

NEW THOUGHTS ON AN OLD PEDIGREE

A RECONSIDERATION OF THE COCKAYNES OF ASHBOURNE IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND OF THEIR MONUMENTS IN ASHBOURNE AND POLESWORTH CHURCHES

By RONALD A.C. COCKAYNE

It is with great regret that we learnt of Mr Cockaynes's sudden death while this article was going through the press. Our deepest sympathy is extended to his family.

I

Although of acknowledged antiquity, little is known of the Cockayne family prior to their emergence, during the 14th century, as servants of the Duchy of Lancaster. Their connection with Ashbourne is generally held to date from the middle of the 12th century, although documentation in support of the early generations is necessarily sparse.

Obscure as their origins may be, they had nevertheless succeeded, by the 1360s, in securing a certain prominence within the county of Derby. This was not based on land — their holdings seem still to have been confined to the immediate environs of Ashbourne — but rather on two, or possibly three, generations of service to the Duchy in a largely legal capacity and on almost continuous representation of the county in the Parliaments of the middle years of Edward III.

Between 1336 and 1436 members of the family attended no less than twenty-one Parliaments as knights of the shire (once for Lancs. in 1348 and twenty times for Derbyshire); were six times sheriffs of counties (three times for Lancashire¹ and three times for Nottingham and Derby); served as Steward of the Duchy in Lancashire (1354), and as Chief Steward beyond the Trent (1356 and 1360); acted as escheator extraordinary² on behalf of the Crown upon the demise of Duke Henry in 1361; and as one of the many executors of John of Gaunt's will in 1399. Other posts held include that of Justice in Eyre for Pleas of the Forest in Lancashire (1359), Justice for Statute of Weights and Measures in Lancashire (1356-7) and of the Statute of Labourers (1359), and later as Recorder of London (1394), Chief Baron of the Exchequer under Henry IV and Justice of Common Pleas during most of that reign, throughout that of Henry V and on into the early years of Henry VI.³

Under the first two Lancastrian kings both loyalty and competence were at a premium. These later appointments well illustrate how Henry IV relied initially on his tried officials from the Duchy in filling national appointments after the usurpation. His son, ruling largely from abroad, was content to continue this policy.

Unfortunately, all the Cockaynes engaged in these activities were called John and to distinguish between them, at least as far as the local appointments are concerned, has always been difficult. Typical of this confusion are the inaccuracies to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* concerning the Chief Baron. He is there stated to have been the son of Sir Edmund Cockayne (killed at Shrewsbury in 1403); to have married Isabel, daughter of Sir Hugh Shirley; to have died in 1438; and to have been buried at Ashbourne beneath a monument which has since disappeared. This monument was illustrated by Sir William Dugdale,⁴ reproduced in Alexander Pulling's *Order of the Coif*⁵ and is again reproduced here (Fig. 1). None of these biographical details is itself wrong: merely that they are made to apply to one person when in fact they refer to three, all called John. Some apply to the uncle, the Lancastrian judge, some to his nephew, Sir John Cockayne of Ashbourne, and one to the latter's son. The extent of this confusion may



Fig. 1 The tomb illustrated by Dugdale in his *Origines Juridicales*

be demonstrated by comparing the biographical details above with the judge's will, which is summarised below.⁶

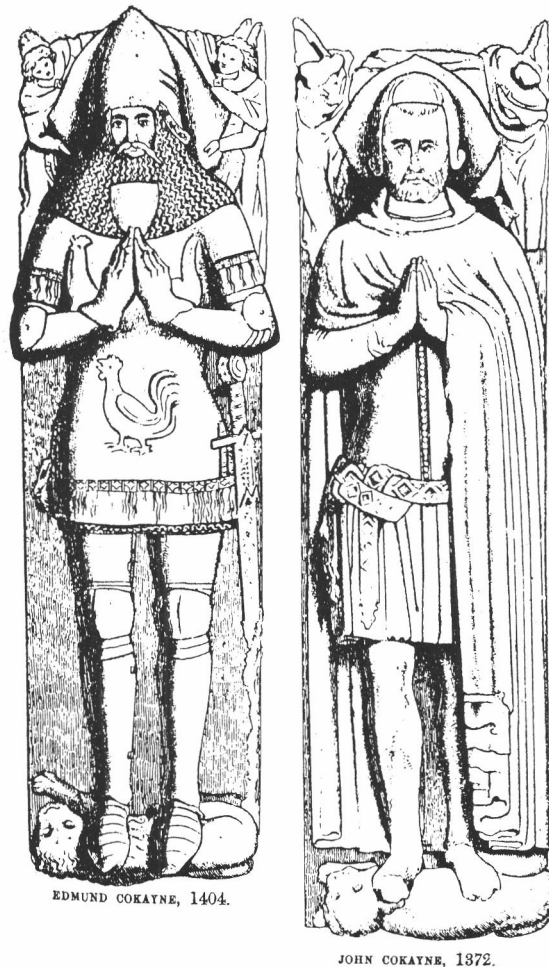
Justice of Common Pleas John Cockayne made his will on 10th February 1427 and it was proved two years later.⁷ In it he specifically directs that he should be buried at Bury Hatley (now Cockayne Hatley) in Bedfordshire. He mentions many relations by name, including four sons, his nephew, Sir John Cockayne of Ashbourne, the latter's wife (whom he does not name), his grand-niece, Sir John's daughter Alice, who was the second wife of Sir Ralph Shirley and his cousin, Henry Kniveton of Bradley. He made pious provision for orisons — for the souls of John of Gaunt, Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V as well as for several dead relatives whom he also names. These include his father, John Cockayne, his mother, Cecilia Ireton, his brother Edmund, and his late wife Ida (daughter of Reginald, 2nd Lord Grey de Ruthyn). He names as the principal executor and supervisor of his will no less a worthy than his friend, Sir William Babington, the Lord Chief Justice.

It is unlikely, therefore, that his wishes concerning interment would be lightly disregarded and Ashbourne can probably be ruled out on that account alone. Moreover, a plain altar tomb once attributed to Judge John Cockayne is known to have been removed from the church at Cockayne Hatley as late as the early 19th century.⁸ This tomb is mentioned in Lyson's *Bedfordshire*⁹ as being stripped of its brass inscription, but a copy has been preserved. Translated from the Latin it reads:

Here lies John Cokayne who died on the 22nd day of the month of May in the year of the Lord 1429, and in the year of the reign of King Henry VI, eight and Ida his wife who died the first day of June in the year of the Lord 1426. By whose souls the Lord is propitiated. 5 sonnes, 5 daughters.¹⁰

What then of the effigy of Judge John Cockayne which is reputed once to have existed at Ashbourne? Much must surely depend on whether the 17th-century drawing can be relied upon. Was it what it purports to be — an accurate representation — or was it only a muddled and wholly untrustworthy rendering of an earlier effigy which still exists, that of the John Cockayne who

Fig.2 The effigies of Edmund Cockayne and his father, John at Ashbourne. The latter is that with which the Dugdale effigy is compared. (Drawn by Planché)



died in 1372 (Fig.2), and which it superficially resembles? The inscription within the illustration indicates that it was ‘among others from the northern part of the church’ (and thus in the Cockayne/Boothby Chapel) and was that of a John Cockayne . . . (but not, as the illustration avers, of the Chief Baron). There is no doubt that there are marked similarities between the two effigies (if two there were) but there are also significant differences.

Both seem to have originated as low single tombs, the existing effigy having been taken up and laid beside that of Edmund at some unknown date. That of the Dugdale illustration, if it had a separate existence, could not have been removed until after the middle of the 17th century and more probably later.

There are several similarities between the 1372 effigy and that of Dugdale’s illustration: both are in civil attire, both wear short, tight fitting tunics and long hose: both have heavy twisted belts, and long mantles. But here the similarities end. The cushion under the head is supported by angels in the existing tomb and these are quite absent in Dugdale’s drawing. The feet of the existing effigy rest upon a lion but those drawn by Dugdale are upon a greyhound; moreover,

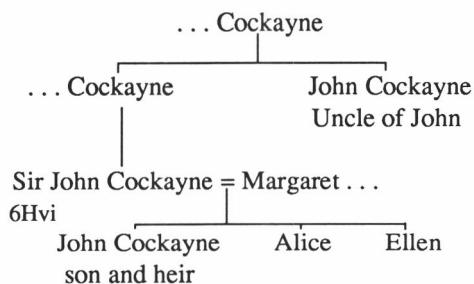
the greyhound is facing the other way. Prominent among the smaller differences is that of the headgear. On the existing monument this is merely a closely fitting cap: in Dugdale's illustration, however, it is drawn closely under the chin in what is certainly a very different style. Other minor differences may also occur in the positioning of the tassel on the cushion and in the braiding on the tunic. For what it is worth, the drawing appears to represent a much younger man than is portrayed on the existing tomb.

Sir William Dugdale (1605-86), was the foremost antiquary of his time. It seems unlikely that he or his artist would confuse a greyhound with a lion looking the other way, or invent the design of a base that was no longer in existence. The other differences, especially the angels round the head, are too big to be over-looked by anyone actually drawing from the tomb and it is difficult to understand how otherwise the illustration could have been made. Moreover, Dugdale was working at a time when the family still flourished at Ashbourne, and with whose members he was on friendly terms,¹¹ and before any of the Boothby alterations and despoliations had taken place.

If Dugdale's illustration is accurate and the tomb really existed, then we have another effigy to identify and it is hard to escape the conclusion that something rather intriguing has long been overlooked.

Andreas Cockayne,¹² while writing the first volume of *Cockayne Memoranda* (1869), became concerned at the possibility that at the beginning of the 15th century, a whole generation had been missed from earlier pedigrees; but reference to the will of Judge John Cockayne and the relationships mentioned therein show that this could not have been the case.

The evidence which so worried Andreas Cockayne was a fragment of pedigree copied from Vincent's Derbyshire collections in the College of Arms¹³ and sent him by the then Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, George Edward Adams.¹⁴ This fragment (reproduced below) was apparently based solely on three wills made by Sir John Cockayne in 1405, 1412 and 1413.¹⁵



Neither Andreas Cockayne nor G.E.C.¹⁴ was able to equate the 'Margaret' mentioned above with Sir John's known wife, Isabel Shirley, nor yet with the then recently discovered Joan D'Abridgecourt, whom (since she married a Sir John Cockayne), they assumed to have been Sir John's first wife. Nor, if they had tried, could they have equated the 'son and heir' of these wills with Sir John's known successor, who died in December 1504, more than ninety years later!

This fragment, apparently found only in Vincent, although backed by the uncontrovertible evidence of wills, was disregarded simply because it did not accord with what they knew, or believed they knew, of the life of Sir John Cockayne at that time.

It is my contention that this little pedigree, far from being the 'red herring' that it seems, is,

for the first two decades of the 15th century, the only accurate one that we have. Properly considered, it is evidence, not of a missing generation, but of a forgotten individual — the son and heir — a young man once of great consequence to his family, who yet became, by reason of his childless state and early death, entirely unknown to later generations of them.

