past child-bearing.⁴⁶

By 1458 William had remarried to Margaret Roos, again not an heiress, obviously hoping for another son, which did not materialise. Of course any such son would have inherited the whole Botreaux inheritance. Another daughter would be a coheiress with Margaret or Anne. Margaret Roos cannot have been born after her father's death in 1430 and was therefore at least 28 when she is first known to have been married: rather old for the first wedding. She failed to bear any children by her first husband. She died in 1488.

In 1415, when Botreaux hoped for a son to succeed him, he intended to pass the bulk of estates intact to his son, and to provide for the daughters with marriage portions. Failing a son, the daughters would inherit as coheiresses. He did not maintain the male line by entailing his lands, nor even devolve particular manors to his uncles Sir Ralph or John Botreaux – neither of whom had sons themselves. From 1420, when William's son Reginald died, his policy changed. Provision for his daughters moved up his agenda. Not only did he aspire to good marriages for them, but he exploited their enhanced status as heiresses apparent. He even sold Margaret's marriage for cash rather than paying a dowry. Whilst still wanting a son, he alienated several manors to endow both daughters and their spouses. He intended further dismembering his estate for future generations by alienating lands in mortmain. Henceforth he was not concerned to preserve the estates intact for his daughters, although he had at least a moral obligation to do so by his two contracts of the marriages of his daughters Margaret and Anne.

Botreaux's elder daughter Margaret was married, aged about ten, to Robert Hungerford, the future second Lord Hungerford. The marriage was performed by Michaelmas 1421. The marriage contract survives between the two fathers, Lord Botreaux and Sir Walter Hungerford, later the first Lord Hungerford. It is not dated and was not completed as planned, notably because the wedding happened at Heytesbury in Wiltshire – rather than at Aller in Somerset – on 6 or 7 July. If the 'St Peter's day next' in the contract was 1 August, the wedding on 6/7 July must be in 1420 and anyway before Michaelmas 1421, when the jointure had been conveyed. However the contract implies that Botreaux had no son to inherit, and was therefore after Reginald's death on 30 July 1420. Hungerford was to have the governance of the two 'children'. Hungerford settled lands worth £60 a year on the young couple, Botreaux £40 a year at once, another £60 in reversion, and yet another £50 per annum if he fathered a son and male heir himself. The bridegroom Robert Hungerford of course was Sir Walter's heir apparent, but Botreaux still hoped to beget a son who would supplant his daughter as his heir. Rather than paying a dowry, Botreaux was paid £900 for the match by Sir Walter, who insisted that the settlement of Botreaux land should complement his castle of Farleigh.⁴⁷ Robert and Margaret were to bear three sons: another Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns, another Sir Walter, and Sir Edmund of Down Ampney (Gloucestershire). On 16 October 1460 Botreaux was feoffee of the jointure on the marriage of his great-grandson and Moleyns' son Thomas Hungerford to Anne Percy, daughter of the earl of Northumberland.⁴⁸

Lord Botreaux's second daughter Anne was married on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September) 1426 to Sir John Stafford, the younger son of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke. Their marriage contract reveals that Botreaux settled on them his manor of Rodden by Frome in Somerset and a third of the manor of Maiden Newton in Dorset. Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke settled on them his manor of Standerwick in Somerset and other manors in Worcestershire and Staffordshire. Lord Botreaux paid him a marriage portion of £900.⁴⁹ Botreaux, it seems, was the more eager for the match. Anne, who cannot have been more than 15 years old, died in childbirth next year, probably at North Cadbury, and her husband Sir John died on 5 November. She was buried first at North Cadbury and was re-interred in 1435 in the Franciscan friary at Bridgwater. Although her baby son Humphrey did achieve his majority, he is not known to have married and certainly died childless in 1461.⁵⁰ Lord Botreaux therefore had to accustom himself to no male heir. For 20 years Margaret Hungerford and Humphrey Stafford expected to share the Botreaux estates. From 1433 Botreaux had deprived himself and any son of revenues worth £200 to endow his daughter Margaret and his grandson Humphrey.

Botreaux's feoffees had settled jointure on his wife in lieu of dower, which were extended at £236, half the value of Lord Botreaux's whole estate.⁵¹ Instead Margaret and her second husband quitclaimed her rights in return for a substantial jointure of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) to them both in lieu of her dower.⁵² She remarried to the Yorkist courtier Sir Thomas Burgh, who became Lord Burgh in 1487, and bore his son, Edward 2nd Lord Burgh. The arrangement was at the expense of her older daughter-in-law Margaret Lady Hungerford (d. 1478).

