

ART. VII – *Sir John Parr of Kendal, 1437-1475*

By SUSAN E. JAMES

SIR John Parr was born in 1437/8, the second surviving son of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal and his wife, Alice Tunstall, of Thurland Castle in Lancashire. Under the special political circumstances that existed during the second half of the fifteenth century, John Parr's career typifies the ways in which a younger son could build up fortune, influence and patronage by astute manipulation of available opportunities. Parr's advancement and the methods he used to attain it follow a pattern similar in many ways to the careers of other ambitious members of the gentry, such as Sir John Pilkington, Sir John Scott, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who were to rise to positions of power during the reign of Edward IV. It was this increased involvement with and dependence on the gentry by the Crown that proved to be a singularly important feature of the Yorkist period. The triumph of York over Lancaster opened hitherto closely guarded doors to the gentry for the first time in the fifteenth century.

In spite of being his elder brother's heir during his own lifetime, Sir John Parr held no lands through inheritance. He was forced from the outset to depend on a quick wit, a great deal of personal charm, and his father's connections to begin his own career at court. All of these, however, would have availed him little without the political upheavals, known as the Wars of the Roses, which provided him with unique opportunities to exploit both a more fluid social structure and his own abilities. Under the aegis of Edward IV, Parr took quick advantage of two methods for career advancement. One was friendship with key members of the king's inner circle who came from the same gentry background, particularly William, Lord Hastings. The second was marriage into London's rising affluent merchant class, a class whose support was crucial to Yorkist control of the Crown. With a position both at court and among the London merchant community, Sir John was on the cutting edge of important social change. He belonged to a group of ambitious parvenues drawn from the gentry, many of whom enriched themselves through the incomes of wives taken from the merchant class. It was this group which would go on to form a new aristocracy during the latter half of the reign of Edward IV.

John Parr's origins were firmly rooted in the northern shires of Westmorland and Cumberland. By the time he reached his majority, his father, Sir Thomas Parr, had through means both fair and foul established himself as a leading power among the gentry of Cumbria. Thomas Parr had successfully checkmated his chief rivals, the Bellingham clan of Burneside,¹ by establishing strong connections with the ambitious Nevilles, particularly with the head of that house, Richard, Earl of Salisbury. Sir Thomas' eldest son, William,² was his father's heir. His youngest son, another Thomas, was a member of the schoolboy circle growing up around Salisbury's nephew, the future Richard III. Sir Thomas' second son, John, must have realized early on that his future would not be an inherited estate but lay in his own two hands to fashion as he would. In July 1459, Sir Thomas Parr threw in his lot with the Earl of Salisbury in a very public fashion. He rode to Middleham Castle to lend the earl support in the escalating hostilities between the York/Neville faction

and that of Lancaster/Beaufort. Thomas Parr's open support of the Nevilles was to shape the direction of his second son's future career. But at first Sir Thomas' choice of sides appeared to have been a disastrous mistake. The indecisive battle of Blore Heath on 23 September 1459 was followed by the rout of the Yorkist forces at Ludford Bridge near Ludlow on 12-13 October. The leaders of York and Neville were forced to flee the country and by the first days of November, Sir Thomas Parr found himself an exile in France with his lands forfeit and a price on his head. Were the House of Lancaster to remain in power, Parr's prospects, together with those of his three sons, appeared bleak.

Fortunately for the Parrs, circumstances once again favoured York. When the defeated Nevilles, together with the Duke of York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, launched a successful invasion of England the following July, they managed to turn the tables on the royalists. They seized the person of Henry VI at Northampton and carried him back to London to act as figurehead for their own brand of government. The Neville earls had invaded England for the announced purpose of recovering their forfeited lands and offices and re-establishing themselves in their rightful place next to the king. Never did they foreswear their allegiance to Henry VI nor in any way indicate that they sought his overthrow. But invading magnates had frequently used the same excuse for invasion even when their eye was on the throne. Henry Bolingbroke only two generations before had tried this "king's gambit" with great success. No matter that the Nevilles had no claim to the throne and their self-proclaimed motives were pure. They had reckoned without the ambition and habitual bad timing of Richard, Duke of York. On 30 July 1460, the Neville earls sent writs for the convocation of Parliament. As a Neville supporter, Sir Thomas Parr was acting sheriff of Westmorland, and a power to be reckoned with as well in Cumberland. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that John Parr was returned as one of Cumberland's knights of the shire.³ As a member of this most crucial Parliament of 1460, John Parr witnessed the dramatic events which occurred on 10 October at Westminster Palace and which were to affect the action of York and Lancaster, Neville and Parr, for the next quarter of a century. The Duke of York had remained in Ireland while his eldest son and Neville kinsmen marched triumphantly into London. Now as Parliament was about to convene, he sailed from Ireland during the first week in September and made landfall near Chester. From the evidence available, it appears that York left Ireland with the determined intention of claiming the throne of England for himself.⁴ With Henry VI already in their hands, the Yorkist faction had no need of a second claimant to the Crown. In fact, an outright announcement of their intent to depose a king to whom most of the nation still held strong ties of loyalty could tip the balance of popular sentiment against them. None of these factors weighed with York. On 10 October he appeared at Westminster accompanied by "horns and trumpets and men at arms and very many other servants", all displaying the arms of England on their banners. York then marched across the great hall to the room where Parliament was sitting and before the assembled members declared his intention of assuming the Crown. Before the astonished Parliament, "he advanced with determined step until he reached the royal throne, and there he laid his hand on the cushion or bolster, like a man about to take possession of his right . . .". His shocked audience greeted this display with an eloquent silence. There were no cheers, no cries of support. As so

many times in his career, York had overreached himself.⁵ Neither Parliament nor his own allies, the Nevilles and their affinity, were willing to see the duke replace the king. Parliament, which contained a strong faction of York supporters, was willing, with some reluctance however, to disposses the Lancastrian Prince of Wales from the line of succession. His mother, Margaret of Anjou, was generally disliked and there had been gossip about whether in fact the king was really his father. On 24 October, Parliament ratified a new act of succession that named Richard, Duke of York, as Henry VI's true heir, an *ipso facto* recognition of the legitimacy of the House of York's claim to the throne.⁶

