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

"Hindsight is the besetting sin of the historian"

Professor R R Davies*, The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr*

The King is dead! Long live the King!

Henry IV had first fallen seriously ill in 1406, the beginning of a long decline, the exact cause of which is unknown. Circulation problems, heart disease, strokes and gangrene may have played a part, all made even more miserable by a debilitating skin disease. On several occasions thereafter, Henry seemed close the death but it wasn't until 1413 that he died, collapsing on 20th March while at prayer in Westminster Abbey. Carried unconscious to a chamber in the Abbot's lodgings, Henry asked, as he came round, where he was. According to one chronicler, when told he was in the abbey's Jerusalem Chamber, Henry replied that it had been prophesied he would die in Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards, Henry '*gave up his life to the Saviour*'. He was just 45.

The new king was Henry's 26-year-old eldest son who was crowned King Henry V on 9th April. Just typing the name 'Henry V' in the chapter title above I felt a frisson of excitement – like most people, I knew of the King's victory at Agincourt in 1415 and his conquest of France and I'd also learned that Richard Redmayn enjoyed his own success in 1415, being chosen as Speaker of the Commons at the parliament that year. That cursory knowledge explains why, in my first plan for this chapter, I aimed to reach the invasion of France in the summer of 1415 as quickly as possible. I just wanted to start telling those stories of success.

It wasn't long, however, before I hurled that first plan into my wastepaper basket! As soon as I started reading in detail, I realised that I'd very nearly fallen into the trap that Professor Rees Davies described as '*the besetting sin of the historian*' – hindsight. I'd come all too close to assuming that the successes of Henry V were inevitable because that's what happened 'in the end' and also that Richard Redmayn must have been only too eager to serve Henry V because the new king was, again inevitably, on the fast-track to glory from the first day of his reign.

Instead, I discovered that Henry V's first two years as king were far more complex than I'd realised, that there were criticisms and doubts about the new king and his success was far from inevitable – and that, in turn, made me wonder about Richard Redmayn's own career under Henry V. Richard was now around 60 years old and continuing in royal service meant riding the length and breadth of England in all weathers. Why was he still putting himself through such hardship? He didn't know that success at Agincourt and his role as Speaker lay just around the chronological corner.

I therefore set about drafting a very different chapter plan. It isn't about success and it doesn't reach the battlefield of Agincourt or Richard's period as Speaker. Instead, I'm evading the clutches of hindsight by asking why Richard continued in royal service under Henry V when he could have been

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spending more his time with Elizabeth and his beloved horses. Surely, at his age, he'd had enough of politics after all his problems and dangers under Richard II and Henry IV?

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I'll begin my exploration of why Richard continued to serve Henry V with the dread subject of age! It seems only natural that Richard might pause for reflection in 1413 not only because now there was a new, much younger king but also because Richard was nearing that 'big birthday' of 60. If there was one thing guaranteed to end his royal service it was a decline in his physical health and Richard must have known that he'd already outlived many of his contemporaries. Professor Rosenthal's analysis suggests that only around 25% of men of Richard's status lived beyond their mid-fifties at that time.

Two deaths in particular may have brought Richard's age into sharper focus. Henry IV had been only 45 when he died and the death of a man so much younger than himself must have been an uncomfortable reminder of Richard's own advancing age, a reminder underlined by the death the same month of Richard's friend, Henry Vavasour. Vavasour's will, as we saw in chapter 5, contained bequests of a grey horse to Richard and a ring to Elizabeth. His death can't have left the Redmayns untouched.

Of course, I can't know whether Richard's age made him question the wisdom of continuing in royal service but I can use what Professor Chibnall (see Chapter 2) called 'controlled speculation' to suggest the kinds of thoughts that may have crossed his mind in 1413. The evidence for those thoughts comes firstly from the pattern of Richard's own career. Richard must have felt confident of his health and fitness at 60 because he'd spent his fifties riding many, many miles as Sheriff of Yorkshire and of Cumberland, on embassies to Scotland, attending parliament and Great Councils and on commissions dealing with rebellions led by the earl of Northumberland and by Archbishop Scrope. Most recently, his sixth term as Sheriff of Cumberland had ended only three months before Henry V's accession, a demanding role that took him north to Carlisle regularly. Richard's joust at Carlisle against the Scottish knights was now twenty years in the past but he must have still felt fit enough for royal service.