Of what remained of his inheritance, Lord Botreaux had committed himself to 100 marks for his chantry at Bath cathedral. Margaret's inheritance was therefore much diminished, although she reneged on her father's chantry, and never accrued her stepmother's jointure. Faced by the ransom and attainder of her grandson Robert Lord Hungerford and Moleyns, she sold much of her Botreaux estate herself.⁵³

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

Lord Botreaux, writes Professor Rawcliffe, was 'a deeply religious man, even by the standards of the time'.⁵⁴ In retrospect however his bold intentions fell well short of his actual benefactions. He was brought up like every aristocrat in a household regulated by festivals and fasts and daily religious services. His grandmother and guardian had a licence for a daily

mass in her chapel, which Botreaux himself renewed in 1410.⁵⁵ In 1413 he wanted to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: perhaps he was emulating the first baron, who was licensed to go there in 1390.⁵⁶ The third baron shared in the project for the elevation for North Cadbury parish church into a collegiate church of his grandmother Elizabeth Daubeney, hereafter the foundress. By an indented charter of 1415 (now lost), he had ordained already a chantry college of three chaplains to be paid ten marks each (total £20) to celebrate for the souls of William himself, his ancestors and all faithful dead and for the good estate of his heirs. Initially the college may have been funded from income. The endowment was not assured, so the benefaction was included in his testament of 1415, presumably to be achieved by his feoffees,⁵⁷ but it was actually superseded by the new and larger North Cadbury college.

Lord Botreaux's testament of 1415, like all such wills, planned his obsequies and numerous benefactions to the formidable total of £7,000. He left his soul to God and his body to be buried in the parish church of North Cadbury. Perhaps in case he died abroad, it was the day of his memorial obit on which £100 was to be distributed among the chaplains and paupers in attendance. Another 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) was assigned to celebrate his annual obit, perhaps to create another endowment. £100 was to fund the dowries of poor women, to pray for him; two shillings (24d.) was to be paid at a 1d. each to 24 paupers each Wednesday and Friday for ten years (£104), to pray for his soul. Apart from the prayers of poor men and women, Lord Botreaux valued most those of religious orders, particularly the twelve friaries of four orders from Bodmin, Bridgwater (where his grandparents were buried), Bristol, (four), Exeter (two), Ilchester, Marlborough, and Salisbury, all bequeathed £2. He patronised the two austere Mendip charterhouses of Hinton and Witham – made fashionable by Henry V's house at Sheen (Surrey) – and the small Benedictine nunnery of Minchinbarrow (£13 6s. 8d.) at Barrow Gurney. He patronised none of the other 14 abbeys and priories of whatever order in Somerset, nor the adjoining south-western counties, nor the cathedrals of Bath, Exeter, Salisbury nor Wells, nor any of secular colleges such as Stoke-sub-Hamdon in Somerset, Ottery St Mary, or Crediton in Devon. However, it was a secular college of three chaplains for three years at North Cadbury where Botreaux wished to commission masses for his soul forever, pending the establishment of a secular college there. His indented charter was probably a last will that directed the feoffees to raise from revenues of land the vast sum of £6,000, equivalent of an endowment of more than £200 a year, which

was achievable during his daughters' minorities. It is an accepted rule of thumb that the capital cost of land was ten times the income (or 10%) in the 14th century and 20 times the income (or 5%) in the 15th century. No such charter now survives and the trusts were superseded. If his daughters proved to be his heirs, as did indeed happen, the £1,000 earmarked for their marriage portions were to be spent on the poor, on indigent tenants, and on equipment for the churches of his patronage. The rest (if any) of all his goods and chattels was to be spent on his servants and tenants and any residue to the poor.⁵⁸ Testators habitually overspent when threatened imminently by death: Botreaux's lavish provision was to be funded by his feoffees from his enfeoffment whilst his young daughters grew up.

