

# The rise of the Dallingridge family

by Nigel Saul

*The Dallingridges are one of the most famous of Sussex's medieval gentry families, and Sir Edward is celebrated as the builder of Bodiam. The origins and early history of the family, however, have been little studied. This article looks at the fortunes of the Dallingridges from c. 1270 to c. 1380 and considers in detail the career of Roger Dallingridge, Sir Edward's father. It is suggested that two factors in particular contributed to the family's rise: magnate patronage and a series of good marriages. The article ends by speculating on the possible influence on the family's fortunes of their origins in Ashdown Forest.*

By the later 14th century the Dallingridges had established themselves as one of the foremost gentry families in east Sussex. Roger Dallingridge was a leading figure in private service and royal administration in the 1360s and 1370s. His more celebrated kinsman Sir Edward, the builder of Bodiam, was not only active in his county but also served King Richard II at court. In the next generation, Sir Edward's son John, an active member of the Lancastrian affinity, maintained the family's influence into the reign of Henry IV. For three-quarters of a century the family mediated the flow of magnate and royal patronage in east Sussex. Underpinning their local influence was their landed wealth. When John died in 1408 he held estates and annuities in Sussex alone worth over £100, and his estates outside the county were probably worth as much again.<sup>1</sup>

The careers of the later Dallingridges, in particular of Edward and John, have been studied in some detail;<sup>2</sup> and aspects of Edward's life have figured in the broader history of England. Altogether less well understood are the origins and early history of the family. Unlike for example their neighbours, the Sackvilles, the Dallingridges were not a long established knightly lineage. They were of yeoman or squirearchical stock. Their ascent came in stages in the early- to mid-14th century. Among the factors that help to account for their rise are access to magnate favour and a series of marriages to heiresses. Similarities are to be observed between the Dallingridges' rise and that of some other gentry families. For that reason it is worth looking at the family's early history in the more general context of

the factors that aided social mobility in late medieval England.

The earliest member of the family to figure in the records is Roger, who flourished in the later 13th century. In an extent of Ashdown Forest made in 1274 Roger appears as a serjeant forester drawing a fee from the king of 3s. per annum.<sup>3</sup> Five or six years later he also appears in an extent of the Ashdown manor of Maresfield. In this document he is said to hold a messuage at 'Dalling Ridge' and 80 acres of land by the serjeanty of acting as a forester, the king being entitled to claim his best animal as a heriot on his death.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that the estate of Dalling Ridge, south of East Grinstead, from which Roger took his name, was his main seat. Roger's date of death is not known. Unfortunately, there is no inquisition post mortem because the Dallingridges did not hold their lands in chief (directly from the Crown). But it is possible that Roger was dead by the early 1290s;<sup>5</sup> one Matilda Dallingridge, who was assessed at 7s.0d. at Riston for a parliamentary subsidy in 1296, may well be his widow.<sup>6</sup>

The next members of the family to be mentioned are two brothers, John and William Dallingridge. In March 1309 Edward II ordered the commissioners Sir Henry Cobham and Sir Andrew Sackville to cease surveying the waste committed in Ashdown by John Dallingridge and William his brother and to enquire thereof by a jury instead.<sup>7</sup> Six years later John was to be accused of further trespasses, this time of vert and venison, in Ashdown.<sup>8</sup> John and William were probably, although not certainly, the sons of Roger, for John was to call his own son Roger. It is reasonable to suppose that John was the elder of

the two, since it is from him that the main line of the family descended.

In the time of the two brothers the Dallingridges made the first stages of their ascent into the greater gentry. William began establishing himself as a landed proprietor in the southern parts of Ashdown. In 1308 he acquired a messuage, 30 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow and 740 acres of meadow at Hamsey, near Lewes.<sup>9</sup> It is unclear where he obtained the capital for this acquisition, but the impression is given of a man on the make. William also acquired interests in Parrock and Hartfield.<sup>10</sup>

John's advance was more spectacular. What underpinned it was his marriage — the first of a series that were to augment and extend the family's interests. In or shortly before 1312 John married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Walter de la Lynde of Bolebrook, near Hartfield, and his wife Isabel.<sup>11</sup> Joan came from a distinguished lineage. Her grandfather, Sir John de la Lynde, had been active in royal service under Henry III. He was a 'king's knight' by 1261, and in 1265 was appointed keeper of the Tower of London after the royalist triumph at Evesham; from 1267 he was frequently employed as an envoy to the king of France. Joan's father, Sir Walter, had been summoned to fight in the Scottish wars of Edward I.<sup>12</sup> The de la Lyndes held a string of manors. The main ones were Bolebrook, in Sussex, Laceby, Lincs., Broomfield and Sock Dennis, Somerset, and Swire and Hartley in Dorset. The family's income probably totalled between £100 and £200 per annum. In terms of both status and income Joan was of superior standing to her husband. The match was in that sense a strange one. It is tempting to wonder if it was the product of an elopement. But whether or not this was so, the de la Lyndes gave it their blessing. In 1311, soon after the match was made, Joan's parents settled lands and rents in Hartfield and Withyham on the couple.<sup>13</sup> Four years later, Sir Walter obtained licence to enfeof them with a moiety of the manor of Laceby.<sup>14</sup> Five years after that, on his father-in-law's death, John inherited the manor of Bolebrook. It is interesting to note that he also took over the de la Lyndes' arms. The arms that the Dallingridges later bore *Argent a cross engrailed gules* were those of John's in-laws. Presumably John was not of prior armigerous rank himself.

John's rapidly improving fortunes were reflected, in the mid-1320s, in his entry into the lower ranks of the office-holding elite. In July 1325 he was

appointed to a commission to inspect walls and ditches along the coast of east Sussex.<sup>15</sup> Ten years later he was appointed with William de Sessingham and the prior of Michelham to survey the manors and parks of the honour of the Eagle (i.e. the Rape of Pevensey) for waste.<sup>16</sup> These were relatively minor appointments of the kind often given to non-knightly gentry. Their significance was that they marked governmental acceptance of his entry into local political society.

