

ART. IX.—*Two medieval Westmorland Speakers. Pt. ii:*
Sir Richard Redmayne. By J. S. ROSKELL, M.A.,
D.Phil.

Read at Carlisle, July 8th, 1960.

IN the introductory paragraphs of part i (CW2 lxi 79 ff.) of this article, something was said in very general terms about the career of Sir Richard Redmayne who was Speaker in the next parliament after Henry V's first expedition to France in 1415. It is now Redmayne's turn to be discussed in such detail as the available sources for his life allow.

Sir Richard Redmayne was a member of a family which by the end of the 13th century had come to be of some local importance in south Westmorland. Their home was at Levens, in the corner of the county dividing Lancashire proper from Lancashire beyond the sands (or Furness). Levens had been in the family from the time of Henry II. Sir Richard's great-grandfather, Matthew, had been knight of the shire (or M.P.) for Lancashire in 1295 and 1307, and for Westmorland twice in 1313. His grandfather, another Matthew, had also represented Westmorland in two parliaments (in 1357 and 1358) and was sheriff of Cumberland at his death in 1360. Sir Richard's father (the last of three Matthews running), who died soon after 1390, was never a knight of the shire. Nonetheless, he had a career of great military and some administrative activity.

This Sir Matthew had evidently taken part in the last victorious phase of Edward III's war with France, being in 1362 a hostage (in the custody of the Dauphin) whom John II of France then refused to surrender. Eventually, however, he was released and in 1369 accompanied his near neighbour, Sir William de Windsor, to Ireland where

the latter was the King's Lieutenant; in 1370 he fought with Sir Robert Knolles, one of the greatest of Edward's captains; and then, in 1373, when the war with France was going badly, he accompanied John of Gaunt on the duke's quite ineffectual *chivauchée* from Calais to Bordeaux. In 1375 he was in Brittany. When the Good Parliament met in the spring of 1376 he had recently been a prisoner-of-war and was one of those prisoners, described as being of greater prowess than wealth, on whose behalf the Commons petitioned the King for help with their ransoms. (Edward III granted no less than 1,000 marks towards Sir Matthew's ransom.) By 1379 he was one of the wardens of the Scottish March and in the following year was serving there with a retinue of 40 men-at-arms and 50 archers. In 1382 he was still one of the joint-wardens of the March and by this time was also keeper of the royal castle at Roxburgh. In 1388, when nearly sixty years old, he was taken prisoner in the battle of Otterburn, but he was soon freed and became sheriff of Cumberland late in the next year. Meanwhile, he had been appointed a justice of the peace in this county (in 1380) and also in Northumberland (in 1382). Sir Matthew's standing in the highly militarised society of the north is suggested by the fact that his second wife was Joan, a daughter of Henry Lord FitzHugh of Ravensworth and in turn the widow of William Lord Greystoke (who died in 1359) and of Anthony Lord Lucy (who died in 1368). Sir Richard Redmayne was thus stepbrother to Ralph Lord Greystoke, a warden of the Marches between 1377 and 1386 and a peer of parliament from 1376 to 1417. Henry Lord FitzHugh, Henry V's Chamberlain, Treasurer of England from 1416 to 1421, a peer of parliament from 1388 until his death in 1425, was a nephew of Sir Richard's stepmother. Joan survived her third husband, Sir Richard's father, by at least a decade, dying in 1403.¹ Some further indication of Sir

Matthew's status is supplied by the marriages made by his two surviving children. (His elder son, Matthew, died during his lifetime.) His daughter, Felicia, was first married to a London mercer, John Wodecock, later, however, to a younger son (but eventually the heir) of Ralph Lord Lumley (who was executed for his treason in the 1400 rising against Henry IV). Sir Matthew's son, Richard, by his marriage, did better still.

It was sometime between 1393 and 1399 that Sir Richard Redmayne married Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Sir William Aldbrough of Aldbrough in Richmondshire, a retainer of Edward Balliol (whose claim to the Scottish throne Edward III had supported against David II). Summoned to parliament as a peer from 1371 to 1386, Aldbrough had died in 1388, leaving a son, Sir William, who died without issue in August 1391. The latter's co-heirs were his two sisters, Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Brian Stapleton of Carlton (Yorks.), and Sybil, the wife of Sir William Ryther of Ryther (Yorks.).² Sir Richard's

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

- D.N.B.* — *Dictionary of National Biography*
V.C.H. — *Victoria County History*
CPR — *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CCR — *Calendar of Close Rolls*
CFR — *Calendar of Fine Rolls*
C. Ch. R. — *Calendar of Charter Rolls*
DKR — *Deputy Keeper's Reports*
PPC — *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*,
 ed. N. H. Nicolas
Rot. Parl. — *Rotuli Parliamentorum*
P.R.O. — Public Record Office
R.S. — Rolls Series
G.E.C. — *The Complete Peerage*

¹ *G.E.C.*, vi 194; W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood* (Kendal, 1905), p. 1; pp. 57-69. The surname of Sir Matthew's first wife Lucy (the mother of his children, including Sir Richard) is not known.

² *G.E.C.*, i 101-102. The families of Aldbrough and Balliol would appear to have been related, *c.f.* the bequests by Margery, widow of the Sir William Aldbrough who died in 1391, of an *aula* of 6 pieces (of tapestry)

marriage with Elizabeth brought him a half of the estates of the Aldbroughs in the West Riding. Moreover, this interest was uncomplicated by any claims to dower, the wife of the first William having predeceased him, the widow of the second having survived *him* by less than two months. Lord Lisle of Rougemont had conveyed his interest in the castle and manor of Harewood in Wharfedale to Redmayne's wife's father in 1364, and Sir Richard and Elizabeth came into possession of this estate among others, including the nearby manors of Kearby and Kirkby Overblow, their title to these being confirmed by the last of the Lisles of Rougemont in 1410.³ The acquisition of a moiety of the Aldbrough estates did not only substantially increase Redmayne's land-holdings — among which his own estates seem not to have comprised much beyond the manors of Levens (held of the barony of Kendal as no more than a tenth of a knight's fee) and Lupton-in-Levens, the park of Troutbeck (which he rented), and some property he acquired in nearby Hutton Roof and Heversham⁴ — but gave him an obviously firm footing among the gentry of Yorkshire. These interests in the West Riding, as his election to parliament for Yorkshire on as many as five occasions suggests, tended to predominate over the local interests of his own family in Westmorland. His father Sir Matthew's career, however, had already opened up the possibility of wider prospects for the Redmaynes of Levens.

That Richard Redmayne cannot have been born much later than 1355 is suggested by the fact that he was already a knight when on 14 March 1376 he and his father, along with John Shakele, Esquire, undertook that Robert Hawley, Esquire, should perform an agreement

with the arms of Balliol and Aldbrough and of a breastplate that had belonged to Edward Balliol, and also the repetition of the Balliol arms in the chapel of Harewood (Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i 150).

³ *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, iv 92; xviii 266n; *CCR*, 1409-13, 83.

