The Redmayns: a family in the 15th Century
Overall Bibliography

At the end of each chapter there's a list of the main books, articles and sources I used while writing the chapter. This overall bibliography gathers those lists together. I haven't identified every item I looked at.

Note: while I've used the spelling 'Redmayn' numerous variations appear in sources and secondary literature, including Redman and Redmayne. There is no correct version.

General

I used these books throughout my work on the Redmayn family – I list them here so that I don't need to repeat them in every chapter.

a) The *House of Commons* biographies identified in Chapter 2 and others in the Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)

b) Four excellent biographies in the Yale English Monarchs series provide political background and analysis:

W Mark Ormrod, *Edward III*, 2013

Nigel Saul, *Richard II,* 1999

Christopher Given-Wilson, *Henry IV,* 2016

Christopher Allmand, *Henry V,* 1993

In addition, G L Harriss, *Shaping the Nation, England 1360-1461*, 2005, is an invaluable introduction to many aspects of politics and society.

c) A range of government records, notably the Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls, the Rolls of Parliament and Inquisition Post Mortem, together with individuals' wills. Details are provided in the relevant chapters.

Chapter 1: Sitting on Cats

The most detailed descriptions of the effigies in All Saints Church at Harewood are in Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, 1983.

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While this is a short book (106pp) it also contains notes on the conservation of the tombs and transcripts of a handful of wills and other documents. The pictures of the tombs in black and white are not as sharp as we've grown used to in illustrated books but they're still useful.

Chapter 2: A Rough Sketch

In creating my rough sketch in Chapter 2 the most useful of the biographies are those in The House of Commons volumes published for The History of Parliament Trust:

> The entries for Sir Richard Redmayne (d.1426) and Sir Brian Stapleton (d.1417) which also provide information about Elizabeth Aldburgh are in *The House of Commons 1386-1421* ed. J S Roskell et al, 4 volumes, History of Parliament, 1992.
>
> Happily these volumes are also online at https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/
>
> The entry for Richard Redmayne (d.1476) is in *The House of Commons 1422-1461* ed. L Clark, 7 volumes, History of Parliament, 2020. These volumes will go online but haven't yet appeared in 2023.

A longer article that's also very useful though it predates the biography above:

> J S Roskell, 'Two Medieval Westmorland Speakers Part II: Sir Richard Redmayne' in
>
> *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* vol LXII, 1962

I also used several quotations in Chapter 2 about the role of imagination. These came from articles in David Bates, Julia Crick, Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, 2006

For anyone writing a biography I can highly recommend these essays which discuss both biographies written during the Middle Ages and modern biographies about medieval people. The book isn't easy to get hold of at a reasonable price but, having been lucky enough to do so, I found most of the 16 articles contain both stimulating ideas and confidence-boosting arguments for writing biographies.

In addition

There are several chapters on the fifteenth century Redmayns in W Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, 1905 (280pp). This family biography covers the 12th to 18th centuries – a mixture of quotations from sources and occasionally romanticised family history. Greenwood, a lawyer, clearly burrowed deep into historical records that had not been published at the time, writing far more than he originally intended. As he said in his introduction 'When I first began to study Redman history a few years ago my only thought was to prepare a few notes from which my

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little daughter, in years to come, might perhaps care to learn something of the doings of her ancestors in past centuries.'

If his daughter's Latin was good she may have enjoyed the quotations from contemporary records but it's more likely she enjoyed passages such as this about Sir Richard Redmayn:

> '… this Redman knight must have gone to woo the fair widow, fresh from his jousting at Carlisle. As a gallant cavalier of long lineage, the son of an old friend of her family, and with a reputation for skill in the arts of chivalry, he probably had no great difficulty in winning Elizabeth's hand and heart …'

Chapter 3: Horseman, Jouster, Soldier, Courtier – What made Sir Richard tick?

This material augments the biographies of Richard Redmayn listed in Chapter 2.

I used the volumes of the Calendars of Patent Rolls and Calendars of Close Rolls online.

The Calendars of Patent Rolls are available at

http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/search.html

The Calendars of Close Rolls are available for a subscription on British History Online

https://www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue

The following provided context for Richard Redmayn's career and thinking:

Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, 1997

Jackson W Armstrong, *England's Northern Frontier: Conflict and Local Society in the Fifteenth-Century Scottish Marches*, 2020

Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413*, 1986.

Tobias Capwell, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Joust,* 2018

Timothy Gard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*: *The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, 2013

Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, 1984

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S A Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, 2009

Adrian R Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King, David Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England,* 2013

and the immensely valuable linked database *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*:

https://www.medievalsoldier.org/

Unpublished theses – one of the miracles of the internet age is the availability of many PhD theses:

John Marsh, *Landed Society in the far North-West of England c1332 -1461,* (Lancaster, 2000)

Shelagh Mitchell, *Some Aspects of the Knightly Household of Richard II*, (London, 1998)

Chapter 4: Daughter, Wife, Heiress … What shaped Elizabeth's thinking?