By the time of his death John had lifted his yeoman family into the ranks of the county gentry. In the next generation the Dallingridges' fortunes were to improve further. The new head of the family was a second Roger. The relationship of Roger II to other members of the line has sometimes given rise to confusion.<sup>17</sup> In the mid- to late-1330s there are references to two Rogers: Roger son of John, and Roger son of Thomas.<sup>18</sup> Roger son of Thomas was based at Little Horsted near Uckfield and acted as one of John's executors.<sup>19</sup> He and his father had connections with the Pierpoint and the Poynings families, and in 1345 he witnessed a bond of Sir Simon Pierpoint.<sup>20</sup> This Roger is known to have died by 1368, when his widow Cecilia was named as an executrix of his will.<sup>21</sup> However, the Roger who was active in administration is known to have been active still in the 1370s; he appears to have died around 1380. This Roger accordingly must be Roger, the son of John. This is a conclusion supported by the evidence of the family's heraldry. In Fletching church is a brass datable to c. 1380 which almost certainly commemorates Roger the administrator.<sup>22</sup> On the jupon of the male figure and on a shield couché in the fragmentary canopy gable appear the Dallingridge arms without marks of cadency and without differencing. The man commemorated must be an eldest son, and since he displays John's newly acquired arms he must be John's son.

When John Dallingridge died in the autumn of 1335, an inquisition post mortem was held in respect of his lands at Laceby, Lincs. His heir was said to be his son Roger, who was aged 24.<sup>23</sup> It is not clear how much weight should be attached to this statement of his age. Ages in inquisitions are often unreliable and there are grounds in this case for supposing that Roger was several years younger. In the first place, on his father's death he had more than another 40 years' active life ahead of him. Secondly, he was not to begin his career in arms until the following year, and he was not to begin

office-holding in the county until the early 1360s.<sup>24</sup> The signs are that he was probably 20 or less in 1335. His mother and other kin may have misrepresented his age in order to avoid the unwelcome prospect of a royal wardship.

The earliest references to Roger all relate to his performance of military service. In 1336 he fought in Scotland as an esquire in the retinue of the king's son John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall.<sup>25</sup> From the end of the 1330s he regularly enlisted in the king's armies to fight on the continent. In 1339 he received a protection for service in Flanders.<sup>26</sup> In the following year he was a member of Sir Michael de Poyning's retinue in the expedition that won the great naval victory at Sluys.<sup>27</sup> In 1342 he was granted a protection for service with the king in the autumn campaign in Brittany.<sup>28</sup> In 1346 he again attached himself to Sir Michael de Poyning for the important crossing to Normandy.<sup>29</sup> Almost certainly he was a member of the army that defeated the French at Crécy in July and went on to take Calais in the following year.

After the Crécy-Calais expedition Roger figures little in the record sources until his emergence as a major office-holder in the county in the 1360s. In the 15-year interval he appears to have been chiefly involved in seigneurial administration. In his native Ashdown he had his hereditary responsibilities as a forester in fee. It is hard to say how demanding these were, but during Queen Philippa's highly exacting lordship of Pevensey in the 1350s it is unlikely that a forestership was a sinecure.<sup>30</sup> Around the same time he began to acquire obligations to other lords. During or before the 1350s he had entered the service of the dowager Countess Warenne. On 22 March 1360 the Countess addressed a letter to him as her 'vadlet' and 'her estates steward in Surrey and Sussex'.<sup>31</sup> Very likely he had initially entered the service of her husband, Earl John, the last of the Warennes, and on the Earl's death in 1347 had committed himself to his widow. On the Countess' death in August 1361, he transferred in turn to the service of Richard, Earl of Arundel, who had inherited the bulk of the Warenne estates on John's death 14 years before. He quickly became one of the Earl's inner circle. The Earl named him as one of his feoffees in a settlement of 1366, and on several occasions he appears as a justice of oyer and terminer in cases involving the Earl, doubtless at the latter's suggestion.<sup>32</sup> The connection that he forged with the comital family continued into the next

generation. Roger's son Edward, the builder of Bodiam, was active in the second Earl's service to the late 1380s. When Edward fell foul of John of Gaunt in the 1380s, it was the Earl who delivered him from prison.<sup>33</sup>

Roger Dallingridge's many connections with the powerful greatly enhanced his standing in Sussex society. Nonetheless it was the first of his two marriages that did most in the short term to transform his prospects. Sometime around 1340 Roger wedded Alice, one of the three daughters of a local knight, Sir John de Radingdon.<sup>34</sup> Like Walter de la Lynde a generation earlier, Sir John was wealthy. He held a string of manors in Sussex, the main ones being Sheffield in Fletching, Little Horsted, 'Hyndedale' and Charleston. He had probably come into contact with Roger by virtue of his custody, in 1325, of the manor of Maresfield, where the Dallingridge family held interests.<sup>35</sup> According to the feet of fines, John had three daughters, Alice, Agatha and Maud. But only Alice, it appears, survived. On her father's death in around 1350 she took his entire inheritance to her husband, who henceforth established himself at Sheffield. Alice probably died in the early 1360s. Fairly quickly, and no later than 1362, Roger remarried. His second wife was another Alice, the widow of Sir Thomas St Maur, who had died in 1358 leaving no issue.<sup>36</sup> Roger's aim was to acquire her lands. The St Maur family, among their numerous estates, held the neighbouring manor in Fletching, that of Sheffield St Maur.<sup>37</sup> By marrying Alice, Roger immediately gained the dower third of the manor which Alice brought with her. Shortly afterwards he obtained the rest of the manor from Sir John Worth, Thomas's cousin and heir and the Princess of Wales's steward.<sup>38</sup> Roger had effectively made Fletching parish the centre of his lordship.