All the other pedigrees, based, we must suppose, upon Heralds' Visitations, proved wills and records of land tenure, not unnaturally overlook him since he was important to none of them. Yet his existence and early death are vital to an understanding of his father, Sir John Cockayne; to the purpose of those tenurial instruments surviving from Sir John's later years; to the subsequent decline of his family in the later 15th century; and to a possible explanation of a missing tomb in Ashbourne Church.

As it transpired, this young John's inheritance was to devolve upon a half-brother, a long-lived namesake, conspicuous for his turbulent and lawless career;¹⁶ his wife was to be assigned, by later generations, to his own father; his knighthood and even his tomb attributed to a great-uncle and his very existence brought to light only in the present article.

Moreover, the oblivion suffered by this young man has also resulted in a number of genealogical difficulties which the Victorian historians of the family could only resolve by ignoring all the external historical evidence. This they proceeded to do and, as a result, another (and existing) effigy in Ashbourne Church has, for many years, been wrongly attributed.

The accompanying simplified pedigree (see Pedigree A) is constructed from one of the more recent accounts of the family, that of the late Dr Ernest Sadler of Ashbourne.¹⁷ Like the others, on which it is based, it nowhere takes account of the evidence presented here and contains four errors of fact:-

- (1) Sir John Cockayne died in 1438 and not (as Dr Sadler asserts) in 1447.¹⁸
- (2) He was never the husband of Joan D'Abridgecourt.
- (3) Isabel Shirley was not the mother of Sir John's daughter Alice.
- (4) Joan D'Abridgecourt was not buried at Ashbourne, nor, has Isabel Shirley a monument at Polesworth.

The remainder of this article is devoted to a consideration of this evidence and of the new conclusions that can be drawn from it concerning the Cockayne family in the early 15th century.

II

There are a number of documents which bear on the genology of the family at this period. The first of these is a deed dated 5 Richard II (1381-2):-

Henry de Kniveton, Parson of the Church of Norbury with others confirms unto George Cokayne, son of Edmund Cokayne of Ashbourne, all his lands and property and after the death of the same George grants [them] to John Cokayne brother of the aforesaid George and if John dies without heirs, then grants [them] to Richard Cokaine, brother of the aforesaid John and George, and if Richard dies without heirs then grants [them] to Edmund Cokaine, brother of John, Richard and George, and if Edmund dies without heirs then grants [them] to Thomas Cokaine, brother of John, Richard, George and Edmund.¹⁹

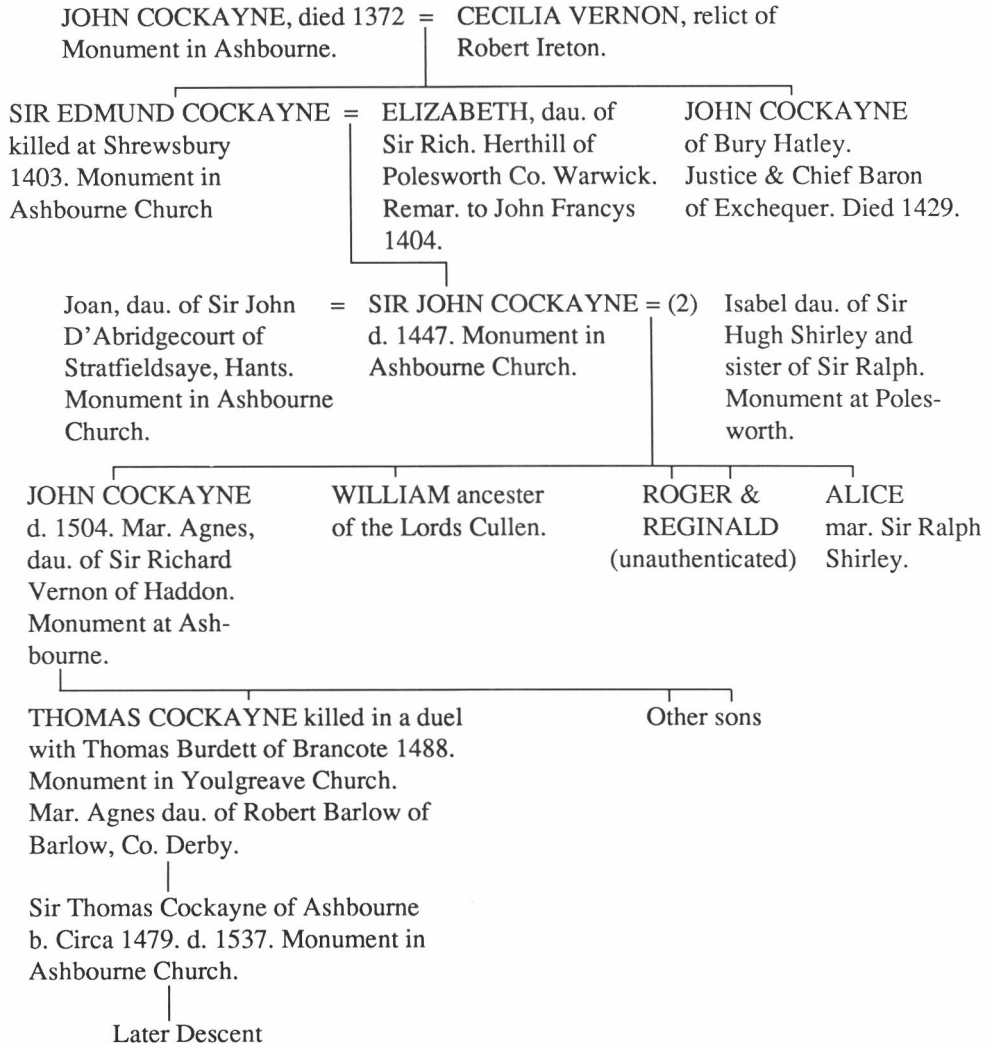
This appears to be an entail with the brothers arranged in order of seniority. What is of importance is that Edmund was already, by 1381, the father of five sons and that Sir John was among the eldest of them. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that his birth could not have occurred much later than 1371 or 1372.

Within two years of this entail, however, in 1383²⁰ and again in 1385²¹ and 1388²² we find him in active management of estates. From 1385 onwards he is described as a knight and in the

Pedigree A

Pedigree Constructed from the text of Dr Sadler's article (*Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*. Vol 55 (1934) pp14-40)

It contains four errors of fact. See text on p 109.



indenture of 1388 also as "Dominus". The fines of 1383 and 1385 clearly discriminate between him and his uncle (the judge), since on both occasions they are alternately plaintiff and deforciant. Moreover, although the judge's name appears in many contemporary documents (as one would expect from his profession), he is nowhere explicitly described as "knight", even in his own will.

The attribution of “kighthood” to Judge John Cockayne is made only in *some* Heralds’ Visitations, which took place at a much later period, and since this is relevant to my argument will be discussed more fully later on.

It is certain, therefore, that by 1381, the date of the entail, the judge’s nephew, Sir John Cockayne, was not a child, but a young man or at least at the end of his teens. Certainly by 1388 he was using his own seal, with his arms and name upon it. All this argues a certain independence of his father, Edmund, who, since he is said to have died at Shrewsbury, we must assume to have been still alive.

It seems probable, therefore, that Sir John’s birth occurred between 1364 and 1367 and thus at his death in 1438 he would have been between 71 and 74. Bearing in mind that the entail places Sir John second in the list of Edmund’s children, it would be equally reasonable to assume that the latter’s birth could not have occurred later than between 1343 and 1346. Thus Edmund would have been at least approaching 60 by 1403; nor (for biological reasons), could John’s mother, Elizabeth, have been many years younger by that time.

Elizabeth Herthill, the wife of Edmund Cockayne, was the daughter of Sir Richard Herthill of Polesworth in Warwickshire by his wife, Alice, daughter of Giles Astley.²³ Sir Richard died in 1390. Her only brother, Sir Giles Herthill, also had an only son William, who, dying at the age of 22 in 1402, left Elizabeth sole heiress to considerable estates in Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire. With all the usual legal delays, however, it is doubtful whether Edmund enjoyed any benefit from his wife’s enhanced status: he is said to have been killed at Shrewsbury on 21st July 1403, having reputedly been knighted only shortly before battle was joined.

If we accept that Edmund was both knighted and slain upon the field of Shrewsbury, then we must also accept that the son had been knighted a full eighteen years before the father! This anomaly remains to be explained; especially as his mother was not yet her family’s heir, nor was his father, Edmund, particularly distinguished. Sir John thus appears to have been the first member of his family to have received the accolade, and to have done so while still a very young man and many years before he would have been due, after Shrewsbury, to inherit the necessary estate to maintain it.

Edmund’s kighthood and death at Shrewsbury appear to rest on tradition rather than established fact. One of the family was certainly there, however, since the Cockayne arms — although inaccurately depicted — is featured in Battlefield Church, along with twenty-one other knights who also participated. According to William Woolley it was Edmund’s son John who was thus involved²⁴ and this is quite plausible in view of his rather more suitable age: he was about 40 at that time and almost certainly married. However, Sir John did not die in the battle — as Woolley asserts and as the commemorative nature of this church and its armorial decoration might seem to suggest. Not all the escutcheons displayed on the hammer beams were of knights who died. These escutcheons were placed there after the church restoration in the 1860s and the correct Cockayne arms are *Argent 3 cocks Gules*, *not Argent a chevron engrailed between 3 cocks Gules*.

The entail of 1381 is clearly the second part or ‘return half’ of a previous enfeoffment and was obviously intended to serve an important purpose. It could have been implemented at any time after that date, and certainly the surviving tenurial documents dating from the subsequent 1380s all appear to have been made in the name of Sir John rather than his father. The former’s kighthood and apparently youthful proprietorship might thus point either to Edmund’s earlier demise; or else to a fairly long absence abroad, with the young John (aided no doubt by his lawyer uncle) left as virtual master of the estate. Whether Edmund was dead, or returned from absence

in time for the battle, is uncertain, since nothing seems to have survived in his name subsequent to 1381. The continuing tradition that a member of his family died or was killed within hours of knighthood could equally have applied to someone else, as will be seen later.

Despite the successful career of the judge, the main family at Ashbourne was to owe much of its enhanced prosperity to the completely fortuitous accession of Elizabeth Herthill to her father's estates. Yet this did not happen at once. Edmund's death, whenever it was, and the subsequent remarriage of his widow might have served to delay any benefit which the issue of her first husband were to derive from their eventual heirship. Thus until the death of his mother, John would, (in general), have had to content himself with his father's patrimony, an estate rather less extensive than that of the Herthills' and still confined to the immediate environs of Ashbourne.

Elizabeth Herthill, however, could not have been entirely insensitive to the situation, for we read that in 1404 John Francis of Ingleby and his wife Elizabeth Herthill, widow of Edmund Cockayne, settled upon John Cockayne, son and heir of the aforesaid Elizabeth Cockayne the manor of Herthill.²⁵

Whether this settlement was in the nature of an immediate grant or (in view of the content of the fines noted earlier merely a confirmation of an existing state of affairs²¹) is not certain, but a year later, in 1405, John was accused before Parliament of seizing by force the manor of Baddesley Ensor in Warwickshire (another of his mother's manors) and of keeping the owners out of possession.²⁶ Nothing came of this charge and the property remained in his possession. It may, however, signal the date of his mother's death. Both Baddesley Ensor and Herthill manors were to continue to play an important part in the devolution of the family estates for generations. Apart from the neighbouring manor of Middleton, Herthill formed an isolated outpost reserved for use in marriage settlements and the hall there was often the residence of the heir and his family during his parents' lifetime.