In addition to the biographies listed for Chapter 2 and the Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls etc listed for Chapter 3 I found the following most helpful.

I was introduced to Christine de Pizan and her work by:

Charlotte Cooper-Davis, *Christine de Pizan, Life, Work, Legacy*, 2021

Charity C Willard, *Christine de Pizan, Her Life and Works*, 1984

From her writings I chiefly used:

Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Penguin edition, 1985

For historians' views on the nature of household management I used

Rowena Archer, 'How ladies … who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates': Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages in P J P Goldberg (ed), *Woman is a Worthy Wight, Women in English Society c1200-1500*, 1992.

Jennifer C Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, 1992

The details of the Inquisitions Post Mortem which followed the deaths of William and Margery Aldburgh in 1391 can be found in entries 1077 – 1079 at:

https://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol16/pp433-455

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There are many books on Edward III, the Hundred Years War and Crecy. My core reference for this chapter was the brilliant book in the Yale English Monarchs series:

W. M Ormrod, *Edward III*, 2013

and also

Richard Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, 2013.

For Edward Balliol and his connections with the Aldburghs I used:

The Dictionary of National Biography entry for Balliol

An unpublished thesis – Amanda Beam, *The Political Ambitions and influences of the Balliol Dynasty, c1210-1364*, (Stirling, 2005)

Ed Dennison and Shaun Richardson, *Harewood Castle: Archaeological and Architectural Survey and Recording,* 2012. Available online at:

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1118838&recordType=GreyLitSeries

The will of Margery Aldburgh from 1391 which contains details of tapestries and books showing the arms of the two families. This will was published in *Testamenta Eboracensia part 1, Surtees Society, 1836, page 149,* available online at:

https://archive.org/details/testamentaeborac01york/mode/2up

For the Black Death my first port of call was:

Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, 2002

The discussion of the possible effects of the Black Death on mental health is based on the work of Professor Lucy Easthope of Durham University, an expert in disaster management:

Lucy Easthope, *When the Dust Settles: searching for Hope after Disaster*, 2022

Lucy Easthope et al, (eds), *When This Is Over: Reflections on an Unequal Pandemic*, 2023

Chapter 5: First Thoughts – what kind of people were Richard and Elizabeth?

Detailed descriptions of the tomb chests and effigies at Harewood can be found in:

Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, 1983.

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More recent and detailed analysis of the nature of effigies can be found in these two books. Dr Capwell's book (along with the other volumes in his trilogy on armour and effigies) is one of the most fascinating books I've read on this period, changing my perception of effigies as evidence and containing a host of fascinating details.

Tobias Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight 1400-1450,* 2005.

Brian and Moira Gittos, *Interpreting Medieval Effigies*, a study of effigies in Yorkshire dating from before 1400, 2019.

For an equally fascinating discussion of livery collars (yes, a whole book on livery collars!), there's

Matthew J Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity*, 2016

I'm also grateful to Dr Ward for discussing Richard Redmayn's collar with me via email.

The wills referred to in this chapter were published in *Testamenta Eboracensia part 1, Surtees Society, 1836.* This is available online at:

https://archive.org/details/testamentaeborac01york/mode/2up

They are Henry Vavasour (p.361), Thomas Roos (p.251) and Brian Stapleton (p.198)

I am grateful to Professor Anne Curry for her advice on my translation from Brian Stapleton's will.

For Carole Rawcliffe's comments on Elizabeth Aldburgh see her biography of Elizabeth's son, Brian Stapleton, in *House of Commons 1386-1421* ed. J S Roskell et al, 4 vols, History of Parliament, 1992.

For the copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum* in the University of Leeds library see:

https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/372701

For the reading of the works of Christine De Pizan in England I consulted an unpublished PhD thesis: Sarah Wilma Watson, *Women, Reading, And Literary Culture: The Reception Of Christine De Pizan In Fifteenth-Century England*, (The University of Pennsylvania, 2018)

Chapter 6: Elizabeth and Richard – Marriage and Beginnings

In addition to the biographies and sources listed earlier I found the following most helpful:

There are numerous studies of medieval marriage. Those I found most useful for this chapter are:

Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London,* 2006

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Joel T Rosenthal, 'Fifteenth-Century Widows and Widowhood: Bereavement, Reintegration and Life Choices' in S Sheridan Walker (ed), *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, 1993

Elisabeth van Houts, *Married Life in the Middle Ages 900-1300,* 2019

Keith Dockray, 'Why did Fifteenth-Century English Gentry Marry?' in M Jones (ed), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*, 1986

Bridget Wells-Furby, *Aristocratic Marriage, Adultery and Divorce in the Fourteenth Century*, 2019

The Soldier in Later Medieval England database:

https://www.medievalsoldier.org/ provided some of the details of the families' military records.