This journey south to London to sit for Cumberland in an emotion-charged Parliament provided the career opening for which twenty-two-year-old John Parr had been waiting. He made the acquaintance of Edward Earl of March, four years his junior and a likeable young man with the same zest for living as Parr himself. As later events were to demonstrate, Edward and John Parr seem to have taken a liking to each other. Probably at Sir Thomas Parr's request and as a reward for his support, the new Yorkist-controlled government secured for John a minor position as keeper of the privy wardrobe at the Tower. Possibly this position was considered appropriate as a cousin of the Parrs, Gilbert Parr of Parr manor in Lancashire, squire for the body and usher of the chamber to Henry VI, had held the same office for nearly three decades (1430-1457).⁷ In the fourteenth century it had been a more important position, although limited in its funds and scope of operation. Originally the keeper's duties had involved the purchase, maintenance and distribution of artillery in the king's armoury. By 1460, however, most of these duties and all of the perquisites of the position had been delegated elsewhere and it had become more or less a minor sinecure in the king's gift.⁸ On 2 October 1460, John Parr was granted the office for life with an income of nearly £18 a year.⁹ He only held this grant for ten months, for by the following year, the Earl of March had become Edward IV and John Parr fared rather better in the way of royal patronage.

Between October and December 1460, it became apparent that the Yorkist government was losing ground. Their inability to establish control in the north, in Wales, in the West Country, and even in large areas of the Midlands left them vulnerable to active Lancastrian resistance. People who might have sided with the Yorkist cause were disillusioned by the new regime's inability to establish law and order in those areas plagued by corruption and wracked by civil strife.¹⁰ Then in December, two months after the Duke of York had managed to have himself named heir to the throne, the Lancastrian army under the young Duke of Somerset and the Earls of Devon, Exeter and Northumberland, struck south with a vengeance. The Earl of Salisbury and the Duke of York with his second son, the Earl of Rutland, marched north to face the main van of the Lancastrians. With Salisbury rode Sir Thomas Parr and his son, John. William Parr came from Kendal to join his father and brother. The armies met near Wakefield and in the slaughter that followed, the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Rutland, and Salisbury's younger son, Thomas Neville, were killed. With all the confusion following the battle, Sir Thomas Parr and his two sons somehow managed to escape.

Severely crippled by the disaster at Wakefield in December, the Yorkists once again managed to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat by Palm Sunday three months later. On 29 March 1461 at Towton in Yorkshire, under the leadership of

the newly proclaimed King Edward IV, the Yorkists repaid the debt of Wakefield with interest. Henry VI and his queen and their son were driven from the kingdom and took refuge in Scotland. The power of Lancaster in the north was broken but not totally extinguished. The Parrs had fought loyally and well, primarily for the Nevilles where as Cumbrians their chief commitment lay, but also for the new and untried king. They had experienced hardship, forfeiture, exile and the neglect of their lands. With Edward IV on the throne, they now looked for reward. For John Parr, the king provided a place in his household as king's esquire.¹¹ This was a much more prestigious and profitable position than keeper of the privy wardrobe within the Tower. The appointment as squire made Parr a member of Edward's personal household and brought him into daily contact with the king and his councillors. In 1461 the royal squires were a small group about the king, all drawn from the ranks of families loyal to the House of York. They wore the king's livery and served him at table and in his chamber. Generally, they were ambitious younger sons or rising position seekers. According to a contemporary source, the squires served the function of junior courtiers and could be called on to do a variety of tasks, from running royal errands to serving the king's meat or entertaining his guests.

. . . of old (the squire) be accustomed winter and summer, in afternoons and in evenings, to draw to lords' chambers within court, there to keep honest company after their cunning, in talking of chronicles of kings and of other policies, or in piping, or harping, singing, and other acts merciables, or help occupy the court and accompany strangers, till the time require of departing.¹²

In addition to being taken into the king's household, on 22 December 1461 John Parr was given a lifetime grant of two offices in Westmorland --- that of chief forester of Whinfell, an area north of Kendal just south-east of Penrith, and that of chief steward of all of the Westmorland holdings of the late Lancastrian Lord Clifford.¹³ The Earl of Warwick received the actual grant of the Clifford lands but with the fees and the perquisites of the offices of steward as well as chief forester of Whinfell added to those drawn from his membership in the king's household, John Parr now had an income he could call his own.

During the next year, Parr divided his time between London and the north. As king's esquire, the requirements of his service at court were periodic and were interspersed with periods in the north. He served in action against the Scots in November 1461¹⁴ and it may have been the quality of this service which brought him the grants of December. In February he was back in the north on a commission of the peace and three months later, the king granted him another windfall from the Clifford estates, the hereditary shrievalty of Westmorland.¹⁵ But Parr seems not to have been interested in making a career for himself in the north and well aware that a better chance for advancement lay at court. After the spring of 1462, Parr moved south on a more or less permanent basis and did not return as a resident to the north west for nearly ten years.

John Parr's career at court prospered. By the autumn of 1467, he was promoted from esquire of the household to esquire for the body, a prestigious appointment held by less than twenty young men, most of them sons of noble houses.¹⁶ These esquires for the body and their companion group, the knights for the body, not only served the king as household retainers, they were also men with influence in their

home shires, "by whom it may be known the disposition of the countries".¹⁷ They formed a network which provided the king with vital information and acted as a link between those who had power at court and those who had influence in the shires. These household men filled such positions as shire shrievalties and sat as county commissioners of the peace. Many of them, like John Parr, were also stewards, auditors or receivers for the king's estates in their home counties and were charged with ensuring the king's sources of revenue from his widespread lands. The dual interests of these men at court and at home bound the politics of the counties to the policies of the central government. They were not only Edward's eyes and ears but often his strong arm as well in the country.¹⁸ John Parr's duties included keeping the king informed of the actions and sentiments of the people of Cumbria as well as implementing Edward's wishes there. The grant of the shrievalty of Westmorland assured Parr a position of influence in Kendal itself. The importance and power of the shrievalty in the north-west had grown rapidly as the Lancastrian resistance in that area was neutralized. This task was undertaken by the Earl of Warwick in his position as Warden of the Marches towards Scotland. The shrievalty was significant both locally and nationally as the holder of the office controlled shire elections to Parliament. In most shires this office was held for a one-year term, but in Westmorland it had been held as a hereditary right of the Lords Clifford. With the death and attainder of John, Lord Clifford, the king transferred the rights of the shrievalty to John Parr. From 1463 until his death in 1475, Parr controlled this office and used the power it gave him to secure his elder brother's election to Parliament in each and every election for which there are Westmorland returns extant. In addition to his stranglehold on Westmorland's parliamentary representation, Parr, himself, sat for Cumberland three times between 1460 and 1475.¹⁹