Roger's wealth and his close connection with the Arundels together ensured his appointment to all the offices and commissions of importance in the county. From the early 1360s he regularly served as a justice of oyer and terminer and commissioner of array or commissioner to inspect ditches.<sup>39</sup> In 1360, 1362 and 1363 he was elected a knight of the shire for Sussex in parliament.<sup>40</sup> In March 1371 he was appointed a collector of the parishes tax.<sup>41</sup> Later the same year he was pricked as sheriff, and five years after that he served as escheator.<sup>42</sup> By the mid-1370s he was also serving regularly as a justice of the peace, and three years before his death he was elected a fourth time to represent Sussex in

parliament.<sup>43</sup>

Roger's administrative work led to a broadening of his social and political horizons. His father's world had been largely confined to the Rape of Pevensey. Roger's extended to the whole of Sussex. His earliest contacts outside the closely-knit Ashdown community had been with the Poynings family. He had twice fought under Sir Michael de Poynings in the 1340s, and his kinsman Roger, the son of Thomas, had had dealings with the family in the same decade.<sup>44</sup> By the early 1360s, after he had been retained by the Earl of Arundel, he forged a series of ties with members of the Arundels' affinity. He regularly interacted with such men as Sir Edward St John, John de Kingsfold, Henry Asty, Sir Andrew Peveler and Robert Halsham.<sup>45</sup> At the same time he was drawn towards a lesser magnate with interests in Sussex, Roger, Lord de la Warr. De la Warr held a string of manors in the Rape of Pevensey, including Wilmington, Arlington, Isfield, the last of which marched with the Dallingridge manor of Little Horsted.<sup>46</sup> De la Warr was a veteran campaigner and probably visited Sussex infrequently.<sup>47</sup> Dallingridge may have held a position in his administration to watch over his interests: in 1368, when he witnessed a charter of de la Warr's, he did so alongside the latter's close associates Sir Robert Holand, Sir Thomas Latimer of Braybrooke, Northants., Robert Boteler and the lawyer Sir William Tauk.<sup>48</sup> Roger also forged associations with a number of gentry-based network groups. In the centre of the county he interacted with a group of non-knightly proprietors including John Weyvill, William Merlot the elder, and Richard, son of William Fifhide.<sup>49</sup> Further to the north he was also closely involved with the gentry of Ashdown and the Wealden country stretching into Surrey. Among his close associates here were his neighbour Sir John St Clere of Brambletye, another Ashdown landowner Sir Thomas Lewknor and, from the Surrey side, Richard de Burstow and William Newdigate.<sup>50</sup> Over the county border to the east there was another proprietor with whom he had connections, the Kentish knight Sir Nicholas de Loveyne of Penshurst.<sup>51</sup> Loveyne's many conveyancing activities also brought him into independent contact with Peveler, Burstow and St Clere.<sup>52</sup> It is likely that Dallingridge established social or business relations with various others outside the county as a result of his frequent parliamentary service. In 1370, for example, he was appointed to impress mariners with the steward of the royal

household, Sir William Latimer.<sup>53</sup> But oddly, he appears to have had few if any contacts with the Londoners.<sup>54</sup>

Roger's work as a local office-holder and commissioner brought him into contact with all the main knightly families of his shire. Yet strangely it seems that he never took up knighthood himself. As late as the early 1360s, when he was well into his 40s, he was still referred to by the Countess Warenne as her esquire ('vadlet').<sup>55</sup> It is possible that he could have taken up knighthood subsequently; but on balance it seems unlikely. In all the sources for the later years of his life — the feet of fines and the series of chancery enrolments — he is referred to simply as Roger Dallingridge and never as Roger Dallingridge 'knight'. On occasions the clerks took particular care over details of status: for example, they did so when noting the returns of members of parliament.<sup>56</sup> If Roger had been a knight he would surely at some time have been referred to as such.

Roger's reluctance to take up the higher rank is a little puzzling. There can be no doubt that he had the necessary wealth. His father had been distrained for knighthood in 1335;<sup>57</sup> and he himself was considerably richer. Part of the answer may be that in mid-career he had given up performing military service. Knighthood held the greatest attraction to those who were regular campaigners because a knight's pay was double that of an esquire. Roger, however, never fought after the 1340s; so to him the attraction of higher pay was irrelevant. Another possible reason is that he considered the assumption of knighthood an unwelcome burden. Traditionally the Crown looked to the belted knights to fill the main offices of county administration. Someone of knightly wealth who did not wish to be appointed might thus see his way to avoiding it by declining the rank. Dallingridge's administrative record hardly suggests that he fell into this category. However, it is intriguing that in 1364 he sought from the Crown an exemption from being appointed to office against his will;<sup>58</sup> quite possibly his commitments in seigneurial administration left him with too little time for work in the shire. Either or both of these reasons could offer an explanation for his lack of interest. But there may well have been a third, and a very different, reason. In the later Middle Ages knighthood no longer commanded the respect it had once had as a mark of status. Instead, there was a greater emphasis on lineage.<sup>59</sup> Lineage was a matter of blood; it was not, as knighthood was, a mark of

personal or individual distinction: rather it attested the growing fame of the family over generations. Appropriately, the outward and visible sign of lineage was possession of a coat-of-arms, for this was an hereditary ensign. Thus a proprietor whose ancestors had borne coat armour for generations had little or no need to take up knighthood; possession of arms was proof of ancestral worth. Roger Dallingridge, coming from a family that had never produced knights, may well have been content with the evidence of status which his lineage afforded him. His father had taken over the arms of the de la Lyndes, and that was sufficient. Like a growing number of landowners, he saw no need to bother with knighthood itself.<sup>60</sup>

In the absence of any personal details, or of a family archive, it is difficult to form much of an impression of Roger's character. Personal qualities are rarely illuminated by the main sources at our disposal — the chancery enrolments, feet of fines and so on. But a few impressions emerge. It appears that soldiering had only a limited appeal to him; he had fought as a youth, but despite the renewal of war in the 1350s, he never took up arms after 1346. He was evidently ambitious and keen to seek personal advancement: it is noticeable how assiduously he courted the rich and the powerful. On the other hand, his careful avoidance of knighthood points to a certain reticence in him. Possibly the main impulse driving him on was a dynastic sense: in other words, a search for family rather than personal advancement. There are a number of pointers to this. The first is the evident pride that he took in his armigerous status: heraldry figured prominently on his tomb.<sup>61</sup> A second, hardly less striking, is the marriage that he arranged for his son and heir Edward.<sup>62</sup> The marriage was negotiated around 1364.<sup>63</sup> It was the third and the most successful of the series of matches that lifted the Dallingridges to the higher rungs of Sussex society; and its consequences were far-reaching.