For Richard Redmayn's role as Master of the Horse in relation to the expedition to Ireland (including the reference to Nicholas Harewood) I used Dorothy Johnston's unpublished thesis, *Richard II and Ireland 1395-99* (Dublin, 1976)

For an outline and details of Richard II's reign I chiefly used:

G L Harriss, *Shaping the Nation, England 1360-1461*, 2005

Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, 1999

Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II, Manhood, Youth and Politics, 1377-99,* 2008.

Laura Ashe, *Richard II, a Brittle Glory*, 2016

Chapters 7&8: Living in the face of the unknown and What did happen to Sir Richard?

For these two chapters, in addition to the biographies and sources listed earlier I found the following most helpful:

Dorothy Johnston, *Richard II's departure from Ireland, July 1399, English Historical Review,* 1983.

and her unpublished thesis:

Dorothy Johnston, *Richard II and Ireland 1395-1399* (Dublin, 1976)

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Extracts from Jean de Creton's chronicle and other contemporary accounts can be read in:

Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400, The Reign of Richard II*, 1993

For the quotation from Colin Richmond about the motives of nobles and gentry see:

Colin Richmond, 'After McFarlane' in *History*, 68, 222 (February 1983), 46–60

Chapter 9: Sir Richard – onwards and upwards or shaken and angry?

In addition to the biographies and sources listed earlier I found the following most helpful:

Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 2016

A J Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509*, 2000

P J P Goldberg (ed), *Richard Scrope, Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, 2007

Anne Curry, 'New Regime, New Army? Henry IV's Scottish Expedition of 1400', *English Historical Review,* CXXV, 2010.

The Soldier in Later Medieval England database:

https://www.medievalsoldier.org/ provided some of the details of the families' military records.

Chapter 10: Not chatting but discussing: what did Elizabeth and Richard talk about?

In addition to the biographies and sources listed earlier I found the following most helpful:

Chapter Introduction

William Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood, 1905* – see chapter 2 above for comment on this book.

W M Ormrod (ed.), *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire 1066-2000*, 2000

M C Punshon, *Government and Political Society in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1399-1461* (Unpublished thesis, York 2002)

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William Ryther's abuse of his wife, Sybil

The summary record of the meeting of the Archbishop of York's adjudication on William Ryther's abuse of record of his wife, Sybil, can be seen at:

https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk/browse/registers?utf8=%E2%9C%93&register_id=3f462646f&folio=634

Sara M Butler, The Language of Abuse: Marital Violence in Later Medieval England, (unpublished thesis, Dalhousie University 2001)

Sara M Butler, 'Spousal Abuse in Fourteenth-Century Yorkshire: What can we learn from the Coroners' Rolls?', *Florilegium*, 2001.

The inheritance of Harewood

Pauline Stafford, 'Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century Queens' in David Bates, Julia Crick, Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, 2006

For Brian Stapleton's age see the Inquisition Post Mortem of his grandfather, Sir Brian Stapleton

https://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol17/pp209-232 – items 524 to 528

The inquisition taken in York (item 528) in 1394 says that he was at least 7 years old which would put his birth at 1387 at the latest. This made him at least 14 in 1401 (perhaps slightly older as his own daughter appears to have been born in 1404) so, while he was six or seven years away from inheriting Harewood, he was not far from adulthood.

Chapter 11: Sir Richard Redmayn – a serious man? 1405-1413

I haven't used any new sources or books for this chapter. The core materials have been:

Professor Rawcliffe's article on Richard Redmayn in *The House of Commons 1386-1421* volume IV and her article on the constituency of Yorkshire in volume I of the same series. These entries are also available online at:

https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/redmayne-sir-richard-1426

https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/constituencies/yorkshire

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The Calendars of Patent Rolls for Henry IV's reign for 1405-1408 and for 1408-1413

https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015031079588&seq=5

https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015031079570&seq=5

The Parliament Rolls for the parliament of 1406 which is available online (for a subscription) at

https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval?page=2

For information about Richard Redmayn's colleagues I used other volumes the *The House of Commons 1386-1421* series and the on-line Dictionary of National Biography.

Background information on the events of 1405 to 1413 came from Chris Given-Wilson's *Henry IV* and A J Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509*.

Simon Walker's article 'Yorkshire Justices of the Peace 1389-1413' is included in *Political Culture in later medieval England: essays by Simon Walker*, ed. M J Braddick, 2006

Chapter 12: Why might Elizabeth Redmayn have been proud of Harewood castle?

