

Richard III, Henry VII and the Island of Jersey

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JERSEY AROUSED MY INTEREST initially as a curiosity. It was the scene of, apparently, the only armed resistance outside the North of England to Henry VII after Bosworth before the Lovell-Stafford rising of 1486. That may be significant in itself. But the investigation of the circumstances revealed hints of a good deal more; of Jersey's role in that tangle of Anglo-French-Breton relations which were at the heart of the politics of 1484-85; the scene of what seems to have been a security-scare in May-June 1485; and above all, the focus of prompt action involving particularly trusted servants of Henry VII at the very beginning of his reign. Jersey seems to reflect many of the circumstances of that still little-explored enigma in 1485 studies, the garrison at Calais.

A glance at the map reveals Jersey's importance. An off-shore island to the west of the Cotentin Peninsula in Normandy, it had little value as a military or naval base. It was however, ideally situated to survey the northern ports of Brittany, stretching away to the south-west. It was from Paimpol, some fifty miles away, that Henry launched a fleet in 1483 to take part in the Buckingham rebellion. Due south lay the port of St. Malo, and Mont St. Michel, marking the boundary of Brittany and France. The Channel Islands were a magnet for pirates, but Frenchmen and Bretons also frequented them for more peaceful purposes, sometimes indeed settling there. The church was under the 'active' jurisdiction of the Norman bishop of Coutances. The islanders were French-speaking. Jersey was therefore well-suited as a base for intelligence-gathering and possibly for secret operations in Brittany. The minuscule drama of the island's history chimes in with great political events. Its story is not merely of antiquarian or romantic interest.¹

Brittany was, *de facto*, an independent state, potentially under threat from its overlord the King of France. Since 1471 Henry and Jasper Tudor had been in the duchy as refugees, for much of the time as virtual prisoners, valuable bargaining counters in relations with England. In 1483 the Duke had been prepared to finance Henry's expedition, and this had been followed by a naval war with England. In 1484, however, Breton policy swung round to negotiating

an alliance with Richard III. The key-factor here appears to have been the unpopularity of the Breton Treasurer and effective chief-minister, Pierre Landais, and his hopes for English military assistance against the rebellious Breton nobility. In October 1484 Henry Tudor and his followers fled across the border into France. This reduced the immediate significance of Jersey; Henry's 1485 expedition was prepared in the Seine estuary, at Rouen and Harfleur, to which Jersey was almost totally irrelevant. However, the internal situation in Brittany remained important, especially the threatened position of Landais, and in that sense Jersey remained a key listening-post. Landais worked to forge a grand coalition of Richard III, Maximilian (the somewhat insecure ruler of the Burgundian Netherlands), and the leading French princes with Brittany against the French royal government conducted in the name of the boy Charles VIII. The need to pre-empt such a coalition by destabilising England explains the grudging French support for Henry Tudor. As it happened, it turned out to be unnecessary. In June 1485, just before Henry sailed for Milford, the Breton nobles overthrew (and then hanged) Landais and then concluded a peace with France which was to last until the end of 1486. Bosworth was made possible by a hair's breadth.²

Jersey had been occupied in 1461 by a French force with the acquiescence of Margaret of Anjou.³ It had been reconquered for Edward IV in 1468 by an expedition led by Richard Harliston. Harliston, from Humberstone in Lincolnshire, had apparently been in the household of Richard of York, had become a yeoman of the chamber to Edward IV, and served in various naval commands. In 1472 he commanded an English expeditionary force to help protect Brittany from the French. In 1477, together with his 'brother' William Hareby, he was confirmed as Governor of both Guernsey and Jersey.⁴ Guernsey was soon taken from them; the King's 'godson' Sir Edward Brampton was appointed there in 1482, to be succeeded by Thomas Rydley in 1484.⁵ Harliston remained in Jersey, where he rebuilt the castle at Mont Orgueil, (erecting 'Harliston's Tower'), encouraged archery, and helped found the island's first school, in 1480.⁶