Because of small commitments to his brothers and perhaps also to his uncle the judge, Sir John might not have been a very wealthy man when he succeeded his father. Yet after the death of his mother, which must have occurred before 1412, the family was to reach the zenith of its medieval prosperity; its estates more than doubled in extent and scattered over several counties. Both the Shirley and D'Abridgecourt marriages are indications of rising social status, while the later Vernon connection was a consummation of this. The fathers of all three brides were very well known; all were pre-eminent in their respective spheres. Sir Hugh Shirley had been nephew and co-heir to the estates of Ralph, last Lord Basset of Drayton. He had also been grand falconer of England with a place at court; while Sir John D'Abridgecourt, a Knight of the Garter, was himself the son of one of the original Garter Knights and came of a distinguished military family.²⁷ Sir Richard Vernon, meanwhile, was by far the wealthiest and most influential of the Derbyshire gentry of his day.²⁸

These associations, together with their increased wealth and past service to the Duchy, were to put the family at the forefront of county affairs during Sir John's lifetime. Unhappily, the sky did not remain cloudless for very long, and there is strong evidence to show that sometime between 1415 and 1421 a serious crisis arose which involved the heirship to the estates. This was survived, only to be followed, after 1438, by a long though interesting decline.

III

It would seem that in middle life, when Sir John Cockayne was in his late 40s, he was called upon to join a military expedition to France. This expedition, says Dugdale,²⁹ was raised to aid the

Duke of Orleans in his quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy. Before setting out he enfeoffed by will Sir John D'Abridgecourt (with others) of his manor of Baddesley Ensor in Warwickshire to provide a suitable marriage portion for his daughter, Ellen. This settlement, which according to Dugdale was dated Thursday after the Feast of St Barnabas 13 Henry IV (1412), I shall call Document (A).

Document (B), copied by Adam Wolley and preserved thus in the British Library as Additional MS 6667 f 136b-137 (quoted in full, though slightly inaccurately, in *Cockayne-Memoranda*³⁰) is another will expressing similar intent on behalf of his other daughter, Alison:

This ys ye wille of John Cokayn Knyght made at Poley ye yursdaye next after the feste of Seynt Barnabe apostell in ye yere of Kyng Harry [number missing] after the conqueste *threttene* yer' as he purposes hym on hys way with ye forsayde Kyng unto the see and costes of Fraunce &c . . .

So there appear to have been two wills made by Sir John Cockayne on the same day — namely Thursday after the feast of St Barnabas. However we only have Dugdale's word for the year (13 Henry IV). His information was obtained, so he tells us, directly from his friend, Sir Aston Cockayne. It is, however, completely consistent with national events. It was only during the year 1412-3 that the English embraced the cause of Orleans against Burgundy and mid-June was exactly the right time to commence such preparations if a military contingent from the Midlands was due to embark at the Channel Ports in August.³¹

The other will (Document B) is defective in date, since Wolley inadvertently omitted the king's number from his manuscript copy. The regnal year is, however, certainly 13. The provisions of this will (which is probably one of those that Vincent used) are much more specific than those set out for Ellen. They reserve the manor of Middleton-by-Youlgreave in Derbyshire to his daughter, Alison, and her husband during her lifetime, provided she marry with the advice of her mother and the approval of the feoffees. There are seven of these, one of whom, William Chilcot, the priest at King's Newton, occurs also as a feoffee in a later document and is of importance to our argument; while another, John Hychkyns, Vicar of Polesworth, is similarly important. The will bars Alison from any part of this inheritance should she fail to keep to the conditions imposed.

Most importantly, there is provision in both documents for the reversion of these manors to his son and heir, John Cockayne. Document (A) specifically instructs that should this heir (John Cockayne) die without issue then Baddesley Ensor is to be "amortised" to provide as many priests "singing to the world's end for his soul, his wife's, his children's and all his ancestors' souls as the rent thereof would provide."

In this connection, Document (B) is again the more specific. It provides for the manor of Middleton-by-Youlgreave to be returned to the children of Alison, should his son, John die without issue: and again, should the issue of Alison fail, the manor is to revert to the heirs general of Sir John Cockayne.

...and after the dysses of Alison his daughter he wull then yt ye forsayd maner wt alle ye appurtenances, yat ye forsayd feffess maken an astate unto John Cokayn ye son and eyr of ye same John Cokayn Knyght and to ye eyres of his body frely bygeton and yf case be yat he dye with oute eyres of his body frely bygeton yenne turne to Alison hys suster and to ye eyres of hyr body frely bygeton . . . &c.

Sir John survived his expedition and the provisions of the two wills were never implemented. They are, however, of some importance. They contrive to convey the impression that besides the two girls, who were unmarried, there was only the one son, John, as in the Vincent pedigree, and that he was childless at that time. But their real significance lies in their date.

Unfortunately Dugdale gives no authority for the year he ascribes to his account and, as can

be seen from the above extract, the other will is not explicit as to which “Kyng Harry” it referred. Leaving aside Dugdale’s account, this second will could theoretically relate to either 1412 (13 Henry IV) or to 1435 (13 Henry VI).

The Feast of St Barnabas is fixed (11 June) and, curiously enough in both 1412 and 1435 fell upon a Saturday. The following Thursday was, of course, the 16th in both instances. Coincidence would be stretched too far were we to do as Andreas Cockayne did and accept Dugdale’s statement while tacitly attributing the other will to a later reign. One does not make two settlements 23 years apart on precisely the same day in order to provide for two unmarried daughters. Such a discrepancy in their ages would alone make such a process unlikely. Thus both documents were made together, either in 1412 or 1435.

Even though the evidence is already, by virtue of Dugdale’s account, tipped heavily in favour of 1412, both Andreas Cockayne and G.E.C. insisted upon the later date of 1435. This was because the Sir John Cockayne who died in 1438 is known to have been succeeded by a boy of sixteen³² who could not have been living in 1412, and whom (since he was the only heir known to them) they assumed to have been identical with the son alluded to in these instruments.

If, however, these documents were in reality drawn up in 1412 (23 years earlier), with a son and heir already in existence, then that son could not possibly have been the one who eventually succeeded: the latter’s death in December 1504³³ would have made him around a hundred years old!

Thus all the evidence for the earlier date (if it was considered at all) was disregarded in order to accommodate this sixteen-year-old boy. But should it have been? Let us now consider the weight of this evidence and balance it against the assumptions of Andreas Cockayne. The date given is Thursday after the Feast of St Barnabas 13 Hen . . .

The Thursday after the Feast of St Barnabas 13 Hen.IV (1412) would have been Thursday, 16th June, a perfectly straightforward date. However, the Thursday after the Feast of St Barnabas 13 Hen. VI (1435) was in that year the Feast of Corpus Christi and would surely have been called so. Moreover, Corpus Christi Day was considered a legal holiday: the courts did not sit and it is doubtful if other legal business would have been transacted either. Thus 1412 already seems the more likely date.

William Chilcot, priest at King’s Newton, was a feoffee in Document (B). He was also employed in the same capacity in another document which we shall consider later and which was undoubtedly dated 1416. He died and was replaced at King’s Newton on 18th February 1425/6.³⁴ Moreover, John Hychekins, Vicar of Polesworth, another feoffee of Document (B) was vicar of that parish only from 1407 until 1419 when he was superseded by a John West.³⁵ Both these clerical feoffees would thus have been unavailable by 1435; the one through death and the other through either death or surrender of office.

Yet another of the seven feoffees in Document (B) was John Dunbaben. He was the Duchy’s bailiff of the wapentake of Wirksworth between the years 1409 and 1414 (Somerville’s History of the Duchy of Lancaster, p.555), and is thus associated with the earlier period (1412) rather than with the later one of 1435 when he is less likely to have been available.

Again, Document (A) speaks of Sir John Cockayne ‘enfeoffing’ Sir John D’Abridgecourt with the manor of Baddesley Ensor for the benefit of his daughter, Ellen. Both the Sir John D’Abridgecourts (father and son) were dead before 1435. The father’s inquisition post mortem was dated 1417 and that of the son 1428. This again constitutes clear evidence on behalf of the earlier date.

In Document (B) provision is made for Sir John’s daughter, Alison, should she marry with her

mother's consent. But as we have seen, Judge John Cockayne (Sir John's uncle) in his will dated 10th February 1427 mentions his grand-niece, Alice, daughter of Sir John Cockayne, as already the wife of Sir Ralph Shirley.

To John Cokayn, Knight, my Nephew, of Ashburn, a ring, and to his wife a ring, and to his daughter Alice, wife to Sir Ralph Shirley, Knight, a ring.

Alice and Alison are surely the same person and thus, once again, the date 1412 is obviously the more appropriate.

Both documents speak of Sir John Cockayne going into France on the King's service, but in 1434/5 he would have been nearing 70, and in that year was serving a reluctant final term as Sheriff of Nottingham and Derby.³⁶ In 1412 he would have been only in his late forties, a much more appropriate age for military expeditions abroad and also it must be added, for the possession of young, unmarried daughters at home.

Dugdale, in writing of Document (A), tells of Sir John's proposed departure for France as part of an expedition raised by the King to aid the Duke of Orleans in his quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy. But in 1435, Charles, Duke of Orleans was a prisoner of the English. He had been captured at Agincourt and was not released until November 1440.³⁷

If Sir John was involved in an expedition on behalf of the Duke of Orleans, it could only have been in 1412, during the so-called Armagnac feud. This quarrel was between the French king's nephew, Charles, Duke of Orleans and Jean, Duke of Burgundy. It arose partly over rivalry for the control of the King's person (Charles VI) was prone to periodic fits of madness) and partly over the assassination of Orleans's father, Duke Louis, in which the Burgundian faction was known to have been implicated. Both sides sought the support of the English king and Henry IV, after much negotiation, raised a force in support of Orleans. This was in the summer of 1412. The expedition landed in France in August, under the command of Henry's second son, Thomas, the Duke of Clarence.³⁸ A number of towns were seized, apparently without resistance, but the force was quickly withdrawn.³¹ Within a year, Henry IV was dead and his policy reversed by Henry V in favour of Burgundy.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that 1412 was the true date of these documents. Certainly, Sir William Dugdale thought so and I can find no evidence whatever in favour of the alternative date. Thus Sir John Cockayne did have a son and heir, John, living in 1412 and, as we have seen, he could not have been the John who eventually succeeded.

Again, if we allow that Sir John could not have been born later than the middle 1360s and that his successor died late in 1504, we are left with a two-generation span of almost 140 years! This pre-supposes two unusually long lives and in any case it would only be possible if the father married very late.