⁴ *Cal. Inquests post mortem*, Edward III, ix 457; Greenwood, *op. cit.*, 68, 80; W. Farrer, *Records of Kendal*, ii 44, 126.

then made with Edward III, regarding the ransoming of the Count of Denia, an Aragonese nobleman whom these two esquires had taken prisoner in the battle of Najera (1367). This case, which in Richard II's first year resulted in the imprisonment in the Tower of both Hawley and Shakele for refusing to surrender the count's hostage, gave rise in 1378 to a serious dispute between the Crown and the abbot of Westminster over the violation of the abbey's rights of sanctuary, for when Hawley and Shakele escaped from the Tower and took refuge in the abbey precincts and eventually in the church, the former was killed there and the other abducted, in especially sacrilegious circumstances. There is no evidence that either Sir Richard or his father were involved in the consequences of this affair.

Meanwhile, sometime during Richard II's first regnal year (1377-8), the younger Redmayne had taken out "letters of protection" from the royal Chancery. This he did as being about to serve in a military capacity at sea. Sir Richard may have joined that naval expedition whose first object was to attack a Spanish fleet operating in the French interest, from its base at Sluys, against English shipping in the Channel. (This English squadron left London on 20 October 1377 but, hindered by gales, was able to accomplish little beyond the rescue of Brest before its return to Southampton late in January 1378.) Alternatively, he could have been a member of the naval force which, gathered together by the Duke of Lancaster early in 1378, operated with such lack of success in the Bay of Biscay and at St. Malo.⁵ Whichever force Redmayne joined, there is no further reference to his employment in military enterprises in these early years of Richard II's reign, although expeditions, enough and to spare, were being organised against the French. Whether or not Sir Richard was abroad all this time, he was certainly

⁵ CCR, 1374-7, 338; *The Anonimale Chronicle*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), 116-117, 188; T. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Français, et Normands*, i 123.

back in England by 5 February 1382 when his father, Sir Matthew, as keeper of Roxburgh Castle, was paid at the Exchequer *per manus Ricardi Redman militis* £10 towards the £100 which (so the King's Council had agreed) were to be paid him over and above the wages of his retinue there. It is very probable that Sir Richard acted along with his father in the Scottish Marches during the next few years and accompanied him in the royal expedition to Scotland in 1385.

In the autumn of the following year (1386), when the aristocratic party led by Thomas of Woodstock was attacking Richard II's first curialist party, Sir Richard had formed some sort of connection with the king's intimate friend, Robert de Vere, hereditary King's Chamberlain and Earl of Oxford, now promoted as Duke of Ireland: on 26 October 1386 De Vere was paid at the Exchequer of Receipt a part of the wages of the retinue of 600 men whom he had recently brought up to London to help meet the threat of a French invasion, some £26 of which were paid him by the hands of Sir John Mallory, Richard FitzNichol, Esquire (the Duke's attorney), and Sir Richard Redmayne.⁶ Whatever the connection, it must have ended after the battle of Radcot Bridge in December 1387 when De Vere, after raising forces for the king in Cheshire and Lancashire and deserting them in the rout, sought safety abroad. Robert's flight did not prevent his being condemned on charges of treason, brought by Thomas of Woodstock and the other Lords Appellant in the "Merciless Parliament" of 1388.

There is no reason to regard the young knight of Levens as seriously caught up in these happenings, which were to affect the political character of the rest of Richard II's reign. On 30 April 1388, during the second session of the "Merciless Parliament", along with Sir John de Irby, then knight of the shire for Cumberland, Redmayne was bound in a recognisance for £80 to the Duke of Gloucester.

⁶ Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/487, mem. 18; *ibid.*, 516, mem. 7.

Whatever lay behind this transaction, it is unlikely that Sir Richard was regarded as in any way hostile to the party of the Appellants, which was then in control of the royal administration, because it was on the following day, 1 May 1388, that as a "king's knight" he was granted for life all the Crown lands in Blencogo (Cumberland) free of rent up to £10 a year.⁷ His father, now governor of Berwick, was taken prisoner at the battle of Otterburn in August following, but was soon freed and, after serving on inquiries into damage done by the Scots in Northumberland, was made sheriff of Cumberland in November 1389.

Sir Richard was also almost certainly quite preoccupied at this time with Border affairs. In October 1389 Henry Hotspur, the Earl of Northumberland's son, was confirmed in his Wardenship of the Marches, and when a year later (on 16 October 1390) he was instructed to repair the castle, gates, and walls of Carlisle, it was decided at Westminster that the work should be under the control of Sir Richard Redmayne. Less than three weeks later, on 5 November, Redmayne was retained for life by the King with a grant, to which the Council assented, of 40 marks a year for life charged on the Crown revenues from Cumberland.⁸ By the end of January following (1391), however, he was about to take passage overseas, making provision for a foreign credit of £100 through a regular agent in such transactions, Angelo Christofori of Lucca. It looks as though pilgrimage to Italy was Redmayne's object. How long he was out of the country is not known, but he was certainly home by the beginning of 1393 when, by letters patent dated 26 January, he had a royal licence to enclose 3,000 acres of his estate at Levens for the making of a park there.⁹ His continued interest in the Border and its affairs, although there was now a truce between England and Scotland, is suggested by his petitioning

⁷ *CCR*, 1385-9, 486; *CPR*, 1385-9, 451.

⁸ *CPR*, 1388-92, 305, 322.

⁹ *CCR*, 1392-6, 543; *CPR*, 1391-6, 211.

the King for the right to hold jousts (at which he and three others were to take on four Scotsmen) in Carlisle between 21 and 27 June 1393; the royal licence was forthcoming on 27 April, and Hotspur was ordered to deputize for the King.

Although Redmayne had served thus far on no royal commissions, except the one of 1390 to oversee the repairs to the defences of Carlisle, he was appointed as sheriff of Cumberland on 7 November 1393. He was in office until 1 November 1394.¹⁰ Within the next twenty-two years he was to be appointed sheriff on no fewer than six other occasions, four more times in Cumberland, and twice in Yorkshire. It was while serving this first term of office as sheriff that he petitioned for a royal pardon for a man who had been indicted for breaking into the house of the vicar of Crosby Ravensworth (Westmorland) in November 1392; the pardon was issued on 16 February 1394.¹¹ Before his year's occupation of the shievalty of Cumberland was at an end, Redmayne and a small retinue of two esquires and four mounted archers indentured with Richard II to serve in the king's first Irish expedition. Richard II was out of the country from 30 September 1394 until roughly the middle of May 1395; Redmayne's own and his retinue's wages were paid him by the Treasurer of the Household on the basis of a period of service extending from 7 September 1394 to 21 April 1395.¹² He was evidently still out of the country when, on 27 March 1395, his request for a royal pardon for a servant of his late father's, indicted of murder, had a successful outcome. On 3 October following, the King ordered a fine of £20, payable by Edmund Hampden, a royal esquire, for marrying the widow of Sir Ralph Stonore without royal licence, to be given to Redmayne. On 1 December 1395 he was appointed to serve with Lord

¹⁰ T. Rymer, *Foedera*, vii 745; P.R.O., *Lists and Indexes*, ix; *List of Sheriffs*, 27.

