

The Buckinghamshire Six at Bosworth

LESLEY BOATWRIGHT

When the dust had settled over the battlefield of Bosworth, the wounded had to be collected and the corpses identified. The heralds, newly organized into a College of Arms by Richard III, would have had the task of listing the armigerous dead.¹ Others were presumably the responsibility of the leaders who had brought them living to the battlefield, those county commissioners of array who had come in person with their levies.

In face of the rebel threat massing against him in France, captained by 'oon Herry late calling himself Erle of Richemond', Richard III had issued detailed instructions to his commissioners of array on 8 December 1484 for the gathering of an army:²

that the said Commissioners on the kinges behalf yeve straitly in commaundement to alle knightes Squiers gentilmene and othre being hable men of theire bodyes to doo the kinges grace service to prepare and arredey themself in theire persones soo to doo when they shalbe thereunto warned and commaunded without any excuse . . .

The soldiers' names had to be reported, money collected for their wages and kept safe and ready. Private quarrels had to be laid aside. One example of the commission is included, that to Gloucestershire. The commissioners are to array and inspect all men-at-arms, light horsemen, archers and others in the county, form them into units, and 'lead them or cause them to be led to our presence with all possible speed to attack and expel the aforesaid rebels and enemies from time to time as the need arises from imminent peril.' This is in keeping with the summoning of the whole *posse* of various counties noted by Michael Powicke for the period of the Wars of the Roses.³ When Richard issued this second country-wide commission of array of his reign on 8 December 1484, in general he named the men that had been on his first commission, that of 1 May 1484, but added men in whom he placed especial trust. The version given for Gloucestershire in BL MS Harley 433 does not quite match that in

¹ One herald, Richard Watkins, was attainted by Henry VII after Bosworth, *RP*, vol. 6, p. 276. One wonders why. Heralds should have been immune.

² *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, pp. 125–26.

³ M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England*, Oxford 1962, repr. 1996, pp. 220–23.

the Patent Rolls, but by and large the December lists in the latter must be of the men who mustered the shires for Bosworth.⁴

In spring 1485 Richard learned that Henry Tudor was preparing a fleet at Harfleur. In April he sent Sir George Neville with a fleet to guard the Channel. In mid-May he left London for Windsor, and thence to Kenilworth with his household, leaving Sir Robert Brackenbury in charge of the defence of London, and the duke of Norfolk in East Anglia. Francis Lovell was at Southampton to oversee the defence of the southern counties. By the middle of June, Richard was centrally placed in Nottingham.⁵ Harley 433 records the instructions Richard sent out to the commissioners from Nottingham on 22 June: 'that in alle hast possible after the Receipt hereof ye doo put oure Commission heretofore directed unto you for the mustering and ordering of oure subgiettes in new execucion.' They must all be ready to come at an hour's notice. The sheriffs were told that they (or their deputies) should take up residence in their shire towns so that people would know where to find them.⁶ The arrangements had been well thought out: Richard III was a capable man. Examples survive of the last flurry of correspondence that went out in August 1485. Richard wrote to Sir Henry Vernon of Haddon in Derbyshire, a Derbyshire commissioner of array, on 11 August, telling him to come 'with such number as you have promised us'.⁷ The duke of Norfolk, head of the Norfolk commission of array, wrote to John Paston, another Norfolk commissioner, instructing him to meet him at Bury St Edmunds with 'seche company of tall men as ye may goodly make at my cost and charge, be seyed that ye have promysyd the Kyng'.⁸ We hear, too, of hastily-made wills. Robert Morton of Bawtrey⁹ and William Alington, a Cambridgeshire commissioner of array,¹⁰ both made their wills just before the battle, Alington a week before, and Morton on 20 August, saying that he was 'going to maintain our most excellent king Richard III against the rebellion raised against him in this land'.

Yet it is difficult to know who actually went to Bosworth. Colin Richmond casts doubt on the lists given in the *Ballad of Bosworth Feilde*, and points to the excuse for absence provided by the very tight timing of the actual mustering.¹¹ In the confusion of defeat, many of Richard's troops must have quietly slipped away home, out of Tudor's sight and out of the record. Apart from individual

⁴ Commission of 1 May 1484, *CPR, 1476-85*, pp. 397-401; of 8 December 1484, *ibid.*, pp. 488-92; the Gloucestershire commission, *Harl. 433*, vol. 3, p. 126: Sir William Berkeley of Stoke is omitted in Harley, and [Alexander] Bayneham should be [Thomas] Bayneham.

⁵ P.M. Kendall, *Richard the Third*, London 1955, pp. 330-32.

⁶ *Har. 433*, vol. 3, p. 229.