The bride whom Roger selected for his son was Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Wardieu of Bodiam. Wardieu was another wealthy man: he held a string of estates in the midlands and the south of England, among them the manors of Bodiam and Hollington in Sussex, Sywell, Hannington and Arthingworth in Northamptonshire, and various properties in Kent, Leicestershire and Rutland.<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth was to be his eventual heiress. Whether her future status was apparent at the time

of the marriage is hard to say. In 1364 she may have had a brother or brothers, and her father was still in his prime. However, on her father's death, 13 years later, she inherited all. Elizabeth's title to certain properties in Leicestershire and Rutland, notably the bailiwick of Leighfield forest, was far from sound, but she succeeded in establishing possession. Edward strengthened his position by seeking a royal pardon for trespasses done by Wardieu as keeper of the forest, but soon afterwards he decided to dispose of the Wardieus' midland properties.<sup>65</sup> It was never easy to manage a scattered inheritance, and Edward wanted to consolidate his holdings in the south.<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, in 1381 he sold the manors in Rutland to Sir William Burgh, the future judge, and a few years later he similarly disposed of the Northamptonshire properties. From now on the main family seat was to be Bodiam in Sussex. In the 1380s Edward embarked on a series of measures to develop the manor as a major lordship centre. In 1383 he secured the right to hold an annual fair and weekly markets there.<sup>67</sup> A couple of years later, after obtaining a licence to crenellate, he embarked on the construction of a state-of-the-art castle on a site a mile to the south of the Wardieus' manor house, near the Rother.<sup>68</sup> At the same time he built a new mill and diverted the Rother to serve the millpond.<sup>69</sup> These mightily ambitious works bore witness to his emergence as a major figure in Sussex society. Their cost, admittedly spread over many years, must have been enormous. There can be little doubt that by the early 1380s Dallingridge was wealthy. He had the income of his own and his wife's ancestral lands; he collected retaining fees from a host of lords;<sup>70</sup> and there are signs that he had made money from ransoms.<sup>71</sup> But even so the outlay was such that he would have needed to borrow or to draw on capital. Perhaps it was partly for this reason that he sold the Wardieus' midland properties. He needed the money to pay for the building programme at Bodiam.

Edward Dallingridge was a vigorous, assertive man, keen to make a mark on the world. But his father may not have been so very different. Roger had died in about 1380: the last references to him are in 1379.<sup>72</sup> He was buried in Fletching church, and almost certainly the great tomb at the end of the south transept is his. Although sadly mutilated today, this was once a splendid piece. It consists of a long tomb chest with projecting buttresses which supported a large stone canopy. At the apex of the



canopy gable was a stone achievement. Along the front of the chest are 15 cusped niches which probably held small, free-standing figures of weepers, now lost. On the top of the chest are the brasses of Roger and his wife. Roger is shown in armour, with an heraldic jupon, and the figures are surmounted by a tall canopy and embattled super canopy.<sup>73</sup> The tomb was probably commissioned after Roger's death; only occasionally did a commemorated order a tomb or a brass in his lifetime. But it affords a clear enough insight into his self-image: and not surprisingly, as his executors would have known what he wanted. The tomb is unusually large and self-conscious: a witness to someone who had done well in the world. There is a heavy emphasis on heraldry: Roger's arms are shown on his jupon. The impression is conveyed of a man much preoccupied with lineage: we know that blood mattered more to him than his knighting.

The character of the tomb is so singular and forceful as to prompt the speculation that he left instructions for it in his will. It was by no means unusual for testators to specify the location of a tomb and the form that it should take, and, when they did so, they usually gave particular attention to heraldry. Roger's will does not survive, but it is perfectly possible that some of its provisions related to the design of the tomb and the placing of arms on the jupon. It may be significant that one of the relatively few other brasses of this date to show an emblazoned jupon is that of someone known to Roger: the fragmentary figure of a knight, c. 1370, at Bodiam generally identified as that of John Wardieu.<sup>74</sup> Possibly Roger knew about Wardieu's brass and suggested it as a model for his own.

The splendour of Roger's monument at Fletching is testimony to how far the Dallingridges had come since the 1280s. In the 13th century the family had been minor gentry: they were holders of a serjeanty in Ashdown and their interests were predominantly local. A century later they could support knighthood and they were appointed to all the main county offices. A number of factors contributed to their rise. The first and most obvious of these was the series of marriages to heiresses which enabled them to extend their interests; by the mid-1340s they were lords of a string of manors across eastern Sussex. The second was the aristocratic patronage which they assiduously cultivated, in particular that of the Earls

of Arundel, the most important landowning family in Sussex. It was thanks largely to the Arundels' influence that Roger was able to play so active a role in Sussex political life. It is hardly coincidental that his appearance as a regular office-holder in the county coincides with the consolidation of Arundel's territorial power after the dowager Countess' death in 1361. Roger was one of the main agents of the earl's 'rule'. Quite possibly it was to the earl that he was indebted for his election to parliament in the two consecutive years of 1362 and 1363.<sup>75</sup>

However, in explaining the family's rise, account should also be taken of more personal factors. To contemporaries what may have been most apparent about John and Roger was less their success in the marriage market than their vigour and the force of their personalities. Roger in particular was active and assertive: the mere record of his public career shows that. He knew how to make himself indispensable to the mighty, and he knew how to advance his family's interests. It is true, of course, that he greatly profited from his ready access to magnate power. But paradoxically he may also have profited from the gradual weakening of that power in the further parts of the county. In the years when he was emerging as an administrator there was no longer a resident magnate in the eastern rapes of Sussex: the FitzAlans, who had succeeded the Warennes, lived chiefly either at Arundel or in the Welsh Marches. In the rapes of Pevensy and Hastings, held by members of the royal family, lordship was exercised vicariously, by stewards and bailiffs, and the gentry were lacking in a local sponsor.<sup>76</sup> Roger and, still more, his son, by their personal vigour and powerful connections, went some way to filling the vacuum. Later, other gentry were to challenge them for position: in the early 1400s, for instance, there was Sir John Pelham of Laughton, a councillor of Henry IV.<sup>77</sup> But the role of the local patronage broker was one which, in Sussex, the Dallingridges were the first to fashion and develop.