Actually Botreaux was not to die until 1462 and his religious preferences certainly changed several times during the interim. His testament is the first evidence of what was to become the foundation of the college of North Cadbury. North Cadbury was a part of the Moels inheritance that had been included in the jointure of his Daubeney grandmother, hereafter the foundress, with reversion on her death to her grandson Lord Botreaux. It was she who newly edified the church. The church of St Michael the Archangel was rapidly rebuilt in the Perpendicular style and was truly spectacular architecturally. The west tower, which was unexceptional, was completed by 1407 and the rest by 1417. There was an aisled and clerestoried nave of five bays, a choir of three bays, and matching north and south porches. As befitted a collegiate church, the sills of the choir windows were elevated above the sedilia and the clergy's stalls. There were 14 rather grand stalls, each canopied and with misericords, for the rector, six priests, four clerks and two choristers.⁵⁹ The rector's house and other domestic buildings adjoined to the north on a two-acre site beyond the cemetery and alongside the 14th-century manor house.⁶⁰ The buildings as constructed included a chapter house containing the chest and seals, the rector's chamber, a dormitory embracing six chambers, a refectory and the infirmary needed for their common life.⁶¹ Presumably these were smaller than even the humblest monastery. The college buildings are now lost. The medieval manor house was recast within the grand North Cadbury Court by Sir Francis Hastings in 1586-92.

The foundress had considerably expanded the college of St Michael the Archangel at North Cadbury into the rector, six other priests and four clerks that were licensed by Henry V on 23 February 1417. The foundress paid 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) for her licence to alienate property in mortmain to the value at 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), to appropriate the

rectory itself, and specifically to add the two-acre site for the rector's house. Lord Botreaux and his uncles, Sir Ralph and John Botreaux (the foundress' sons), remitted their rights to the advowson and the two acres. The college was a corporation with a common seal. It was to celebrate mass for the good estate of the foundress, Lord Botreaux, and their benefactors in their lifetimes and their souls after death, the souls of her late husband the first baron, his parents, ancestors, benefactors and all faithful departed as specified in her ordinance (which is lost). Feoffees, including the future rector Richard Wyche, were licensed to grant two messuages, 24 acres of land, eight acres of meadow, and 1d rent and the right to pasture six oxen, six cows, and 20 sheep.⁶² The foundress sought sanction for her foundation from Pope Martin V, who on 24 July 1418 commissioned the bishop of Bath and Wells to inquire whether the proposed college was expedient and, if so, to institute it. The foundress was to present the rector in her lifetime, and chaplains would elect future rectors.⁶³ However the foundation deed as sealed on 21 May 1427 substituted presentation by the founders and subsequent lords of the manor. It was confirmed by Bishop John Stafford and was ratified by the two chapters of the twin cathedrals of Bath and Wells.⁶⁴ On 26 January 1428 it was as rector of the college of St Michael North Cadbury that Richard Wyche received the manor of Loterford [Lattiford] and 17 acres of land and meadow in the lordship of Queen Camel.⁶⁵

Statutes devised by the foundress and Lord Botreaux were notarised by Master John Lanyvan, notary public, and confirmed by Bishop Stafford in 1428: of course he approved of the increase of divine worship!⁶⁶ Richard Wyche was rector from 1420 to 1438, when the appropriation of the parish church was completed.⁶⁷ Neither the statutes nor any of documents prove conclusively that the staff were actually installed or the religious services were in operation, and no names of subsidiary clergy are recorded. It is likely nevertheless that the foundress funded her clergy from income. In 1428 the foundress and her grandson were committed to implementing the endowment licensed in 1417 and 1423, but she never alienated it. Understandably she preferred to postpone the permanent loss of 100 marks worth of income to her heir.

Early generations of benefactors had founded monasteries, who offered differing degrees of austerity, contrasting rules, and lifestyle that were options from which late medieval founders could choose. Monasteries were especially expensive. They required a range of elaborate architectural spaces, always a separate church or choir, a cloister, chapter house, dormitory, refectory and infirmary, and they

restricted the scope for a founder to impose his or her own stamp. Hence the attraction of the collegiate church. A college founder could dispense with superfluous buildings, tailor the liturgy to his/her taste, and focus exclusively on the commemoration of the founder and his family which was the main purpose and also on the monuments of the family. At North Cadbury the table tomb of the first Lord Botreaux and his lady stood alongside the high altar in the choir. Many aristocrats had founded collegiate churches, some exceedingly grand and indeed cathedralesque, like St George's Chapel at Windsor or Fotheringhay College, whilst others were more modest like those founded by the Etchingham at Etchingham (Sussex) and the Lords Cobham at Lingfield (Surrey) and Cobham (Kent).⁶⁸ North Cadbury was larger than the only preceding Somerset chantry college, founded in 1303 by Sir John Beauchamp for a warden/provost and four chaplains at nearby Stoke-under-Hamdon,⁶⁹ and it was more developed. Sir Guy de Brian's college at Slapton (Devon) in 1351-2 and Bishop Edington's house of Bonhommes at Edington (Wiltshire) were also headed by a rector.