Harliston and Hareby were confirmed in their charge after the death of Edward IV, initially as part of the Protector's measures against Edward Woodville and his fleet.⁷ There is a tradition, recorded in the seventeenth century, that Henry Tudor stopped over in the island on his return from England in November 1483, the secret guest of Clement le Hardy, before landing in French territory at La Hogue in the Cotentin and making his way back to Brittany by land.⁸ There seems no contemporary evidence to support this tradition, although it is not impossible. But what certainly was important was the capture by the French, in late August 1484, of a ship of Harliston's carrying despatches for Landais. The French Admiral thought them sufficiently interesting to have them copied and sent on to the royal council. Shortly afterwards Henry made his precipitate departure from Brittany.⁹

In December 1484 no less a person than James Nesfield, Richard's trusted custodian of Elizabeth Woodville, had licence to come to Jersey, with up to two companions; presumably for some important purpose, probably connected with Richard's attempt to win over the Woodvilles at this time.¹⁰ Another visit, to

Guernsey, was authorised, by Thomas Maunsell with one companion in March 1485.¹¹ More significant, in May 1485 Thomas Hutton, royal councillor, was commissioned to go to the Channel Islands; ostensibly, at least, to investigate whether the bull obtained from Pope Sixtus IV in 1481 anathematising pirates contained anything derogatory to the King's rights. As a civil lawyer, Hutton was an appropriate choice. But he was also an experienced diplomat who had been sent to Brittany in July 1483 to report on the Duke's attitude to Edward Woodville, had since been involved in negotiations with Scotland, and had recently been part of the English team which had concluded an alliance with Brittany. Hutton was also to investigate wrong-doing by the island officials, and given the power to levy forces if he were met by resistance.¹²

For events after Bosworth a Jersey chronicle, written in the 1580s is the prime source. It presents Harliston in a heroic light; not surprisingly, since it was composed under the auspices of the de Cartaret family, Seigneurs of St. Ouen, into which Harliston's only daughter and heiress Margaret had married.¹³ The chronicle is inclined to telescope events. Harliston is recorded as reacting to Bosworth by throwing in his lot with the 'Countess of Flanders' (evidently Margaret of York, the Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy), and trying to make the island over to the Countess and the King of France. He went on to support the claims of Perkin Warbeck, and, though coming later to disbelieve them, continued in Margaret's service and eventually earned honourable burial from her.

Harliston was certainly involved in Margaret's various attempts to undermine the Tudor regime. He was pardoned in October 1486, as 'late of the island of Jersey, esquire'.¹⁴ He was attainted the following year for taking part in the invasion of Furness by Simnel and the Earl of Lincoln; then again in 1495 for landing with Warbeck at Deal, this time as 'late of London, knight'.¹⁵ However, the interesting point is his attempt to hold out in Jersey, evidently in 1485-86. One, not in itself very convincing, piece of evidence dates from as late as 1616 when defenders of Jersey's constitutional liberties recalled that in Henry VII's reign, Harliston had planned to put the island under the protection of the French King and the Duchess of Burgundy, handing over Mont Orgueil to the French, but was foiled by a meeting of the Jersey States which he tried in vain to prevent.¹⁶ More to the point is a rather more prosaic document of 1488 recording the claims of the 'constables and others', for money owed to them 'for the siege of Mont Orgueil Castle and the expulsion from it of Richard Harliston, the Governor of Jersey'. Evidently Edmund Weston, commissioned by Henry VII to besiege the castle, had levied loans from the inhabitants to pay wages and provisions. The force appears to have been twenty-five men and to have been under arms for six months. Now, in 1488, the constables were asking for repayment from Mathew Baker, Harliston's successor as Governor. Harliston's son-in-law, Philip de Carteret was one of the *jurés du roi* who appended their seals.¹⁷

It looks as if the siege took place in late 1485 and early 1486. Edmund Weston and Thomas Saintmartin were sent to Guernsey 'in all haste possible' as early as 6 September 1485. In November 1485 they were made joint Governors of Guernsey.¹⁸ However, Weston was diverted to Jersey to deal with Harliston. The siege must have begun before 28 February 1486 when Mathew Baker and David Philips were jointly made Governors of Jersey and of Mont Orgueil.¹⁹ And it

must have been over a good while before Harliston sued for pardon in September. Very probably it was already over by the time of Baker's and Philips's appointment; just possible, allowing for a little rounding up of the soldiers' wages.²⁰ A confused report of these events may account for the rumour current in 1486 that the young Earl of Warwick, Clarence's son, had been taken to Guernsey and set free.²¹

The siege does look a very small-scale but surprisingly long drawn-out affair. Since 1468 Harliston had strengthened the castle's defences. On the other hand, unlike his erstwhile opponents of 1468, he had no hope of naval assistance since the conclusion in August 1485 of the Franco-Breton, and implicitly pro-Tudor, alliance. Presumably locals were conscripted to reinforce the twenty-five soldiers, and Harliston must have been starved out.