There is much in Roger's career that invites comparison with the experience of careerist gentry elsewhere in England. It was, of course, common for gentry dynasties to enlarge their interests by a combination of magnate favour and marriage to heiresses. Magnates found it advantageous to take into their service intelligent, talented men who could prove their worth as administrators; and they were willing to offer them due reward. Sometimes

the hand of an heiress was given as recompense for exceptional service. In the early 15th century John Throckmorton, a leading retainer of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, won the hand of the Spiney heiress thanks to the influence of his patron, whose tenant her father was.<sup>78</sup> It is tempting to wonder whether Roger's marriage to the Radingdon heiress owed anything to the brokerage of his Arundel or Poynings patrons.

However, it is appropriate to balance these remarks with a concluding emphasis on the distinctive elements in the Dallingridges' ascent. The factor that most obviously set the family apart was their forest background. By heredity and occupation they were foresters in fee — in other words, *verderers*; they held by serjeanty. It is possible that the family's rise can to some extent be attributed to this. The forest environment was very different from the world of village and field outside. In many ways it fostered a freer and less rigidly structured society. Manorialism was less developed. Possibly it was easier to be self-assertive: a *verderer* could harness jurisdictional power to advance his private interests. There was almost certainly greater opportunity to put together an estate. Land could be acquired by a variety of means: notably by *assarting*, in other words by cutting into the waste, and by buying out smaller freeholders. In short, the constraints on upward mobility that operated in other parts were here less powerful.

With this background in mind, it is worth noting the similarities between the Dallingridges' ascent and that of successful families from other forested areas. Some useful points emerge from a study of the Greyndours of Clearwell in the Forest of Dean. The Greyndours, like the Dallingridges, were sprung from the middling squirearchy. They were officeholders in the forest, although they also gained employment as archers.<sup>79</sup> Like the Dallingridges, the Greyndours profited from the sponsorship of the mighty. Ralph Greyndour the younger was retained by Edward III as an archer in 1377;<sup>80</sup> other members of the family were taken on by Richard, Lord Talbot and John of Gaunt, either as annuitants or keepers of nearby castles.<sup>81</sup> Like the Dallingridges, the Greyndours were highly successful in the marriage market. Laurence made the initial breakthrough in the 1340s by marrying the heiress of Sir Ralph de

Abenhall of Abenhall; in the next generation his son John married a co-heiress of the Hathewys, landowners in the eastern Forest, while John's son in turn, Robert, won the hand of a Somerset heiress.<sup>82</sup> In just three generations the Greyndours had made themselves the leading gentry family in the Forest; and the key factors in their rise — employment in forest office and possession of magnate favour — were ones that aided the Dallingridges.

A similar picture is revealed by a study of another family, the Archers of the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire. The Archers, who lived in the parish of Tanworth, started off with a holding of no more than about 25 acres. By a combination of *assarting* and piecemeal accumulation they gradually expanded this holding into a substantial estate which constituted a manor in all but name. The Archers, like the other families, also successfully exploited their possession of magnate favour. They were tenants and, for over a century, dependants of the earls of Warwick and by virtue of their connection secured a series of good marriages. Their greatest coup came in 1415, when Richard Archer won the hand of the heiress widow of Thomas Lucy, a fellow retainer.<sup>83</sup>