Like other English colleges, North Cadbury had a common seal, a common chest with two keys, a chapter house, and other insignia. Typically its statutes banned all lay people from the choir services, all guests unless to the college's utility, suspect women, hunting dogs, corrodies and pensions. North Cadbury operated the use of Sarum, like most of other collegiate churches on England, not just as masses and canonical hours, but all such Sarum practices as bellringing at matins, mass, vespers and canonical hours. The lights, books, and ornaments all conformed to the Sarum ordinal – even the grace at table. The chaplains were clad in fine surplices and amices and black copes like the secular canons in other collegiate churches, issued each Michaelmas and Easter, and another surplice like that worn by vicars in other collegiate churches. The two clerks wore surplices and amices without furs and black caps as befitted clerks of the second form. The two choristers wore surplices and black caps as used in other colleges in England. The vestments were as in other collegiate churches in England. Evidently the nave was separate, with its own altar, parish priest, and font. Perhaps there was also a parish pulpit, though that is not extant nor documented, and certainly there was a screen between nave and choir.

The rector was instituted by the bishop and swore to keep the statutes on the Gospels. The chaplains, all priests, were examined by the rector for competence in their reading [of Latin], their singing and the honest behaviour, and were sworn on oath to the college of St Michael. Both rector and chaplains were forbidden to hold other benefices or offices and were required to

reside. No chaplain was appointed who lacked his own breviary and surplice. Each chaplain was presented by the founder and inducted by the archdeacon; there was no evidence that this happened. The clerks were similarly examined. The two choristers were chosen by the foundress and Lord Botreaux, were examined in reading and singing, and were similarly sworn. One of the chaplains was the parish priest, responsible for the cure of souls and attendance for chapters, visitations and convocations. He was answerable to the bishop. Another chaplain was to be sacrist and was paid an additional two marks (26s. 8d.). It was stressed that he was part of the college and had to share all the services. A third chaplain was the steward appointed or reappointed every six months. The steward took charge of estates, rents, goods, arrears and debts. If remiss, he was fined 12s. Every year both sacrist and steward updated their inventories of the college possessions. Permission was given for only one or two servants.

The whole point of the college was to augment worship for the benefit of the founders' souls. Several of the statutes regulate this aspect. Every day the rector, chaplains, clerks and choristers sung 'with note' the main mass and the canonical hours. Altogether there were four masses every day, one always being of the Blessed Virgin. The three others were the mass of the day (sung), a requiem and a fourth unspecified (both read). Except during Easter, at all the masses every day the celebrant would pray for the good estate of the king and for the founders and for their souls after death. A table of the founders and others was displayed on the altar, so that the chaplain celebrating daily could commend them specially and devoutly. The rector himself celebrated mass at the principal feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, the Purification of the Virgin, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, the dedication feast of the church, Michaelmas, all the feasts of Virgin, and days of the obits of the founders. On the deaths of the founders, the college would celebrate the offices of the dead (*placebo* and *dirige*), the commendations, the mass of requiem, trentals, and at obits four masses of the dead. At the elevation of the host there should be two torches. Bells should be rung at matins, masses and vespers, as at other colleges in England according to the use of Sarum.

This was a demanding, time-consuming and unremitting schedule, yet there was nothing distinctive in North Cadbury college except the restrictions of personal liberty, unusual in secular colleges, and by essence of a common life. In the refectory the rector and four of the chaplains ate together on the top table and the clerks at a second table. Lunch featured a scriptural reading. Verbosity or laughter

was forbidden. Weekly commons were ordained by the chapter. The rector had his own chamber and each chaplain had an honest chamber (cubicle) in the dormitory. Chaplains were allowed leave of up to five days, not including feastdays, and there was an infirmary for the sick. Fines was prescribed for unlicensed absences, chatter at meals, walking in the fields, and other offences.