¹¹ *CPR*, 1391-6, 373.

¹² P.R.O., E 101/402/20, fo. 68.

Greystoke, his stepbrother, on a commission to arrest, and deliver to the sheriff of Westmorland for production before the King's Council, certain men who were at enmity with the house of Premonstratensian canons at Shap, and to have others appear before them to find surety for good behaviour. (The abbey had protested to the Council because their patron, Lord Clifford, was in royal wardship.) The constitution of the commission was enlarged on 16 March 1396 to include the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Beaumont and others, and its powers were expanded to allow it to imprison those who declined to find surety. When a fresh commission about this trouble at Shap was issued on 16 April 1397, Redmayne was once more sheriff of Cumberland — he acted from 1 December 1396 to 3 November 1397 — and he and the sheriff of Westmorland were to arrange for the conveyance to Westminster of a number of delinquents who were to be arrested.¹³ His second appointment as sheriff, only two years after the expiry of his first term of office, was against the statute of 1371 which provided for the elapse of three years between such appointments. Such breaches of this statute as Redmayne's premature re-appointment were among the points of Haxey's famous bill in the parliament of January 1397 at which Richard II took grave offence.

That Redmayne's conduct of affairs as sheriff of Cumberland in this year (1396-7), which saw the establishment of Richard II's system of autocratic government, was satisfactory from the king's point of view, is suggested by the fact that on 2 October 1397, before Redmayne's term of office came to an end, he was granted for life an annuity of 40 marks, additional to the one charged on the issues of Cumberland; this second annuity was charged on the exchequer of the royal Earldom of Chester and granted in a patent sealed with the seal of that office.¹⁴

¹³ *CPR*, 1391-6, 688; 621, 654, 731; *ibid.*, 1396-9, 157; *List of Sheriffs*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *CPR*, 1390-1401, 47.

It may well be that Sir Richard Redmayne had already enhanced his estate by his marriage with the elder daughter and coheir of the late Lord Aldbrough of Harewood, for on 28 November 1397 he was appointed to his first royal commission in Yorkshire: an inquiry into various illegalities — champerty, embracery of quarrels, maintenance, false suits at law, etc. — in the city of York as well as in the county, and on 4 February 1398, just after the closure had been applied at Shrewsbury to what proved to be Richard II's last parliament, the commission was re-constituted by the royal Council, the city of York being now excluded from its competence. During the year Redmayne was appointed to serve on a few other Yorkshire commissions: on 20 June 1398 to survey weirs in the rivers of the West Riding, on 7 August to investigate cases of concealment of royal rights (early in 1400 Redmayne protested that this appointment had never been delivered to him), and on 16 November to act on a commission, which included the Percies (the Earl of Northumberland and his son, Hotspur), the Earl of Westmorland, and the sheriffs of Yorkshire and Westmorland, charged with making arrests to stop illegal meetings organized by the enemies of one John Preston, perhaps the lawyer of that name of Preston Patrick (Westmorland), and with bringing those arrested before the King's Council.¹⁵

On the day after this last commission passed the Great Seal, namely, on 17 November 1398, Redmayne was appointed sheriff of Cumberland for the third time within five years.¹⁶ As in the case of his second appointment, this third appointment broke the statutory restriction of 1371; only now, no more than a year had elapsed since his last occupation of the office. He remained sheriff for the whole of this last Exchequer year of Richard II's reign, until 30 September 1399, on which day the revolu-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1396-9, 310, 313, 370, 438, 503.

¹⁶ *List of Sheriffs*, *loc. cit.*

tion which saw Richard II's deposition and Henry IV's accession was consummated. Redmayne's appointment as sheriff in November 1398 suggests that he was well trusted by Richard II, who by this time was far gone in his despotic courses. That this was so is more clearly evident from the fact that by 8 January 1399, when he was recompensed at the Exchequer of Receipt for £5 which he had paid to a valet of the Duke of Berry, who had brought a destrier as a present from the duke to the king, he was Master of the King's Horses.¹⁷ Moreover, he accompanied Richard II on his second and, from the point of view of later events in England, disastrous expedition to Ireland in the spring of 1399. On 10 April Redmayne nominated as many as six attorneys to act for him in England during his absence (including his neighbour of Gawthorpe, William Gascoigne, at this time one of the King's Serjeants-at-law), and on 18 May (at Haverford West, when on his way to the port of embarkation) two more, Richard Clifford, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Thomas Stanley, Keeper of the Rolls of the Chancery. In the meantime, on 17 April, Redmayne had been granted the wardship (and marriage) of the heir of Sir Richard Kirkbred, a Cumberland tenant-in-chief, to the value of £50 a year, although six days later the concession was reduced to 20 marks a year.¹⁸

Whether or not they were tricked into doing far more towards achieving Henry of Bolingbroke's accession than they intended, the Percies were foremost in supporting him on his return to Yorkshire (from exile in France) early in July 1399. But the northern baronage generally rallied to assist the heir of Lancaster to recover his recently sequestrated inheritance. Perhaps it was the Percies, with whom Sir Richard Redmayne and his father had been long connected in one way and another, who spoke for

¹⁷ Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/561, mem. 11.

¹⁸ *CPR*, 1396-9, 519, 553; 532, 560.

him in the new situation which rapidly brought Richard II's reign to an end. His relationship with Lord Greystoke can only have been helpful. Perhaps Redmayne's absence in Ireland, however, saved him (and many others closely connected with Richard II) from adopting an equivocal attitude at the moment of crisis. However this may be, it was soon clear, once the revolution had been effected, that whatever Redmayne stood to lose by the change of sovereign, he did, in fact, lose little. Admittedly, on 8 October 1399 he and his brother, John, were required to undertake in Chancery that they would not harm Master Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, or his servants, on pain of forfeiting £200, and three of their neighbours in Westmorland found mainprise in the same amount on their behalf. But on 26 October Sir Richard's enjoyment of the Kirkbred wardship was confirmed, and on 31 October all the grants made to him by Richard II were made the subject of a royal *inspeximus* and confirmation: the grant of all the royal lands in Blencogo of 1388, the grant for life of the annuity of 40 marks (charged on the issues of Cumberland) of 1390, and the grant for life of 40 marks a year (charged on the Exchequer of Chester) of 1397, a further confirmation of which grants he secured, by letters under the Seal of Chester, from the royal heir-apparent, Henry, Prince of Wales, on 15 May 1400.¹⁹

Of Sir Richard Redmayne's doings in 1400 nothing is known, although it is likely that he was involved in Henry IV's brief expedition into Scotland in the summer, York being the rendezvous of the royal army. That all was going well with him under the new régime is suggested by the conversion of his grant for life of the Blencogo royal lands into a grant to him and heirs by a patent of 14 April 1401. Six days later he and his wife were allowed a royal licence enabling them to entail their moiety of the manor of Harewood on their heirs male in accordance

¹⁹ CCR, 1399-1402, 88; CPR, 1399-1401, 48; 47.

with a fine levied in the Court of Common Pleas in this term — they already had two sons, Matthew and Richard — with a remainder in tail male in favour of Lady Redmayne's son by her first marriage, Brian Stapleton.²⁰ On 8 July 1401 Sir Richard was appointed for the first time as a justice of the peace in Westmorland.²¹ And, soon after 20 July, when Henry IV wrote to his council from the priory at Selbourne, ordering a Great Council to be summoned to Westminster for the middle of August, the council decided that Redmayne should be among the knights to be called up from Yorkshire; in a second list he also appeared as one of the three summoned from Westmorland. It was there decided that a policy of war with both France and Scotland should be accepted. Redmayne seems to have taken the opportunity given him by this visit to London to secure a clarification of the terms on which he held the Kirkbred wardship, for he took out a new patent (on 19 August 1401).

