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Some New Light on Thomas Hoccleve

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AS JOHN BURROW POINTS OUT in his 1994 biography of Thomas Hoccleve, the large number of documents concerned with grants and payments to Hoccleve, together with the autobiographical passages in his poems, “enable us to know more about Hoccleve than about most vernacular writers of the period.”¹ Burrow’s biography sets forth what we know of Hoccleve from these sources, and its appendix lists not only the manuscripts identified as written by Hoccleve’s hand but also the sixty-nine documents that name him as recipient of grants, annuities, or payments from the Exchequer. These latter Hoccleve life records are written by various clerks of royal government, and have been connected with Hoccleve because they name him. But since Hoccleve served as a Clerk in the Office of the Privy Seal for more than thirty-five years, we might expect to find among the surviving documents of that Office some samples of Hoccleve’s own handwriting, that is, documents written by him in the course of his work for the Privy Seal. Two such documents were identified by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes in 1978.² These are National Archives E 28/29 (temp. Henry IV–V, draft of a document among letters written to and from Robert Frye, Clerk of the Offices of the Privy Seal and Signet) and E 404/31/322 (issue warrant, commanding the Exchequer to pay wages to 24 “vad-letz” of the royal household for accompanying Henry V on his forthcom-

¹ John Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Authors of the Middle Ages series, 4 (Aldershot, Hants: Variorum, 1994), p. 1.

² A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, “The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century,” in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (London: Scolar, 1978): 163–210, esp. 82; repr. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 201–48, esp. 222.

ing expedition to France, dated 27 May 1415).³ Doyle and Parkes concluded: "Doubtless there are more unidentified specimens of [Hoccleve's] handwriting preserved among the collections in the P.R.O. and elsewhere."⁴

There are indeed many more documents written by Hoccleve's hand in the collections of the National Archives, as I discovered when I went to examine the two named by Doyle and Parkes. The almost 150 documents written by Hoccleve that I have discovered so far survive in the following categories of documents at the National Archives (formerly called the Public Record Office, or P.R.O.): E 404, Warrants for Issues of the Exchequer of Receipt, or Lower Exchequer; E 208, King's Remembrancer / *Brevia Baronibus* files of the Exchequer; and E 28, King's Council and Privy Seal records of the Exchequer of Receipt.

By far the greatest number of documents (132) I have identified as written by Hoccleve are in E 404 files, which are documents written by Clerks of the Wardrobe and Clerks of the Privy Seal instructing the Exchequer of Receipt to make payments out of the royal treasury. Those written by the Clerks of the Privy Seal command such payments in the name of the king and are stamped on the back with the Privy Seal in red wax. Those written by Clerks of the Wardrobe command such payments in the names of the Barons of the Exchequer, and were authenticated by the Clerks' signatures. These latter documents, by far the most numerous in these files, are written on small slips of parchment often little more than 4 cm in height (by ca. 30 cm in width) because they simply record the warrant for payment in a few lines of script. The former are written on larger slips of parchment at least 9–12 cm in height (and ca. 30 cm in width), even if only recording a few lines of script, in order to allow space enough on the dorse for the stamp of the Privy Seal. These two types of document, written by clerks of two distinct Offices, are filed together because they were both received and kept by the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer, who paid out the

³Pierre Chaplais, *English Royal Documents, King John—Henry VI, 1199–1461* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), plate 22(a) (illustrated on page 74, described and transcribed on page 75). The first, E 28/29, is one document in a collection of letters principally written by Robert Frye, Hoccleve's contemporary at the Privy Seal, and it is a first draft of a letter addressed to a bishop, "*reverent pere en dieu*," asking for support for Henry's war in France. It is not illustrated in any published work, at least to my knowledge. The second document is, as Doyle and Parkes note (footnote 40), illustrated in Pierre Chaplais, *English Royal Documents, King John—Henry VI, 1199–1461*, plate 22.