While the founders wanted to maximise value for money, 100 marks was too modest an endowment for what they wanted to achieve. £66 13s. 4d. income sufficed only to pay salaries: £10 for the rector, £6 13s. 4d. each in six priests (£40), £ 13s. 4d. (seven marks) to two clerks 'of the second form' (£9 6s. 8d), and £3 6s. 8d. (five marks) to the two choristers (£6 13s. 4d.), totalling £66. However the founders wanted supplementary salaries for the curate, sacrist and steward, for twice-yearly robes, and commons, let alone consumables, torches and books, equipment and maintenance, so in 1423 the foundress and Lord Botreaux jointly paid another 200-mark fine to the royal hanaper for a licence to add a further endowment of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), a total of £133 13s. 4d.⁷⁰ Only in 1438 did Richard Wyche resign as rector and the church was appropriated. The foundress had paid for the rebuilding of the church, for the choir stalls, the domestic buildings, the mortmain licences (£267 6s. 8d.), her own tomb, jewels, vestments, ornaments and books. Either she or Botreaux himself constructed the domestic buildings.⁷¹ Rather optimistically the statutes specified that any surplus in the steward's accounts would be taken by the rector and chaplains to augment the common fund. There do appear to have been revenues enough to cover expenditure even during the early-16th-century inflation. However, the intended endowments were never conveyed: in 1548 the income of the whole college was a paltry £28.⁷²

The foundress Elizabeth Daubeney was buried with her husband, the first baron, under their table tomb in the choir at North Cadbury alongside the high altar.⁷³ The third Lord Botreaux's children William Botreaux and Anne Stafford were interred there also. However on 25 February 1435 Botreaux was licensed to exhume the bodies of both offspring and another and to re-inter them in the Franciscan friary at Bridgwater, where his father, the second baron, lay buried and presumably his mother too. He located their burial within the priory church, presumably a family chapel.⁷⁴ At this stage in 1435 it is likely that he intended to rest there himself.

These exhumations signal Lord Botreaux's decision not to be interred at North Cadbury as intended in his will of 1415 and to terminate its use as the family mausoleum. There was space for a second table tomb beside the high altar and for floor

slabs or brasses in the choir. By 1435 Lord Botreaux had accrued the grandmother's inheritance, jointure, and dower, but he now appreciated just how much the endowment of the college would cost – at least a fifth of his income. He proved reluctant to finalise the endowment to his permanent loss. Perhaps the college did continue to function after 1438, when the next rector (again Richard Wyche) swore to observe the statutes, but the specified endowment was never conveyed. Again, when Wyche finally resigned in 1452 and was pensioned, the next rector too swore on the Gospel to observe the statutes and ordinances. How much of the college ever operated – or for how long it operated – is unclear.⁷⁵ However this secular college was no longer Botreaux's preferred benefaction. Eventually either he or his daughter ceased to fund it. In 1548 a church book still recorded his obit as founder of the church.⁷⁶ The college house at North Cadbury survived until 1626.⁷⁷ The church itself was restored in 1866, when the choir stalls were removed and the Botreaux tombs were relocated to the tower.⁷⁸

Yet Botreaux was still a pious man. In 1426 he had secured for himself and his baroness a papal indulgence for plenary remission of their sins at the of hours their deaths and the privilege of choosing a confessor to hear their confessions.⁷⁹ On 28 February 1449 he desired to found another substantial foundation for the good of his soul according to his ordinance. He was yet to decide what type of religious institution he wished to found and where. His licence to alienate worth 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) a year probably cost him another 100 marks. None of the monasteries favoured by his 1415 will were selected for this new benefaction. By 1458 he had plumped for a chantry of one secular priest within the Benedictine cathedral priory at Bath. On 27 June he contracted with Prior Thomas Laycock and the convent in explicit and exhaustive detail. Bath Cathedral was a most prestigious setting and should have guaranteed that his foundation endured forever, at a considerable price. Very likely Botreaux augmented a chapel where his St Lo grandparents had been laid to rest. It seems likely that by that stage Botreaux was living nearby in the St Lo residence at Newton St Loe, where he had refenestrated the tower house. Perhaps also he had vaulted the gatehouse. He allotted the manor of Cricket St Thomas and lands in Somerset, further properties there, and three small manors in Hampshire, on 23 September to finance a daily mass for the good estate and souls of the king, queen and prince, himself and his second wife Margaret Roos. The cycle of votive masses each week was, as usual, the Holy Trinity on Sundays, the Angels on Mondays, and the Virgin on Saturdays,