⁷ HMC, *Twelfth Report, Rutland Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 7.

⁸ J. Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters*, 3 vols, Birmingham 1872-75, vol. 3, p. 320.

⁹ J. Hunter, *History of Yorkshire*, 2 vols, London 1828, vol. 1, p. 75.

¹⁰ W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses*, Upminster 1979, no. 401, gives no source.

¹¹ C. Richmond, '1485 and all that', in P.W. Hammond, ed., *Richard III, Loyalty, Lordship and Law*, London 1986 (repr. 2001), esp. pp. 172-77 (199-210).

cases, such as Robert Morton and Geoffrey St Germain,¹² the only real evidence seems to be in the lists of the attainted and the rewarded, and perhaps in the list of the dead.

It is noticeable that, as well as some more prominent commissioners from the ranks of the nobility and Richard III's obvious servants, such as William Catesby, in many of the counties whose troops could reasonably be expected to be at Bosworth at least one man of the county gentry named as commissioner of array in December 1484 is seen from his inquisition *post mortem* to have died between 22 August 1485 and the end of the year. Some of them, indeed, died on 22 August 1485 (see Appendix I). Many of them left under-age heirs, which suggests untimely death. Although without further evidence it cannot be proved that all, or any, of them died at Bosworth or from wounds received there (it must always be remembered that the outbreak of sweating sickness was responsible for many deaths that autumn) there is a reasonable possibility that some of them did. This would mean that, even if some of the nobility failed to turn out for Richard III, many shire levies were at Bosworth, especially from the midland shires.¹³

When the heralds and others had listed the notable dead, the machinery for the transmission of their estates was set into motion. Henry Tudor, as is well known, attainted a total of twenty-eight men who had fought against him at Bosworth. This is not a great number. The lesser gentry, unless they had made themselves conspicuously objectionable to Tudor, largely escaped attainder and confiscation.¹⁴ The families of the dead followed the usual procedure, and sought writs of *diem clausit extremum* from the king's chancery. These were sent out in the usual way to the county escheators, who held the necessary inquisitions *post mortem* in the usual way to ascertain what holdings the dead man had, of whom he held, and who was his heir.

In general, the commissioners of array seem to have been the men who regularly did the work of county administration. Many of them, indeed, and their families, had worked consistently in the king's service, whether that king was York or Lancaster. In this respect, Buckinghamshire is a typical county. The commissioners in Buckinghamshire were headed both times by Francis, Viscount Lovell, and Sir John Grey of Wilton. The December commission

¹² Geoffrey St Germain's daughter, Margaret, and her husband, Thomas Agard, got St Germain's attainder reversed on the grounds that he 'was so manasshed by the letters of the same late Duke [i.e. Richard III] that onles he came to the same Feld he shuld lose his lyve, lands and Goodes, for drede wherof he was in the same Feld, full sore ayenst his Wyl', *RP*, vol. 6, p. 328.

¹³ The city of York seems to have been less well prepared; Richmond, '1485', p. 174; Ross, *Richard*, p. 214.

¹⁴ *RP*, vol. 6, p. 276. This parliament began sitting on 7 November. 1485. Richmond points out that most of the attainted came from the midlands and the south, '1485', p. 178. One man who was executed, but not attainted: William Bracher, who had been added to the Somerset commission of array for December, *CPR 1476-85*, p. 489. R.E. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service*, Cambridge 1989, p. 261.

was strengthened by the inclusion of four of Richard's known supporters, William Catesby, Thomas Hopton,¹⁵ Nicholas Rigby¹⁶ and Walter Chaundeler.¹⁷ The other men appointed to the commission in December 1484 were Thomas Fowler, Thomas Restwold, Thomas Hampden of Kimble, Drew Brudenell, John Verney, Richard Maryot, John Langston, [John] Gifford, Thomas Straunge, John Teringham, and the sheriff (Sir John Donne). This was in essence a repeat of May's commission (only John Scotte is missing), but Teringham was in fact already dead.¹⁸ Some of these men, especially Thomas Fowler,¹⁹ are well-known Yorkist supporters, but most of the men named, and their families, had been prominent in local administration for years.