In the same year, 1463, that he was given the shrievalty, John Parr, together with his brother, William, was also granted £100 a year from the lands of the Parrs' arch-enemy, Sir Henry Bellingham of Burneside.²⁰ The Parr family's loyalty to the Yorkist cause had no doubt been one of the deciding factors in pushing the Bellinghams into the camp of Lancaster and now they were made to pay for this unfortunate political choice. The sum of £100 a year was very probably the total yearly income of Sir Henry Bellingham's lands. On 10 December 1467, the Parrs were confirmed in the ownership of the Bellingham estate with reversion to their heirs.²¹ John Parr now became a landowner in Cumbria but the focus of his career, despite the Westmorland shrievalty and the Bellingham grant, remained in London.

At court, the young Parr found himself in his element. Parr was fond of jousting and pageantry, of feasting and womanizing, as his easy friendship with the king and the inner royal circle demonstrates. Parr was on intimate terms with Edward's close friends – William, Lord Hastings and Sir John Howard – and with Edward's brothers-in-law – Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, Sir John Woodville and Sir Thomas St Leger – and with the royal secretary and future Bishop of Exeter, Peter Courtney, as well as Edward's soon-to-be chancellor, Lawrence Booth, Bishop of Durham and later Bishop of York.²² Some light is cast on Parr's activities during these years by his fortuitous friendship with the Paston family of Norfolk. In April 1467, Sir John Paston wrote to his brother from Eltham describing a great tournament, "the goodliest sight that was seen in England this forty years . . .".

I would (he wrote) that you had been there and seen it . . . There was upon the one side, within, the King, my Lord Scales, myself and St. Leger; and without, my Lord Chamberlain (Hastings), Sir John Woodville and John Aparre.²³

As the only squire in a highly select group of royal friends and kinsmen, John Parr's presence indicates his intimacy with the king and the immediate circle around him. It was with Lord Hastings, however, that Parr maintained the closest and longest relationship. Although he does not appear on any of the lists of Hastings' indentured retainers, Parr seems to have had special ties with Edward's favourite. On 25 October 1469, Parr and Hastings together were given by way of reward the grant of a vacant prebendary for the king's new chapel of St George at Windsor.²⁴ In 1474 this method of reward was repeated, with Hastings, Parr and three others close to the king receiving a grant of the next vacant canonry and prebendary for the king's chapel of St Stephen at Westminster.²⁵ In 1472, Parr served as Hastings' lieutenant during the festivities mounted at Windsor for the entertainment of the Governor of Holland, Louis of Gruthuyse. In the following year, Parr was associated with known Hastings' retainers such as Sir Maurice Berkeley, in the founding of a chantry at Alton.²⁶ It may also have been Hastings' influence that established Parr as constable of Kenilworth Castle in 1471, within Hastings' own newly acquired area of control in Warwickshire. From Parr's first appearance at court in the early 1460s, his connection with Hastings is apparent. He jostled with him, feasted with him, served beside him, was rewarded with him and even, on official occasions, attended him in his bath. Whether the relationship between these two men was one of simple friendship and common service to the king or whether the more formal bond of retaining existed is uncertain. What is certain is that during the first half of Edward's reign, the three Parr brothers chose (or perhaps more accurately, circumstances chose for them) to give their loyalty to three significant and soon-to-be mutually antagonistic political camps around the king. Sir William served the Earl of Warwick and the House of Neville; John served Lord Hastings and to a lesser extent the Woodvilles, and Thomas was a favoured retainer and friend of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Whether by chance or design, the Parr family had managed to hedge all future political bets into the reign of Richard III.

The year 1468 saw the breakdown of the successful partnership between Edward IV and the Earl of Warwick. For the Parrs, this estrangement between the king and his overmighty subject brought division within the family itself. John Parr's elder brother was an important member of the earl's affinity while both John and young Thomas were solidly in the royal camp. John Parr held only a moiety of the Bellingham lands in the north and this made him less susceptible than he might otherwise have been to Neville pressure. Concerned about incidents of unrest but characteristically complacent about his ability to maintain control, Edward was unable to believe the worst of Warwick. He had, however, taken the precaution of organizing the county sheriffs into a spy system charged with reporting local lawlessness and disaffection. John Parr, esquire for the body as well as sheriff of Westmorland, would have participated in this covert gathering of news for the king. He no doubt had his own spies in Kendal who kept him apprised of what was going on in the area. In November 1468, the king issued a warrant for fifty marks as a reward to John Parr, possibly for such service.²⁷ Parr's loyalties must have felt some

strain, for he could hardly have failed to realize that his brother, William, was deeply involved in whatever Neville plots were being hatched in the north. It is significant that on 20 July 1468, when the uncertainties of that year caused William Parr to put in trust his lands in Kendal for his heirs, he named the Earl of Warwick as chief feoffee and, among others, his younger brother, Thomas, as trustee. He did not name his brother, John.²⁸