Weston was an excellent choice for the command. Like Harliston he had been a naval captain under Edward IV, and had taken part in the capture of the castle in 1468. He then married the widow of one of the island landowners, killed in the fighting, and settled down in Jersey. Evidently he had been actively involved in the Tudor cause; the grant of the Guernsey office to him and Saintmartin mentioned the exceptional services they had performed to Henry VII at great personal cost.²²

Saintmartin was a native of Jersey. He, with other members of his family was accused of treason in helping to hand over Mont Orgueil to the French in 1461. He then fled to France, where Louis XI granted the family the manor of Bruel d'Anneville in Normandy which they had originally held under Henry V. Repenting of having adhered to the King's enemies Thomas Saintmartin was pardoned by Edward IV. Described as 'gentleman' of Jersey, he was authorised in October 1480 to re-enter his inheritances in Jersey and Guernsey. The de la Court family, which had meanwhile acquired the properties, put up a good fight, and in spite of documents in Saintmartin's support from both Edward IV and from Richard of Gloucester as Protector it was not until June 1485 that the courts in both islands recorded a settlement, involving a payment of 120 *écus* on Saintmartin's part. (Rather over two-thirds of the cost of the 1485-86 siege.) His joint appointment as Governor of Guernsey did not last long. In February 1486 the office was regranted to Weston alone. Saintmartin, however, went on to a lucrative career as gentleman usher in the king's chamber, then premier usher to Prince Arthur as Prince of Wales; he was used as a messenger to Guernsey. He was a friend of another Jerseyman Jean Neel (tutor to Prince Arthur), made his will in Jersey in 1514, and died the following year.²³

It is usually assumed that those rewarded for services to Henry VII in 1485, like Weston and Saintmartin, had been in exile with him. Saintmartin, however, appeared in person before the island courts in June 1485.²⁴ It may be that the services for which he and Weston were so well rewarded took place in the islands. It is also significant that Thomas Maunsell, sent to Jersey by King Richard in March 1485, was later rewarded by Henry VII as his 'well-beloved servant', 'late marshal of our castle at Mont Orgueil' for good services rendered.²⁵ In May 1485 Philip Peyn and Philip de Cartaret (Harliston's son-in-law) were in England doing homage for their Jersey lands and being confirmed in their possession.²⁶ Possibly they arrived in England with news of trouble brewing. Some sort of Tudor threat seems in fact the most likely explanation for Hutton's mission to the islands that very month.

Weston himself continued to serve in Guernsey until his death in 1505. He was, however, extremely well-connected. His brother John was the Prior of the Order of St. John in England in 1476-89. Prior Weston had been on diplomatic mission to France in 1480, took part in the defence of Rhodes in 1481-82, after some initial hesitation on Edward IV's part (making a good impression in Rome en route), expressed his disquiet at events in England in June 1483 in letters to the Celys, and seems to have been out of favour under Richard III; one wonders if somewhere here is the explanation for Edmund Weston's Tudorist stance.²⁷ Edmund's son Richard succeeded his father as Governor of Guernsey, but was also a very prominent courtier, the builder of the sumptuous house at Sutton Place; he began his career in the service of Elizabeth of York. Another son William became the last Prior of St. John, dying the day the Order was dissolved. Richard's son Francis achieved an even more spectacular end as one of the supposed lovers of Anne Boleyn.²⁸