In the first year of Henry VII's reign, thirteen writs of *diem clausit extremum* concerning male deaths were sent to the Buckinghamshire escheator.²⁰ For five of these men, the inquisitions show that they died on 22 August 1485. They are Thomas Hampden of Kimble, Thomas Straunge, John Iwardby, Thomas Lynde, and John Whittingham. A sixth, Thomas Hampden of Hampden, is said to have died on 21 August. The first two had been commissioners of array. The family tree (Appendix II) shows how four of these men are related to each other. The two Hampdens descend from two sons of the Reginald Hampden who died in 1332. Thomas Hampden of Hampden's sister, Elizabeth, married Nicholas Iwardby. Their son, John, was born in 1452. John Iwardby married Joan, sister of the Drew Brudenell who was sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1483 and commissioner of array in 1484. John Iwardby's grandfather, another John Iwardby, married as his second wife Joan, whose first husband had been William Lynde. William and Joan Lynde had a son, Thomas Lynde, born in 1425.²¹ It may be a fair deduction that these six men

¹⁵ Hopton: *Coronation*, pp. 357–58, which suggests he was killed at Bosworth; if correct, he would be another Buckinghamshire commissioner killed there.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 389–90.

¹⁷ Chaundeler was a servant of Richard in the early 1470s, M.A. Hicks, 'The last days of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford', *EHR*, vol. 103 (1988), p. 92. He is described as 'of Missenden, Bucks, gentleman' in 1474, PRO, C244/119/38, and in 1484 as 'of Multon, Northants, yeoman', PRO, DL 41/838, f.107 (my thanks to Rosemary Horrox for the last two references). Richard granted him the earl of Oxford's lordship of Aston Sandford, Bucks, by knight service, and appointed him bailiff of Olney, *Harl. 433*, vol.1, pp. 172, 180. He is not heard of after Bosworth: yet another casualty?

¹⁸ Teringham (Tyringham) died 1484, PRO, C141/7/34; also *CPR*, 1475–86, pp. 503, 505.

¹⁹ The Fowler family were lawyers, long established in the county, related to Richard Quatremains. Thomas Fowler's wife was Alice Hulcote, a servant of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, E.M. Elvey, 'The history of nos. 1 and 2 Market Hill, Buckingham', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1977), pp. 301–07; C.A.F. Meekings, *Fitznells Cartulary*, Surrey Record Society 26, 1968, p. cxvi; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 350–53.

²⁰ *CFR*, 1485–1509, pp. 1–7.

²¹ G. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire*, 4 vols, London 1847, vol. 2, pp. 231, 381; VCH, *Buckinghamshire*, 4 vols, 1905–28, reprinted 1965, vol. 2, p. 288, vol. 3, p. 210; *CFR*, 1437–45, p. 71; *CCR*, 1447–54, p. 507; J.S. Roskell and others, *The House of Commons 1386–1421*, 4 vols, Stroud 1992, vol. 3, pp. 277–81; PRO, C140/

died at Bosworth, but there does not seem to be any firm evidence about which side they ultimately died for. As two of them were commissioners of array, and three more of them were related to one of those commissioners of array, there is at least a presumption that they went to Bosworth to fight for Richard III, whatever they did when they got there.

At first sight, the Hampden family appear to favour the Lancastrians. Thomas Hampden of Hampden had an uncle, Edmund Hampden (1405–1471), who became an esquire of the body to Henry VI in 1437, and was an ardent supporter of both the Lancastrian cause and Queen Margaret of Anjou. He escaped the Yorkist siege of the Tower of London in 1460, and was attainted after the battle of Towton in 1461. His manors were given to Richard and Thomas Croft, and he went into exile in France with Margaret of Anjou and her son Edward. At some point in his spectacular life he married Anne, widow of William de Moleyns, who had been killed at Orleans in 1429.²² This made him the stepfather-in-law of Robert, Lord Hungerford.²³ Anne had been the poetic inspiration, if not actually the mistress, of Charles, Duke of Orleans, captured at Agincourt and held prisoner in England for the next twenty-five years, and she was also the sister of his brother John Hampden's wife Elizabeth.²⁴ Edmund Hampden had shared his Lancastrian adventures with Sir Robert Whittingham (c.1420–1471). Usher of the Chamber to Henry VI, he too had been besieged in the Tower of London with Lord Hungerford and attainted after Towton. Sir Thomas Montgomery received his confiscated manors. He too went into exile with Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward. In 1471 both Hampden and Whittingham were killed at the battle of Tewkesbury.²⁵ Neither man was in the first blush of youth, and it seems likely that they went into the fighting by the side of Prince Edward, whom they had watched grow up in France. The John Whittingham who died on 22 August 1485 was Robert Whittingham's brother.²⁶

The Hampden family certainly had one member fighting for Tudor at Bosworth, the younger Edmund Hampden, the second son of Thomas Hampden of Hampden. He, like his great-uncle Edmund before him, had turned to

55/7, C140/7/10, C140/47/72, E149/164/2. There is a third John Iwardby, son of John Iwardby senior by his second wife Joan Lynde, who married Katherine, daughter of Edward Neville, Lord Bergavenny, and settled in Surrey, Meekings, *Fitzmells Cartulary*, pp. cxi–cxxiv; he is the John Ewardby of the 1484 Surrey commissions of array, and the John Iwardby with whom Thomas Lynde had a dispute PRO, C 1 31/317–18.