By the summer of 1469, open rebellion was erupting in the north. In June, the seemingly unruffled Edward IV, together with members of his family and entourage, set out on a leisurely pilgrimage to the shrines of Bury St Edmunds and Our Lady of Walsingham. Thomas Parr, the younger, attended the Duke of Gloucester. John Parr, who also rode in Gloucester's entourage, took time to visit his friends, the Pastons, in Norfolk. John Paston wrote to his brother in London: "I had with me one day at dinner in my mother's place, she being out, Lord Scales, Sir John Woodville, Sir John Howard, Nicholas Howard, John Parr and others and made them good cheer . . .".²⁹ This relaxed social progress was abruptly interrupted by news of worsening conditions in the north. By the beginning of July, the king had finally come to realize that nothing short of military intervention would halt what promised to become a major, Neville-inspired uprising. At the battle of Edgecote, fought between the troops of the king and those of the Earl of Warwick on 25 July, William Parr proved himself an outstanding strategist for Warwick.³⁰ John and Thomas Parr both fought for the king in that battle and through the campaigns of the following year, which ended with Edward IV's precipitate flight to Holland in October 1470. From 2 October 1470 when the king's party sailed in haste from King's Lynn, to 15 March 1471 when it landed at Ravenspur on a mission of reconquest, John Parr was almost certainly with Edward on the Continent. Much of that time was spent at The Hague, where the Duke of Burgundy's Governor of Holland, Louis of Gruthuyse, proved an excellent and hospitable host. It was probably during these months that John Parr established the friendships with the Lord of Gruthuyse and his son, John, that led to his being selected to help entertain both men on their visit to England in 1472.

In March 1471, Edward IV and his followers were back once again in England and on 15 April, the royal forces defeated the Earl of Warwick's troops at Banbury. The Duke of Gloucester "entered so far and so boldly into the enemy's army that two of his esquires, Thomas Parr and John Millwater, being nearest unto this duke, were slain instantly . . .".³¹ Gloucester never forgot Thomas Parr's courage nor his friendship and mourned him for the rest of his life.³² John Parr was luckier than his brother and was present on 4 May at the subsequent decisive battle of Tewkesbury which left Edward, finally, king in his own kingdom. On the day following the battle and on the battlefield itself, the king bestowed knighthoods on those who had fought for him there with conspicuous valour. Prominent on the list of the newly knighted was his esquire, now Sir John Parr of Kendal.³³

The victory of Edward IV opened new realms of patronage and advancement for Sir John Parr. In conjunction with his elder brother, now firmly established as a king's man, John Parr was granted on 11 July 1471, the lordships of a chain of northern castles – Pendragon, Brough, Appleby, Brougham – and appurtenant lands which formed a defensive line from Yorkshire to Cumberland.³⁴ These castles had belonged formerly to the Earl of Warwick, who had succeeded to them on the

attainder of Lord Clifford. The Parrs had been fortunate in their loyalties and where during the first half of Edward's reign they had profited from the unfortunate political choices of the Bellinghams and the Cliffords, they now profited from the fall of the Earl of Warwick. Nine days after this grant of the northern castles, John Parr was also joined with William in a grant on 20 July 1471 which gave the brothers control of and made them reversionary heirs to three-quarters of the ancient barony of Kendal.³⁵ This amounted to paramount control, under the king, of southern Westmorland. Where practical matters were concerned, the Parrs' word in Kendal must surely have held more weight even than the king's. These two grants, added to John Parr's control of the Westmorland shrievalty, made him a figure of substantial importance in the north-west. Yet Edward apparently made no attempt to create a land base there for Parr. All the land that he controlled, he held in partnership with his brother. This state of affairs may have obtained because William Parr's first surviving son was not born until 1478 when William was forty-four, three years after Sir John's death. Thus in 1471, both John and William, as well as the king, probably expected that John would be his childless brother's heir.

Two offices outside the north-west were granted to Sir John in recognition of his loyal service to the Crown. One was the appointment in 1471 as constable of Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire.³⁶ The Parrs had an intermittent connection with Warwickshire. In 1407-8, Sir John's grandfather, the first John Parr of Kendal, secured the shrievalty of that shire and of Leicestershire. This was an attempt to establish for himself a sphere of influence based on lands inherited by his wife, Agnes Crophull.³⁷ These lands eventually reverted to Agnes' son by her first husband and did not descend in the Parr family. Yet some fifty years later, the memory of the family connection with that shire may still have survived. In addition to this tenuous family connection, it is probable that William, Lord Hastings, of whose affinity Sir John was a member, brought his influence to bear in securing the constablership for one of his most loyal well-wishers. From December 1471 until his death three and a half years later, Parr appeared on Warwickshire commissions of the peace and made periodic visits to Kenilworth Castle. If he had hoped that the king would establish him more securely in Warwickshire by some grant of land, Sir John was to be disappointed. The reason once again was probably his expectations in Kendal.

The most important office Sir John held after 1471 was that of the Master of the Horse for the king's household. Given the court's dependence on horses for all forms of transportation, for sport and for war, this office was of far greater importance than the scanty extant documentation of it would indicate. The stables and their occupants and all that pertained to them formed a major administrative unit of the royal household. Control of this unit was kept in select hands for, "the Mastership of the Horse in both Lancastrian and Yorkist reigns was held consistently by members of the innermost group of the king's Chamber servants".³⁸ Parr's appointment to this position reiterates his special place in Edward's household, which rarely numbered more than three hundred men. Parr's high visibility in the household would have allowed him to use his position to enrich himself in the usual manner – by the sale of influence and patronage. The court provided a highly competitive marketplace for the purchase of favours, offices, household positions, reversions of office or land, for the right to provide the king's horses with feed or the king's table with meat. Goodwill was a commodity for which

there was an insatiable appetite and influence at court a thing that could be bought and sold. The precise date of Parr's appointment as Master of the Horse is uncertain. As early as April 1469, while still squire for the body, Parr was buying saddles, harnesses and "other stuff belonging to our stable" for the king.³⁹ It seems unlikely though that a mere squire for the body would be given such an office and so Parr probably was not appointed officially to the mastership until after 4 May 1471 when he received his knighthood. The requirements of the office were many and varied. Besides "stuff for the stables", saddles and equipage, Parr purchased many of the horses as well. His contacts in Flanders, established perhaps during his six-month exile there with the king in 1470-1, stood him in good stead and Parr made at least one and probably more journeys there to buy horses from the justly renowned Flemish stock.⁴⁰