On 8 November 1401 Sir Richard was for the fifth time made sheriff of Cumberland; his re-appointment after the elapse of only two years since the end of his last spell of office was again an infringement of the Statute of Sheriffs of 1371.²² He held the shrievalty until 29 November 1402, in the meantime serving on the commission (for Westmorland), set up on 11 May 1402, ordering the arrest of malcontents spreading lies about the king's failure to keep his promises of good government.²³ Whether or not Redmayne had any part as sheriff in the manœuvres resulting in the brilliant success of the Percies against the Scots at Humbleton (on 14 September 1402) is not known. But it is very doubtful, because in June a large force of Scots had attacked Cumberland in the region of Carlisle, and, although the next Scottish movement was to be across the Eastern borders, Cumberland is likely to have engaged Redmayne's continuous attention.

²⁰ *CPR*, 1399-1401, 533; 476; *ibid.*, 1422-9, 104; *CFR* 1471-85, 241-244.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 565; *ibid.*, 1401-5, 520.

²² *PPC*, i 157, 161; *CPR*, 1399-1401, 545; *List of Sheriffs*, *loc. cit.*

²³ *CPR*, 1401-5, 129.

While this victory of Humbleton relieved pressure in the North, subsequent trouble with Henry IV over the very important persons taken as prisoners in the engagement fanned the discontent of the Earl of Northumberland and Hotspur. And in the summer of 1403 they revolted. The rising was crushed at Shrewsbury on 21 July. Hotspur and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, met their deaths, and Henry IV received Northumberland's surrender some three weeks later at York (on 11 August). Redmayne's attitude in this crisis was apparently one of complete loyalty to the king. On 16 July, when, from Burton-on-Trent, Henry IV had called up the Midlands and demanded the arrest of all suspected rebels, he had also appointed commissioners in Yorkshire, including Chief Justice Gascoigne (Redmayne's neighbour) and Redmayne himself, ordering them to arrest some of the Yorkshire gentry who were under suspicion, and, if these proved a nuisance, to execute justice on them as traitors and rebels. On 13 August, by letters issued by the Chancery from York, Redmayne was put on the commission of oyer and terminer for the West Riding set up to deal with cases of trespass against persons and property during the revolt. Two days later, by letters issued at Pontefract, he was included in a commission of array of forces in the Riding, presumably for service with the king on the borders of Wales.

Meanwhile, at York on 9 August, Redmayne had been given the custody of his wife's former husband Sir Brian Stapleton's manors of Carlton (near Otley) and Kentmere (near Kendal), the first at £70 a year, the second without rendering any farm so long as its income did not exceed £46 a year. This latter concession was expressly to recompense him for arrears of royal fees. The grant had been made possible by the recent execution and forfeiture of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, who had had an interest in the whole Stapleton wardship since 1394, when he and Sir William Scrope had paid £400 for

it. And then, on 5 November 1403, only a year after ceasing to be sheriff of Cumberland, Redmayne was appointed to the same office in Yorkshire; he held it until 4 December 1404.²⁴

It was in his capacity as sheriff that Redmayne was concerned in June 1404 in taking from York to Pontefract a former close servant of Richard II, William Serle, who had just been seized on the Border and brought south by the Earl of Northumberland (on the occasion of the earl's visit to Pontefract to meet the king and surrender his castles). Serle, who in 1399 had escaped to France and then returned to Scotland, had helped to foster the notion that Richard II was still alive, which had given the Percies some help in raising revolt in 1403 and always caused the government some embarrassment. Also accused of the murder of the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, in 1397, Serle could hope for no mercy from Henry IV and at Pontefract he was condemned for treason. On 3 November 1404, at Coventry (during the holding of the autumn parliament there), the Upper Exchequer was ordered, when auditing Redmayne's account as sheriff, to allow him up to £3. 13s. 4d. for the expenses which (as he was to declare on oath) he had incurred regarding Serle, and also for his costs in distributing the head and quarters of another traitor likewise adjudged to death at Pontefract, one Richard Tiler.²⁵ Shortly after he was rid of Serle but while Henry IV was still at Pontefract, Redmayne was empowered on 7 July to array men-at-arms and archers from Lonsdale and round Kendal: these were to go with him for the defence of the Marches when required, although only on the previous day a truce to last until Easter 1405 had been arranged at Pontefract with plenipotentiaries from Scotland.²⁶

Redmayne's influence at this point was such that, some time before he surrendered the shrievalty of Yorkshire

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 297; 284; 253; *List of Sheriffs*, 162.

²⁵ *CCR*, 1402-5, 391.

²⁶ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii 167b.

early in December 1404, he had already been appointed as royal escheator in the county. This appointment, dated 22 October 1404, lasted until 1 December 1405.²⁷ A month after his assumption of this new office and over a week before he gave up to his successor the shrievalty of Yorkshire, Redmayne was associated with Sir Richard Arundell in a commission (dated at Westminster on 23 November 1404) ordering them to take the muster of the force which, under the Prince of Wales and his brother, Thomas, was to attempt the relief of the castle of Coity in Glamorgan (Oldcastle Bridgend).²⁸ This place, which was then in great danger of having to capitulate to the Welsh rebels who were besieging it, was so important as to warrant the immediate diversion of a London loan of 1,100 marks for its rescue.

Although Redmayne had been re-appointed J.P. in Westmorland as late as 23 November 1404, early in the year of his escheatorship in Yorkshire (on 16 February 1405) he dropped out of this commission of the peace, having meanwhile been appointed for the first time as J.P. in the West Riding (by patent of 22 January 1405). He continued to act on this commission without a break until January 1414.²⁹

The year of Redmayne's escheatorship in Yorkshire (1404-5) saw the North of England once more gravely disturbed by fresh treasons on the part of the old Earl of Northumberland, who was now joined by Lord Bardolf; and the disorder in Yorkshire itself was intensified by the revolt of Archbishop Scrope and the young Earl Marshal who, tricked by the Earl of Westmorland into surrendering at Shipton Moor, were shortly put to death on Henry IV's orders. There is no record of Redmayne's behaviour during the particularly unquiet time of this year, except that in June and July he was with the royal army

²⁷ P.R.O., *Typescript List of Escheators*, 187.