²² Probably some time in 1446, when Henry VI gave them some wine, *CCR*, 1441–47, p. 337.

²³ Robert, Lord Hungerford, attainted after Towton, beheaded 1464, married Eleanor Moleyns, daughter of William Moleyns and Anne (Whalesborough), and became Lord Moleyns in her right.

²⁴ E. McLeod, *Charles of Orleans*, London 1969, pp. 213–17, and Appendix II, below. Anne's will, dated 28 February 1486, is PCC 1 Milles.

²⁵ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. 3, p. 8 (no. 671).

²⁶ PRO, C142/1/116.

royal service to carve out a career. He was an esquire of the body to Edward IV, and Edward V, and at first Richard III, but took part in the Berkshire section of Buckingham's rising with his relatives William Stonor and the surviving Hungerford (Walter), who were also Richard III's esquires of the body. This led to their attainder.²⁷ Edmund fled to Tudor in France, and returned with him to Bosworth. In March 1486 Henry granted him for life the stewardship of Woodstock manor 'for service done in France and England'.²⁸ His great-uncle, Edmund, had held the parkership here before him.²⁹

It is more difficult to see the allegiance of the main Hampden line. In the early years of the fifteenth century the Hampdens were part of the affinity of Thomas Chaucer. When Chaucer married Maud Burghersh, he seems to have found husbands for the four daughters of her half-sister, Joan Whalesborough. Anne was married to William de Moleyns, and her descendants were Hungerfords; Ermayne married to Thomas, Lord Scales, and their daughter, Elizabeth, eventually married Elizabeth Woodville's brother, Anthony; Alice married a man named Fitzralph, and Elizabeth married John Hampden of Hampden.³⁰ The Hampdens acted as feoffees for Chaucer, and Chaucer's daughter, Alice, and her husband, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.³¹ After the fall of Suffolk in 1450, the Hampden family had no obvious powerful patron: it only seems to have been Edmund who looked to court and their Hungerford cousins. As the decade wore on, John Hampden played his part in local administration. He was named sheriff of Buckinghamshire for the third time in December 1450, and for the fourth time in November 1456. He was on the commission of array in 1457, and also on the commission to supply and finance the 205 archers that Buckinghamshire was expected to provide for Henry VI's army against the Yorkists. Two months later, he was dead, at the age of 58.³²

His heir, our Thomas Hampden of Hampden, was then aged twenty-four, and so, as a young man, lived through a time of prolonged crisis, and was soon to see worse, in which his uncle Edmund played a prominent part. Thomas married Margery, daughter of Sir Stephen Popham, of Wiltshire. She was a co-heiress, whose guardians included some Oxfordshire men who moved in Stonor circles.³³ One of these guardians was Richard Quatremains, a councillor

²⁷ *RP*, vol. 6, p. 246. Edmund was attainted as 'late of Fisherton, gentleman, son to Thomas Hampden'. Fisherton in Wiltshire was brought into the Hampden family by Thomas' wife, Margery Popham.

²⁸ *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 110. The grant was dated 'from 23 August last'.

²⁹ *CPR*, 1436-41, pp. 66, 70.

³⁰ C.L. Kingsford, ed., *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, CS, Third Series 29, 30 (1919), vol. 1, p. xix; Roskell, *House*, vol. 4, p. 822.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 279.

³² *CFR*, 1445-52, p. 186; *CFR*, 1452-61, p. 175; *CPR*, 1452-61, pp. 403, 406; *PRO*, E149/202/1-2.

³³ *CFR*, 1445-52, p. 60; *PRO*, C139/121/18. She married again, to Richard Godfrey; her will is PCC 1 Adeane.