Richard could also draw confidence from the careers of his contemporaries because there was nothing unusual in men of his age continuing in royal service. Two immediate examples were men close to Richard in age who were appointed by Henry V to senior roles in the royal household – Sir Thomas Erpingham and Henry, Lord Fitzhugh (a relative of Richard's by marriage). Erpingham became Steward and Fitzhugh Chamberlain of the Household so clearly had the trust and respect of the new king. Richard would also have remembered his father, Sir Matthew, as one of the English commanders at the battle of Otterburn only two years before his death and a member of significant commissions just months before his death.

A very different example was the experience of Richard's neighbour, William Gascoigne. Since the 1380s, William had ridden even more miles in the service of the dukes of Lancaster than had Richard, and had served Henry IV as Lord Chief Justice since 1400. William, however, lost this role in 1413 when Henry V became king. It's not certain whether he was dismissed or retired (he was several years older than Richard Redmayn) but henceforth his royal service was largely restricted to

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the north, to county commissions of the peace for example. With their homes just a mile apart, did William talk to Richard about how he felt about this change and did this help Richard decide that he wasn't ready to leave royal service while he still felt fit and healthy, regardless of his age?

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With the health and fitness box ticked, my next questions are whether Richard still had the commitment to serve Henry V and why royal service continued to be important to him, despite the physical and mental demands of this service? Looking back across the centuries at all the pressures Richard had faced, it wouldn't be surprising if he'd felt ready for a gentler way of life, running his estates at Levens and Harewood (though their management was very likely in capable hands, not least Elizabeth's) and with more time for his love of and expertise with horses and for hunting, hawking, chess, music or other pursuits.

Here the most obvious evidence for my 'controlled speculation' are the ideals he'd grown up with and lived by – his values, his ideals of service and loyalty. Serving the king was expected of men of Richard's status and what Richard expected of himself, exemplified by his position as a knight of the royal household since the late 1380s and by his continued service right up until the end of Henry IV's reign, most recently as Sheriff of Cumberland. Wearing his livery collar displaying the king's Lancastrian SS badge (similar to that worn by his effigy) must have been a source of immense pride to Richard and so, given the centrality of royal service to his life, leaving the royal household would have been a much greater and more difficult step for him to take than continuing in that role.

Richard's values, therefore, are unlikely to have changed despite his age but there may also be other, more personal reasons why he continued to serve Henry V, reasons that perhaps are common to the experiences of ageing in any period of history. Here I'm definitely speculating freely and apologise if you have reached your sixties (or beyond, like me) and find some of this discussion uncomfortably familiar. I hope any 'sitting on the cat' sensations will only be temporary!

What I've found myself wondering is whether Richard continued in royal service because, in addition to the reasons above, it made him feel younger and more valued? Is it possible that he feared a sense of loss if he stepped away – loss of prestige, of contacts with his network of friends and colleagues in the royal household, of the insider-knowledge that came from these contacts, of a sense of belonging to a group striving in a joint enterprise to restore unity in England? Losing the patronage and respect of the king's brother, John of Lancaster, and other noblemen with whom he worked would be another major sacrifice. Richard probably also found royal service interesting, a challenge, a good use of his intelligence and experience. Put all that together and leaving royal service might change how Richard saw himself – his sense of his own identity and his significance in his world could have shrivelled. Why take that risk by giving up roles that mattered to him?

Of course, there must have been days when a different way of life did seem attractive, days when he had to ride through soaking rain, when yet more documents arrived demanding to be read, when irritating colleagues prolonged meetings unnecessarily and others weren't pulling their weight. But would a life spent with his hawks and even his horses make up for what he'd lose by curtailing his royal service? We don't know how attractive such alternatives were to Richard (nor how Elizabeth

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felt about him spending more time at Harewood!) but I suspect that his continuing desire to live by the values and ideals he'd grown up with ensured that any thoughts of leaving royal service didn't linger for long.

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It seems that Richard Redmayn was happy to continue in royal service in 1413 because he was confident in his fitness and still believed in the values that had long motivated his career. What I want to explore next are the appointments and rewards Richard received at the start of the new reign and what they suggest about his motives. Foremost amongst the appointments was Richard being retained by Henry V as a knight of the royal household. Professor Dodd has identified just 68 men who held this role and, while there may have been others who went unrecorded, this very small number suggests they were a select company, men held in particularly high esteem, respected and trusted by King Henry and his closest advisers. Here, perhaps, is another reason why Richard served Henry V, that he appreciated the King's faith and trust in him.