As Master of the Horse, knight for the body and intimate of the king, Sir John Parr's position at court was assured. It now remained for him to provide himself with an heir to his flourishing career and growing fortune. As the prospective heir of his brother and of the Parr patrimony in Cumbria and Lancashire, Sir John Parr's marriage was a matter of some importance. His choice of a bride was symptomatic of the times and of the somewhat radical social attitudes of the king. Sir John chose to marry among the increasingly important merchant class of London. On 30 April 1472, Sir John Paston wrote from London to his brother: "Sir John Parr is your friend and mine . . . I heard somewhat of him by a back friend of yours; ye shall know more hereafter".⁴¹ What Paston had probably heard was the news of Parr's marriage. Sir John's new wife was the daughter of Sir John Yonge, knight, merchant, alderman, master of the Grocers' Guild, Lord Mayor of London (1466-67), knight in Parliament, and soon-to-be mayor of the Staple at Calais (1476).⁴² Yonge had been one of eleven aldermen knighted by the king in 1471 as a reward for their courage in holding the city of London against the Neville rebels. This reward was an uncommon one, for civic officials rarely came in for knighthoods. The royal gesture not only indicated the outstanding service, both military and monetary, that Yonge and his fellow aldermen had offered the king in time of war, it also indicated a new relationship forming between the court and the merchant community to which the aldermen belonged. Sir John Parr's marriage to the daughter of Sir John Yonge was part of a trend begun and encouraged by the king to increase social interaction between the monied merchants of London and the ever-needy Crown. Edward was both beholden to the merchants for past support and dependent on them for future loans. They had lent him money in time of need and in 1471 had held London for him against the Lancastrian assault of the Bastard of Fauconberg and his Kentish troops. Their continued financial backing and goodwill were crucial to the regime. Edward knew this and set himself to court them. In addition to loans, the king was involved in a number of merchant ventures, the income from which during the last decade of his reign helped to make him financially independent of Parliament. For Edward, the London mercantile community proved to be a ready source of loans, susceptible to the king's charm, flattered by his attention, and willing to invest, heavily at times, in his continuation on the throne.

Sir John Parr's new father-in-law was the son of Thomas Yonge, member of a well-known merchant family from Bristol. Thomas Yonge was a supporter of the Duke of York, and had risen in the 1451 session of Parliament to propose that the

Duke of York be made heir presumptive to Henry VI. For his impertinence, Thomas Yonge found himself in the Tower on charges of treason.⁴³ In the 1455-6 Parliament, an irate Yonge introduced a private bill seeking one thousand marks in damages for his imprisonment and compensation for such losses as he sustained while in prison. Some recompense was given him but his outspokenness got him into trouble again and on 25 November 1460, his son, John, was once again posting bail for his father's release from the Tower. John Yonge's own youth was full of adventure. With his father in and out of prison, which was an expensive business, John Yonge turned his attentions to making money, skirting the narrow line between enterprise and piracy. He was arrested and pardoned for piracy and a variety of other mercantile crimes in the last years of Henry VI's reign, a not unusual background for most commercial careers. In a world without effective navies or coastguards, a rough and ready approach to trade was a necessity for success. An irony of John Yonge's early lawless career was that his elder brother, Thomas Yonge, the younger, was a lawyer at the Middle Temple in London who subsequently became a prominent judge.⁴⁴ John Yonge, however, settled down and established himself as one of the principal powers in the merchant community, serving as Lord Mayor of London in 1466-7. A contemporary chronicler remarked that, "men called him 'the good mayor'".⁴⁵ Yonge married twice, had three sons and three daughters, and owned lands in Hertfordshire, principally in Cheshunt, as well as in London and Middlesex.⁴⁶ The king's active interest in trading and the wool industry provided great opportunities for men like John Yonge, and the unsettled conditions of the 1460s and early 1470s offered the chance to collect a knighthood as a reward for loyalty. Such an honour coupled with wealth, "facilitated the movement of merchant families into the upper ranks of the landed gentry".⁴⁷ The possibility of marrying their daughters to prominent members of the gentility was a totally new development at this time. Few courtiers prior to Edward's reign would have considered a match with a London merchant's family anything but lese majesty. Yet now, John, Lord Howard, one of those closest to the king, married Margaret Chedworth, the widow of a London merchant. Sir Thomas Vaughan, one of Edward's most trusted servants, married a grocer's widow. Sir John Fogge, treasurer of the royal household, married his son to the daughter of a grocer, Sir Richard Lee, and Sir John Parr, Master of the Horse and knight for the body, joined the trend by marrying the daughter of a wealthy grocer. It is noteworthy that these bridegrooms all belonged to the group of "new men" around the king. They were quick to see the advantages which a marital alliance with the money of London could bring to men whose heritable incomes were negligible but whose royal popularity was high. It was the parvenues, the upstarts, the younger sons who lacked the resources of large inherited estates to finance their ambitions who viewed the overflowing coffers of the merchant community with eager regard. By 14 June 1472 Parr's marriage had been consummated and John Paston in Norfolk replied to his brother's letter:

I pray you recommend me to Sir John Parr with all my service and tell him by my trowth I longed never sorer to see my lady than I do to see his mastership; and I pray God that he arise never a morning from my lady his wife without it be against her will till such time as he bring her to our Lady of Walsingham.⁴⁸

Paston's comment about Walsingham is significant. It was a well-known place of

pilgrimage for women trying to bear sons or praying for a safe delivery. In 1472, John Parr was about thirty-five and his brother, William, thirty-eight. Neither had an heir and with an average life expectancy of forty, time was nipping at their heels. It was imperative for the welfare of the family fortunes that one or both produce a son. In the next three years, Sir John Parr's wife produced at least one son, John Parr, the younger, but Sir William Parr's burst of sons in the final years of the decade put an end to young John's hopes of an inheritance in the north.