My invaluable starting points for Harewood castle were:

Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500, vol 1, Northern England*, 1996

Shaun Richardson, 'A Room With A View? Looking Outwards From Late Medieval Harewood', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol 167, 2010

Much more detailed is:

Ed Dennison Archaeological Services, *Harewood Castle – Archaeological and Architectural Survey and Recording,* 2012 – unpublished report available at

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1118838&recordType=GreyLitSeries

The most useful amongst the many books on the wider context of castles and their design were:

Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, 2002*

Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500,* 2013

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Robert Liddiard, *Late Medieval Castles*, 2016 (a collection of classic articles)

Oliver H Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages, 2013*

On specific aspects I also used:

Hollie L S Morgan, *Beds and Chambers in Late Medieval England*, 2017

Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens,* 1981

Chapter 13: What did Elizabeth Redmayn do all day?

In addition to the biographies, Calendars of Patent Rolls and other sources listed for earlier chapters I found the following most helpful.

My opening quotation is from:

Rowena Archer, 'How ladies … who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates: Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages', in P J P Goldberg (ed), *Woman is a Worthy Wight, Women in English Society c1200-1500*, 1992.

The quotation from Hilary Mantel on page 2 is from:

Hilary Mantel, 'On Keith Thomas' *New York Review of Books*, 2012, reprinted in *A Memoir of My Former Self: A Life in Writing*, 2023

For Alice de Bryenne:

Ffiona Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Gentry Household in the Later Middle Ages*, 1999.

Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Penguin edition, 1985

Diana Watt, *The Paston Women: Selected Letters*, 2004

Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses: The Paston Family and the Wars of the Roses,*

Peter Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and their World 1270-1370*, 2010

Jennifer C Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, 1992

Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600*, 1988

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C M Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 1999

Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets,* 2012.

Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, 2002

David Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture*, 2005

Tony McAleavy, *Malmesbury Abbey 670-1539: Patronage, Scholarship and Scandal*, 2023

For All Saints Church, Harewood

> For the will of Sir John Scot see *Testamenta Eboracensia* volume I, Surtees Society*, 1836,* p. 346.
>
> L A S Butler, 'All Saints Church, Harewood' in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol 58, 1986
>
> Nigel Saul, *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages,* 2017

Chapter 14: Why did Richard Redmayn continue in royal service under Henry V? 1413-1414

In addition to the biographical articles by Professors Roskell and Rawcliffe, Calendars of Patent Rolls and other sources listed for earlier chapters I found the following helpful.

My core reading on the reign of Henry V consisted of:

> Anne Curry, *Henry V, Playboy Prince to Warrior King*, 2015
>
> Gwilym Dodd (ed.), *Henry V: New Interpretations*, 2013, especially Professor Dodd's own article 'Henry V's Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413'.

I also used the following:

> Christopher Allmand, *Henry V,* 1993
>
> Malcolm Vale, *Henry V: The Conscience of a King*, 2016
>
> G L Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, 1985.
>
> J H Wylie and W T Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, 3 vols, 1914 - 1929

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Anne Curry, 'Speakers at War in the Late 14th and 15th Centuries' in *Parliamentary History*, 2010

Anne Curry, *Henry V and the Earldom of Cheshire 1399-1422*, Chetham Society, 2024

Edward Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V,* 1989

Joel T Rosenthal, *Old Age in Late Medieval England,* 1996

Unpublished theses:

M C Punshon, *Government and Political Society in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1399-1461* (York 2002)

A, James 'To Knowe a Gentilman': Men and Gentry Culture in Fifteenth Century Yorkshire (York 2012)

C Kightly, *The Early Lollards: A Survey of Popular Lollard Activity in England, 1382-1428 (York 1975)*

Chapter 15: How did the Redmayns experience the preparations for war? 1414-1415

In addition to the biographical articles by Professors Roskell and Rawcliffe, Calendars of Patent Rolls and other sources listed for earlier chapters I used the following:

Anne Curry, Agincourt, A New History, 2005

Michael P Warner, The Agincourt Campaign of 1415: the Retinues of the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, 2021

The Soldier in Later Medieval England database:

https://www.medievalsoldier.org/

The Parliament Roll for the parliament of 1414 is available online (for a subscription) at:

https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/november-1414

I also dipped into:

J H Wylie and W T Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, 3 vols, 1914 – 1929

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Chapter 16: One Fortnight in Summer: 26th July to 11th August 1415

How did the delay to Henry V's expedition affect the Redmayns?

Given the nature of this chapter, there is relatively little to list here but the following are worth mentioning:

> The quotation at the start of this chapter from Alexandra Walsham is from *Historical Association News, Spring 2024*

The most detailed account of the plot against Henry V in 1415 is:

> T B Pugh, *Henry V and The Southampton Plot*, 1988 – although every major book on Henry V covers the plot

I also used, surprising though it will probably seem:

> Steve Waugh, *Out of My Comfort Zone: The Autobiography*, 2006 – probably the least likely book I've used while writing these chapters

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