but rather more individually masses of All Saints on Tuesdays, St Mary Magdalen on Wednesdays, SS Peter and Paul on Thursdays, and the Epiphany of Our Lord on Friday. Epiphany had also been a principal feast in the North Cadbury statutes and there may have been special reasons for his devotion to the others, but none of those selected were among the fashionable new liturgical feasts of the 15th century. As at North Cadbury, 24 paupers received a farthing-worth of bread on the three days before Easter when a mass was celebrated. At the introit of every mass, the celebrant in loud voice bade the congregation to pray as stated above and for the souls also of Lord Botreaux's first wife Elizabeth, for his father and mother, his grandfather and granddame, for all those for whom Botreaux was bound to pray, all Christian souls and all the faithful departed. The Lord's Prayer (*Pater Noster*) was repeated thrice, the Hail Mary (*Ave Maria*), and in a low voice the psalm 130 (*De Profundis*). At each mass the Botreaux Bell was to be tolled three times. The convent would celebrate the obits of Lord Botreaux and his first wife (40s.), his father the second baron and his mother Elizabeth St Lo, and his other grandmother Margaret St Lo *alias* Clyvedon (9s. each). The monks were paid to attend. The priory was paid £1 each year for bread, wine and other necessities.⁸⁰ Pending final endowment, most likely Lord Botreaux defrayed the costs from income. Unfortunately it is not known what else was agreed with the prior and convent, in particular where the chantry was located: in the nave, transepts, crypt choir or elsewhere – perhaps in a funerary chapel of William's maternal St Lo ancestors. The whole church was obliterated when rebuilt by Bishop Oliver King, including any St Lo and Botreaux memorials. The rebuilding of the modern abbey commenced in 1502. Neither Botreaux's chantry nor his endowment feature in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535.⁸¹ It appears that Botreaux did not establish an almshouse at Bath, as the present author supposed in the 1980s, but instead pensioned almsmen on the terms in his will.⁸²

Although he was concerned for his soul, it seems that Botreaux again failed to convey all the endowment approved by the inquisitions *ad quod damnum*. The king's licence for alienation in mortmain was granted as long ago as 1449, the contract with the cathedral priory was in 1458, the inquisitions were held in 1460,⁸³ but yet he still not relinquished the lands by his death on 16 May 1462. The manor of Yeovilton was in the hands of the prior and convent when Botreaux settled his estates on his feoffees, but the manors of Cricket St Thomas, Publow and Chelwood were not. Indeed on his instruction his feoffees had settled Aller, Newton St Lo, North Cadbury, Publow, Pensford, and Wolwade jointly on himself and his new wife.⁸⁴ Once

again it seems that he preferred not to deny himself his income in his own lifetime and to pass any permanent loss onto his heiress Margaret Lady Hungerford. She did not agree with this perspective. These manors featured at his death in his inquisition *post mortem* and were never released by his next heir, by Margaret Hungerford, and were therefore inherited by her and were sold by her in 1463-6.⁸⁵ The mortmain licence was still valid, however, so Margaret was able to alienate the manors of Cheddar and Shipham and the advowson of Shipham in Somerset for £280 to Bishop Thomas Beckington. They served to endow the college of vicar-choral at Wells. Margaret wanted raise money towards the ransom of her son (and Botreaux's grandson) Robert Lord Hungerford and Moleyns.⁸⁶ Whether the chantry at Bath continued is not recorded. It is unlikely that convent continued to fulfil the chantry, obits, and other obligations when the funding ceased.

PREPARING FOR DEATH AND AFTERMATH

Botreaux was 73 years old when he died and surely had ample time to prepare for his death, both to plan for his succession and for his immortal soul. Yet it seems he did not.

Lord Botreaux did leave a final testament that was proved by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but the text was copied neither in the relevant probate register, nor in Archbishop Bouchier's own register. We cannot be certain therefore that what was proved was the original of the surviving testament of 1415, but it probably was. Why else was a copy of it retained? The surviving version lacks the appointment of executors and the probate act. Probably the executors nominated in 1415 had died. The archbishop's commissioners on 2 July 1462 therefore committed the administration to Sir Maurice Berkeley of Stoke Giffard (Gloucestershire) and John Kemmys of Syston, two of Botreaux's feoffees, who were still acting for him on 24 October 1466.⁸⁷ Apparently therefore this pious lord failed to update his testament. No last will is recorded and therefore no future revenues were earmarked to fund his excessive bequests. Obviously the 1415 testament was out of date and it cannot be certain what dispositions could be implemented. It is not even known where Botreaux lies buried. The specific bequests to monasteries were easily fulfilled, but the legacies to his first wife, daughters, and chantry college were redundant. The charge on his feoffees in the former last will to raise £6,000 had been superseded as early as 1417. One aspect that does seem to have fulfilled was the dole that Botreaux had ordained for 24 paupers for ten years, who had diminished to twelve by 1464-5 and

to ten in 1468-9. Margaret Hungerford continued their dole in her own testament until 1477 and beyond: 'Item I will that my lord my Fathers poreman at Bathe by paide yerely eury on[e] jd a day according to my saide lordes ordynauunce duryng the lyves of the personys that now remayneth ther and afterward to cease'.⁸⁸ Botreaux failed to implement either North Cadbury College or the Bath chantry that surely were his intention. Neither did he preserve his estate intact for his heirs.