Sir John Parr, however, had no foreknowledge of this and, by his advantageous marriage, he became an important link in the "mutually convenient economic connections" between London and the court.⁴⁹ As a member of both communities, Parr was in a position to serve the interests of both and to get rich doing it. The records of the day bear witness to Parr's active participation in the business transactions of his father-in-law's friends and relatives. Parr served as trustee for their estates, witness to demises and enfeoffments.⁵⁰ When his duties in the royal household required him to buy horses, stable supplies or "stuff" for the royal table, no doubt the London merchants offered him a family rate. If a merchant had a legal case he was prosecuting or a grant he was hoping to receive, John Parr could slip a word in the right ear. If the king wanted a loan or information on a foreign venture, Parr could act as his agent. Not only this, but Parr still retained close ties to the shires through the shrievalty of Westmorland, his vested interests in Kendal, and his constableness of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. This made him a very useful royal servant in a variety of capacities and was typical of the assortment of roles that Edward's "new men" were called upon to play. But John Parr was not a merchant, however close he may have been to men like John Yonge, Thomas and Hugh Brice, Sir Ralph Verney, Sir George Ireland, Robert Molineux, John Vavasour or the Woburne family, all prominent in the commercial life of the city. Nor was he ever considered anything but the son of landed gentry, claiming by birth, breeding and right, the elevated position to which most merchants could only aspire. His forebears had served the kings of England and their royal relatives for over a hundred years, a fact of which the Parrs were justly proud. Sir John may have been a younger son, but like his brothers and their father before them, he was a member of a class highly sensitive to a right regard of their dignity and consequence.

Parr may have been an effective and useful link between the money and commerce of the city and the land and position of the court, but he also recognized the importance of cultivating close associations with the great magnates of Edward's household, particularly William, Lord Hastings. It is likely that Parr, together with Hastings, was part of the royal retinue which had fled with Edward to the Low Countries in October 1470 and found not only refuge but a generous hospitality at the hands of Louis of Gruthuyse, Governor of Holland. In 1472, after his reclamation of the throne, Edward sent word to Louis via a delegation, one of whose members was Sir John Yonge, that he wished to honour him in England by creating him Earl of Winchester. In October, just two years after Edward had fled England to exile, Louis set sail to visit the re-established king.⁵¹ He was received at Windsor by Lord Hastings in the company of John Parr and John Donne, and these three greeted him with all marks of respect and affection, and "received him to the king". Louis of Gruthuyse was a man of cultivated tastes, a collector of books and illuminated manuscripts. He was very much a sophisticated member of the

Burgundian court, a court whose wealth, elegance and artistic preoccupations were legendary. It is therefore of significance that John Parr was chosen as one of Louis' principal hosts for Parr, like Louis, Edward and Hastings, was apparently a courtier of sophisticated tastes and sensual appetites. After being greeted by the king, Louis was conducted to a chamber hung with rich tapestries and "cloths of arras", by Hastings, Parr,

(and) divers more, which supped with him in his chamber . . . He was then taken into the presence of the king, who led him to the queen's apartments, where she sat playing with her ladies at the "morteaulx" (a game resembling bowls), whilst other ladies danced or played ninepins with ivory pins. The king himself danced with his eight-year-old daughter, the Princess Elizabeth.

Louis was entertained in Edward's most lavish style. Sumptuous banquets and gala hunts were interspersed with gift-giving and the singing of masses by English voices with an international reputation. After a state banquet held in the queen's chambers, Louis was escorted to special "chambers of pleasance" by the king and queen and when they had withdrawn Hastings and Louis shared the luxury of hot baths together, attended by Louis' son, John of Gruthuysse, and Sir John Parr. The men feasted on green ginger, the spiced wine known as hippocras and various other expensive sweetmeats. Although the record of Louis' visit to England gives a rare picture of court life, no doubt this was not the only important visitation or elaborate social function in which John Parr played a significant part. He was far more the traditional courtier than his brother, William, and seemed not at all unhappy with the role. But he was not always at court.

From 1471 to his death in the spring of 1475, John Parr was frequently on the move. With William Parr's rapidly expanding role in the king's household,⁵² he and John began to share the duties of estate management of the Parr lands in the north-west. Sir John, who had been conspicuously absent from the north during the 1460s, now began to reappear on Cumbrian commissions. On 20 July 1471, he was named to a commission to arrest supporters of Lancaster whose lands had been forfeited. In August 1472, he witnessed a charter in Kendal and was witness to a lease and a bond there in that year as well. In August 1474, he was named to a northern commission to investigate irregularities in Westmorland wool shipments. Parr, too, apparently spent more time during these four years exercising the office of sheriff at first hand. There was a certain incentive for this as the king had increased rewards to county sheriffs to ensure their loyalty and support. Ralph Blenkansop had been acting as Parr's undersheriff during the decade Sir John spent in the south, but after 1471 Parr's own name appears more often in the north as acting sheriff.⁵³ Sir John also managed without much difficulty to have himself elected to Parliament for Cumberland in the long Parliament of 1472-1475. His brother, William's, position as sheriff of the county at that time ensured his return. All of this evidence implies an increased presence during the early 1470s of Sir John Parr in Kendal and Carlisle.

In his frequent trips to Kendal and to Kenilworth, where he was still constable, John Parr's peripetic life was no different from his fellows in the royal household or from the king himself. Between 1471 and 1475, Parr seems to have been constantly on the move. There were trips to Westmorland to consult with stewards about the

Parr estates, to keep his eye on his rights or the king's good or to serve on a commission. There were journeys into Warwickshire to visit Kenilworth or serve as justice of the peace, horse buying visits to the Low Countries, visits to Norfolk to see his friends, the Pastons, to Calais to buy for the royal table and always there were his duties as courtier and knight for the body in the royal household. The last year of John Parr's life was a crammed schedule of duties and obligations. On 12 February 1474 Parr was in Warwickshire. The next month, on 30 March, he was ordered by the king, together with John Sturgeon,⁵⁴ to muster at Southwark in London thirteen men-at-arms and one thousand archers who were to be sent to the Continent to fight in the Duke of Burgundy's army. This was part of Edward's alliance agreement with Burgundy against Louis XI of France. It is possible that Parr and Sturgeon captained this fighting contingent and accompanied it to the Continent. But if so, it was a summer campaign, for by 22 September, Parr was back at Kenilworth. After Christmas, which it might be supposed that he kept in London with his family, he left once more for the Continent. That ubiquitous letter writer, Sir John Paston, wrote home from Calais on 17 January 1475 that: "Sir John Parr and William Berkeley came this way to Flanders ward to buy them horses and herneys and I made Sir John Parr good cheer as I could for your sake and he told me that ye made him high cheer and etc. at Norwich".⁵⁵ Parr's trip into Flanders was a quick one, for on 3 February he was in York with his brother where the city fathers made him good cheer by the gift of a pike worth 3s. 11d.⁵⁶ In March, he was back with the king at Sandwich where Edward was readying preparations for his "great enterprise" the invasion of France. Parr fully intended to join the invasionary force. He undertook to muster a force of ten men-at-arms and one hundred archers "as befitted a knight for the body".⁵⁷