This is what the Victorian historians of the family thought had happened when, in about 1870, they discovered that a Sir John Cockayne had married Joan, the daughter of Sir John D'Abridgecourt of Stratfieldsaye. They assumed that the same man had married twice, first to Joan and then to Isabel Shirley: but in fact we now know from the De Banco Rolls³⁹ that this was not so.

De Banco, Trinity, 18 Hen. VI (membrane 334) London — The Sheriff had been ordered to arrest Isabella, formerly wife of John Cockayne, Knight, of Polesworth in Co. Warwick, widow, executrix to the will of John Cockayne, late of Co. Derby, Knight, who had been wayviata in London on Monday before the Feast of St Matthew 18 Hen. VI (14th Sept. 1439), at the suit of Joan Cockayne, formerly wife of John Cockayne, Knight, the younger, daughter of John D'Abridgecourt the elder, Knight, in a plea of debt . . .

There is no need to quote the entire passage. The case was transferred to Coventry and decided before Justice William Ayscough on 15th February 1441. It obviously had to do with the estate, hence the reference to an “executrix”. Isabel maintained successfully that she was mis-described and was not of Polesworth at that time nor ever afterwards but of Harlston (near Tamworth), and Joan’s case failed on a technicality.

This document proves conclusively that both Joan D’Abridgecourt and Isabel Shirley were alive and widows at the same time (1439) and that the Sir John Cockayne we have been discussing could never have been the husband of Joan. It also reveals for the first time that there were two Sir Johns (father and son), and that Joan was the wife of the latter. Since the tomb at Ashbourne is undoubtedly that of Sir John the elder, a *consiliarius* of the Duchy, and depicts him wearing the S-S collar appropriate to that office, it follows that Joan D’Abridgecourt’s cannot be the female effigy lying beside him. Moreover, since Isabel was so recently widowed (1438), the younger Sir John must have died earlier and during his father’s lifetime, and would surely have been the son and heir who was living in 1412.

Sir John the elder was by far the most prominent as well as the wealthiest of his family up to that date. It would have been strange, therefore, if, when faced with the death of his only son, he had not considered a fitting memorial to that son in the church of his ancestors. The tomb illustrated by Dugdale becomes much more of a reality when we discover a likely occupant for it.

The fact that it appears to have been wrongly attributed to the judge merely confirms the extent to which the younger Sir John had been forgotten by his family. Moreover, since the judge was to die in 1429, not many years after the probable date of this younger Sir John’s death, it is easy to see how Dugdale could have been deceived, since there would have been little difference of style by which he could have been guided.

It was a part of a herald’s official duties to inspect and catalogue tombs and there is no doubt that Dugdale thought that the one he was describing was that of the judge. This information could only have been had, at some later period, from the family itself, who must therefore by then have been in ignorance both of the judge’s real tomb at Cockayne Hatley and of the true identity of the effigy which Dugdale drew. By tradition or folk memory they were probably aware that the tomb represented a *Sir John Cockayne* from whom none of the Ashbourne family were able to claim descent and thus they came to attribute both it *and* the knighthood to the only person known to them who could have met these conditions. This would explain how the judge came to “knighthood” so belatedly at the hands of the heralds and more than a century after the real young Sir John’s only surviving close relative, his sister Alison, had been laid to rest.⁴⁰

IV

The eldest of Sir John’s second family (that by Isabel Shirley) was, as I have shown, a boy of 16 at his father’s death, and the senior of at least three — or possibly four brothers. It follows, therefore, that these younger sons must have been children at that time and it is clearly most unlikely that Isabel would have been both their mother and mother of the dead heir as well. The latter was, after all both a knight and a married man and would have been born at least ten years before the turn of the century. Thus Sir John must still have married twice, even though his first wife was not Joan D’Abridgecourt.

The accepted pedigree, however, which makes Isabel Shirley the mother of those young boys is also open to speculation if we look closely at the Shirley chronology and compare it with that of the Cockaynes. Isabel is said to have been the daughter of Sir Hugh Shirley of Ettington and Shirley, by his wife Beatrix de Braose of West Neston, Sussex. Curiously enough, she and her

husband, Sir John Cockayne, are both said to have lost their fathers on the same day, at the Battle of Shrewsbury — a double tragedy which if true would surely have increased the bond between them. Sir Hugh died ‘habited as the King’: in other words he was acting as a decoy.⁴¹ He was many years older than the king and highly favoured, having been created Grand Falconer in 1400.⁴²

Sir Hugh’s father, Sir Thomas Shirley, had died in 1362,⁴³ so that like Edmund Cockayne, Sir Hugh must already have reached late middle age by 1403: the two fathers were almost exact contemporaries. Not so their children: Isabel survived her husband (who was then an old man) by nearly thirty years: she remarried and was still alive in 1466 at an age unknown.⁴⁴ The eldest of her children could not have been born before 1422, when her husband was between 55 and 58 and the youngest some four to six years later, when he was approaching old age. It is quite reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Isabel was then a young woman; possibly younger than her husband’s son-in-law, her brother Sir Ralph Shirley, who was already in his second marriage at that time.

Isabel’s marriage would have made Sir Ralph both Sir John Cockayne’s son-in-law and his brother-in-law at the same time. Isabel must have been born only a few years before 1400, and was thus a child at the time of her father’s death, which occurred when he was in his late fifties. This is not so unlikely when we learn that her brother, Sir Ralph, was only 12 when he was orphaned at Shrewsbury.⁴⁵

To have been the mother of this hopeful young family, all boys and probably born in fairly rapid succession to a man who was then in late middle age, must surely presuppose youth and good health on her part as well as vigour upon his. Thus Isabel may well have been in her twenties at this time and as such more than thirty years younger than her husband!

We can only speculate as to Isabel’s true age. It might be thought that an older woman, in her thirties and closer in years to (or even older than) her brother, Ralph, would have been a far more likely as well as a more suitable bride for an ageing widower like Sir John Cockayne. But this immediately raises the question of whether, at a period when political alliances and family associations were of such vital importance, Isabel would have been allowed to remain a spinster for so long and run so close a risk of becoming an ‘old maid’. Had she been in her thirties (and she could not have been more), the difference in their ages would still have been significant, bearing in mind Sir John’s advanced age. Such a marriage might then have proved less fruitful than this one undoubtedly became.

As a rule the gentry of this period preferred to marry and to produce their heirs early in order to avoid the danger to their estates which lengthy wardship posed. But Sir John Cockayne was facing a crisis at this time. His only son and heir, the mysterious Sir John the younger, appears to have died during his mother’s lifetime but when she was probably too old to produce further offspring.

Once we have disposed of Joan D’Abridgecourt, the identity of the recumbent female figure in Ashbourne Church again becomes a mystery. For many years it has been assumed that this effigy represents his first wife, and that the other (Isabel Shirley) occupies the single tomb at Polesworth. I had thought that, at the likely date of this first marriage (the later 1380s), his own mother, Elizabeth Herthill, would have had no expectation of ever inheriting her father’s lands so that, in all probability, Sir John’s first wife would have been selected from among the local gentry and not from among the pre-eminent families with whom they later came to be associated. On the other hand the status enjoyed by her children would seem to argue that — whoever she was — the connection was not unacceptable to the Shirleys and D’Abridgecourts. In this



Fig. 3 The tomb of Sir John Cockayne and his wife at Ashbourne. The female effigy is mistakenly attributed to Joan D'Abridgecourt. The tiny escutcheon of Herthill at her feet never had any actual existence and is a flight of Planché's imagination.

connection the following document, dated 20th September 1416, is clearly relevant:⁴⁶

William Chilcot parson of the church of King's Newton and others confirm unto Sir John Cokayne son of Elizabeth who was wife of Edmund Cokayne daughter and heiress of Sir Richard de Herthill and to [or of] Margaret his wife and the heirs male &c. and if John dies without heirs then the whole estate is granted to John Cokayne of Bury Hatley in the county of Bedford Uncle of the aforesaid Sir John Cokayne.

This is interesting on three counts. It might well imply that by 1416 Sir John was already without male heirs and was proposing to leave his property to his uncle, the judge in default. On the other hand his purpose could merely have been precautionary; the document being made, perhaps on the eve of his son's setting out upon some expedition or another. By 1419, however, the younger Sir John was certainly dead, for his sister, Alison, is in that year recorded as Sir John Cokayne's daughter and heiress.⁴⁷

The document also shows that Sir John was content to disregard the claims of his younger

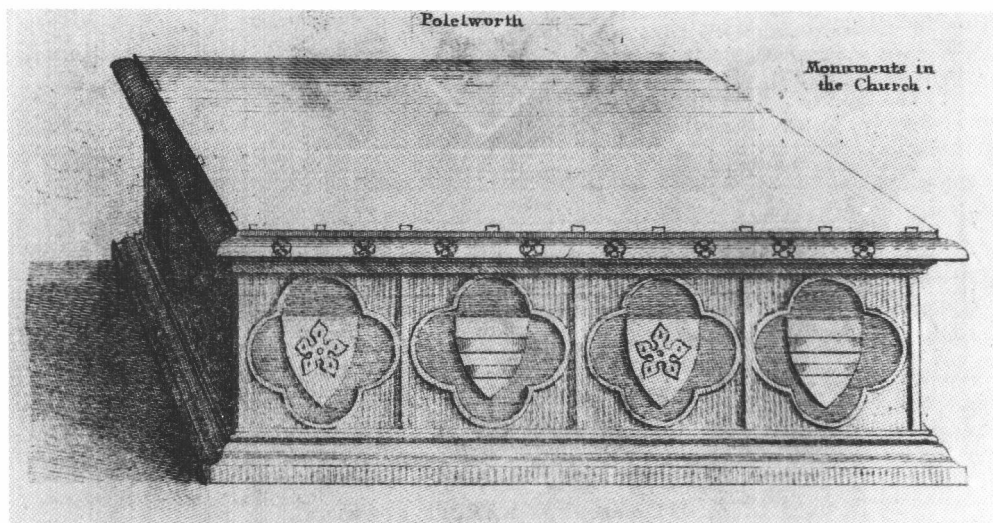


Fig. 4 The tomb of Sir Richard Herthill at Polesworth as illustrated by Dugdale in his *Warwickshire*. The tomb chest shows marked similarity to that of the female effigy there. (Dugdale's *Warwickshire* p. 1115)

brothers and to leave his uncle property, to much of which the latter could have laid no claim in common law. Possibly his brothers were all dead by this time, but it seems more likely that they and their issue had been forced long since into occupations unfitting to gentle status, a fate common among medieval younger sons. Clearly these brothers, as equally the children of Elizabeth Herthill, should have been preferred (at least as far as her property was concerned) to an uncle who was no blood relation of hers.

Thirdly, there is the reference to 'Margaret'. The document is very ambiguous here. Does the 'Margaret his wife' refer to the wife of Sir Richard Herthill or to the wife of Sir John Cockayne? Much of the sense of this document thus turns on a Latin inflection. There are two points in favour of her being the wife of Sir John Cockayne: one is that Sir Richard Herthill's wife is known to have been Alice, not Margaret Astley, and she was probably the person after whom Sir John's daughter Alice was named. The other is the use of the phrase 'heirs male' after 'Margaret his wife'. This could link Margaret with Sir John in that it is clearly his heirs that are important to the document rather than those of Sir Richard Herthill, who were in any case all known to be dead. Then again there is the evidence of the wills, which Vincent used to compile his fragment of pedigree.