²⁸ CPR, 1401-5, 475.

²⁹ CPR, 1401-5, 521; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 500; *ibid.*, 1408-13, 487; *ibid.*, 1413-16, 426.

which went north to recover Berwick from the Earl of Northumberland's forces and to occupy some of Percy's own strongholds. (On 4 November 1406 the king gave him £20 towards his costs on this expedition.) But by the beginning of August 1405 the work of confiscating the estates of rebels and rewarding royal supporters was proceeding apace, and as escheator Redmayne is bound to have had his hands full. On 5 August he was with the king at Pontefract and acted as surety for the grantee of the Leicestershire estates of one of the foremost of the Cleveland rebels, Sir Ralph Hastings, who had been taken prisoner at Topcliffe (before this force could reach the main rebel body at York) and later executed at Durham (on 20 July). Redmayne himself seems not to have profited from any of the confiscations. But on 9 August, still at Pontefract, the wardship of the Stapleton manor of Carlton, granted him for an annual farm-rent of £70 two years before, was now re-granted to him rent-free, except for a charge of £20 for the upkeep of his stepson, the heir, and a month later the grant was made retrospective to Michaelmas 1404. This was equivalent to an out-and-out yearly gift of £50.³⁰ On 13 August he was at Wetherby, holding as escheator an inquisition by which Nicholas Tempest was thrust out from the manor of Walton-by-Spofford when it was found that the Earl of Northumberland had given him the manor as late as 24 April in this year in exchange for an annuity of £10. Later in the year, on 4 December 1405, he was put on a commission to produce before the King's Council early in the New Year certain men disturbing the peace.³¹

To what was to become the longest medieval parliament until then, the parliament which met on 1 March and was not dissolved until 22 December 1406, Sir Richard Redmayne was for the first time elected as knight of the shire for Yorkshire, along with Sir Thomas Rokeby

³⁰ Privy Seal warrants for issue, P.R.O., E 404/22/194; *CFR*, 1399-1405, 316; *CPR*, 1405-8, 53, 54.

³¹ *CPR*, 1413-16, 115; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 149.

who was then enjoying the custody of some of the estates of one of the leading Yorkshire rebels of the previous year, Sir John Colville of the Dale. The three sessions of this parliament were extremely contentious, the Commons especially insisting on appropriation of supplies and conciliar and ministerial accountability to parliament, which, much against the king's will, the knights of the shire compelled him to accept. On 19 June, at the end of the second session, the Commons pressed for an audit of the accounts of the two Treasurers for the Wars who, appointed at Coventry in the autumn parliament of 1404, were now seeking release from office. The king, after first refusing the audit, had to give way and, in addition, to allow a request from the Commons that, along with Lord Roos and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, there should be associated as auditors six of their own number, five knights of the shire and one of the London members. Redmayne was one of the knights chosen by the Lower House for this duty, and he and the others were commissioned to execute the audit by royal letters patent issued at the beginning of what proved to be the last week of the parliament (on 16 December 1406).³² It may well have been the remembrance of this commission, so formally conceded by letters under the Great Seal, which, when the knights refused to grant any fresh taxation, so enraged the king that he decided to continue the parliament until they capitulated. Which they only did on 22 December, too late for most of them to get home for Christmas.

Redmayne had not been idle during the parliament in doing a certain amount of business at Westminster on his own account. On 27 May 1406, during the second session, he secured a grant of the wardship of the estates and the marriage of the son and heir of one Richard Newland, which, by further letters of 3 December (embodying his agreement with the Treasurer), he eventually

³² *Rot. Parl.*, iii 577b; *CPR*, 1405-8, 351.

secured for 10 marks. The Keeper of the Hanaper of the Chancery, moreover, had already (on 28 November) been instructed to deliver the patent without taking the great fee for the seal.³³ The third session of the parliament had been going on for a fortnight when, on 27 October, the royal Council considered a request submitted by Redmayne along with Sir Robert Lowther and William Stapleton. In it the petitioners asked to be examined on oath by the Chancellor separately, touching their denial that letters patent appointing them as collectors in Cumberland of the aid for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter (Blanche) had ever been served on them. Despite this, process of distraint was now being entered against them in the Exchequer, and so they asked for the inquiry and also for writs of surcease if their excuses were accepted. The petition was successful, the Council allowing a suspension of proceedings and authorising a fresh commission to collect. Redmayne and his co-petitioners had evidently held the Exchequer at bay for nearly five years, for the commissions for the aid had originally left the Chancery in December 1401 when Redmayne was sheriff of Cumberland.³⁴ This business satisfactorily settled, a week or so later, on 4 November, Sir Richard secured a privy seal warrant authorising the Exchequer to pay him £20, a gift from the king for his services in the North, especially at the siege of Berwick in the summer of 1405; and a week or so later again, on 12 November, he obtained an exemption under the Great Seal of the terms of an enrolment of a charter of 1209 granting to Warin FitzGerald a warren and the right to hold a three days fair and a market at Harewood, and on 4 December a patent of *inspeximus* and confirmation.³⁵ Redmayne was not elected to any of Henry IV's later parliaments.

Towards the end of the summer of 1407 the situa-

³³ *CFR*, 1405-13, 32; *CPR*, 1405-8, 274; *CCR*, 1405-9, 161.

³⁴ Ancient Petitions, P.R.O., S.C. 8, file 262, no. 13064; *CCR*, 1405-9, 226.

³⁵ P.R.O., E 404/22/194; *CPR*, 1405-8, 275, 278; *ibid.*, 1441-6, 348.

tion in the northern counties was again deteriorating. Northumberland's lands had been confiscated and his castles surrendered after the failure of his rebellion in 1405. He and Lord Bardolf had fled into Scotland, then to Wales, and afterwards to France (late in 1406), from where they had returned to Scotland (during the summer of 1407). To do something to dispel a threat which had hardly yet materialized, in August 1407 Henry IV himself again went up into Yorkshire *via* the East Midlands. It was while he was at Rothwellhaigh, just south of Leeds, that on 30 August he commissioned his third son, John, who was Constable of England, and the Earl of Westmorland, who had filled the office of Marshal of England since 1405, to investigate and disperse any unlawful gatherings occurring in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland. On the same day was set up another commission, one of oyer and terminer relating to cases of treason in these northern areas, in which Chief Justice Gascoigne, Sir Ralph Eure, Sir Thomas Rokeby (Redmayne's fellow-knight of the shire in the previous year), and Redmayne himself were associated with Prince John and Westmorland. Not until January 1408 did Northumberland and Bardolf cross the Border. Not surprisingly, the response of their friends was uncertain and disappointing; and Sir Thomas Rokeby, in charge of the Yorkshire levies as sheriff, had no difficulty in crushing the rebellion at Bramham Moor (near Tadcaster) on 19 February, when Northumberland was killed and Bardolf died of wounds. Within a month the king was again in Yorkshire and spent Easter at Pontefract on his return from York. Just before he left to go south, on 25 April, he commissioned the Earl of Westmorland, Chief Justice Gascoigne, Sir Ralph Eure, Robert Waterton, John Conyers, and Redmayne (only Waterton being of the *quorum*) to accept submissions from rebels and receive fines for the charters of pardon they were empowered to promise, answering at the Exchequer.