In the spring of 1475, Sir John Parr was about thirty-eight years old. He was an active member of the king's inner circle and a close companion of William, Lord Hastings. He had made a successful marriage among the monied merchant class of London and was in the process of building up a tidy fortune with a small son and namesake as his heir. Parr had every reason to expect his own son to succeed to a portion of Sir John Yonge's estate as well as to the Parr lands in Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, which included the Bellingham grant, the reversion of the Richmond Fee and a cordon of castles that stretched across the neck of England from Durham and Richmond to the western seaboard. That this did not happen was due to a combination of factors, none of which Parr could have foreseen in 1475. On the first of April 1475, John Parr was with the king at Sandwich preparing to join Edward's forces assembling for the invasion of France. Two months later, by the beginning of June, he was dead.⁵⁸ His brother succeeded to Sir John's grant of the hereditary shrievalty in Westmorland as well as to sole interest in all of the northern grants. The king was not concerned with building up the position of John Parr's heir, a two-year-old boy, in the north-west and so John Parr's name was removed from the northern patents and William Parr became sole holder of these. What young John Parr inherited is not clear. His grandfather, Sir John Yonge, became involved in a lengthy and costly lawsuit which cut deeply into his daughters' inheritance.⁵⁹ There are no extant inquisitions post mortem on Sir John Parr so it is difficult to tell whether or not he actually owned any land apart from the joint patents when he died. In the middle of the following century, a John Parr, who was

living at the time in the village of Cheddon Fitzpaine near Taunton in Somerset, got a local girl, Joanna Sharp, pregnant and married her on 7 May 1566. He may have been the son of Thomas Parr, who died in the same village in February of that year, or of William Parr, who died there in August 1562. John and Joanna Parr had two daughters named Thomasine and a son, William (1568-1583). There is no real evidence to support the idea that John Parr of Somerset (died 1596) was the descendant of Sir John Parr of London and Kendal, but the tenacity with which the Parrs clung to certain names – Thomas, William, John – makes the presence of this Parr family in Somerset in the sixteenth century at least thought provoking.⁶⁰

Notes and References

- ¹ Susan E. James, "Sir Thomas Parr (1407-1461)", *CW2*, lxxxi, 19-20.
- ² Susan E. James, "Sir William Parr of Kendal (1434-1471), Part I", *CW2*, xciii, 99-114.
- ³ *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1452-1461*, 88.
- ⁴ "But others, amongst whom were the older and wiser in mind, suspected that he (the Duke of York) was going to be litigious and act litigiously against the lord king for the right of the royal crown and claim that crown by the title of hereditary right." A. R. Myers (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485* (1969), 283. Also see the discussion in Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (1974), 28-9.
- ⁵ *Op. cit.* A. R. Myers (ed.), 283, quoting the H. T. Riley (ed.), *Register of Abbot John Whethamstede*, (Rolls Series) I, 376-8.
- ⁶ J. Strachey, and others (eds.), *Rotuli Parliamentari, 1767-1777 V*, 378-9.
- ⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-1461*, 392, and B. P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands, 1461-1536* (1970), 92. Gilbert Parr's wife, Agnes, served as a lady of the chamber to Queen Margaret of Anjou. A. R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (1985), 183 and 225.
- ⁸ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England III* (1928), 481.
- ⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-1461*, 624. John Parr replaced Thomas Thorpe, who had himself replaced Gilbert Parr at the latter's death. For Thorpe's career, J. S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England II* (1981-3), 201, 227.
- ¹⁰ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters, 1422-1509 iv* (1904), 25.
- ¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-1467*, 86, where John Parr is described as "kings esquire".
- ¹² "The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV", in A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV* (1959), 129.
- ¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-1467*, 86.
- ¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-1467*, 66.
- ¹⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-1467*, 187.
- ¹⁶ PRO:E404/74/1 f. 134.
- ¹⁷ "The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV", in A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV* (1959), 127.
- ¹⁸ D. A. L. Morgan, "The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England", *TRHS*, 5th Series, xxiii, (1973), 20-1.
- ¹⁹ 1460-1, 1461-2, 1472-5. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament (1439-1509): Register* (1938), for appropriate years.
- ²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-1467*, 224.
- ²¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 45.
- ²² *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 439.
- ²³ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters, 1422-1509 iv* (1904), 275.
- ²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 176.
- ²⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 439.
- ²⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 417. The chantry was founded in the north chapel of St Lawrence Church in Alton in the name of John Champflower, builder of the chapel. It was dedicated "to the intent to assist the ministrations in the church of Alton and to teach children grammar". John Champflower was probably the son of one "John Champflower, squire, who in 1405 received a retaining fee of 20s a year

as counsel for Winchester College in the Common Bench." (*VCH*, Hampshire, II, 367). Champflower, who held the manor of Alton, appears to have left the bequest for a chantry in his will and to have appointed his friends, Sir John Parr and Sir Maurice Berkeley, among others, to see that the bequest was carried out.

²⁷ PRO:E404/74/1 f. 134.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 106. Robert Ingilton, lord of Thornton manor in Buckinghamshire and a justice of the peace for the same county, was entrusted by Parr to execute the enfeoffment. Besides Warwick and Parr's brother, Thomas, the other feoffees were Henry Sotehill, the king's attorney, Thomas Middleton, a member of a prominent northern gentry family, and William Feynt, who may have been Parr's chaplain.

²⁹ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters, 1422-1509 v* (1904), 32.

³⁰ Susan E. James, "Sir William Parr of Kendal (1434-1471) Part I", *CW2*, xciii, 107-9.