Having arrived at the conclusion that Vincent was right and that the name of Sir John's first wife was indeed Margaret, it becomes a matter of increasing irritation not to know her surname as well. Given Sir John's undoubted local importance it is strange that both she and her son have been so completely forgotten. Yet they had certainly existed and I thought it possible that a clue to the identity of the lady might lie among the escutcheons painted upon one or other of the surviving tombs. Those at Ashbourne were re-painted, and the metal ones replaced, late in the last century from information supplied by the College of Arms and taken from material dating from the early 17th century.

Of the six Cockayne monuments extant at Ashbourne, one (*Sir John's*) currently bears no arms at all: while the four latest tombs display only those of families of known lineal connection at the date of their erection. Only on the earliest tomb — that bearing the effigies of Edmund and his father, John — is this not so. Of the 13 escutcheons here displayed, only one — Astley (Edmund's wife's mother) had an unquestionable right to be represented at the time of its construction. Five other escutcheons represent well-known descents soon to be brought in by later marriages; a seventh (Beauchamp) is very problematical; while five others lack any explanation whatever! Even the Cockayne arms — as quartered with Herthill — is not strictly applicable to the occupants of this tomb.⁴⁸

It was to these unexplained arms that I therefore turned; and especially to those of Montgomery and Longford with their obviously local connections and the latter's known *political* association with Cockayne.⁴⁹ But the full significance of this latter coat only became apparent when, looking at Dugdale's illustration of the female Cockayne effigy in Polesworth Church,⁵⁰ I noticed the shield depicted second from the left (figure 5). This shows the arms of Cockayne quartering Herthill and impaling what appear to be the arms of Longford! So it would seem that these arms — Paly of six Or and Gules a bend (or Bendlet) Argent — are to be seen painted upon a Cockayne tomb at Ashbourne and in an uncoloured illustration of a Cockayne tomb at Polesworth. However, J.C. Cox in his *Churches of Derbyshire* (Vol.II p393) prints a list (by Ashmole) of escutcheons in old glass once existing at Ashbourne and includes both the Longford arms and that of the Annesley family. These arms both survive today in the great window at Ashbourne. Annesley bore Paly of six Argent and Azure a bend (or bendlet) Gules, and are indistinguishable from the Longford arms in an uncoloured state.

As illustrated the arms impaled with those of Cockayne at Polesworth are not those of some remote ancestor, which cannot through lack of heir-ship be displayed as a quartering. They are an explicit and unequivocal statement of marriage. Such is the heraldic significance of impalement where, as in this case, the patronymic arms are upon the dexter side. Moreover, this is a connection which has never been noticed before. Nowhere in any account of the family can there be found any mention of either a Longford or an Annesley marriage.

When I checked these arms against Andreas Cockayne's description of this tomb in Polesworth Church,⁵¹ I found that he had confused them with those of Shirley, which, as *Stemmata Shirleiana* endlessly assures us, are Paly of six Or and Azure a canton Ermine. It is evident that this is a marriage with Longford (or possibly Annesley) and that it has, in reality, nothing whatever to do with Shirley. Furthermore, since the Cockayne arms are already depicted as quartered with those of Herthill, this escutcheon must refer to a period subsequent to the death of Elizabeth Herthill. A son may not quarter his mother's coat unless she be *both* an heiress *and* dead. Thus the impalement must relate to a marriage in existence after about 1405, the earliest date at which the Herthill quartering could have become allowable.

There are, however, only two brides in the main line of the Cockayne family, after 1400, whose surnames we do not know. One is the mysterious first wife of Sir John Cockayne and the other is Emme, the second wife of the John who died in 1504, and who was Sir John's son and successor. We hear of this second wife, Emme, only in connection with the surrender which John Cockayne made in 1494 of the whole of his estates into the hands of John Fitzherbert of Ash and Etwall (his grandson's father-in-law), in order to save them from his creditors.⁵² A little property was reserved as means of support for her and for an illegitimate daughter who, in the circumstances, was probably her child. She is most unlikely to have been a Longford or an Annesley, whose rights would undoubtedly have been far greater and protected by proper dower

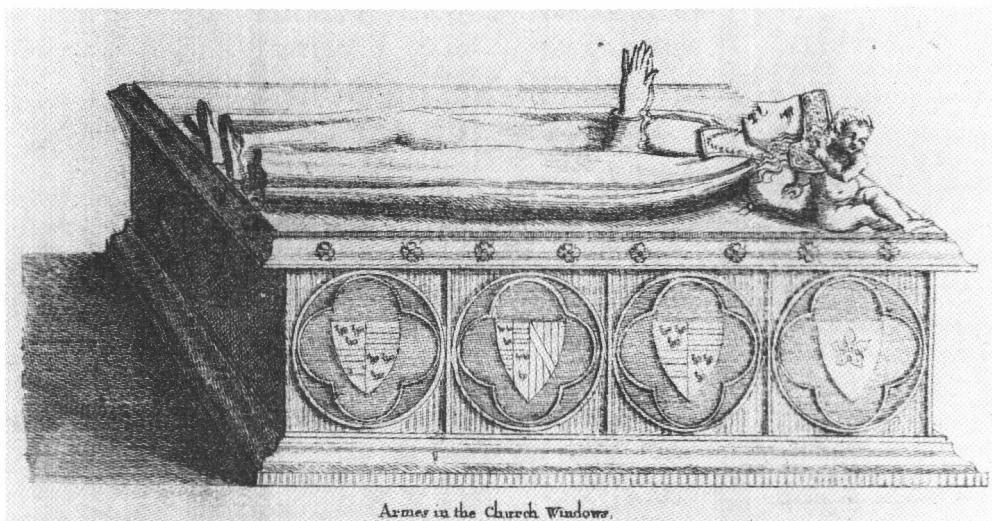


Fig. 5 This female effigy at Polesworth has been claimed to be that of Isabel Shirley but is almost certainly of Sir John Cockayne's mother, Elizabeth Herthill. His arms (second escutcheon from the left) display the Longford impalement, but without the correct number of vertical stripes. This latter factor does not appear to have been critical in the blazonry of Dugdale's day: Ashmole describes these arms simply as paly Or and Gules a bent Argent. Today this Dugdale rendering would blazon Or two pales Gules a bend Argent but would have still been Longford. The effigy, as distinct from the chest, has been very inaccurately portrayed. (Dugdale's *Warwickshire* p. 1115).

arrangements which could not have been tampered with.

So there remains the only other possible explanation of this escutcheon: that it is the arms of Sir John Cockayne's first wife and that she was either a Longford [Langford] or else an Annesley. Margaret was a name much used in the Longford Family and she may well have been the sister of that Sir Nicholas Longford whose effigy is still to be seen in a canopied niche in the south aisle of Longford church and who (like Sir Hugh Shirley) is *known* to have died at Shrewsbury in 1403. This Sir Nicholas was the son of Alice, daughter of Sir Roger D'Eynecourt and, (as a grandmother equally with Alice Astley), her name could well have served as an additional reason for the choice of Alice for Sir John Cockayne's daughter. Moreover the time scale fits fairly exactly.

The coloured Longford escutcheon on the Ashbourne tomb when considered with the close political association which existed between the three families of Vernon, Longford and Cockayne during the earlier decades of the 15th century make this identification of Dugdale's uncoloured rendition an almost complete certainty. No such associations appear to have existed between these families and Annesley.

Unfortunately, there is (as yet) no documentary evidence to prove this. All that we can say for certain, therefore, is that the recumbent female figure in Ashbourne Church is one of Sir John Cockayne's wives and that her name was either Margaret Longford or possibly Isabel Shirley. The existence of a first wife has been inferred rather than proved. Vincent states that Sir John's wife was Margaret and makes no mention of Isabel: his notes in this connection do not appear to have extended beyond that. Dr Susan Wright, in her recent book accepts the possibility of

Margaret as the name of Sir John's first wife, but only doubtfully as an alternative to Joan D'Abridgecourt.⁵³ If Margaret Longford was indeed Sir John's first wife then she would have been still alive in 1416, the date of the above document, but for how long afterwards remains uncertain.

V

It would be appropriate, at this stage, to consider the two female effigies associated with Sir John Cockayne: the one at Ashbourne and the other at Polesworth. Until about 1870 Isabel Shirley had been Sir John's only known wife. It was through her issue that the estate devolved and the existence of an earlier spouse had never been suspected. It follows, therefore, that in Dugdale's day and indeed until much later the female effigy lying beside Sir John at Ashbourne must have been attributed to her.

The existence of another female effigy — a single one at Polesworth — also attributed to a Lady Cockayne and garbed in late 14th or early 15th century attire could only have been explained at that time by attributing it to Sir John's mother, Elizabeth Herthill. Thus the tradition grew that Elizabeth had been buried with her own family at Polesworth. However, that lady should, by rights, have lain beside her husband, Edmund, on his already existing double tomb at Ashbourne, but seems never to have done so. Instead the latter has, for centuries been unconventionally capped by the effigies of two men, that of Edmund, himself, and that of his father, the John who died in 1372!

The attribution of the Polesworth effigy to Elizabeth Herthill has always been entirely plausible and is that accepted in the 'church guide' to-day. The date offered (1418) is, however, very late for the style of 'templer' head-dress depicted there and may have been arrived at as the result of confusion with another death, that of Sir John's first wife, Margaret, which probably did occur around that time. As it is, the lady's attire is fully consistent with a death occurring in the opening years of the 15th century, while the tomb chest closely resembles, both in style and decoration, that of the neighbouring tomb of Elizabeth's father, Sir Richard Herthill, who died in 1390. Elizabeth Herthill might very well have preferred to be buried with her own family at Polesworth rather than with that of her first husband, since she was the last of her line and a considerable heiress.

That it was her son's arms (quartering Herthill) rather than her own that, according to Dugdale, appeared upon the side shields of the Polesworth tomb could be regarded as natural, since he would probably have paid for it, and as we have seen the same anachronism also occurs upon Sir John's father's tomb at Ashbourne, which Elizabeth should have occupied. Moreover, the arms of Astley, Elizabeth Herthill's mother's family, also occurred prominently upon this Polesworth tomb — almost as prominently as they still do on that of her father, Sir Richard Herthill, in the same church.

The erection of a double tomb at Ashbourne to accommodate his father and mother, followed so shortly after by a single one at Polesworth so similar in style to that of Sir Richard Herthill and seemingly intended for his mother alone, is only one of several small mysteries concerning these earlier tombs. The simple explanation that the original effigy beside Edmund has somehow become lost and that the one at Polesworth is of Sir John's first wife would be acceptable were it not for the close similarity, both in style and period, which the base of the female effigy at Polesworth bears to the existing Herthill tomb.