Thus in the search for an explanation for the Dallingridges' success, account should be taken of their forest environment. It allowed them to enlarge their holdings and extend their power. Significantly, Roger — the key figure in the family's history — even after acquiring estates elsewhere in the county continued to make his Ashdown lands the focus of his lordship. It is true that by the 1380s Sir Edward had established himself at Bodiam. But even for Edward the continued exercise of power in Ashdown was crucial. This was why he responded so fiercely to Gaunt's challenge to his authority there. The Dallingridges, unlike for example some careerist families in Cheshire, were never ashamed of their origins.<sup>84</sup> They did not seek easier social acceptance by moving elsewhere.<sup>85</sup> Ashdown mattered to them, and they consolidated their position there — just as the Greyndours did in the Forest of Dean and the Archers in the Warwickshire Arden. Roger's and Edward's was more than an atavistic attachment to family roots; what concerned them was the material foundations of their power.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Feudal Aids 1284–1431* **6**, 526; J. S. Roskell, L. Clark & C. Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421* (hereafter *Commons*) **2** (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), 743. The figure of £100 for Sussex is likely to be a gross underestimate.
- <sup>2</sup> For Edward, see in particular A. Rogers, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Surrey and Sussex 1377–1422' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Nottingham, 1957), 272–85; and for Edward and John, *Commons* **2**, 738–44.
- <sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), SC12/15/46. There were 8 serjeanties: *Victoria History of the County of* (hereafter *VCH*) *Sussex* **2** (1907), 315. The foresters' duties were to protect the vert and venison and attach offenders throughout the forest woodlands.
- <sup>4</sup> PRO, SC12/15/66, datable to c. 1280.
- <sup>5</sup> In 1296 John Dallingridge paid relief to the king. As is shown below, John was almost certainly Roger's son and heir: PRO, E101/136/19 m.4. I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference.
- <sup>6</sup> W. Hudson (ed.), *Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex*, Sussex Record Society (hereafter SRS) **10** (1910), 33. A Roger Dallingridge also appears as a witness to an undated grant of a message at West Hoathly. Since the other witnesses to the grant are clearly of peasant freeholder background, it is tempting to identify this Roger as a 13th-century member of the family: *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* **4**, no. A7239.
- <sup>7</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1307–13, 106.
- <sup>8</sup> L. C. Loyd & D. M. Stenton (eds), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, Northamptonshire Record Society **15** (1950), no. 356.
- <sup>9</sup> L. F. Salzman (ed.), *An Abstract of Feet of Fines for the County of Sussex, 1: Edward II to 24 Henry VII*, SRS **23** (1916), no. 1257.
- <sup>10</sup> *Feudal Aids* **5**, 145; *Three Earliest Subsidies*, 298.
- <sup>11</sup> W. D. Scull, 'Bolebroke House', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **52** (1909), 34, where John is mistakenly said to have been the father of Edward. The other daughter was Cicely, who married Herbert de Flynton: C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I* **3**, Harleian Society **82** (1930), 90.
- <sup>12</sup> For the details of the two men's careers, see Moor, *Knights of Edward I* **3**, 89–90.
- <sup>13</sup> *Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 1304.
- <sup>14</sup> *CPR* 1313–17, 334.
- <sup>15</sup> *CPR* 1324–7, 145.
- <sup>16</sup> *CPR* 1334–8, 206.
- <sup>17</sup> See, for example, C. Thomas-Stanford, 'The Manor of Radynden: the de Radyndens and their successors', *SAC* **62** (1921), 76–7.
- <sup>18</sup> *Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 1884, 2135.
- <sup>19</sup> *Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2135. British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 39374, f. 38v (notes of Edwin Dunkin, citing Common Pleas roll, Michaelmas term 1338).
- <sup>20</sup> East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), AMS 5592/105.
- <sup>21</sup> BL, Add. MS 39374, f. 220r (notes of Edwin Dunkin, quoting Common Pleas roll, Michaelmas term 1368).
- <sup>22</sup> The brass can be dated to c. 1380 on stylistic grounds: it bears a strong similarity to brasses of around that date at Bray, Berkshire, Chrishall, Essex and South Acre, Norfolk. Since references to Roger the administrator cease around 1380, there can be little doubt that the brass is his.
- <sup>23</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter *CIPM*) **7**, no. 649.
- <sup>24</sup> See below, notes 39–43.
- <sup>25</sup> PRO, E101/19/36 m.1.
- <sup>26</sup> PRO, C76/14 m.18.
- <sup>27</sup> PRO, C76/15 m.21.
- <sup>28</sup> PRO, C76/17 m.19. For the early campaigns of the Hundred Years War, see J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (London: Faber, 1990).
- <sup>29</sup> G. Wrottesley (ed.), *Crécy and Calais* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1898), 137.
- <sup>30</sup> For discussion of her lordship, see N. E. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 23–4.
- <sup>31</sup> W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, SRS **46** (1942–3), no. 882. The Countess was Joan, daughter of Henry, Count of Bar: *Complete Peerage* **12**(1), 511. She died in 1361.
- <sup>32</sup> *CPR* 1364–7, 198, 237; *CPR* 1374–7, 495.
- <sup>33</sup> S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: a franchisal dispute in fourteenth-century Sussex', *SAC* **121** (1983), 87–94; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 127–41. Edward's connection with the Earl probably ended in 1389, when he was retained as a king's knight (*CPR* 1388–92, 102). Since Arundel, a former Appellant, was by this time out of favour at court, Edward probably believed that it would serve his interests better to establish a connection directly with the king.
- <sup>34</sup> Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 76. Radingdon had been an active retainer of the two Despensers, Hugh the elder, Earl of Winchester, and Hugh the younger, in the time of Edward II. See N. E. Saul, 'The Despensers and the downfall of Edward II', *English Historical Review* **99** (1984), 7.
- <sup>35</sup> Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 74.
- <sup>36</sup> Thomas-Stanford, 'Manor of Radynden', 76.
- <sup>37</sup> *CIPM* **10**, no. 437; BL, Add. MS 39502, ff. 64r–6r (Dunkin's notes).
- <sup>38</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter *CCR*) 1360–64, 404; *CCR* 1374–7, 101. For John's kinship to Thomas, see *CIPM* **10**, no. 437.
- <sup>39</sup> *CPR* 1361–4, 546; *CPR* 1364–7, 365; *CPR* 1367–70, 350, 420, 447; *CPR* 1370–74, 99; *CPR* 1374–7, 495, 499.
- <sup>40</sup> *CCR* 1360–64, 440, 557; *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, Parliamentary Papers, H.C.(1878), LXII, 165, 171, 173.
- <sup>41</sup> *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (hereafter *) 1369–77, 111. The parishes tax was a subsidy of £5 16s.0d. levied on each parish in England: for discussion, see W. M. Ormrod, 'An experiment in taxation: the English parish subsidy of 1371', *Speculum* **63** (1988), 59–82.*
- <sup>42</sup> Ormrod, 'An experiment in taxation', 146, 190; *List of Escheators for England*, PRO Lists and Indexes 72 (1932), 160. He did not account as escheator.
- <sup>43</sup> *CPR* 1374–7, 136, 314; *CCR* 1374–7, 536.
- <sup>44</sup> For Roger's military service with the Poynings family, see PRO, C76/15 m.21; Wrottesley (ed.), *Crécy and Calais*, 137. The Poyninges regularly led retinues to France or the Low Countries in the early stages of the Hundred Years War: Saul, *Provincial Life*, 37–8. In 1345 Thomas and Roger Dallingridge (Roger being presumably Thomas's son) were witnesses to a bond of Sir Simon de Pierpoint to Sir Michael de Poynings. The bond was place-dated at Fletching: ESRO, AMS 5592/105. In later years the