of the duke of York.³⁴ Both Thomas and Margery figure in the Stonor letters.³⁵ It should also be noted that John de la Pole, son of the duke of Suffolk and Alice Chaucer, was married in 1458 to Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of York. It would seem that potentially useful Yorkist connections existed now, if the family wished to use them; and Thomas began his public career under a Yorkist king. He seems to have been like his father, John – and the long line of his ancestors – before him, not taking part in the wider world of the court, but looking after his estates and doing constant public service in Buckinghamshire whoever sat on the throne. His first certain public duty was in November 1464, on the commission of inquiry into the lands held in that county by the attainted and executed Robert, Lord Hungerford.³⁶ It is not clear whether Edward IV was testing his loyalty or merely using his specialized family knowledge. Later he also had to inquire into the Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire lands of Sir Robert Whittingham, his Lancastrian uncle Edmund's Lancastrian associate.³⁷ He was a JP in Buckinghamshire from 1468 on,³⁸ and remained a JP at the re-adeption of Henry VI, but was left off the commission for a year or two after Edward IV resumed the throne. Perhaps this was to be expected, after his uncle Edmund's fate. After that, he was regularly appointed JP, the last time being on the commission of 12 September 1479.³⁹ He was appointed sheriff for the fourth time in November 1481.⁴⁰ Then he seems to have left public life. Perhaps he disapproved of Richard III's taking power, perhaps he simply felt it was time to retire. He was summoned to be knighted at the coronation of Edward V, but not at that of Richard III.⁴¹ The last trace of him in central records before his death is the pardon he bought in July 1484 as *nuper vicecomes*, 'recently sheriff'.⁴²

He made his will on 18 October 1482, but not because he was ill, for he states quite clearly that he is 'in goode helth and mynd'.⁴³ There may have been some family trouble, for he says that his son Edmund 'hath be come moost lowly and humbly child'; he leaves him a substantial legacy of lands

³⁴ P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, Oxford 1988, pp. 17, 237.

³⁵ *Stonor Letters*, ed. Kingsford, nos 75, 186, 187; also vol. 1, pp. xix, xxiv, 69–70; vol. 2, pp. 24, 28, 29, 168.

³⁶ *CPR*, 1461–67, p. 389. Probably he was also on the commission of 4 April 1465, *ibid.*, p. 452, to inquire into the Buckinghamshire lands of James, Earl of Wiltshire, Thomas, Earl of Devon, and Thomas, Lord Roos, but the name is just given as 'Thomas Hampden'.

³⁷ *CPR*, 1467–77, p. 126.

³⁸ That is, he was on the commissions of the peace. 'JP' is a convenient but anachronistic term.

³⁹ *CPR*, 1476–85, p. 554.

⁴⁰ *CFR*, 1471–85, no. 639.

⁴¹ *Hart*, 433, vol. 3, p. 12.

⁴² *PRO*, C67/52, m. 3.

⁴³ *PCC* 27 Logge; this register has been transcribed and will shortly be published by the Richard III Society.

that 'be fesympill and were never entaylid in my blode', and twice charges his eldest son, John, not to upset his will: 'if thou breke it I geve the my curse' ... 'on my blessing yt thou never trobill ne let Edmund the brother of that I geve hym as thou shalt answeere befor God at the day of Jugement'. Although his date of death is given at his inquisition *post mortem* as 21 August 1485, this could easily be explained as a mechanism to avoid possible confiscation. He was, after all, a substantial landowner; and the inquisition is that taken on his Essex lands on 2 November 1486 at Chelmsford, where the circumstances of his death might not be so exactly known.⁴⁴ The inquisition jury for John Kebyll, commissioner of array for Leicestershire, also say he died on 21 August,⁴⁵ and the juries for Richard Boughton, sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, say he died on 20 August,⁴⁶ as did the Essex jury on the death of John Coke, brother of the Essex commissioner of array Philip Coke.⁴⁷ If Henry VII dated his reign to the day before Bosworth in order to be able to call his opponents traitors, sympathetic local escheators and juries could equally well date a man's death to the day before Henry's reign began in either fact or fiction in order to avoid complications.

C.A.F. Meekings, in his edition of Fitznell's Cartulary, has already noted the possibility that John Iwardby died at Bosworth, but thought he fought for Tudor as his land was not confiscated.⁴⁸ Iwardby's will (not seen by Meekings) is printed for Buckinghamshire Record Society by E.M. Elvey,⁴⁹ who remarks, 'This will of a considerable landowner seems to have been made in haste'. As the will appears to be dated 22 June 1486, Elvey made no connection with the events of summer 1485; but 1486 is manifestly wrong. Iwardby's writs of *diem clausit extremum* issued from Chancery to the escheators of Buckinghamshire and Lincolnshire on 13 November 1485.⁵⁰ The Buckinghamshire inquest was taken on 5 December 1485 at Great Missenden, and the Lincolnshire one on 20 January 1486 at 'Brakingburgh' (Braceborough). Amongst other lands, he held the Buckinghamshire manor of Quainton from the Crown, as of the honour of Wallingford, as one knight's fee. His heirs were his three daughters, Elizabeth, aged eleven, Margery, aged eight, and Elena, aged six. His Lincolnshire lands were held of the Crown as of the honour of Richmond.⁵¹

The will was entered in the records of the archdeaconry of Buckingham

⁴⁴ PRO, C142/1/129. The Essex inquisition is the only one that survives.