Three days later the same commissioners were authorized to inquire into the death of Sir Thomas Colville at Overton, presumably during the recent revolt.³⁶ Whether Redmayne, whose place at Harewood was no more than five or six miles from Bramham Moor, had taken the field with Rokeby, is not known. Unlike the sheriff, he did not profit from any of the confiscations that followed the battle (not that any clear inference can be drawn from this).

For a year or so after the spring of 1408 Redmayne slips entirely out of view. He remained a J.P. in the West Riding. But he served on no extraordinary or occasional commissions of royal appointment until, in April 1409, he became involved in diplomatic negotiations with Scotland. He was then appointed with three other northern knights to treat in the Marches about special or general truces. It was in the following summer that Jedburgh fell to the Scots, and in the autumn Fastcastle was besieged (but continued to hold out). The movement towards reaching a *modus vivendi* between the two countries was not, however, wanting in support: letters from the Scottish Regent, the Duke of Albany, written at Edinburgh on 2 October 1409, proposed a conference at Haudenstank on 10 February 1410, asking that the English agreement to participate should be presented at Kelloe on 30 November. On 14 November Henry IV replied that he proposed to send Sir Richard Redmayne and Master Richard Holme, LL.D., canon of York, to meet Scottish commissaries of similar rank at Kelloe on 27 January 1410, in order to settle a proper truce, arrange for a further meeting on the March to negotiate a final

³⁶ *CPR*, 1405-8, 359; 75, 405, 488 (The commission calendared in this volume on p. 75 should be ascribed not to 1405 but to 1408. When it is compared with that on p. 405 the error is evident, especially when consideration is given to the fact that the commission of 26 April on p. 75, again wrongly attributed in the *Calendar* to 1405, was addressed to Bishop Thomas of Durham and Henry, Archbishop of York, because the former only became bishop in 1406 and the latter archbishop in 1407. This clinches the matter. J. H. Wylie, in his *The Reign of Henry IV*, iii 158, spotted the error).

peace or a longer truce, and investigate breaches of the existing truce; and the letter asked for notice of an acceptance of these proposals to be sent before Christmas to the king's son, John, Warden of the East March, at Berwick. On 20 November Redmayne and Dr Holme were empowered to treat.³⁷ On 19 January 1410 Redmayne left Harewood, and on the next day Holme set out from York, for Kelloe. Their business concluded, both were in London on 13 February to report to the king, and at the same time Redmayne drew £10 of the £23 due to him as wages at the Lower Exchequer. On 1 March he was seemingly making ready to return to the Border on this business, being advanced at the Exchequer a further 20 marks.³⁸ Not until 4 April, however, were he and Dr Holme (with whom was now associated Lord FitzHugh of Ravensworth) empowered to treat for a peace or prolongation of the truce with Scotland, to make a settlement of claims, and to punish English violations of the existing truce. It was also a part of their duty to demand the return of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who, taken prisoner first by the Percies in 1402 and then when fighting for them at Shrewsbury in 1403 by the king, had been finally allowed to go back to Scotland in June 1408 to promote an understanding between Henry IV and Albany. (The Scottish Regent's own heir had been taken prisoner with Douglas in 1402 and was still a captive in England.) On 13 April 1410 Redmayne left Harewood for Haudenstank on the Border, where he acted with Lord FitzHugh and Dr Holme and, after pausing on his way back to London at Harewood for four days (*causa recreacionis*), he was at Westminster, all ready to make his report, on 7 May, two days after

³⁷ Privy Seal warrants for issue, E 404/24/413; *Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (R.S.), ii 293. (The letters of both Albany and Henry IV are attributed to the year 1410, but they clearly belong to 1409. The meeting at Haudenstank was proposed by Albany for Monday, 10 February; this date fell on a Monday in 1410, in 1411 on a Tuesday.) *Foedera*, VIII 609; *Rot. Scotiae*, ii 192.

³⁸ Enrolled Foreign Accounts, P.R.O., E 364/43, mem. B; Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/602.

Holme's arrival. (At the rate of £1 a day, £20 were due to him, and he was paid this amount on 9 December following.) Negotiations continued on 17 June, this time the work of another party of commissioners drawn from Northumberland, and the truce was continued until 1 November 1410, only to be renewed later still until in autumn 1411 a long truce was finally concluded to last till Easter 1418. Redmayne was not party to these later interviews.³⁹

In the meantime, when, in the early summer of 1410, there was some fear that the Scots were intending to invade, Redmayne was put on a commission of array in the West Riding (on 5 July 1410). Still a member of the West Riding commission of the peace, he was included on 4 December 1411 in a commission of oyer and terminer, following a complaint by a man of York that he had been set upon at Over Ouseburn (between York and Boroughbridge) by men from Coverdale who then held him to ransom. A week later, on 10 December 1411, Redmayne was for the fifth time appointed sheriff of Cumberland and held office until 3 November 1412.⁴⁰

When Henry V succeeded his father on 21 March 1413 Redmayne was not far short of being sixty years of age. But his services in the North had been, and his influence there still was, clearly enough to warrant the second Lancastrian king in continuing to recognise them. His near neighbour of Gawthorpe, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench since 1400, now saw fit to retire (or was removed), but Redmayne on 21 March 1413 was re-appointed a J.P. in the West Riding in the first commissions of the peace to be issued in the new reign, and on 14 June following he secured royal letters patent renewing the confirmation of his letters of October 1399 continuing the annuity of 40 marks from the issues of

³⁹ *Foedera*, VIII 630; *Rot. Scotiae*, ii 193; Exchequer, Accounts Various, P.R.O., E 101, bundle 321, no. 7; Issue Roll, E 403/606, mem. 6; Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii 279-81.

⁴⁰ CPR, 1408-13, 224, 375; *List of Sheriffs*, loc. cit.

Cumberland granted him in 1390, although not, apparently, the supplementary annuity of 40 marks, drawn on the Exchequer of the Palatinate of Chester, which he had enjoyed since 1397. This limited grant was made on condition that he did not seek to be retained by anyone but the king (and for 5 marks paid into the Hanaper of the Chancery). This reverse was to some extent offset by his being paid at the Lower Exchequer, on 9 December 1413, £7. 16s. 10d. which Henry V *de gratia sua speciali* now ordered him to be given as a *donum* in recompense for all the arrears of his Cumberland annuity, and on 13 May 1414 he received an advance of half a year's instalment of this annuity, actually at the Exchequer itself.⁴¹ He had lately (on 16 January 1414) been left out of the West Riding commission of the peace for the first time since 1405, but was then included once more in the commission for his own county of Westmorland.