⁴Doyle and Parkes, "The Production of Copies," p. 182, n. 40.

sums to the persons named in the documents. The Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer then recorded on the Issue Rolls (now E 403 files at the National Archives) that the sum named had been paid on a certain date to a certain person. The Issue Rolls of the Exchequer have been previously quite thoroughly searched for references to Thomas Hoccleve (that is, annuity and other payments made to him) and these comprise the bulk of the documents listed in Burrow's appendix. They survive on rolls, one for each half year of each reign, with entries organized in chronological order down the roll, usually one line per entry. The Issue Warrants, now E 404 files, covering the period from ca. 1154 to 1837, are now arranged in chronological order and bound into soft-backed booklets of twenty-five documents each. They are fullest for the years 1399 to 1485, for which period they are stored as one box of booklets per regnal year, and numbered in order from the first document received in a regnal year to the last.⁵

Some of the E 404 issue warrants are not only written by Hoccleve but also name Hoccleve as the proposed recipient of payments from the Exchequer: they instruct the Receipt of the Exchequer to repay him for purchases of ink, parchment, and wax purchased for use in the Office of the Privy Seal; these would have initiated the payments to Hoccleve entered in the Issue Rolls (E 403 documents) that have been noted by previous scholars (items 13, 19, 22, 24, 31, 35, 39, 43, 50, 56, 62, and 68 of Burrow's appendix). However, the E 404 Privy Seal warrants that *instruct* the Exchequer to repay Hoccleve, and therefore name him as recipient, have not until now been included in the published list of documents in which Hoccleve's name occurs,⁶ and it follows, of course, that

⁵For example E 404/31/322 represents E (Exchequer), 404 files for the warrants of Privy Seal and Wardrobe, the second number designating the box, that is, 31 for the box containing documents dated in the third regnal year of Henry V, 21 March 1415–20 March 1416, and the third number designating the document, that is, 322 for the 322th document in this box, dated 27 May, 3 Henry V.

⁶Frederick J. Furnivall, "Appendix of Entries About Grants and Payments to Hoccleve, from the Privy-Council Proceedings, the Patent- and Issue-Rolls, and the Record Office," *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz, EETS, e.s. 61 (1892), pp. li–lxx; H. C. Schulz, "Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe," *Speculum* 12 (1937): 76–81; Jerome Mitchell, "Thomas Hoccleve: His Traditionalism and His Individuality: A Study in Fifteenth-Century English Poetic" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1965), Appendix 2 (not included but cited in his published *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), p. 1, n. 1). These lists instead include the Exchequer documents that make the payments to Hoccleve, which would have resulted from the Exchequer's receipt of the instructions written under the Privy Seal that I have newly identified as written in Hoccleve's hand.

no one has previously identified them as having been written by Hoccleve.

In addition to the E 404 files, nine documents written by Hoccleve survive in E 208, the King's Remembrancer / *Brevia Baronibus* files, which, according to the National Archives catalogue, "contain writs sent to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer under the great and privy seals sending or requiring information, giving general administrative orders, or directing them to grant discharge of an account or particular debt or debtor."⁷ These writs were then "enrolled on the *Brevia directa* section of the King's Remembrancer's memoranda rolls" (now E 159 files at the National Archives).⁸ The E 208 files for this period are uncatalogued, and stored in bundles of parchment documents measuring ca. 10 × 30 cm., in boxes according to regnal years.⁹

A further five documents written by Hoccleve survive in E 28 files, the King's Council and Privy Seal Records of the Receipt of the Exchequer. One is the draft of a document written by Hoccleve, which is described above as having been identified by Doyle and Parkes; that is, E 28/29, item 30, a draft of a letter from Henry IV requesting aid for fighting the war with France, surviving in a bundle of letters to and from Robert Frye.¹⁰ Another four are in a single file, E 28/97, comprising Privy Seal writs for military service and returns from the seventh year of the reign of Henry V (all four dated 29 December 1419).