⁴⁵ PRO, C142/2/9, where it looks as if a space, demarcated by slight oblique strokes, was left for the day, and filled in later, as the numeral does not take up all the space allowed. The ink, however, appears the same.

⁴⁶ PRO, C142/1/25, /54, /59, /60.

⁴⁷ PRO, C142/1/98.

⁴⁸ Meekings, *Fitznell's Cartulary*, p. cxi.

⁴⁹ E.M. Elvey, *The Courts of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, 1483-1523*, Buckinghamshire Record Society 19, 1975, no. 19.

⁵⁰ *CFR, 1485-1509*, no. 3.

⁵¹ PRO, C142/1/8, 10.

under the wrong date.⁵² The date Iwardby made this will must really have been 22 June 1485, the very day Richard III issued instructions for his troops to be ready at an hour's notice. Was he in Richard's entourage, to have learnt of the danger so quickly? The signs of haste are perhaps to be found in slips in the Latin, though these may be due to a careless copyist. More telling is his request to be buried *in loco sacro ubi deo complacabit*, 'in a sacred place where it shall please God', and also the vagueness of his instructions. He leaves either Great Missenden manor or Quainton manor to his wife Joan (it is to be her choice), or to someone else for her use; one of his executors, Drew or Robert Brudenell (her brothers), is to draw up a deed sealed with his (Iwardby's) arms for her, and another for his bailiff, Thomas Shotwater.

Thomas Hampden of Kimble first came into public life in the mid 1460s, and served on most subsequent Buckinghamshire commissions. Like Thomas Hampden of Hampden, he did not serve in the years immediately after Tewkesbury, but does so constantly thereafter, and serves all through Richard III's reign.⁵³ He, too, figures in the Stonor Letters. He was possessed of a sense of humour, for when in August 1462 he was in the Fleet prison, and wrote to Thomas Stonor, he subscribed it 'Wrytyn at London in Our Pals of the Flete'.⁵⁴ His inquisition *post mortem* was held at Chesham on 1 May 1486 and revealed that strictly speaking he held no land in Buckinghamshire. His two manors, in Great Kimble and Little Missenden, had been handed over to feoffees, the former by his father to the use of Thomas and his wife Sybil and their lawful offspring, and the latter by himself for the performance of his will. He held Great Kimble from John, Earl of Oxford, and Little Missenden from the king in chief. By what service he held is not mentioned nor, unfortunately, is the date of the deed handing over Little Missenden, by which we might have seen when he made his will.⁵⁵

The Thomas Lynde who died on 22 August 1485 is not to be confused with the Thomas Lynde of Winterborne Clenston in Dorset, who was attainted by Richard III among those conspiring at Salisbury, and whose attainder was reversed by Henry VII.⁵⁶ Our Thomas Lynde was the son of William Lynde

⁵² Personal communication from Hugh Hanley, then Buckinghamshire County Archivist, dated 4 August 1994: 'I have checked the ms. and can confirm that the date there is the same as that given in Mrs Elvey's book, i.e. 22 June 1486; there is no note of probate. One assumes that it was miscopied at the time. There is in fact a very thin stroke through the last figure of the Latin numeral, but one would normally take it for a flourish rather than a cancellation.'

⁵³ CPR, 1461-67, 1467-77, 1476-85, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Stonor Letters, ed Kingsford, vol. 1, no. 67, 31 August [1462].

⁵⁵ PRO, C142/1/154.

⁵⁶ According to John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, vol. 1, 3rd edn, 1861, Thomas Lynde of Winterborne Clenston was the son and heir of Sir John de la Lynde and Elizabeth, daughter of Martin of Athelhampton. He married Edith, daughter of William Twynyho of Kayford, Somerset, and his wife Ankarette, who was accused of poisoning Isabel, Duchess of Clarence, and executed at Warwick in 1477. He died in 1509, when his son and heir, another Thomas, was aged 30 and more. Thomas senior's grandfather may well have been the Thomas Martyn, esquire, who died on

of Mapledurham, Oxon.⁵⁷ William Lynde's Buckinghamshire inquisition *post mortem* of 23 October 1438 shows that he held the manor of Cheshambury, and had put it in the hands of feoffees, who included Richard Quatremaims.⁵⁸ Thomas also gave Mapledurham to feoffees, including Thomas Fowler and a Thomas Hampden. He held it of the earl of Warwick by service of a quarter of a knight's fee.⁵⁹ Cheshambury was also in the hands of feoffees; he held it of the king as of the Clewar Tower of Windsor Castle for a rent of 2s. 2d. a year.⁶⁰ He seems to have moved to Buckinghamshire to live, as the pardon he bought in 1477 calls him 'of Chesham Bury, esquire, alias late of Mapuldurham Gorney'.⁶¹