Because Botreaux had failed update his testament, his representatives resurrected the 1415 instrument, and thus saved his immortal soul from the peril of intestacy. Probably Botreaux need not expect to die so soon. On 26 April, 19 days before his death, he sold Rodden by Frome to the royal justice Sir Richard Chok of Long Ashton by Bristol. On 15 May, one day before his death, Botreaux granted two messuages in the London parish of St Peter le Poer to the serjeant-at-law Walter Moyle for life.⁸⁹ Next day he died; apparently before any new testament and/or last will could be finalised. Bar his widow's jointure, his heiress Margaret secured his estate intact, but was obliged to sell much of it due the ransom and attainder of her son Robert II. She styled herself Lady Botreaux.⁹⁰ Her great-granddaughter Mary Hungerford and her Hastings descendants continued to use the title.

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- ³ T. Gerard, *The Particular Description of the County of Somerset*, E. H. Bates (ed.), (Somerset Record Society (SRS) 15, 1900), 188, 189.
- ⁴ For Sir Ralph, see J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (Stroud: Sutton, 1993), 313-14; *ibid.* L. Clark (ed.), 7 volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), ii. 456-8; Cokayne, *op. cit.* note 1, iv. 325-6.
- ⁵ F. W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383-1500* (SRS 16, 1901), 50.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-1; *CIPM*, xviii. 1146; xix. 935, 957-8; Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC), DD/SAS/C/795/FR/44. The arms of Sir Peter Courtenay appear on the tower arch of Aller church.
- ⁷ The National Archives (TNA), C 137/88/48.
- ⁸ Cokayne, *op. cit.* note 1, v. 503.
- ⁹ Weaver, *op. cit.* note 5, 50-1; TNA, PROB 11/2B (PCC 24 Marche). Margaret Courtenay probably instead meant her great-granddaughter Margaret, daughter of the last baron, later lady Hungerford (d. 1478).
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- ²³ Rawcliffe, *op. cit.* note 12, 166; H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from Land in England in 1436', *English Hist. Rev.* 49 (1934), 615, 617, 619. Clearly the present author underestimated Botreaux's wealth.
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- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 137, 197, 203, 251.
- ³² *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England (PROME)*, C. Given-Wilson (ed.), 16 volumes (Woodbridge: National