The other and, in view of the above, more likely explanation — that there never was a female effigy beside Edmund — can only have signalled a complete change of mind among the parties

Fig. 6 The tomb of Sir John Cockayne and his wife at Ashbourne showing mid-15th century side panel decoration and heart-shaped caul.



concerned. Thus it might well have been Sir John, himself, who caused the effigy of his grandfather to be taken up and placed beside that of his father in order to fill a vacant space. Such an action might also consort with a later possible need — to clear a favoured site for the reception of another tomb, that of a beloved only son.

Until 1870 then, the identities of the two female effigies, the one at Ashbourne and the other at Polesworth, could not have been in doubt: the one at Ashbourne was his wife, that at Polesworth his mother. Then came the discovery that early in the 15th century a Sir John Cockayne had taken to wife a certain Joan, daughter of Sir John D'Abridgecourt. Since no other Sir John Cockayne was known at that time, it was assumed, quite mistakenly, that this marriage to Joan was an earlier and probably childless connection. Certainly the only male heir they knew of was the issue of the later marriage to Isabel Shirley. It was then that the question arose as to which wife it was that the Ashbourne effigy represented.

Because Sir John's second wife survived him and undoubtedly retained as part of her dower the lands in the immediate vicinity of Polesworth, it came to be assumed that Isabel was buried there. This in turn led to the most extraordinary assumption of all: that the effigy to be seen at Polesworth was not that of Elizabeth Herthill but of Isabel Shirley! Arthur Mee's *King's England Series: Warwickshire* still refers to this effigy as that of the 'Lady Isabella Cockayne'! This, despite the fact that Isabel died in the 1460s and the effigy at Polesworth is attired in a head-dress or caul most typical of the reign of Richard II, more than sixty years before!

Having thus assumed the Polesworth effigy to be that of the second wife, it follows that the one at Ashbourne had to be regarded as that of the first and in consequence became mistakenly attributed to Joan D'Abridgecourt. Yet it has always been obvious that the tomb at Ashbourne is the later of the two. The delicate tracery of the side panels there is clearly mid-15th century, while the quatrefoil decoration at Polesworth belongs much more in spirit to the late 14th.

As to the relative dates of the effigies, themselves, little can be gleaned from an examination of the garments as a whole. These are almost identical and are of a stylised pattern in use by masons for almost fifty years. The same may be said of female fashion itself, which changed



Fig. 7 The female effigy at Polesworth showing 'templer' head-dress and late 14th century-style side panels. The escutcheon second from the right also seems to bear traces of the arms of Longford and is in a complementary position to the impaled Longford arms once existing on the other side.



Fig. 8 Another view of the tomb of Sir John Cockayne and his wife at Ashbourne.

remarkably slowly during the first decades of the 15th century. This was not true of head-dresses, however, and it is to these latter that we should therefore turn for further guidance as to their relative dates. That at Ashbourne is thought by experts⁵⁴ to belong to the 1440s. Here the head-dress is a fairly moderate example of the heart-shaped caul popular in the middle years of the

15th century (Fig. 8).

That at Polesworth is of a very different and certainly an earlier pattern. There the caul or decorative mesh concealing the hair is of the 'templer' type used from the later 14th century and on into the earliest years of the 15th (Fig. 7). However the older ('templer') pattern, as in this its more moderate form had, by 1418, certainly given way to more extreme confections. It would have been quite inappropriate to Isabel Shirley, except as a child or very young girl, and young girls as a rule did not wear cauls. Undoubtedly the Ashbourne head-dress is the later of the two and thus in any case the Polesworth tomb cannot be that of the widow.

It is more difficult to come to any conclusion regarding the female effigy at Ashbourne, since we have no exact knowledge of when Sir John's first wife died, nor of when the heart-shaped caul became fashionable. The main difficulty is that the death of his first wife seems to have occurred too late for her to have been attired in the 'templer' head-dress but too early for the full flowering of the heart-shaped caul. She was certainly alive in 1416 and there is some evidence that she could have survived into the late 1420s.⁵⁵ The later she lived, therefore, the more likely is the Ashbourne tomb to have been her's.

Thus far and no further is it safe to go. The effigy at Ashbourne could be of either of Sir John's wives, since it was obviously erected after his death in 1438; while that at Polesworth, in view of its 'templer' head-dress, is really too early to be of either. His first wife was living in 1416; far too late to have been fashionably attired in a head-dress prevalent two reigns before.

The long-held theory that the effigy at Ashbourne is that of Sir John's first wife thus leaves Isabel without any sort of monument either at Ashbourne or Polesworth. But this is readily understandable. She was soon to remarry and was to live on for nearly thirty years: her first marriage was a relatively short one and she was little more than half her first husband's age. It is perhaps unlikely that she would have entertained thoughts of dying while at so early a period in her widowhood, or of commissioning her own monument when still in middle life. Yet she could still have been buried either at Polesworth or at Ashbourne without a monument: at the time of her death her son and heir, the notorious John Cockayne had only recently been released from outlawry and funds were almost certainly low.⁵⁶ Even his own tomb of 1505 is a rather paltry thing compared with the others.

It is curious that Dugdale seems to have perceived the Polesworth tombs as double ones (Figs. 4 & 5). Whether this effect was due to a faulty understanding of perspective or whether they were originally of double construction is a matter for speculation: they are certainly single now. If that of Fig. 5 had at one time been double it would greatly strengthen the alternative theory — that this is the tomb of Sir John's first wife — since he survived her to be buried elsewhere, leaving perhaps an empty space which was never filled. The possibility that this effigy represents Sir John's first wife seems never to have been considered: yet it has always been a far more likely possibility than that of his second.

It is very evident, however, that this illustration was most inaccurately drawn. Unlike Dugdale's engraving of the 'missing' tomb at Ashbourne, there is an indecisiveness here which hints at the possibility of its having been made in part from memory. Certainly it betrays little knowledge of 15th century female head-dress since the caul was intended to conceal, rather than reveal, the hair; while the absence of the greyhounds at the feet of the effigy and the replacement of the supporting angels by a putto are both glaring errors and very suspicious. As drawn the figure is sexually ambivalent: it could almost have been that of a priest; and unlike the Ashbourne drawing Dugdale offers no attribution concerning its identity.

Yet Dugdale was a herald and was to become Garter King of Arms. We may be reasonably

sure, therefore, that whatever shortcomings the drawing may contain would not extend to the display of arms upon the side shields of the tomb chest, itself, since this would otherwise have impugned his professional reputation. Moreover, it is certainly a fact that the chest part of this monument, although not completely accurate as drawn, is far closer to the original than is the effigy (Figs. 5 & 7).

The enigmatic nature of these two female tombs, together with the presence of two male figures lying side-by-side at Ashbourne and the possibility of yet another effigy which has since disappeared — all phenomena relating to the first decades of the 15th century and to the proprietorship of a single individual — surely cannot be without significance, especially when taken together. How and why, for example, did the greyhound footrest, now unique to the Polesworth effigy, come to be reflected in the ‘missing’ tomb which Dugdale drew?

It is curious that the Ashbourne half of this equation, the double tomb of Sir John himself, should have undergone no later restoration as far as the armorial bearings are concerned. Unlike the other tombs here, its eight side shields are, and have been for centuries, all blanks. Perhaps this is an indication that others have quietly shared my misgivings concerning the lady’s identity, but it is more likely that no information from the College of Arms was forthcoming to the Victorian restorers concerning this tomb. The lady could have been Isabel Shirley: she is still rather more likely to have been the first wife, Margaret, but the one person she certainly could not have been is Joan D’Abridgecourt, since the latter was buried in Westminster Abbey. Stow’s *Survey of London* (1603) mentions that a “Lady Johane Tokeyn [sic] daughter of Dabridge court” was among many persons of rank buried in the Chapter House there.⁵⁷ It is certainly possible to confuse a ‘C’ bearing an extravagant serif with a ‘T’ and it might have been difficult to decypher a worn stone, but in any case her Christian and maiden names taken together preclude any possibility of her being other than the Joan D’Abridgecourt we have been discussing.

VI

It would seem, therefore, that Joan, after the death of her youthful husband, repaired to Westminster or at least to London. She may have lived — she certainly died — within the ambience of the court; possibly in a ‘grace and favour’ situation. As the daughter and granddaughter of Garter Knights such an option might well have been open to her and she was probably not very well off. Neither does she appear to have remarried. As the widow of a former heir, she would naturally have been disappointed of her expectations and might, with justice, have considered herself ill-used, especially in the light of Isabel’s continued over-endowment. She was not alone in this: her sister-in-law, Alison Shirley was also to quarrel with her family over the destination of Herthill manor.⁵⁸ This ill-will could easily have been exacerbated by a lack of any great difference in their ages. Indeed it is quite likely that Joan was the eldest and Isabel the youngest of the three.

There is nothing more we can add regarding the Lady Joan and perhaps even less that we can positively assert concerning her husband, the young Sir John Cockayne. He was certainly living in 1412, but seems to have been dead by 1416, when his father, Sir John the elder, made his own uncle, the judge, his heir presumptive. Yet these were stirring times: could we not do as Shakespeare suggests and “entertain conjecture . . .” for a while! For here we have a young man, married to a girl whose father was a Knight of the Garter and a recently created one at that: Sir John D’Abridgecourt had been made upon the accession of the new king only two years before. Moreover, the latter was the son of Sir Sanché, one of the original Garter Knights and a friend of the Black Prince. They were a family of military reputation. It is unlikely, I think, that under

these circumstances the young Sir John Cockayne would have escaped the general enthusiasm for war.

Moreover, the Cockayne Family had been, for several generations, clients and servants of the House of Lancaster and, although this was in a largely civil capacity, they were not altogether without military experience. They had fought at Shrewsbury and Sir John had joined the expedition to France under Clarence in 1412 and was to do so again in 1421 in time for the Battle of Baugé, where his leader was killed. It would seem that it was to Clarence that Sir John owed his special allegiance (his 'good lordship') at these dates and thus might well have done so in the years between.

It was in the person of Sir John Cockayne that his family attained the apogee of their medieval power and influence. In a county singularly lacking, at that time, in other baronial patronage, it is understandable that those knightly families who habitually controlled the administration of the Duchy would wield an influence rather greater than they might otherwise have enjoyed elsewhere. By 1415 Sir John was probably among the ten foremost proprietors in Derbyshire. As such, and also as a military client of the heir to the throne, it is unthinkable that he should not have been called upon to play some part in so considerable a mobilisation. Yet he does not appear to have done so.

This apparent lack of participation could be readily explained, however, if on this occasion he had sent his son: especially as that son was soon destined, for reasons I have previously explained, to sink into total oblivion and become entirely forgotten by later generations of his family. Assuming that such was the case, and that it was the young Sir John Cockayne who accompanied the expedition to France in the summer of 1415, then it is to the part played by Clarence and his contingent that we should turn for guidance as to the possible fate awaiting that young man.