The joint Governors of Jersey were also prominent figures around the Tudor court. I have found no evidence of any Jersey connection on the part of David Philips, and indeed he does not seem to have been active in Jersey affairs; references are all to Baker. Starting in the service of Lady Margaret Beaufort's mother, Philips went on to a spectacular career at the court, but even more as Lady Margaret's trusted man-of-business. The patent for his appointment to Jersey mentions exceptional services at home and overseas; and the extraordinary accumulation of grants and offices from the earliest days of the new reign bears this out. The grant of a keepership at Windsor, jointly with the future Bishop Fox, is suggestive. I would venture that Philips was active as a messenger between Lady Margaret and her son during 1483-85.²⁹ Mathew Baker first comes to notice when, with Henry Tudor disguised as his servant, he slipped across the border from Brittany to France around 1 October 1484.³⁰ He was to remain as resident (and apparently much-disliked) Governor of Jersey until 1496. He continued as a prominent courtier, and was used a good deal on French embassies. He was evidently a favourite with Louis XII, with whom he used to joke about his old soldier's lack of rhetorical polish; possibly he had had contact with Louis, then Duke of Orleans, in 1484-85. It may be significant that Baker kept a Breton priest as his chaplain.³¹

Baker was very close to Henry VII. So too, was a Norman priest, Michael Diacony, who was with Henry at Bosworth and went on to become Henry's confessor and then Bishop of St. Asaph. He was appointed, even before Baker, to be Prior of St. Helier in Jersey in January 1486.³² No doubt Henry needed fluent French-speakers to serve him in Jersey. But the appointment of men as close as Baker and Diacony were to Henry himself indicates something more, an appreciation of Jersey's significance as a listening-post and as a base for covert operations while Henry was struggling, unsuccessfully, to keep Brittany from falling into French hands between 1486 and 1491.³³ Baker is said to have kept a substantial garrison of sixty men in Mont Orgueil, his successor (from 1496), Thomas Overy forty.³⁴ It may be significant, too, that Henry VII created a 'Mont Orgueil Pursuivant'; an unusual honour for Jersey, but probably an indication that serious diplomatic activity related to military affairs in the island was envisaged. Similar appointments related to Calais.³⁵ In the event these expectations may not have been fulfilled. Up to 1491 Henry was in alliance with

the Breton government in attempting to prevent a French take-over of the Duchy. When that policy failed he tried, in 1492, to mount a coup in Brittany, using the contacts he had built up there during the years of alliance.³⁶ Jersey as a base may not have been necessary while Henry had direct access to Brittany; although it would still have been useful in relation to Normandy. After 1492 Henry seems to have become reconciled to the new situation, and the diplomatic focus moves elsewhere. But the potential significance of Jersey is plain.

Richard Harliston may claim, then, to have been the first Yorkist to have defied Henry VII in arms after Bosworth. Quite why he did so is not immediately apparent. It may be that his dealings with Brittany in September 1484 involved a direct threat to Henry personally, and that Harliston concluded that there was no hope for him in the new order; or it may have been a simple question of honour. However oblique the hints, it seems obvious that Jersey was of major importance in Anglo-Breton relations in autumn 1484, and continued to be so during Landais's precarious tenure of power in Brittany in 1485. There are hints, too, of trouble in Jersey in the spring of 1485, prompting Hutton's mission. Within the narrow confines of island society party feeling ran deep. There were two sets of anti-Yorkists who had been dispossessed; supporters of Margaret of Anjou who had thrown in their lot with the occupying French between 1461 and 1468, like Saintmartin; and supporters of Warwick the Kingmaker, (claiming lordship of the Channel Islands in the right of his wife) who fought for him at Barnet.³⁷ While the later years of Edward IV saw an attempt to settle the resulting disputes over the ownership of land, the potential for disruption was great. Henry VII saw the importance of Jersey, which had played its part in his own experience. He moved in quickly to crush resistance in 1485, and entrusted the island for the next ten years to a Governor who had done him conspicuous service in exile and who was to remain a favoured courtier.