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- ³³ *Ibid.* 166-7; A. E. Curry, *1415: Agincourt. A New History* (Stroud: The History Press, 2003), 69, 113; medievalsoldier.org [accessed: January 2021].
- ³⁴ *PROME*, x. 5, 216; Griffiths, *op. cit.* note 21, 21.
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- ³⁷ *CPR*, 1413-67, *passim*.
- ³⁸ *Bridgwater Borough Archive 1400-1445*, T. B. Dilks (ed.) (SRS 58, 1945), 711, 718; *1445-68*, T. B. Dilks (ed.) (SRS 60, 1948), 757, 768.
- ³⁹ British Library, Harley Charter 43 E 47.
- ⁴⁰ *House of Commons 1422-61*, iii. 457-8.
- ⁴¹ TNA, C 1/26/461-2; C 4/1/24. William Waynflote, bishop of Waynflote, became lord chancellor in 1456 and Chaworth died in 1459. It is surprising that Margaret's heiress mother and her stepfather the Duke of Somerset apparently did not marry her in the 1440s.
- ⁴² *CCR 1461-8*, 116-7.
- ⁴³ Weaver, *op. cit.* note 5, 51.
- ⁴⁴ If it was this Margaret was who mentioned in Margaret Clyvedon's will.
- ⁴⁵ *Register of John Stafford Bishop of Bath and Wells 1424-43, Volume 2*, T. S. Holmes (ed.) (SRS 32, 1916), 170; www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_de_Botreaux,_3rd_Baron_Botreaux [accessed: January 2021].
- ⁴⁶ Rodden by Frome was settled on William and Elizabeth in 1406 (SHC, DD/SAS/C/795/FR/44) and resettled on Anne and John Stafford; possibly an indication that Elizabeth was already dead.
- ⁴⁷ Rawcliffe, *op. cit.* note 12, 170-2.
- ⁴⁸ HMC, 78 *Hastings*, i. 241.
- ⁴⁹ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iv, 249-66.
- ⁵⁰ *CIPM*, xxii. 66-68; TNA, C 140/3/30/3; *House of Commons, 1422-61*, vi. 673; *Register of John Stafford*, 170. It is difficult to distinguish several Humphrey Staffords.
- ⁵¹ TNA, C 140/7/15/15; *CCR 1461-8*, 116-17. She was entitled to dower of lands that her husband held in fee, but probably most were enfeoffed before her marriage and thus not subject to dower.
- ⁵² M. A. Hicks, *Richard III and the Rivals: Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1991), 171.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 205-8.
- ⁵⁴ Rawcliffe, *op. cit.* note 12, 166.
- ⁵⁵ Hingeston-Randolph, *op. cit.* note 10, 271.
- ⁵⁶ Dugdale, *op. cit.* note 29, i. 629.
- ⁵⁷ Huntington Library, HAP box 2, 14.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *VCH Somerset*, xv 88. It is not recorded who occupied the three remaining stalls. In 1417 there had been four clerks, but only two in 1428. Perhaps also the two choristers had reduced from three. So the stalls may date from the earlier complement.
- ⁶⁰ Orbach and Pevsner, *op. cit.* note 15, 486-8.
- ⁶¹ Durham University Library, MS Mickleton and Spearman 57.
- ⁶² *CPR*, 1416-22, 27, 69; 1422-9, 189-90; from William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, viii. 1423.
- ⁶³ *Calendar of Papal Letters, 1417-31*, 5.
- ⁶⁴ British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra CIV F 216v-17v; Wilts RO 490/1462; *Reg Stafford*, i. 48-9.
- ⁶⁵ SHC, DD/WHh/925.
- ⁶⁶ Durham University Library, MS Mickleton and Spearman 57. Unless otherwise stated, this is the source of the next six paragraphs.
- ⁶⁷ *Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407-24*, T.S. Holmes (ed.) (SRS 29, 30, 1914), ii. 391; *Register of Thomas Bekyngton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-65*, H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C. Dawes (eds) (SRS 49, 50, 1934-5), no. 616. In 1452 rector Sir Thomas Walford swore to observe the statutes.
- ⁶⁸ N. Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 140-60; *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England. The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- ⁶⁹ *VCH Somerset*, ii, 11; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 148.
- ⁷⁰ *CPR*, 1422-9, 189-90.
- ⁷¹ *VCH Somerset*, xi. 84.
- ⁷² E. Green (ed.), *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges and free Chapels etc in the County of Somerset 1548* (SRS 2, 1888), 130.
- ⁷³ Gerard, *op. cit.* note 3, 88, 189.
- ⁷⁴ Holmes, *op. cit.* note 45, 170; SHC, Stafford Register, f.106v.
- ⁷⁵ *Reg. Bekynton*, no. 693.
- ⁷⁶ Green, *op. cit.* note 72, 130.
- ⁷⁷ *VCH Somerset*, xi, 84.
- ⁷⁸ Orbach and Pevsner, *op. cit.* note 15, 487.
- ⁷⁹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, viii. 428, 431. This is the last conclusive evidence that Elizabeth Beaumont was still living.
- ⁸⁰ Dugdale, *op. cit.* note 29, i. 630, TNA, C 143/452/20, 30.
- ⁸¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Record Commission, 6 volumes (London, 1834), i. 536.
- ⁸² See below.
- ⁸³ TNA, C 143/452/20. 30.
- ⁸⁴ TNA, C 140/7/15/15; *CCR 1461-8*, 116-17.
- ⁸⁵ Hicks, *op. cit.* note 52, 88, 207; E. Green (ed.), *Pedes Finium, Henry IV to Henry VI* (SRS 22, 1906), 132; Wiltshire Record Office, 490/1476.
- ⁸⁶ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, I (1907), 497-99.

⁸⁷ *Registrum Thome Bourchier, pars prima*, F. R. H. Du Boulay (ed.) (Canterbury and York Society 54, 1957), 202; *CPR, 1461-7*, 505.

⁸⁸ Devizes Museum, Hungerford Collections, Personal I, Margaret Hungerford's will, f. 275v; Hicks, *op. cit.* note 52, 88. This was not an unendowed or unlicensed

hospital at Bath, as wrongly deduced by Hicks, *op. cit.* note 52, 88.

⁸⁹ TNA, C 140/7/15/2 C 140/7/15/2; SHC, DD/SAS/C/795/55.

⁹⁰ Archives and Cornish Studies Service, V/T/1/50.