Richard also received good financial news which supports the idea that he was respected by Henry V:

> i) the renewal of his crown annuity of 40 marks, first paid to him out of royal income from royal estates in Cumberland in 1390 by Richard II.
>
> ii) the renewal of a second annuity, also, for 40 marks, from the revenues of the royal palatinate of Chester, first paid to him in 1397
>
> iii) a back payment in December 1413 (9 months into the new reign) of nearly £8 in recompense for arrears in the payment of his annuity drawn from Cumberland. This payment was described in the Exchequer record as a *donum* ordered by Henry V *de gratia sua speciale.*

These payments also suggest another reason for Richard's royal service – the financial rewards he could receive from the crown. At one time financial reward was the major motivation that historians identified for the actions of late medieval nobles and gentry but now it is seen as one of a number of factors and, without evidence, we can't know how important financial rewards were to Richard in comparison with his ideals, for example, but they may have been a valuable by-product of service at the very least.

(Those payments also give us an insight into Richard's travels as they reveal he was at the Exchequer at Westminster twice in four months – in December 1413 to receive the arrears on his Cumberland annuity [item iii above] and again in March 1414 to receive a half year advance on the payment of that same annuity. Riding to and from London was still a routine activity for Richard, even in winter.)

One final appointment that's important to mention was Richard's continued membership of the Commission of the Peace for the West Riding though this wasn't at all surprising as Richard had been a member of the Commission since 1405 and was one of the King's leading servants in the county.

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All the evidence from 1413 therefore points to Richard Redmayn being held in high regard by the king and his leading councillors, most or all of whom knew Richard personally and had worked closely with him. All of which makes what happened in January 1414 extremely puzzling!

On 16 January 1414 the membership of the Commission of the Peace for the West Riding was revised, replacing the commission set up on the first day of the reign. Looking at the new list of names in the Calendar of Patent Rolls I didn't immediately spot that Richard Redmayn's name was missing – but, once the penny dropped, I sat there open-mouthed. Why had such a valued member of the royal household been omitted, especially given the recent payments and appointments I've listed above – the "*The Mystery of the West Riding Commission of the Peace*" had begun!

Then, looking more closely at the new commission, I saw other surprising details:

- William Gascoigne and Robert Waterton, two other long-standing Lancastrian servants and powerful local gentry, had also been omitted.
- Other changes meant that the commission now had a very different membership – only 6 of the 14 previous members remained from 1413, two judges and four noblemen, including John of Lancaster, the king's brother
- Of the 17 members of the new commission, 11 were therefore new additions including another royal brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence, a very powerful if nominal presence. This was the only commission of which Clarence was a member, the other being his existing membership of the East Riding commission.
- Three more noblemen were added, all very close to the King – the earl of Dorset, Henry, Lord Fitzhugh and Henry, Lord Scrope.
- The other seven new members – two judges and five gentry – all had close links with the East Riding and were on East Riding commissions along with Clarence, Lancaster and Lords Fitzhugh and Scrope. This looks very like the East Riding taking over the West Riding!

Were the Commissions of the Peace being changed in other counties? Reviewing the details in the Calendar of Patent Rolls I discovered that on the same day, 16 January, changes were made to the commissions in fully half the 40 English counties but the majority were in the south and midlands. Only the West and North Ridings, Westmorland and two of the Lincolnshire ridings were in the north.

These widespread changes were part of the government's response to Sir John Oldcastle's Lollard rebellion early in January. Oldcastle, found guilty of heresy by a church court, had escaped from the Tower of London and planned a rising, aiming to capture the king and his brothers. Oldcastle seemingly had had high hopes that Henry V would make major changes to the Church but, when these changes didn't happen, he rebelled in a personal vendetta against the king. His rising failed completely, attracting minimal support, but the government still needed to identify possible rebels as quickly as possible to ensure there were no further troubles.

That's an all too brief summary of the revolt but it suggests that a possible explanation for the changes in the West Riding was that it was a major area of support for Oldcastle's rebellion. Why else was the new commission packed with outsiders and heavyweight nobility, especially Scrope and Roos who were closely involved in the prosecution of rebels in London in the immediate aftermath

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of the rebellion? Only Somerset, where 50% of members were changed, came close to the extent of the changes in the West Riding and even the counties with most Lollard activity (though not necessarily active rebels) had only 25% to 35% changes.