It was, nevertheless, for Yorkshire that he sat as knight of the shire in the November 1414 parliament, the third of the reign. In May 1415 he was a commissioner of array in the West Riding for levies which were to stand by to resist any attempts from Scotland to upset Henry V's rapidly maturing plans to invade France.⁴² And then, on 6 July, Redmayne was put on a commission appointed at Winchester to enquire into the forcible seizure of Murdach, Earl of Fife, the long-captive son of the Regent of Scotland, when passing through the West Riding on his way to the Border, where final arrangements for his exchange for Hotspur's son (the heir to the Earldom of Northumberland) were to have taken place. The small party in charge of the Earl of Fife had been attacked near Leeds on 31 May by an armed gang under one of the Talbots of Bowland, possibly acting in the interests of the plot of Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, which ultimately

⁴¹ CPR, 1413-16, 67; Exchequer, Issue Rolls, P.R.O., E 403/612, mem. 8; *ibid.*, 617, mem. 4.

⁴² CPR, 1413-16, 424, 426; 407.

came to light at Southampton at the end of July (when Henry V was making his final preparations for his first invasion of France). The commission of 6 July was to arrest and imprison those responsible for Murdach's abduction.⁴³ On the same day, Redmayne was re-included in the West Riding commission of the peace, of which he was now to remain a member until his death. He was now J.P., therefore, in both the West Riding and Westmorland. Despite the commission of 6 July, Sir Richard took part in the mustering of the retinue of the king's youngest brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, near Romsey on 16 July. His second son, Richard, crossed with the expeditionary force and fought along with his stepbrother, Sir Brian Stapleton, during the Agincourt campaign, when they took prisoner one Guillaume Quintin, bastard of France, who came over to England in 1416.⁴⁴

There is no question of Sir Richard, senior, having himself accompanied the expedition to Normandy: on 21 October, four days before the triumph of Agincourt, he and Sir John Etton were re-elected as knights of the shire for Yorkshire to the parliament summoned by the Duke of Bedford (as *Custos regni*) to meet on 4 November, and the Commons presented Redmayne to the duke as Speaker-elect on 6 November, when he was accepted. A fact of perhaps some significance in explaining Redmayne's election as Speaker on this occasion is that at Levens he was now a tenant of the duke, to whom had been granted the lordship of Kendal. The Chancellor, Bishop Beaufort, had opened the session with a sermon preached on the theme, *Sicut et ipse fecit nobis, ita et nos ei faciamus*. This injunction the Commons certainly obeyed with a promptitude and above all in a manner well calculated to please the king: within the short space of a week they advanced by nearly two months the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 348; Wylie, *The Reign of Henry V*, i 515-8.

⁴⁴ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. 5, p. 124; *DKR*, xliv 579; T. Carte, *op. cit.*, i 228.

collection of the subsidy of a tenth and fifteenth voted a year ago, and on 12 November ended by granting the wool subsidy and tunnage and poundage to Henry V for his lifetime as from Michaelmas 1416, when the existing grant would have run its course (a concession with no precedent except the short-lived grant to Richard II of January 1398), and at the same time they made a fresh grant of a tenth and fifteenth leviable at Martinmas 1416. The Commons had already (on the fifth day of the session) appeared before the Lords to ask for a ratification of the judgments against the authors of the Southampton plot. There was little time for aught else, and the common petitions numbered no more than four. On 16 November Henry V crossed from Calais and came ashore at Dover, and on 23 November he had his reception in London. A week later (on 1 December) Redmayne was appointed once more as sheriff of Yorkshire.⁴⁵

During Redmayne's year of office (which ended on 30 November 1416) there were two parliamentary elections which it was his duty to supervise in Yorkshire. The returns to the parliament of October 1416 have been lost, but the sheriff's influence is discernible in the elections to the earlier parliament of March: his stepson, Sir Brian Stapleton, fresh from the Agincourt campaign, was elected as one knight of the shire, the other being Sir Robert Plumpton, a retainer of the Duke of Bedford and steward of the honour of Knaresborough, whose heir had just been contracted in marriage with Stapleton's daughter, Elizabeth. (Incidentally, before the end of Sir Richard's term of office as sheriff, the wife of his elder son, Matthew, gave birth at Harewood to his grandson, Richard.)⁴⁶ Whether Sir Richard really did incur heavy losses as a result of his occupying the shrievalty is not known, but it was on the ground of excessive personal

⁴⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, iv 63; *List of Sheriffs*, 162.

⁴⁶ Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, xci: A. Gooder, *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York, 1258-1832*, i 175-6; *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, xxii 154.

expenditure that a grant was made to him on 28 April 1417, by the king and with the assent of the Council, of letters patent pardoning him £80 of his dues at the Exchequer, and at Reading on 8 May he secured a further patent exempting him for life from again being made either sheriff or escheator.⁴⁷

The extant records of the proceedings of the King's Council are unfortunately rather sparse for these years of Henry V's reign, and little is therefore known of its regular composition. This is especially true from the time when Henry V took some of its most important members with him on his second and more serious French campaign, upon which he embarked in the summer of 1417. On 20 October 1417, however, Redmayne was present as a member of the Council advising the *Custos*, the Duke of Bedford, at one of its meetings. Admittedly, this is the only one of which there is a record of his attendance. But it is possible that he remained a member of the Council in England for some time, although for how long, or how assiduously he acted, there is no knowing.⁴⁸ It is not unlikely that for this office he owed something to Lord FitzHugh who on 8 December 1416 had been appointed Treasurer of England. FitzHugh was nephew to the lady who had been stepmother to Redmayne between 1377 and her death in 1403, and Redmayne's elder son and heir, Matthew, had married Joan Tunstall (a daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall of Thurland), whose brother had married a daughter of Lord FitzHugh. Redmayne, however, was without doubt quite closely connected at this time with the Duke of Bedford himself: it was in company with the duke that he was received into the confraternity of the abbey of St. Albans on 4 October 1417. It is also well worth noting that on this same day, according to the *Liber Niger* of the abbey, the duke requested the prayers of the monks for Sir Brian

⁴⁷ CPR, 1416-22, 102

⁴⁸ PPC, ii 218.

Stapleton, *multum sibi dilectus*, Redmayne's stepson who had just been killed in Normandy.⁴⁹

During the remainder of Henry V's reign Redmayne was a J.P. in both the West Riding of Yorkshire and Westmorland, and he continued to act on local commissions of royal appointment in each of the two counties. These commissions were, however, mainly occasional in type and infrequent. At the end of April 1418, he and the sheriff of Yorkshire were ordered to supervise (at Hull on 31 May) the muster of a military force for eight vessels which were to serve for six months on patrol off the eastern sea-board. On 5 March 1419 he was made a commissioner of array, in both the West Riding and Westmorland, against possible attacks from the sea by the Castilian allies of France, and, later in the same year, by a patent of 24 August, he was appointed as a commissioner of sewers in the districts between the rivers Ouse and Aire.⁵⁰ Incidentally, he was by now in receipt of a pension of £20 (additional to his other royal annuity of 40 marks), charged on the revenues of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster in southern England and payable at the hands of the duchy's receiver-general. About this time Redmayne was evidently still closely connected with the Duke of Bedford (who was continuing to act as *Custos Anglie* in the king's absence), an assignment to the duke for £24 being made through him at the Exchequer on 27 October 1419, along with another assignment for £40 by the hand of Bedford's receiver-general.⁵¹

It was in December 1420 that Redmayne again sat as knight of the shire for Yorkshire, in a parliament summoned by the Duke of Gloucester, who had now been *Custos* in England for a year, ever since Bedford's departure to Normandy. The king was daily expected to return home, but parliament did not last long. It was

⁴⁹ British Museum, Nero D VII, fo. 144.