The Lyndes, like the Hampdens, were involved in local administration, though to a lesser degree. Thomas was twice appointed escheator, in November 1447 for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and in November 1457 for Oxfordshire and Berkshire. On 9 November 1470, during Henry VI's readeption, with Thomas Hampden of Hampden, John Whittingham and Edmund Molyneux of Chenies, he was instructed to arrest John Rufford and bring him before the king in Chancery to find security that he would not harm Thomas Arblaster.⁶² His only other commission was as one of twenty-seven justices to hear and determine offences concerning the erection of weirs and other impediments on the Thames.⁶³

John Whittingham is a much more obscure figure. As noted above, he was told to arrest John Rufford on 9 November 1470. He and his brother, Richard, appear to have kept out of public life. Their niece Margaret, Sir Robert's daughter and heir, married John Verney, another of the 1484 Buckinghamshire commissioners of array. John's father, Sir Ralph Verney, a committed Yorkist, had secured the reversal of Sir Robert's attainder, but Edward IV had only allowed the family to buy the reversion of her lands when Sir Thomas Montgomery should die.⁶⁴ John Whittingham's inquisition *post mortem* reveals a complicated chain of tenure: when Henry Colet claimed his manor and lands in Weston Turville by a writ of right in 1484, John vouched his brother Richard to warranty; Richard vouched John and Margaret Verney; the Verneys vouched a Denis Guyer, who failed to attend a hearing and lost by default. John therefore held nothing in Buckinghamshire at the time of his death.⁶⁵

14 September 1485 seized of the manor of Athelhampton in Dorset; but as Martyn's son and heir William was aged 40 and more, he is unlikely to have been a Bosworth casualty, PRO, C142/1/123-4. William was probably the 1484 Dorset commissioner of array.

⁵⁷ VCH, *Buckinghamshire*, vol. 3, p. 210; PRO, E149/164/2.

⁵⁸ PRO, E149/164/2.

⁵⁹ PRO, C142/2/17.

⁶⁰ PRO, C142/1/57.

⁶¹ CPR, 1476-85, p. 62. A.H. Cooke, *The Early History of Mapledurham*, Oxford 1925, p. 54, misunderstands the nature of a general pardon.

⁶² CFR, 1445-52, p. 82; CFR, 1452-61, p. 197; CPR, 1467-77, p. 248.

⁶³ CPR, 1476-85, p. 144.

⁶⁴ RP, vol. 6, pp. 27-28, 82, 90.

⁶⁵ PRO, C142/1/116.

Thomas Straunge held the manor of Westbury in Buckinghamshire, which had been in his family at least since Ewald Strange had died seized in 1335.⁶⁶ On 22 March 1484, as 'king's servant', he was granted an annuity of 20 marks from the issues of Hanslope until the king should provide him with a more permanent reward.⁶⁷ According to his inquisition *post mortem* at Beaconsfield, he had enfeoffed eight men including Sir John Grey of Wilton and Thomas Fowler, to the use of his wife Anne and his heirs. The manor was held of the king in chief of the honour of Wallingford, by fealty and a rent of eight marks a year, and was worth £8 a year. His heirs were his two daughters, Anne, aged nine, and Margaret, aged six.⁶⁸ Thus he has little or no connection with the other Buckinghamshire men who died on 22 August 1485, but as one of the commissioners of array may well have been partly responsible for their presence at Bosworth.

Iwardby was a young man. He was born on 12 October 1452.⁶⁹ Probably Thomas Straunge was also young, as his heirs were his little daughters, but the other four men were older, and on the face of it an odd group to find at a battle. Thomas Lynde must have been sixty,⁷⁰ and Thomas Hampden of Hampden was about fifty-one.⁷¹ Thomas Hampden of Kimble had a son aged twenty-four in 1485, so must have been at least in his forties.⁷² John Whittingham's father died in 1452, but his brother, Sir Robert, was born about 1420; even if John were twenty years younger than his brother, that would put him too in his forties.⁷³

The Buckinghamshire contingent presumably mustered in the county town, Buckingham, and perhaps then went north to join Watling Street at Towcester for their journey north. Polydore Vergil tells us that Sir Robert Brackenbury, with the household knights and Walter Hungerford and Thomas Bourchier, also came by Watling Street. Hungerford and Bourchier, 'forsaking Robert Brackenbury a lytle beyond Stony Stratford, went away to therle Henry in the night season.' Towcester is a little beyond Stony Stratford. Did some of the Hampden party, bringing the Buckinghamshire levy to join Richard III's army, encounter their relative Walter Hungerford there, and go off to Tudor – and Edmund Hampden – with him?⁷⁴

One thing is certain: even if all the Hampden party joined Richard's army, they cannot have been among those who 'forbare to fyght, who came to the fieldes with king Richerd for aw, and for no goodwill, and departyd without any daunger.'⁷⁵ They died.