A postscript may be in order. According to the de Cartaret family chronicle in 1494 Margaret de Carteret, Harliston's daughter, saved her husband from the murderous machinations of Mathew Baker and his henchman Clement le Hardy. Briefly, the story goes that Baker and le Hardy arrested Philip de Cartaret on a charge of plotting to hand over Mont Orgueil to the French. They then prepared for trial by battle which de Cartaret, weakened by starvation in prison and faced by a formidable antagonist, would be bound to lose. Baker, meanwhile, set off to England to visit the court. Margaret, having just risen from child-bed, got herself a ship, overtook Baker, and with the help of Bishop Fox, an old acquaintance, presented her case to the King. Henry intervened, first attempting to compose the differences between Baker and the islanders, then, when it was apparent that these went far too deep, removing Baker from office and confirming the privileges of Jersey, saving, too, de Cartaret's life. The details of the story are uncheckable, and are, no doubt, heavily romanticised. The attempted settlement and the subsequent dismissal of Baker are however substantiated by record evidence.³⁸ If the story itself can be accepted as essentially true, it shows Henry VII as far from vindictive, in listening favourably to the complaints of Harliston's daughter against his own officer; at a time when Harliston himself had recently been (and probably still was), an active opponent of the regime; and the officer a man to whom Henry was particularly indebted, possibly even for his life. Jersey was too important for Henry to continue to antagonise the islanders.³⁹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A. J. Eagleston, *The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485-1642*, Cambridge 1949, G. R. Balleine, *The History of the Island of Jersey*, rev. ed., by Marguerite Syvret and Joan Stevens, Chichester, for La Société Jersiaise, 1981; A. G. Jamieson, ed., *A People of the Sea; The Maritime History of the Channel Islands*, London 1986, esp. pt. 1, ch. 2, W. Stevenson, 'The Middle Ages, 1000-1500' (pp.19-43), and ch. 3, W. R. Childs 'Channel Island Shipping as Recorded in the English Customs Accounts, 1300-1500' (pp.44-58). The best account hitherto of these events is E. T. Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey 1921*. For the general context, see Ian Arthurson, 'Espionage and Intelligence from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 35 (1991), pp.134-54. I am grateful to Dr. S. J. Gunn and Mr. Jason St. John Nicolle, both of Merton College, Oxford, for their advice, and to Dr. Arthurson. Until the publication of Dr. Arthurson's book on Yorkist plotting, the fullest account of the subject is his Keele University Ph.D. Thesis of 1981, '1497 and the Western Rising'.
2. See B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *François II, Duc de Bretagne, et l'Angleterre (1458-1488)*, Paris 1929.
3. C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, 2 vols., London 1923, vol. 1, pp.478-80; Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil*, pp.28-37.
4. *Dictionary of National Biography; Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-67*, p.328; *CPR 1467-77*, p.57; *CPR 1476-85*, p.40. However, Harliston is not listed among York's servants in P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, Oxford 1988. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, p.169 for 1472.
5. *CPR 1476-85*, pp.318, 413.
6. Balleine, *History*, p.64; Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil*, pp.37, 108-9; G. S. Syvret (ed.), *Chroniques de Jersey, Guernsey (etc.)*, Guernsey 1832, cap. 7, pp.22-23.
7. R. Horrox and P. W. Hammond, eds., *British Library Manuscript 433*, 4 vols., Upminster and Gloucester 1979-83, vol. 1, p.192, vol. 3, p.1.
8. G. R. Balleine, *A Biographical Dictionary of Jersey*, London 1949, pp.398-401 *sub* le Hardy, Clement. The tradition is recorded on the monument in Westminster Abbey to Admiral Sir Thomas le Hardy (died 1732). Balleine notes that Clement le Hardy was appointed Bailiff shortly after Bosworth. See below for his association with Henry VII's governor in Jersey, Baker. Interestingly Henri Carbonnel, who served in the French force in Jersey in the 1460s under his father, was commissioned to escort Henry through French territory; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, pp.112-5, 252 n.24.
9. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, p.260; Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 15538, f.133, quoted by Alfred Spont, *La Marine Française sous Charles VIII, Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. 55 (1894), pp.387-454, on p.392.
10. *Hartl. 433*, vol. 2, p.178; C. S. L. Davies, *Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII*, *English Historical Review*, vol. 102 (1987), pp.1-30, pp.10-11. For Nesfield see W. E. Hampton, in J. Petre, ed., *Richard III, Crown and People*, Richard III Society, London 1985, pp.176-83.
11. *Hartl. 433*, vol. 2, p.213. Maunsell was a royal servant with a £10 annuity; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.161.
12. T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, 17 vols., London (1704-17), vol. 12, p.269. For Hutton, see A. F. Pollard, *Fifteenth Century Clerks of Parliament*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 15 (1937-8), pp.137-61, pp.155-56, and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols., Oxford 1957-59, vol. 2, p.991. For his mission to Brittany in 1483, and his involvement in the 1485 negotiations, see Rymer, vol. 12, pp.194 and 261. Polydore Vergil believed part of his mission was to have Henry Tudor put back into custody; H. Ellis, ed., *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*, Camden Series, vol. 29, 1844, pp.191, 197. For the Papal Bull, see *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. 13, pt. 1, p.258. Although later used as evidence for the 'neutrality' of the islands, the bull was primarily a measure against piracy sought by Edward IV, following similar Papal protection for Scilly and for the Breton coast; see B. Jacqueline, *La Répression par Sixte IV de la Piraterie dans les Iles Anglo-normandes (1480)*, *Annales de Normandie*, vol. 28 (1978), pp.352-3, and Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, p.323.
13. Syvret, ed., *Chroniques*, caps. 5-9, pp.17-28 and the commentary by A. J. Eagleston in *Bulletin de la Société Jersiaise*, vol. 13 (1936-39), pp.37-62.
14. William Campbell, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 1873, vol. 2, p.30; *CPR 1485-94*, pp.139, 141. Harliston's *DNB* entry oddly assumes that the 1486 pardon is for the association with Simnel.
15. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 7 vols., London 1782-3, 1832, vol. 6, pp.397b-398a, 504b. The knighthood, generally ascribed to him in later references, including the *Chroniques*, must have been conferred abroad.