³¹ Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard the Third*, Arthur Noel Kincaid (ed.) (originally published in 1619, republished in 1979), 19.

³² Charles Ross, "Some 'Servants and Lovers' of Richard III in His Youth", in *Richard III, Crown and People*, J. Petre (ed.) (1985), 146-148. Although it has been assumed that the John Mylewater or Millwater killed with Thomas Parr and buried with him at Greyfriars, London, was the recorder and retainer of the Duke of York, it is possible that it was in fact his son, John Mylewater, the younger, noted in the civic records of the city of York as having fought for Edward IV at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. Robert Davies, *York Records of The Fifteenth Century* (1843), 205.

³³ William A. Shaw, *Knights of England II* (1906), 14.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 264.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 334.

³⁶ Sir John held the constablership of Kenilworth of the Duchy of Lancaster. PRO:Duchy Records: Chancery Rolls 37/40/3, and Robert Somerville, *History of The Duchy of Lancaster, 1265-1603* (1953), 560.

³⁷ Agnes Parr appears to have preferred residence at her manor of Newbold Verdon in Leicestershire to her husband's castle in Kendal.

³⁸ D. A. L. Morgan, "The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1485", *The English Court from The Wars of The Roses to The Civil War*, D. R. Starkey (ed.) (1987), 31-2.

³⁹ PRO:E404/74/2 f. 15, Privy Seal warrant dated 17 April 1469 for £20.

⁴⁰ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters, 1422-1509 v* (1904), 219.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 137.

⁴² Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (1948), 376-377, for a summary of Yonge's relations and their importance in the mercantile world of London and Bristol. And E. Power and M. M. Postan (eds.), *Studies in English Trade in The Fifteenth Century* (1933), 368.

⁴³ PRO:C64/41/f.7, Pardon Rolls, 11 May 1455 to Thomas Yonge of Bristol, and *Cal. Close Rolls 1454-1461*, 420.

⁴⁴ Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (1948), 376-377, and for the practice of merchant families putting one son to read law, 224-6.

⁴⁵ J. Gairdner (ed.), "Gregory's Chronicle", *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London* (Camden Society, 1876), 233.

⁴⁶ PRO:PCC:4 Logg f.29 (8 November 1481) for Sir John Yonge's will.

⁴⁷ Sylvia Thrupp, *op. cit.*, 278.

⁴⁸ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters, 1422-1509 v* (104), 144.

⁴⁹ Sylvia Thrupp, *op. cit.*, 268.

⁵⁰ John Parr's active position in the London mercantile world brought him into social and business relationships with important merchants such as Sir John Crosby, the builder of Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate, with William Woburne and his brother, John, with Sir Ralph Verney and Thomas Brice, mercers, and with Hugh Brice, goldsmith and moneylender to the king, with Sir George Ireland, alderman and grocer, and with the husbands of Sir John Yonge's other daughters – Robert Molineux and Robert Sherinton, *Records of the Grocer's Guild*, Guildhall MS 11,654; *Cal. Close Rolls 1468-1476*, #1085, #1106; Philip E. Jones (ed.), *Calender of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London at The Guildhall (1458-1482)*, 168. Parr's brother, Sir William, appears occasionally in these transactions as well. In February 1473, William Parr was part of an enfeoffment to secure Loshall manor in Essex, some twelve miles from his own home at Netherhall,

for Thomas Brice.

- ⁵¹ For a contemporary description of the visit of Louis of Gruuthuyse to England and Sir John Parr's part in the ensuing ceremonials, see "The Record of the Bluemantle Pursuivant, 1471-2", C. L. Kingsford (ed.), *English Historical Literature in The Fifteenth Century* (1913), 379-88. The quotations in the following paragraph are from this source.
- ⁵² By June 1471, Sir William Parr had been made comptroller of the royal household as well as knight for the body. He held the comptrollership from 1471-April 1475 and from 1481-1483.
- ⁵³ PRO: Lists and Indexes, ix, 151.
- ⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 440, and Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy (ed.), *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera, 1377-1654* ii (1873), 704. John Sturgeon of Hitchen, Hertfordshire, was a gentleman usher of the king's chamber, master of the ordnance, and in 1481 he was appointed to take a fleet of ships north to fight against James III of Scotland. Sturgeon was also sheriff for Hertfordshire in 1483 and served on commissions for that county from 1471. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 285; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-1485*, 14, 264, 483, and J. R. Lander, "The Hundred Years War and Edward IV's Campaign in France", in *Tudor Men and Institutions: Studies in English Law and Government*, A. J. Slavin (ed.) (1972), 95n.
- ⁵⁵ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters 1422-1509* v (1904), 219. This horse buying trip was probably part of Edward IV's war effort. William Berkeley was a member of the royal household, brother of Lord Hastings' retainer, Maurice Berkeley (1423-1474), as well as a close friend of Sir John Parr's. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 440, for Parr's appointment to take troops into Burgundy, and *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 439, and PRO:E404/74/1 f. 134, for relations with the Berkeleys. It is perhaps of interest that this close relationship between the Parrs and the Berkeleys continued well into the next century. William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, numbered the Berkeleys among his closest friends.
- ⁵⁶ R. Davies (ed.), *York Records: Extracts from the Municipal Records of The City of York* (1843) (reprinted in 1976), 40-1.
- ⁵⁷ J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament (1439-1509): Biographies* (1936), 662.
- ⁵⁸ It seems likely that John Parr died late in April and that his death was one of the factors in Sir William Parr's resignation as comptroller of the royal household in that month. On 1 June 1475, Sir John's life interest in the shrievalty of Westmorland was granted for life to his brother. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 532. Sir John is conspicuous by his absence from Sir William's enfeoffment of 3 June. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-1477*, 531.
- ⁵⁹ See remarks in Sir John Yonge's will, PRO:PCC:4 Logg f. 29 (8 November 1481). It is interesting to note that the principal executor of Yonge's will was a cousin of the Parrs, Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, another example of the social and business interaction between Edward IV's new baronage and the merchants.
- ⁶⁰ Somerset Shire Record Office, Taunton, D/P.Chef. 2/1/1, Parish Records of Cheddon Fitzpaine.