- connection with the Poynings family was maintained. Roger was one of Sir Thomas's feoffees in 1375: *CCR 1374-7*, 178; *CIPM 14*, no. 190. He also acted for Sir Thomas's widow, Blanche, who subsequently married Sir John Worth: *CIPM 19*, nos 605-6.
- <sup>45</sup> *CCR 1360-64*, 440, 557; *CCR 1364-8*, 272; *CPR 1364-7*, 198, 237; *CPR 1374-7*, 136, 314. Edward St John was one of the most senior of the Earl's retainers: A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: the Lords Appellants under Richard II* (London: Routledge, 1971), 114-15. He held the manors of Goring, Linch and Wildbridge in Yapton (Sussex), Wolverton, Ewhurst and North Oakley (Hants.) and Staunton (Wilts.): *CIPM 16*, no. 150. In 1364 he and his wife settled the manor of Linch on themselves and the male heirs of his body with remainder to the Earl's son: *VCH Sussex 4* (1953), 65. John de Kingsfold held the Kingsfold estate in Warnham on the northern edge of the county (*VCH Sussex 6(2)* (1986), 209); he was MP for Surrey in 1366, 1368 and Jan. and Oct. 1377. He is probably the man commemorated by the brass of c. 1382 at Rusper: C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *SAC 79* (1938), 109. Asty, who does not appear to have been a gentry proprietor, was probably an Arundel estate official. Peverel was the second husband of Katherine, the Earl's daughter: N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta 1* (London: Nichols, 1826), 97. He held manors at Ripe, Blatchington, Sompting and Ewhurst in Shermanbury (Sussex), Barton Peverel (Hants.) and Barford and Newton Peveril (Dorset): *CIPM 14*, no. 189. Halsham may have been the founder of the family later settled at West Grinstead. He was MP for Sussex in 1352 (twice), 1355, 1357, 1362 (with Dallingridge), 1363 and 1372.
- <sup>46</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 130. De la Warr also held rents worth £6 at Fletching in the Dallingridge heartland: *CIPM 13*, no. 57.
- <sup>47</sup> He fought in all the main campaigns in France between 1346 and 1369 and died while serving the Black Prince in Gascony in 1370. The focus of his interests lay in the east midlands. His will was dated at Wakerley, Northants., and he was buried at Swineshead abbey, Lincs.: *Complete Peerage 4*, 144-5. For his estates, which were considerable, see *CIPM 13*, no. 57.
- <sup>48</sup> *CCR 1364-8*, 472; and dated at Isfield. Robert Holand was de la Warr's second cousin: *Complete Peerage 4*, 144. William Tauk also acted alongside Roger Dallingridge as a feoffee of Sir Thomas Poynings and later of Thomas's widow Blanche: *CIPM 14*, no. 190; 19, no. 606. Tauk, who was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer a year before his death, held the manor of Westhampnett, near Chichester: *Commons 4*, 572; J. B. Post, 'The Tauke family in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *SAC 111* (1973), 93-107.
- <sup>49</sup> *CCR 1369-74*, 174. John Weyvill held an estate at Catsfield: *VCH Sussex 9* (1937), 240. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1365-6, MP for Sussex in 1366 (with Andrew Peverel), and in 1376 and 1377 served as a justice of the peace alongside Dallingridge: *CPR 1374-7*, 314, 499. William Merlot the elder held an estate at Annington in Botolphs. In 1375 he acquired Muntham, in Itchingfield, from his son's father-in-law John de Muntham: *VCH Sussex 6(1)* (1980), 196; *6(2)* (1986), 10. He was active in local government and probably had Arundel connections: *CPR 1364-7*, 202; *1367-70*, 191, 194; *1377-81*, 581; *CCR 1369-74*, 406-7. Richard Fifhide was the son of William Fifhide of Shermanbury and Kingston-by-Shoreham, a Lancastrian retainer: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 132, 269. His father held tenements at Barkham in Fletching: *CPR 1381-5*, 188. Richard probably predeceased his father, who died in 1387: *VCH Sussex 6(3)*, 192. In 1375 William and John Fifhide served on a commission alongside Walter Dallingridge, Roger's kinsman: *CPR 1374-7*, 222. On 7 May 1377 Roger was appointed, with other Arundel dependants, a justice of oyer and terminer to investigate trespasses on the Earl's property by William Fifhide and others: *CPR 1374-7*, 495. When the commission was reissued in the following year, he was omitted: *CPR 1377-81*, 42-3. Was this because of a conflict of loyalty, or was he becoming infirm? He died two years later.
- <sup>50</sup> *CCR 1364-8*, 188, 272; *CCR 1369-74*, 185; *CCR 1374-7*, 101. St Clere held the manors of Chiselburgh (Som't), Aldham (Kent), Jevington, Brambletye, Heighton, Exceat, Tarring and Laverty (Sussex): *CIPM 7*, no. 686; *14*, nos 458-60. Brambletye, near East Grinstead, was his main seat. Like Dallingridge, he was involved in the administration of Ashdown: from 1366-70 he was Queen Philippa's main farmer of the chase: PRO, SC6/1028/4. When John of Gaunt was granted the Rape of Pevensey, he became a retainer of the duke: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 130, 281. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1375-6. Sir Thomas Lewknor was more loosely identified with Sussex: his family's main estates were Horsted Keynes and Selmeston (Sussex), South Mimms (Herts.) and Greatworth (Northants.). It is clear that the family resided at least part of the time in Sussex: in 1351 Sir Roger Lewknor, presumably Thomas's father, was indicted for hunting in Ashdown: *VCH Sussex 2* (1907), 316; *CIPM 11*, no. 359. The Lewknors were later to inherit the Dallingridge estates. Richard de Burstow, an esquire ('armiger': *Returns of Members of Parliament 1*, 192), was lord of Burstow, 4 miles north-west of East Grinstead: *VCH Surrey 3* (1910), 177. He was MP for Surrey in 1373: *Returns of Members of Parliament 1*, 192. William de Newdigate was lord of Newdigate, north of Horsham (and close to Kingsfold: see above n.45). He was MP for Surrey in 1360, 1363, 1372 and 1376, and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1370-71. He died in 1377. For his career and family, see J. G. Nichols, 'The origin and early history of the family of Newdegate', *Surrey Archaeological Collections 6* (1874), 227-67. Further testimony to Roger Dallingridge's connections with the gentry of south Surrey is found in his appointment as an executor of Joan, widow of Reginald, Lord Cobham, of Sterborough (in Lingfield): J. W. Flower, 'Notices of the family of Sterborough Castle, Lingfield, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections 2* (1862), 173, 176. Joan is the person misconstrued as John (sic.) Cobham at Sterborough of whose will Dallingridge is said to be an executor in *CPR 1377-81*, 320.
- <sup>51</sup> *CCR 1364-8*, 188. Loveyne had court connections. For his tomb in the abbey of St Mary Graces, London, see W. J. Blair, 'Henry Lakenham, marbler of London, and a tomb contract of 1376', *Antiquaries Jnl.* **60(1)** (1980), 66-74. He acquired Penhurst by marriage to Sir John Pulteney's widow.
- <sup>52</sup> *CCR 1364-8*, 271-2; *CCR 1369-74*, 185. In 1365 Loveyne acquired the manor of Hedgecourt, near Godstone (Surrey): *CCR 1364-8*, 188. Margaret, his daughter and