16. *Cal of State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, pp.553-4. (= PRO., SP15, no. 91.) Printed in *Jersey Prison Board: Order in Council, 1891*, 3 vols., printed but not publ., 1891, vol. 2, pp.308-312. (These vols., produced to argue a constitutional case before the Privy Council, amount to a compendium of Jersey history. They are available in the British Library and the Bodleian as well as in Jersey.)
17. Printed by Charles le Quesne, *Constitutional History of Jersey*, London 1856, pp.562-3; also in Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil*, pp.172-73.
18. Campbell, vol. 1, pp.186, 316. Their hasty despatch may be connected to the grant of a pardon, for offences up to 2 September 1485, to Dyoisius (or Denis) Osanus, native of Guernsey; Campbell, vol. 1, p.212, and *CPR 1485-94*, p.49.
19. Campbell, vol. 1, p.320; *CPR 1485-94*, p.80. Baker was supplied with guns under a warrant of 25 Feb. 1486; Michael Oppenheim ed, *Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII*, Navy Records Society, vol. 8 (1896), p.77.
20. Henry VII confirmed Jersey's privileges on 10 Feb. 1486; Campbell, vol. 1, p.280. Harliston's pardon, dated 9 Oct. 1486, covered offences up to 4 Sept; *CPR 1485-94*, pp.139, 141. His co-Governor and relative, William Hareby, evidently kept a low profile during the siege, since he briefly took over Harliston's lands 'après que Richard Harliston eut été destitué de sa charge'; but very quickly Baker took the lands, and Hareby was away from the island at his death; G. F. B. de Gruchy, *The Family of Walsh or Wallis Bull. de la Soc. Jers.*, vol. 10 (1923-27), pp.297-315, pp.310-2.
21. C. H. Williams, *The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford, 1486*, *English Historical Review*, vol. 43 (1928), pp.181-89, p.183.
22. Campbell, vol. 1, p.186; Scofield, vol. 1, p.449 n.6; Balleine, *Biog. Dictionary*, pp.612-5. When Guernsey was granted to Weston as sole Governor in March 1486, much was made of his financial sacrifices in the Tudor cause; Campbell, vol. 1, p.372.
23. Balleine, *Biog. Dictionary*, pp.218, 224-6; T. W. M. de Guérin, *The Families of de St. Martin and de la Court*, *Bull. de la Soc. Jers.*, vol. 9 (1919-22), pp.54-95, esp. pp.67-75; Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil*, p.30-31; *CPR 1476-85*, pp.223, 340; *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p.2; *CPR 1485-94*, p.144; Campbell, vol. 2, pp.45, 80, 141; PRO., E404/79/144.
24. De Guérin, *Families*, pp.91-92 (= note n), records the agreement reached at St. Peter's Port (Guernsey) 16 June, 1485.
25. PRO E404/79/261, (March 1487).
26. *Harl. 433*, vol. 2, p.219.
27. Balleine, *Biog. Dictionary*, pp.612-5; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, Chicago and London 1988, pp.354-5, 440 n.51; Scofield, vol. 2, pp.298-300, 389-390; Alison Hanham, *The Celys and their World*, Cambridge 1985, esp. pp.10-12, 287.
28. S. T. Bindoff ed., *The Commons, 1509-1558*, 3 vols., *The History of Parliament* 1982, vol. 3, pp.590-2. (sub. Sir Richard Weston).
29. Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort*, Cambridge 1992, p.281; Campbell, vol. 1, pp.82, 99, 153, 179, 242, 275, 320, 332, 505, 576-7. The Jersey Governorship was granted to Baker alone in 1488; *CPR 1485-94*, p.189.
30. Baker is named in the ms. but not the printed editions of Polydore Vergil; see Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, Oxford 1952, p.198. Baker was also sent, with Humphrey Cheyne, in pursuit of the absconding Dorset in early 1485; *ibid.*, p.206.
31. *CPR 1494-1509*, pp.88-89; Eagleston (see n.13, above); S. J. Gunn, *The Courtiers of Henry VII*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 108 1993 (forthcoming). Bernard André mentions his Breton priest, one Dominus Wilhelmus, James Gairdner, ed., *Memorials of the Reign of Henry VII*, Rolls Series 1858, p.104; for Baker's interview with Louis XII, see James Gairdner, ed., *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII*, 2 vols, Rolls Series 1861-3, vol. 2, pp.340-362, esp. p.350. It is interesting that this despatch to the English court, evidently by Baker's secretary (the priest Wilhelmus?) is in French.
32. Emden, *Oxford*, vol. 3, p.2170; André (Gairdner, ed., *Memorials*), p.33; Campbell, vol. 1, p.250 for the appointment to Jersey; or *CPR 1485-94*, p.68. *CPR 1494-1509*, p.25 for his denization where he is described as a Norman. André calls him *Francicatratus*, presumably referring to his place of origin, which I have been unable to locate. My initial belief that this is a mistake for *Franciscanus* is obviated by his apparently being a Benedictine; see the revised John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 11 (Welsh Dioceses), London 1965, p.39. Mr. St. John Nicolle warns me that there is little evidence of communal life at St. Helier Priory during the period; Diacony may merely have drawn the revenues without setting foot in Jersey. Nevertheless the appointment may have been significant in giving him cover to visit Jersey if it should ever be necessary.