What, then, were the orders issued to Clarence following the army's successful disembarkation near the port of Harfleur? They were to invest the north-eastern or landward side of the town.⁵⁹ A long siege was not anticipated but the town was stubbornly defended and the weeks dragged on. The summer proved a more than usually hot and sultry one and the suffering endured by the invading forces became very severe. Dysentery soon broke out, and quickly reached epidemic proportions; especially among Clarence's men, who were furthest from the sea and occupying marshy ground behind the town. His contingent was decimated and Clarence, himself, so smitten with illness that he was forced to return home and play no further part in the campaign. A similar fate awaited Sir Ralph Shirley, the future brother-in-law and father-in-law of Sir John Cockayne. Both were to make good recoveries, but hundreds died. Thus — given that he was there — it is entirely possible that the young Sir John was one of them or else a victim of some affray outside Harfleur: for only on this occasion were the wounded and the sick returned to England. Deaths occurring during the subsequent forced march to Calais and at Agincourt, itself, were treated differently; those dying in the battle being later incinerated in a nearby barn.⁶⁰

If Edmund was dead before the Battle of Shrewsbury — as documentation of the 1380s might well suggest — then the tradition that he was knighted there and killed shortly afterwards must be untrue. Oral tradition can easily become distorted: it could equally have been his grandson, the young Sir John, who was thus honoured — not at Shrewsbury, but at Harfleur! His later oblivion might then have resulted in the tradition being transferred; to the only other possible candidate for death in battle, his grandfather, Edmund. The elder Sir John was certainly to lose a future *father-in-law* (Shirley) and possible brother-in-law (Longford) at Shrewsbury: to lose a father there also, might be considered excessive!

Like his brother, the judge, Edmund is nowhere, in any document, even retrospectively described as 'knight': the younger Sir John, on the other hand, is.³⁹ Moreover, this knighthood must have been conferred very late in this young man's short life, since the series of wills, referred to by Dugdale, Adam Wolley and Vincent do not so describe him, and the last of these was apparently dated as late as 1413.

Joan's misfortunes, together with the unequitable dower later enjoyed by Isabel, may well have contributed to the sense of injustice which prompted her, in 1439, to bring an action against Sir John's executrix, his widow Isabel Shirley. Doubtless his purpose had been to protect the interests of a new and inexperienced young heir, for either Joan or Alison could have posed just such a threat to his estates as Sir John wished to avoid: as too would the very real dangers of wardship in these circumstances.

Isabel, however, seems to have been quite equal to the situation. She maintained that she had been mis-described; that she was not then of Polesworth, nor ever afterwards, but of Harlaston, and her defence apparently succeeded upon this mere technicality alone. Despite her protestations, she was undoubtedly the lady of the manor of Pooley (in Polesworth) at that time for, by a fine dated as late as 13 Henry VI (1434/5), her husband had deliberately taken her into joint ownership of it.⁶¹ It was not until after her death in the late 1460s that her son gained possession of all his property.

Yet Isabel probably spoke no less than the literal truth about her living at Harlaston, and this is interesting because that place was then the secondary residence of the Vernons of Haddon. Her eldest son, John, the new young heir of Sir John Cockayne, married Agnes, the daughter of Sir Richard Vernon and it is quite possible that the family were relying, at least to some extent, on the protection and guidance of this magnate. It was also usual at this period for betrothed minors to reside within the households of their prospective father-in-law. Sir Richard had been a friend of Sir John Cockayne and together they formed a powerful and more than averagely stable alliance of which the Longfords were very much a part.⁶² It may well have been the influence of Sir Richard Vernon that secured the removal of the hearing from London to Coventry and thus into an area more partial to their interests.

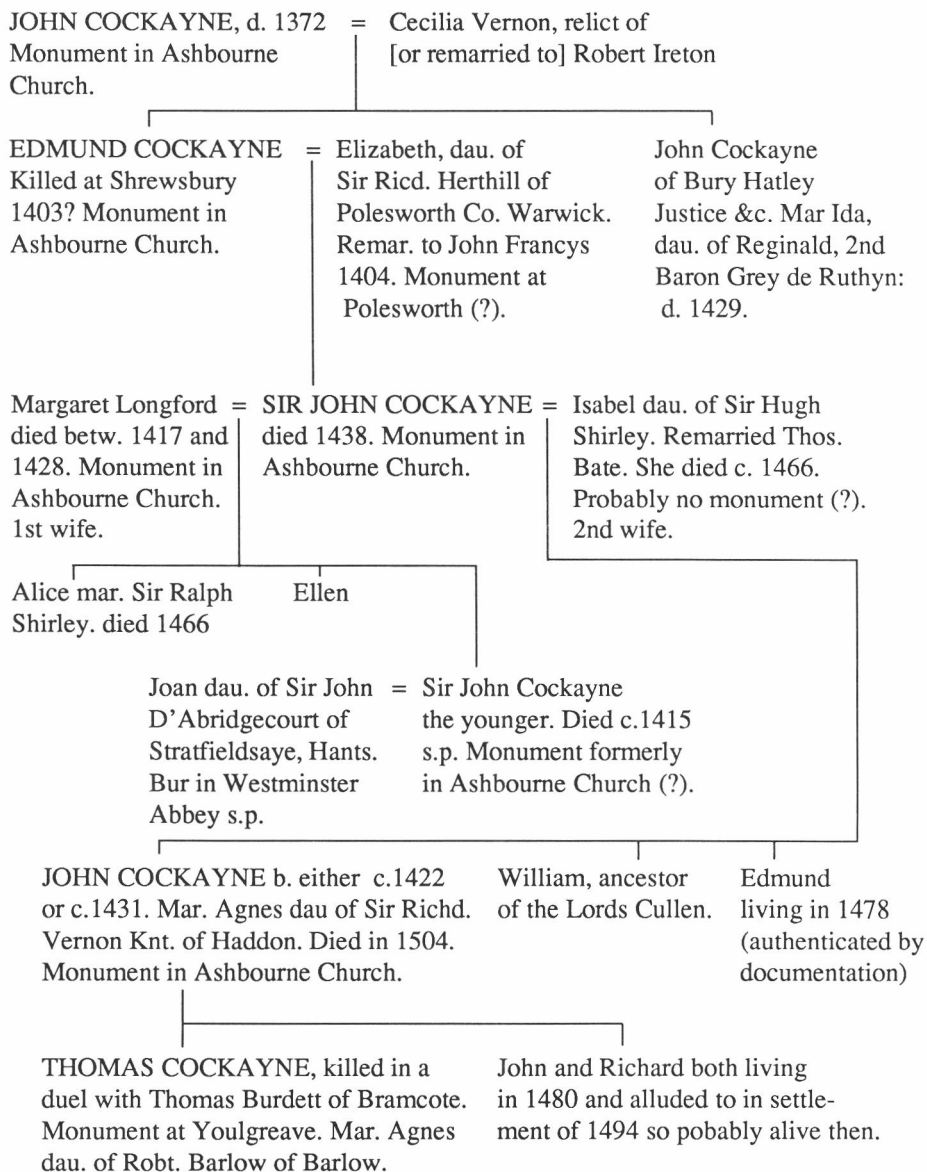
Sir John's first marriage, far from being of brief duration (as has always been assumed), must almost certainly have endured for more than thirty years. His second marriage, that to Isabel Shirley, was to last — at most — for scarcely more than half that time. If at his death in 1438 he left an heir of 16 it seems probable that this later marriage took place around 1420, not long after his daughter, Alison, married Sir Ralph Shirley. Were this so it would seem hard to believe that the two events were unconnected and thus, in all probability, both alliances would have been part of the same deal.

On the other hand Sir John Cockayne was known to have been in France around 1420 since he was to take part in the ill-fated Battle of Baugé in March 1421.⁶³ Such expeditions required lengthy preparation as well as long absence. Moreover, this second marriage has been thought by others to have taken place as late as about 1430⁵⁸ (with Sir John's heir born the following year and reaching the age of 16 only in 1447.)

Although the main inquisition on Sir John's estates is dated 1438, it is true that on his two most northerly manors of Herthill and Middleton this did not take place until 1447 — nine years after his death. Unfortunately the documents pertaining to this later and separate inquisition have been lost, though it does feature in the calendar.¹⁸ We know that these manors were in dispute and may even have been in the possession of the Shirleys at that time. However, there is also evidence from the Close Rolls that the young John Cockayne was unable to obtain livery of some

Pedigree B

Pedigree constructed in the light of information assembled for this article, showing Vincent's fragment fitting neatly into place.



considerable part of his other property around Ashbourne until that same year (1447).⁶⁴

This postponement could have been due to poverty, since feudal incidence was in process of being tightened at that time; or it might have had to await the death of Joan D'Abridgecourt; but one wonders whether he really did escape wardship. If he was born in 1431 he could certainly not have done so, for he would then have been some nine years younger than has previously been supposed: his father, too, would have been correspondingly older than my estimated 55-58 years at the time of young John's birth! This might explain his reckless behaviour: he would then have been only 18 when, in 1449, he raided his neighbours' estates and began his first brush with the law. His father had done much the same at Chetwynd in 1388.

Vincent, in his pedigree (p.108), makes no mention of Sir John's second wife Isabel Shirley and the date (1428) under Sir John's name is rather late for him not to have done so. If his first wife was still alive then, as Vincent seems to suggest, then the marriage to Isabel Shirley with its resulting three sons would indeed have been a short, if purposeful exercise!

Alison Shirley is said to have quarrelled violently with her stepmother over the Herthill and Middleton estates which had previously been settled on her and were now settled on Isabel. It must surely be significant, however, that Alison's disinheritance did not, in fact, take place until 1432⁶⁵. If Sir John's new heir had really been born about 1422, (ten years before), why, as an elderly man, did he wait so long before making fresh arrangements for what was regarded as the appanage of the eldest son! Why, too did he enforce these new arrangements so powerfully by making Sir Richard Vernon the next heir to Herthill manor *after* the heirs male of his second marriage, and *before* Alison, who was thus relegated to the status of mere heir general?

It is little wonder that, with the Shirley association probably about to dissolve, Sir John felt it desirable to place the bulk of his property (at least all the Warwickshire and Staffordshire lands) in the hands of his wife, and to take her as far as possible, into joint ownership. She was young enough to outlive any wardship which might be imposed on the rest of the estate (left directly to this young son, John) and was sufficiently tough, in all probability, to resist the claims of both Joan D'Abridgecourt and of her sister-in-law and step-daughter, Alison Shirley.

After his third and last appointment as Sheriff of Nottingham and Derby (1434/5), Sir John Cockayne retired finally from public life and concentrated, we must suppose, upon his estates. This is hardly surprising in a man of 70, whose son and heir was then only a child. As it turned out, these very precautions were a potent cause of the decline which was to overtake the family during the second half of the 15th century. The long-term difficulties were only just beginning. After 1438, at a time of increasing faction and lawlessness, Sir John's property could well have lain at the mercy of three quarrelling women and an inexperienced boy. Certainly they had now two widows to support, one of whom was grossly over-dowered and was to survive for nearly thirty years; while the other was clearly resentful of her reduced status. The new heir's financial position was not such as would easily support knighthood and he was accordingly 'destrained'.