⁵⁰ *CPR*. 1416-22, 200, 211, 269.

⁵¹ Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts Various, Michs. 1418-9, P.R.O., D.L. 28/27/8; Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/643, mem. 2.

on the third day of the session, 4 December 1420, that Redmayne took out an *inspeximus* and confirmation of the letters he had procured in 1406, exemplifying his rights of warren, fair, and market at Harewood.⁵² On 7 April 1421, by which time Henry V had been back in England for two months, striving to re-excite interest in the completion of his conquests in France, Redmayne was included in a commission for raising royal loans in the West Riding, the commissioners themselves being expected to lend to the king.⁵³ Redmayne was not re-elected knight of the shire to the important parliament (of May 1421) which was the last of Henry V's reign to be attended by the king in person. But when the need for further supplies brought parliament together in the following December, once again under the presidency of the Duke of Bedford as *Custos Anglie*, he was for the fifth and last time elected as knight of the shire, once more for Yorkshire.

When parliament next met, in November 1422, it was mainly to sanction the form of government during the long minority of Henry V's successor, his infant son, Henry of Windsor. Although Sir Richard Redmayne was not returned as knight of the shire, in all probability he came up to Westminster on business of his own. At least on 15 December, three days before the end of the parliament, he received a writ under the Great Seal confirming the patents of June 1413, October 1399, and November 1390, by which he had held his annuity of 40 marks, chargeable on the royal revenues of Cumberland. On 26 March following (1423) Redmayne improved on this considerably, by getting an exemplification under the Seal of Chester of the late king's ratification (in 1400) of Henry IV's patent of 1399, confirming all the grants he had enjoyed in Richard II's reign; his right to occupy the royal lands in Blencogo (Cumberland) worth £10 a

⁵² CPR, 1441-6, 348.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1416-22, 384.

year, the Cumberland annuity of 40 marks, and the annuity of 40 marks for which the Exchequer of Chester was responsible; and on 23 April 1423 he did his best to get even sounder authority for his pensions, by taking out a patent under the Great Seal corroborating the confirmation under the Seal of Chester. This last comprehensive grant passed the Chancellor by advice of the Great Council and by a warrant of the Privy Seal.

By this time the sands were beginning to run out, and in July 1423 Redmayne dropped out of the commission of the peace for Westmorland, although he stayed on as a member of the West Riding commission, to which he was also re-appointed in July 1424.⁵⁴ On 29 April 1424 he had witnessed a demise by Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, of all his interest in the estates of the late Sir Robert de Neville of Hornby (Lancs.), to whom the Duchess of Exeter was granddaughter and heir, in favour of Sir William Haryington of Hornby who had married one of Sir Robert's two daughters (the duchess's aunts).⁵⁵ On 5 September following, Redmayne was appointed to serve on his last occasional royal commission along with his stepbrother, Lord Greystoke, and his wife's nephew, Sir William Ryther: a commission of inquiry in Yorkshire regarding cases of concealment of royal rights, especially of feudal incidents due to the Crown.⁵⁶

On 1 May 1425 Sir Richard drew up his testament, instructing his feoffees in the manor of Levens and certain of the Harewood estates how they were to make a settlement on his second but sole surviving son, Richard, pending the majority of his eight-years-old grandson, Richard (the son and heir of his elder son, Matthew, who had died in 1419) and how to treat the interest of his late wife's heirs by her first husband (the Stapletons). Aged about seventy, Sir Richard died on 22 May 1426. There is evidence for believing that he was buried with his wife,

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1422-9, 48, 104, 573.

⁵⁵ Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, iii C3563.

⁵⁶ *CPR*, 1422-9, 275.

Elizabeth Aldbrough (who had died in December 1417), in the church of the Blackfriars at York. With this friary the Aldbrough family was obviously closely connected: Redmayne's wife's brother and *his* widow, both of whom had died in 1391, were buried there, and so was her son (by her first husband), Sir Brian de Stapleton, who had died in Normandy in the autumn campaign of 1417. There is, however, a tomb-chest at Harewood with effigies representing both Sir Richard and his wife.⁵⁷

The writ of *Diem clausit extremum* after Sir Richard's death issued as of course from the Chancery to the royal escheator in Yorkshire on 8 September 1426, and on 5 February 1427 the custody of the Redmayne moiety of the manor of Harewood was given (by bill of the Treasurer of England), for the duration of the minority of Sir Richard's grandson, Richard, to Richard Duckett, the boy's uncle by marriage, and Thomas Redmayne. Already, on 7 November 1426, Sir Richard's second son, Richard Redmayne of Bossall, had secured confirmation of his hold on the manor of Blencogo (Cumberland), in the form of a royal pardon for acquiring it from his father without licence.⁵⁸ It was apparently this Richard who was father to Richard Redmayne, Abbot of Shap, who became Bishop of St Asaph in 1471, of Exeter in 1495, and of Ely in 1501. Who was Richard of Bossall's wife is not known. One of the Speaker's daughters (Joan) married Sir Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, and another, Richard Duckett of Grayrigg (Westmorland), a nephew of Sir William de Windsor (the Lieutenant of Ireland in the later years of Edward III) and the same who shared in the wardship of Harewood after Sir Richard's death. The Speaker's grandson and heir, Richard, who only proved his coming of age in November 1437, married the granddaughter of Sir Richard's neighbour and colleague in so many royal

⁵⁷ *Yorks. Arch. and Topogr. Journal*, iv 92; W. Greenwood, *op. cit.*, 88; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iv 76.

⁵⁸ *CFR*, 1422-30, 136, 159; *CPR*, 1422-9, 381.

commissions, Chief Justice Gascoigne of Gawthorpe. The young Richard, like his grandfather, went into the service of the Duke of Bedford, who before his death in 1435 had made him master-forester of Kendal. It was he who was knight of the shire for Westmorland in 1442, and *his* son, William, who was knight of the shire for the same county in 1478. Another, younger son, Edward, lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, sat for Carlisle in the same parliament and for Westmorland in 1495.⁵⁹ These were the only members of the Speaker's family to sit after him in parliament during the 15th century.

⁵⁹ Greenwood, *op. cit.*, pedigree facing p. 1; G. F. Duckett, *Duchetiana*, 16; N. & B. i 111; British Museum, Harleian MS. 1178, fo. 109v; J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament (Biographies)*, 709-10.