And if the West Riding was a hotbed of support for the rising, were Richard Redmayn, Waterton and Gascoigne omitted because they were suspected of supporting Oldcastle? Perhaps they couldn't be trusted to deal with any rebels in the region? Back in 1406, Waterton had had to apologise when one of his servants had criticised the Archbishop of Canterbury, the leading opponent of the Lollards.

But, and it's an enormous BUT, the government didn't seem to have concerns about rebels in the West Riding because, when the first commissions to track down rebels were issued five days before the Commission of the Peace was changed, none were sent to Yorkshire. What's more, on the same day that Richard Redmayn was removed from the West Riding commission, he was added to the Commission for Westmoreland, his home county. This, along with future payments and appointments, including his return to the West Riding Commission of the Peace in 1415 and his appointment as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1415-1416, doesn't suggest that Richard was suspected of involvement in Oldcastle's rebellion or was being punished for some unknown crime. Similarly, Waterton and Gascoigne also returned to the commission in 1415 – Gascoigne having continued to be a member of other commissions in Yorkshire throughout this period.

All of which leaves me without a reason for the omission of three such Lancastrian loyalists and the wholesale changes in the West Riding. Was this linked to a quite different outbreak of serious violence? What was the reaction of local gentry who were accustomed to dominating their county commission? I don't know and that's frustrating. I'll just have to keep searching for an answer!

So, to conclude by returning to my first point in this section, another reason why Richard Redmayn continued in royal service was that he was held in high regard by Henry V. if only there wasn't that doubt relating to the '*Mystery of the West Riding Commission'* – but then studying the past wouldn't be so much fun if we had all the answers!

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So far, I've identified Richard Redmayn's fitness, his values, the regard in which he was held by Henry V and financial rewards as reasons why he continued in royal service – but the next section challenges these continuities by exploring a reason why Richard may have thought twice about serving Henry V.

If you need a breather before starting to read again, now would be a good time to put the kettle on or maybe even re-charge your glass!

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Could Richard Redmayn have had doubts about Henry being a successful king? At first glance this is an astonishing idea because it contradicts the perception in hindsight that Henry V had been bound for glory from the moment of his accession. Research suggests, however, that there were fears around 1412-13 that Henry might plunge England back into division and rebellion. For Richard Redmayn, who must have craved stability after the hatreds and rebellions of the 1390s and 1400s, this may have been a genuine concern.

Before looking at the evidence of Henry's actions, however, there was a broader context for uncertainty in 1413 because in some eyes the Lancastrians were still a usurping dynasty because of Henry IV's seizure of the crown. The passage of time and the hard work of Henry IV had gone a long way towards easing this first hand-over of the crown from Lancastrian father to heir but there was still an edge of uncertainty because of continuing rumours of Richard II's survival and doubts about the loyalty of the families of noblemen executed by Henry IV. The existence of opposition is suggested by the council advising Henry to stay near London so that he would be ready in case of rebellion or invasion and by one chronicle's report that Henry V was crowned '*with the agreement of the greater part of the nobles*'. Just how large and dangerous was 'the lesser part'? Nobody knew.

That sense of uncertainty was exacerbated by some of Henry's behaviour as Prince of Wales. To quote Professor Gwilym Dodd, Henry's actions had been '*mired in controversy'* and may have led even long-standing supporters of the Lancastrian regime, including Richard Redmayn, to question Henry's political judgement and his ability to unite his nobles and gentry.

These controversies stemmed from between 1409 and 1412 when Henry IV was so ill that it seemed Prince Henry would become king at any moment. In his father's absence, Prince Henry led the royal council and replaced some of his father's closest advisers with men he'd learned to trust during his command against Glyndwr in Wales. The Prince's actions were legitimate but when the King recovered late in 1411, he recalled his advisers to the council and removed the Prince and his men. The Prince saw this as a huge affront and his resulting actions put the political community under intense strain. He tried to force his father to abdicate, airing his grievances in a confrontation so shocking it prompted fears of an armed insurrection and led to some of the Prince's followers being imprisoned. To quote Professor Dodd again, these '*rash and ill-considered machinations*' were '*wilful and irresponsible'*. It was this behaviour that suggested that Prince Henry lacked political judgement, his apparent encouragement of factions and rivalries a reminder of Richard II's worst feature and threatening the unity his father had rebuilt so agonisingly slowly.