- heir, married Philip, Sir John St Clere's son: *VCH Surrey* **4** (1912), 294.
- <sup>53</sup> *CPR 1367–70*, 447.
- <sup>54</sup> In this respect he is to be contrasted with such other Sussex gentry as Sir Andrew Sackville of Buckhurst, Sir William de Etchingam IV and Sir John Tregoz of Dedisham: Saul, *Provincial Life*, 183–6.
- <sup>55</sup> *Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 882.
- <sup>56</sup> In January 1377, when Dallingridge and John St Clere were returned, the latter was identified as a knight whereas his colleague was not: *Returns of Members of Parliament* **1**, 196. Back in 1364, when Dallingridge and St Clere had witnessed a charter for Loveyne, the same distinction was made: *CCR 1364–8*, 188, 272.
- <sup>57</sup> PRO, C47/1/19 m.15. Strangely, Roger himself never was named in a distraint. There are returns from Sussex in PRO, C47/1/13, 15, 16, 19.
- <sup>58</sup> *CPR 1364–7*, 25. Interestingly, the letters of exemption are place-dated at Lewes. Possibly the king was staying there at the time. For a discussion of exemptions, see N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 46.
- <sup>59</sup> M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 145.
- <sup>60</sup> From the late 14th century increasing numbers of well-to-do gentry declined to assume knighthood. Thomas Chaucer, the Lancastrian councillor, whose income must have been at least £500, is only the most famous.
- <sup>61</sup> See below, p. 128.
- <sup>62</sup> Edward was born around 1346. When he gave evidence in the Scrope-Grosvenor hearings in October 1386, he said he was aged 40: N. H. Nicolas, *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry* **2** (London: Bentley, 1832), 372. Unlike his father, he took up knighthood.
- <sup>63</sup> *CCR 1364–8*, 85.
- <sup>64</sup> Only Sywell is listed in his inquisition post mortem (*CIPM* **14**, no. 340). Presumably it was the only manor that he held in chief.
- <sup>65</sup> *Commons* **2**, 739.
- <sup>66</sup> In 1383 he purchased Iden, near Bodiam: *CPR 1381–5*, 273; *VCH Sussex* **9** (1937), 153.
- <sup>67</sup> *CCR 1341–1417*, 281.
- <sup>68</sup> *CPR 1385–9*, 42. A still indispensable source for Bodiam castle is Lord Curzon's pioneering study *Bodiam Castle, Sussex* (London: Cape, 1926). The fullest and most convincing modern study is C. Coulson, 'Some analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex', in C. Harper-Bill & R. Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* **4** (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 51–107.
- <sup>69</sup> C. Whittick, 'Dallingridge's Bay and Bodiam Castle Millpond — elements of a medieval landscape', *SAC* **131** (1993), 119–23.
- <sup>70</sup> In addition to his fee from Arundel, he received an annuity of £40 from John, duke of Brittany, lord of the rape of Hastings. Before 1375 he had also received a £40 annuity from Edward, Lord Despenser; very likely this was still paid after Despenser's death that year: *Commons* **2**, 739.
- <sup>71</sup> For a reference to a prisoner of his, see PRO, C76/66 m.12.
- <sup>72</sup> *CFR 1377–83*, 163; PRO, KB27/475 m.78d. There is no inquisition post mortem because he did not hold in chief.
- <sup>73</sup> The brasses are of London style 'B'. For a discussion of the tomb, and a reconstruction of its original appearance, see B. S. H. Egan & R. K. Morris, 'A restoration at Fletching, Sussex', *Trans. Monumental Brass Society* **10(6)** (1968), 436–44.
- <sup>74</sup> Illustrated in C. E. M. Davidson-Houston, 'A list of monumental brasses in Sussex, part I', *SAC* **76** (1935), 85. The surviving fragment is small; it measures 14 inches, and the whole figure could hardly have been more than 2 feet. It is likely that it stood in the head of a floriated cross. The composition probably resembled that commemorating Nicholas de Aumberdene at Taplow, Bucks., illustrated in W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield & P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London: Monumental Brass Society, 1994), 203. Whatever indebtedness Dallingridge's brass had to Wardieu's was therefore limited; it could not have extended beyond the heraldry.
- <sup>75</sup> On both occasions his fellow member was Robert Halsham, another dependent of the earl: *CPR 1364–7*, 198, 237; *Calendar of Papal Registers* **4**, 1362–1404, 46. In the late 1350s and 1360s the earl's dominance of county representation in parliament is particularly noticeable. This mirrors the more general influence that he exercised over Sussex political life. For comment on this, see C. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and credit, public and private: the earls of Arundel, 1306–1397', *English Historical Review* **106** (1991), 1–26.
- <sup>76</sup> The Rape of Pevensey was held from 1331 until her death in 1369 by Queen Philippa, and Hastings from 1342 to 1372 by John of Gaunt. In 1372 Hastings was taken from Gaunt and given, for diplomatic reasons, to John, Duke of Brittany; Gaunt was awarded Pevensey as compensation. There, from the late 1370s, his lordship was to be more assertive.
- <sup>77</sup> *Commons* **4**, 39–44; Saul, *Provincial Life*, 69–72.
- <sup>78</sup> *Commons* **4**, 606.
- <sup>79</sup> In 1385 John Greyndour was Sir Guy Brian's deputy as constable of St Briavels and the Forest: *CPR 1385–9*, 52.
- <sup>80</sup> *CPR 1374–7*, 429.
- <sup>81</sup> The connection with the Talbots went back to at least the 1360s (*CCR 1364–8*, 109); John Greyndour was a feed retainer of Lord Talbot by the 1390s (*CPR 1396–9*, 138). The family had many ties with Gaunt. Thomas Greyndour received an annuity of £10 from him; his brother Ralph was keeper of his castle of Skenfrith, and Ralph's son, another Ralph, held the same post at Whitecastle: R.R. Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships in Wales in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1965), 206–8; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 270.
- <sup>82</sup> *Commons* **3**, 244, 246.
- <sup>83</sup> B. K. Roberts, 'A study of medieval colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire', *Agricultural History Review* **16** (1968), 108–9; C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 100, 135, 684; *VCH Warwickshire* **5** (1949), 36.
- <sup>84</sup> Cheshire's careerists invested in lands in a range of counties — Hugh Browe in Rutland, Robert Knolles in Norfolk, and John Norbury in Hertfordshire: see M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism. Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 188–9.
- <sup>85</sup> Edward, after all, could have moved to his wife's east midland estates.