He was possibly too young to have felt a father's influence; for the most potent cause of the decline of this family during the remainder of the fifteenth century was undoubtedly the character of this new heir. Paranoic he might have been; arrogant and lawless he certainly was. In this, the extraordinary circumstances which preceeded his birth, and of the formative years that followed it, cannot but have played a significant part.

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The Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, for permission to use illustrations from their copy of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 Somerville, Robert, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Vol. 1 (1265-1603). London, Chancellor and Council of the Duchy, 1953. 45. 361. The office of royal sheriff for Lancs. seems to have been occupied for three periods in the later 1340s by John Cockayne of Ashbourne. He was continued in office as the first Palatinate sheriff upon the creation of the Duchy in 1351, but with diminished status since his direct access to the Crown departments would have ceased.
- 2 *Ibid* 48. This was a special appointment. The royal escheatry in Lancs. was abolished upon the creation of the Duchy in 1351. That of the Palatinate, which took its place (even if not voided by the abeyance of the Duchy in 1361) would hardly have been competent to act in this instance.
- 3 *Ibid* 360, 367, 418, 461, 467, 472, 484 and others.
Cockayne, Andreas Edward. *Cockayne Memoranda* (1869), 7
Burke, Bernard, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*, London, Harrison, 1883, 126.
- 4 Dugdale, William (1605-1686), *Origines Juridicales* or Historical Memorials of the English Laws, Courts of Justice etc. Also a Chronologie of the Lord Chancellors and other holders of Judicial Office, 1671.
- 5 Pulling, Alexander, *Order of the Coif*, London, Clowes and Sons, 1897. Plate III.
- 6 Cockayne, A.E. *Cockayne Memoranda* (1873) 147-8
- 7 Smith, J.C.C. Index to Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1558, (British Record Society, London, 1893), 131. Will indexed as of John Cokayn of Bury Hattele, and St Bartholomew's Hospital, London. 1429.
Cockayne, A.E. *op.cit.*(1873), 81-83
- 8 It was there in 1806, the date of Lysons's *Magna Britannia* but had disappeared by 1830, by which date the restoration work on Cockayne Hatley Church had been largely completed.
- 9 Lysons, Daniel, *Magna Britannia*, Vol 1, Part 1. Bedfordshire, 1806, 92.
- 10 Cockayne, A.E. *op.cit.*(1873), 148.
- 11 Cockayne, A.E. *op.cit.*(1869), 42. They were also fairly near neighbours; Cockayne resided at Pooley Hall, Polesworth and Dugdale at Blyth Hall, near Coleshill in the same county.
- 12 Andreas Edward Cockayne, author of *Cockayne Memoranda* collected much material towards a definitive history of his family. This he published privately by subscription in two *separate* vols. dated 1869 and 1873 respectively.
- 13 Augustine Vincent (1584?-1626) created Windsor Herald in 1624. The work referred to seems not to have been printed and information from it could never have come into the hands of Andreas Cockayne without the good offices of someone at the College i.e. George Edward Cokayne [see below].
- 14 George Edward Cokayne, (1825-1911) born G.E. Adams, Clarenceux King of Arms (1894).
- 15 G.E. Cokayne, 'Cokayne Pedigree', *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, Third Series, Vol. III (1899) 15 mentions these wills by date and illustrates the seal with which all three documents were ensigned.
- 16 *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*. William Salt Archaeological Society, Vol. III New Series,

- 1900, 187, 192-4, 196, 202, 213 and 216, (being extracts from Coram Rege Rolls relating to Staffordshire).
- Ibid.* Vol. IV New Series, 1901, 110
- Storey, R.L. *The End of the House of Lancaster*, London, Barrie and Rockcliff, 1966. 155-158.
- 17 Ernest Sadler, 'The ancient family of Cockayne and their monuments in Ashbourne Church', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, (D.A.J.) formerly Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1v (1934).
- 18 Record Commission. *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetorum*, Vol.IV (1828) 182 — (No. 40 of 16 Hen.VI) John Cokayn Knt, and his wife Isabella. 1437/8. The muddle over the date of Sir John's death arose because the calendar also lists a second inquisition for Sir John dated 1447 — (No. 58 of 25 Hen.VI) 231 and taken of the manors of Herthill and Middleton only, which were omitted from the earlier Inquisition.
- 19 George Edward Cokayne (Clarenceux), 'Cokayne Pedigree', *M.G et H.* Third Series, Vol.III (1899), 16.
- 20 Garratt, H.J.H. *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323-1546*, (Derbyshire Record Society, Vol.XI., 1985), 59 — no. 958 Plaintiff John Cokayn, the uncle, and others; Deforciant John Cokayne of Asshebourne, the nephew, concerning the manor of Herthill...&c.
- 21 *Ibid* 60 (No. 961) Plaintiff John Cokayn Kt. and others; Deforciants John Cokayn senior and others, concerning the manor of Herthill...&c.
- 22 G.E. Cokayne, *op.cit.*, 16. An indenture between 'Dominus' John Cokayne Knt. and Nicholas de Kniveton concerning a bovate at Sturston. Dated 12 Ric.II. (1388). This document is sealed with an armorial seal bearing the words 'Johan Cokaine Sigillum'.
- 23 Dugdale, William. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*. 2nd. edn. 1730. Vol.1. 229.
- 24 Woolley, William. *History of Derbyshire* edited by Catherine Glover and Philip Riden. (Derbyshire Record Society Vol.VI, 1981), 173.
- 25 G.E. Cokayne, *op.cit.*, 18.
- 26 *Dictionary of National Biography* — Sir John Cockayne
- 27 Shaw, William A. *The Knights of England*, Vol. 1, Sharatt and Hughes, 1906. 2, 9.
- 28 Wright, Susan. *Derbyshire Gentry in the 15th Century*. (Derbyshire Record Society, Vol. VIII, 1983), 7-9.
- 29 Dugdale, W. *Warwickshire* (1730) Vol.2. 1120.
- 30 Cockayne, A.E. *op.cit.* (1873) 84.
- 31 Jacobs, E.F., *Oxford History of England, the fifteenth century, 1399-1485*. O.U.P. 1976, 114.
- 32 G.E. Cokayne, *op.cit.*, 15 (bottom).
- Storey, *op.cit.*, 156.
- 33 *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Henry VII-12 Henry VIII No. 832. Writ issued 10th May. Inquisition held 12th June 20 Henry VII (1505). John Cockayne died 12rd December 1504.
- 34 Lichfield Joint Record Office B/A/1/7, fol. 18r and B/A/1/9 fol. 17r.
- 35 L.J.R.O., B.A/1/7, fol.19r and B.A.1.8, fol.8v.
- 36 Griffiths, Ralph A., *The Reign of King Henry VI, the Exercise of Royal Authority 1422-1461* 102
- 37 Jacobs, E.F., *op.cit.*, 468-9.
- 38 The king entrusted his second son, Thomas, with this expedition rather than his eldest son, with whom he was not on terms. This Thomas, Duke of Clarence was to be killed nine years later at the Battle of Baugé in 1421, a fiasco in which Sir John Cockayne also took part. It would seem that during this period Clarence was Sir John's 'good lord'.
- 39 *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*. William Salt Archaeological Society, Vol.III New Series, Lond., Harrison and Sons, 1900. 156. (An extract from the De Banco Rolls.)
- 40 Alison Shirley died on the Wednesday after Whitsunday (on 28th May) 1466 — Shirley, E.P., *Stemmata Shirleiana*, 2nd edn., London, 1873, 45.
- 41 According to Holinshed, the Earl of Douglas (fighting on the rebel or Percy side) slew Sir Walter Blount 'and three other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saing: "I maruell to see so many kings thus

suddenlie arise one in the necke of an other.” ’

42 Burke, Bernard, *Complete Peerage and Baronetage*, Ferrers, Earls of.

43 *Ibid.*

44 G.E. Cokayne, *op.cit.* 17.

Storey, R.L. *op.cit.* 156.

Wright, Susan M. *op.cit.* 33.

45 Dugdale, W. *Warwickshire*, 2nd edn. 1730, Vol.1 620.

Shirley, E.P. *Stemmata Shirleiana* 2nd edn. 1873. 40.

46 G.E. Cokayne, *op.cit.* 16.

47 Wright, Susan M. *op.cit.* Appendix 5a. 212.

48 The array of armorial bearings on this tomb is probably an example of Tudor vainglory, bearing little resemblance to the original medieval display. The modest Herthill quarterings to which the early 15th century Cockaynes were entitled have been ignored and a number of very doubtful coats included in their place. Thus the arms of Sir John (quartering Herthill alone) can be seen at the head of this tomb supported on either side by those of two earls (Warwick and Stafford) with whom he had at best an extremely tenuous connection!

Of the remaining ten escutcheons those of Astley, Vernon, Pembruge, Basset, Shirley and Ferrers have genuine, if mostly later connection, while that of Longford is explained in the present article. The presence of the remainder, particularly Erdeswick and Montgomery and the startling omission of De Broase may hold interesting possibilities for research. Beatrix de Broase, as the wife of Sir Hugh Shirley, was presumably Sir John Cockayne's mother-in-law and ought to have been included here, but isn't. She belonged to a family of large property in Sussex and her omission might well suggest that Isabel was by a different marriage. Sir Hugh's only son, Ralph was but 12 when his father was killed in late middle age at Shrewsbury and Isabel could thus have been a half-sister, by a member of one of the other families illustrated here.

49 E.A. Sadler, *op.cit.*, 19

50 Dugdale, W. *Warwickshire* 2nd edn. 1730. Vol.II, 1115.

51 Cockayne, A.E. *op.cit.* (1869), Monuments Section p18. His photograph shows the side escutcheons blank as they are today. It is likely, therefore, that A.E.C. took the blazonry of these arms from the illustration in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, as I have done, but mistook the impalement for that of Shirley.

52 Wright, Susan M. *op.cit.*, 24.

53 *Ibid*, Appendix 5B. 219.

54 Kelly, F. and Schwabe, R. *A Short History of Costume and Armour, chiefly in England*. Vol.I. The Middle Ages. London, Batsford, 1931. 43

55 Garratt, H.J.H. *op.cit.* viii. If the marriage of Isabel was as late as this her predecessor could easily have lived into the late 1420s.

56 Storey, R.L. *op.cit.* 157.

57 Stow, John. *Survey of London*, J.M. Dent (Everyman Library edn.), 1956. 410.

58 Garratt, H.J.H. *op.cit.*, viii.

59 Hibbert, Christopher. *Agincourt*. London, Book Club Associates, 1978. 53-54, 58, 64-5, 69-71

60 *Ibid*. 123

61 Dugdale, W. *Warwickshire*, 1120 (footnote).

62 Storey, R.L. *op.cit.*, 155-8

63 Griffiths, R.A. *op.cit.* 69.

64 Twells, H.S. 'Cokaynes of Ashbourne' *D.A.J.* LXIX (1949) 64-65

1447 Westminster. To the escheator in Derbyshire to remove the King's hand and to meddle no further with [there follows a long list of properties] and that it is found by inquisition taken by Thomas Babington late escheator, that John Cockayne is his son and next heir and is of the age of 16 and more.

65 Garratt, H. J. H. *op. cit.* , 85 - No. 1085.