A second source of anxiety was the relationship between Prince Henry and the eldest of his three brothers, Thomas. Unity between Henry IV's four sons should have been a Lancastrian strength but instead a rift had developed because Prince Henry feared that their father preferred Thomas as his heir. The Prince was deeply angry when Thomas was given command of an army in France in 1412 – on the surface an argument about policy towards France but, more viscerally, Henry was jealous of his father favouring Thomas. Hindsight tells us this split within the royal family was short-lived but, at the time, no-one knew where it might lead. Might it even encourage opposition?

A final reason for doubting Henry's potential as king was very different – behaviour that would have tabloid journalists trailing his every move today! Towards the end of his father's reign, Prince Henry

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appears to have built up an unsavoury reputation for riotous and lascivious behaviour, not at all what was expected of the royal heir, especially as Henry was in his mid-twenties, not his teens. While his companions were unlikely to have been the 'low-life' equivalents of Shakespeare's Pistol, Poins and the rest of the gang at the Boar's Head, the Prince's behaviour did not win admirers and even led to him being mocked by France where he was seen as inexperienced, insecure and vulnerable.

It does seem possible, therefore, that Richard Redmayn's thoughts on the accession of Henry V could have been more complex than I initially assumed and the thought of ending his royal service may have crossed his mind – so why, in addition to the motives I've already discussed, did Richard ignore any doubts and serve Henry V?

One reason was that Henry, despite his frustrations at having to wait for the crown, had built up extensive experience of government. Leadership of the council and attendance at parliaments had given him considerable knowledge of government and he'd shown willingness to listen to advice and criticisms, qualities that impressed the Commons, especially at the lengthy 1406 parliament which Richard Redmayn attended. Henry had also demonstrated his bravery and leadership at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 against Hotspur when he led his men in combat despite a serious arrow wound to his face. There'd been no comparable victory against Glyndwr in Wales (Welsh skills in guerilla warfare ensured they avoided set-piece battles) but he'd learned a great deal about leadership and building trust with his men, the importance of controlling castles and towns, siege warfare, ensuring finance for wages, consistent supplies of food, weaponry and other equipment.

Perhaps even more important in Richard Redmayn's support for Henry V was that he knew the king from his time at court as a household knight under Henry IV and at the 1406 parliament. In addition, Richard would have heard a good deal about Henry from his extensive network of contacts, including Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland and Henry V's brother John of Lancaster. Richard's connection with Prince John may have been especially important in shaping his views on the new king and reducing any doubts. It's also likely that Richard compared notes on the new king with familiar northern faces amongst the knights of the royal household, including Sir John Etton and Sir Alexander Lound from Yorkshire and Sir Thomas Strickland from Sizergh, just a mile from the Redmayns' Levens Hall. All three, like Richard, had a strong military and chivalric background.

Richard was also likely impressed by the decisive start Henry made as king. Henry was very aware of needing to boost his reputation and immediately devoted his energies to what he saw as the deeply religious duty of kingship, hitting the ground sprinting, let alone running. Three days after his coronation, Henry convened an unprecedented meeting of his nobles and leading knights where he promised to rule for the honour of God and the good of the kingdom and those present swore allegiance to the king. We don't know if Richard Redmayn was present but, as a household knight, he may well have attended this gathering and the ceremonies that marked the change of monarch – Henry IV's funeral at Canterbury, his memorial service and then the snow-laden coronation of. Sadly, however, we don't know if Richard was at any of these events because no-one wrote down Henry V the names of those attending. How deeply inconsiderate!

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Henry also showed his determination to unite the country, offering an olive branch to former supporters of Richard II by ordering the reburial of King Richard in Westminster Abbey. He also demonstrated his sorrow for confrontations with his father at the late king's lavish funeral. Fears of favouritism ebbed away when Henry chose his household and council on ability and character, selecting men linked to his father as well as to himself, and rejecting some of his own past supporters whose behaviour might tarnish his standing as king. Age was no bar as his choice of Fitzhugh and Thomas Erpingham indicates and both were also men with impressive military records which would have appealed to Richard and reflected well on the new king. All this makes clear that, whatever his previous behaviour, Henry deliberately and successfully '*transformed*' himself (to borrow Professor Anne Curry's description), on becoming king into the contemporary ideal of kingship.