⁶⁶ VCH, *Buckinghamshire*, vol. 4, p. 264.

⁶⁷ CPR, 1476–85, p. 448.

⁶⁸ PRO, C142/8/118.

⁶⁹ PRO, C140/47/72.

⁷⁰ PRO, E149/164/2.

⁷¹ PRO, E149/202/1–2.

⁷² PRO, C142/1/154.

⁷³ C139/151/47.

⁷⁴ H. Ellis, ed., *Polydore Vergil's English History*, CS, Old Series 29, 1844, p. 220.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

Appendix I

Commissioners of array who were attainted, or died before the end of 1485

Even if they died or were attainted, some more important commissioners, known to be supporters of Richard III and to have been present at Bosworth, are omitted, such as Francis, Viscount Lovell, William Catesby, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Sir John Grey of Wilton, etc. These men were often commissioners for several counties, but had reasons other than responsibility for the county levy for being present.

County	Name	Date of death	Heirs	Reference
Bucks	Thomas Hampden of Kimble	22 Aug 1485	son, 24	C142/1/154
	Thomas Straunge	22 Aug 1485	daus, 9, 6	C142/8/118
Cambs	Thomas Pygot	16 Oct 1485	grandson, 4	C142/1/77
	William Alington	22 Aug 1485	son, 2	C142/1/34
Essex	John Hadyng	8 Nov 1485	kinsman, 9	C142/1/27
	John Grene	16 Oct 1485	son, 12	C142/1/90,103
	William Gate	28 Sept 1485	son, 1	C142/1/26
	John Wryttell	13 Oct 1485	son, 6 wks ^a	C142/1/157 etc
	[John Coke, brother of commissioner Philip Coke]	20 Aug 1485	bro Philip, 34	C142/1/98
Gloucs	John Twynyho	30 Sept 1485	dau, 18	C142/1/144
	John Wykes	9 Oct 1485	son, 17	C142/1/72
Herts	William Druell	26 Sept 1485	son, 13	C142/1/134
Hunts	William Sappcote	attainted		RP, 6, p. 276
Leics	John Kebyll	21 Aug 1485	son, 13	C142/2/9
	Sir Robert Haryngton	attainted		RP, 6, p. 276
Middx	Sir Richard Charleton	attainted		RP, 6, p.276
		but has IPM	son, 8	C142/1/54
	Sir Thomas Frowyk	26 Sept 1485	son, 38	C142/2/4 etc.
	John Kendall, secretary	attainted		RP, 6,p. 276
	Thomas Windsor	29 Sept 1485	son, 18	C142/1/18 etc
Norfolk	Henry le Strange	25 Nov 1485	son, 17	C142/1/55-6
Northants	Sir William Stokes	3 Oct 1485	bro, 40	C142/1/48
Rutland	William Palmer	dies 8 Feb 86	no IPM	(CFR, q.v.)
Somerset ^b	William Bracher	executed		Crowland p.183
Staffs	John Cawardyne	dies 27 Nov 85	no IPM	(CFR, q.v.)
Sussex	John Wode, jr	dies 13 Dec 85	no IPM	(CFR, q.v.)
Warws	John Hugford	6 Dec 1485	daus 18, 16 & grdson 2 ^c	C142/1/29
	Richard Boughton (sheriff)	20 Aug 1485	son, 12	C142/1/25
	Humphrey Beaufo	22 Aug 1485	son, 2	C142/1/136
Wilts	Sir John Stourton of Stourton	6 Oct 1485	son, 45 wks	C142/1/6 etc
Yorks	Sir Thomas Gower	22 Aug 1485	bro, 15	C142/3/16
	Sir Robert Percy	22 Aug 1485		Crowland p.183

dies = *diem clausit extremum* issued; IPM = inquisition *post mortem*.

a. Presumably a posthumous child; the inquisition was held on 26 April 1486.

b. Another Somerset commissioner of array, John Biconnell, led his levies to Bosworth and then joined Henry Tudor (Horrox, p. 318, Hampton, no. 265).

c. John Hugford's two-year-old grandson, the child of his dead daughter Joan, was John Beaufo, the son and heir of Humphrey Beaufo. Here is another family party at Bosworth.

Appendix II.