33. The number of Channel-Islanders as well as Frenchmen and Bretons in Henry's personal service seems striking. Was Henry more at ease in French than English?
34. See the report of the 1531 commission of enquiry, ed. by E. T. Nicolle, *Bull. de la Soc. Jers.*, vol. 6, 1906-09, p.87-110 esp. pp.102-3. By 1531 the garrison was 25.
35. Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, London 1967, pp.55-56, 125, 173; Nicolle, *Mont Orgueil*, p.97.
36. J. M. Currin, Pierre le Pennec, Henry VII, and the Breton Plot of 1492, *Albion*, vol. 23 (1991), pp.1-23. Le Pennec, formerly a Breton diplomat, became an English royal councillor, and received, among other benefices, the deanship of Jersey.
37. For Warwickite Jerseymen killed at Barnet or subsequently hanged at Southampton, see de Gruchy (note 20 above) p.299.
38. Syvret, ed., *Chroniques*, caps. 9-13, pp.26-41, and Eagleston commentary, as in note 13 above. *Jersey Prison Board* (see n.16), vol. 2, pp.175-183; Henry's orders of 1494-5 severely restricted the powers of the Governor to military matters, regulated procedure in treason cases, restricted the Governor's powers to prevent free passage to England, prevented him levying taxes without royal authority, and regulated the conduct of soldiers; all of which supports the de Cartaret story.
39. Since this article was submitted T. B. Pugh has drawn attention to the similar case of Sir Roger Kynaston holding out in Harlech Castle against Henry VII into early 1486; see his Henry VII and the English Nobility, in G. W. Bernard, ed., *The Tudor Nobility*, Manchester 1992, pp.49-110, at pp.50, 91. See also W. E. Hampton, Opposition to Henry Tudor after Bosworth, in Petre, ed., *Richard III, Crown and People*, pp.173-5.