Henry also held a parliament in the month after his accession. This first parliament was a balancing act as Henry needed to display both royal authority and willingness to listen to advice. The atmosphere was '*far from trustful and relaxed'* according to Dr G L Harriss, a legacy of the arguments between Henry IV and the Commons over the costs of the royal household, but Henry V and the Commons did begin learning to work together. The Commons approved Henry 's priorities – reducing disorder and violence, improving the defence of England's coast, shipping and lands in France and reducing the costs of the royal household – but could the Commons trust him to cut those costs? Hence, when the Commons granted taxation, they said that taxes must be used for immediate purposes – individual wars and defence needs – not for regular expenditure on garrisons in France or on the Scottish border or for excessive spending on the royal household.

Taking all this into account, could doubts about Henry V's qualities have made Richard think twice about continuing his royal service? Opinions of Henry as a future king seem to have swung a good deal before 1413 – from great optimism in 1406 to a sense that his record by 1413 was, in Professor Anne Curry's words '*less than impressive'*. Towards the end of Henry IV's reign, Richard Redmayn may therefore have had doubts about Henry's qualities as king but, at the same time, his own values and ideals meant that his instinct was always to serve the crown, an instinct supported by the need to demonstrate support for the new king because of those very uncertainties and doubts. Why risk undoing all the hard work of the past when it was important to show support for the new king?

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I've known from the outset of this chapter that Richard Redmayn did continue in royal service under Henry V so does this mean that all my work on this chapter has been a waste of time? Not at all – I hope! I've thoroughly enjoyed the reading and writing – justification in itself – but, in addition, I've gained two specific benefits from challenging that '*besetting sin'* of hindsight. I now feel that I:

1. understand more realistically the unfolding uncertainties of 1413-14 and this will, in turn, help me better understand the events of 1415 when the pull of hindsight will be even greater.

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2. know Richard Redmayn better by having thought about where he was in life, what he valued, who may have influenced him, the possibilities and options he faced. What I've learned has been that:

- Like everyone, Richard had options and had to make choices when the 'right' choice wasn't always clear – success was not inevitable, even for Henry V.
- Age may have made Richard think twice about serving Henry V but, if so, only briefly. He may have been influenced by the same emotions and feelings about ageing as anyone today.
- Richard was valued and respected by Henry V and his councillors which suggests he was efficient and intelligent and part of a network of capable soldiers and administrators.
- He may have valued his royal service because of the financial rewards and the prestige and influence that came with it.

How, then, do I sum up why Richard decided to continue in royal service under Henry V? It's possible that Richard may have had doubts about Henry V's ability to unite his nobility during Henry IV's last years but he instinctively wanted to serve Henry V and felt that showing his support for the new king was the right thing to do. None of this was likely jotted down in a list of 'for' and 'against' – that isn't how most of us really make our choices – instinct usually trumps logic for most, maybe all of us!

One further conclusion is that exploring all these possibilities has been far more challenging and interesting to think and write about than was my initial chapter plan about inevitable success – even if the cat squealed rather too loudly when I sat on it using my own experiences to explore Richard's 'retirement'. Of course, it would be more interesting still if we had Elizabeth's view on her husband's choices. Elizabeth may well have wondered how changes in royal policies, the quality of government or who Henry V chose to serve in his household and the shires might affect Richard and herself. Did she encourage him to continue? Did they discuss these issues? That, as ever, is hidden from us by the centuries but if, as I suspect, they worked together to protect Sybil from her husband's violence (see Chapter 10) then there's a strong chance they did discuss Richard's work for the new king.

That point, like so much else, has been no more than 'controlled speculation' but I feel comfortable that this speculation is justified. Without it I can't begin to think about Richard's experiences of events as a human being – this would be little more than a CV otherwise – and it feels much more productive – and compassionate – to air the possibilities rather than to glide over them in silence because of the absence of specific documentary evidence. And by airing these possibilities, I hope that I've successfully avoided being bullied by hindsight!

So, what next?

In the autumn of 1414 Richard again rode south to Westminster, this time to attend parliament as one of the Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire. What was on the King's agenda? What would the attitudes of the Commons be? Which old friends would he see? Would he be home for Christmas? All or some of those questions will be answered in the next chapter!

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How do I know?

Notes on my sources and reading for Chapter 14

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

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)*

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