One document survives in the E 43 files, a varied collection of debentures, receipts, warrants, and writs that have been set aside in this category because of the excellent condition of their seals. This is a receipt for his annuity written by Hoccleve, to which is attached his own personal seal.

Appendix A describes the characteristics of Hoccleve's handwriting by which these documents have been identified as his. A typical E 404 document by Hoccleve's hand is E 404/33/223, dated 7 March, 5 Henry V (1418), commanding the Exchequer to pay Thomas Hoccleve 42 shil-

⁷ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguedetails.asp?CATID=5199&CATLN=3&Highlight=%2CKING%2CKING%2CKING%2CKING%2CKING&accessmethod=0, 20 June 2006.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Because these are uncatalogued, my references to them below and in the appendices name which box and bundle they occur in, then specify them by date of the document and sometimes by position in the pile that constitutes the bundle, but this positioning may have changed since my examination in the case of loose bundles.

¹⁰ A final copy of this document is copied by Hoccleve into the Formulary (British Library Additional MS 24062), addressed to the Prior of the Grand Chartreuse. I am indebted to Dr. Doyle for this reference.

lings, 9 pence for expenses of purchasing wax and ink from Walter Lucy of London, for use in the Office of the Privy Seal:

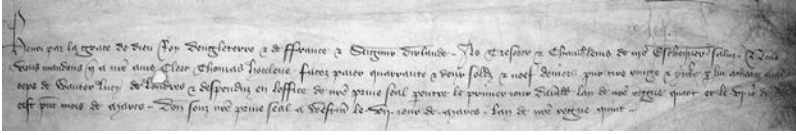


Figure 1 Kew, National Archives E/404/33/233 (reduced), dated 7 March, 5 Henry V (1418). Reproduced with permission.

These documents show Thomas Hoccleve to have been an active clerk in the Office of the Privy Seal from at least 25 July 1391 until 29 June 1425, less than a year before 8 May 1426, by which date he is presumed to have died.¹¹ Virtually from the beginning of Henry IV's reign onward we find Hoccleve writing the documents that instruct the Exchequer to pay suppliers for purchase of parchment, paper, ink, and wax used by the clerks of the Office of the Privy Seal,¹² often going to the Exchequer to receive the payment that would be passed on to the suppliers by

¹¹Scholars have dated the beginning of Hoccleve's service at the Privy Seal to about 1387, since he states in the *Regiment of Princes* (lines 802–5) that he had been writing for the Office for twenty-four years come Easter, and this is assumed to have been written in 1411 (see Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 2). The earliest document I have identified as definitely being written by his hand is dated 25 July, 15 Richard II (1391). Schulz corrected earlier scholars' estimates of the date of death (they had estimated near 1450), pp. 76–81, and more recent scholarship has more precisely dated it to sometime early in 1426: see Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 30 and note 121: "[Hoccleve's] annuity was last paid for the period to Michaelmas 1425," which "proves . . . that he was not alive to receive that due at Easter 1426, since the grant was for life."

¹²The series of such documents by Hoccleve's hand or naming him as recipient for purchases of ink, wax, parchment, and paper for use in the Office of the Privy Seal begins with E 404/15/45, written 30 October in the first year of Henry IV's reign, that is, very early in the reign, asking simply that the clerks be paid as accustomed for parchment purchased by them for use in the Office; this is followed by E 404/16/325, dated 13 January 1401, the first asking for payment specifically to the haberdasher William Surcestre of London, who has supplied the Office with ink, wax, and paper since Christmas 1399: in little over a year the Office had purchased (and presumably used) 46 pounds of red wax at 10 d. per pound; 2 gallons, 1 pottel, and 1 quart of ink at 40 d. per gallon; 4 quires of ordinary paper at 8 d. per quire, and ½ quire of 'papier royale' at 12 d. per quire. Presumably at this time the clerks were still purchasing parchment themselves, though later they purchase parchment as well from Surcestre. Thereafter there are several more payments either requested by Hoccleve for payment to William Surcestre or Exchequer records of payments to Hoccleve to be passed on to Surcestre, or later to Walter Lucy, another haberdasher:

- E 404/17/254, dated 1 November 1401 to pay Surcestre
- E 404/18/260, dated 3 December 1402 to pay Surcestre
- E 403/574, m. 15 dated 23 February 1403, recording payment to Surcestre by Hoccleve's hand (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 13 in Appendix)

his hand; and from 1406 onward receiving these payments himself as repayment for supplies he has purchased over a period of time, up to a year and sometimes longer. Because he seems to have been in charge of supplies from 1399 onward, it seems clear that by then he must have been a full-fledged clerk of the Privy Seal and more than the others apparently in charge of the day-to-day running of the Office. This role fits well with his having created toward the end of his life the formulary of Privy Seal documents now preserved in British Library, Additional 24062, as if he understood the workings of the Office better than anyone and could record for future reference the correct forms that clerks ought to use in putting into words the various kinds of royal commands.

His supervisory role, or his seniority in the Privy Seal, is also demonstrated by his capacity to choose to write the documents for the highest-ranking people who were to be remunerated by the Exchequer, thus

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- E 404/18/564, dated 15 June, 1403 to pay Surcestre
 - E 404/19/450, dated 18 June 1404 to pay William Surcestre and John Pountfreit, haberdashers of London
 - E 404/20/164, dated 18 February 1405 to pay Surcestre
 - E 403/587, m. 14, dated 14 August 1406, recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 19 in Appendix)
 - E 403/591, m. 10, dated 15 July 1407 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 22 in Appendix)
 - E 403/594, m. 10, dated 16 January 1408 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 24 in Appendix)
 - E 404/24/293, dated 21 February 1409 to pay Hoccleve
 - E 403/605, m. 6, dated 23 June 1410 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 31 in Appendix)
 - E 405/24, dated 5 November 1412 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 35 in Appendix)
 - E 403/619, m. 10, dated 17 January 1415 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 39 in Appendix)
 - E 403/627, m. 27, dated 14 February 1417 recording payment to Hoccleve (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 43 in Appendix)
 - E 404/33/223, dated 7 March 1418 to pay Hoccleve for supplies bought from Walter Lucy haberdasher of London
 - E 404/35/131, dated 10 June 1419 to pay Hoccleve for supplies from Lucy
 - E 403/640, mm. 10–11, dated 10 July 1419 recording payment to Hoccleve for the expenses named in the previous item (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 50 in Appendix)
 - E 403/652, m. 18, dated 23 February 1422 recording payment to Hoccleve for purchase of supplies from Lucy (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 56 in Appendix)
 - E 404/39/303, dated 19 May 1423 to pay Hoccleve for supplies from Lucy
 - E 403/660, m. 6, dated 20 May 1423 recording payment to Hoccleve for purchase of these supplies from Lucy (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 62 in Appendix)
 - E 403/673, m. 16, dated 4 March 1426, recording payment to Hoccleve to be delivered by Lucy's hand, for repayment for purchase of supplies (Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, item 68 in Appendix)

ensuring for himself the best rewards. For instance, in 9 Henry V, on 3 June 1421, he writes two documents requesting the Exchequer to pay Louis, Duke of Bavarre, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, their annuities (E 404/37/102 and /103). These two documents are followed by several more requests for payments to other, lesser individuals written by several clerks or underclerks of the Privy Seal. In other words, Hoccleve first wrote the requests for the two highest-ranking individuals to be paid at the time, and other clerks or underclerks were presumably assigned to copy the form he had used to write similar requests for lesser individuals.

The collection of fees or rewards from men of high ranks for whom the clerks wrote out official copies of writs, grants, and so on is an issue Hoccleve raises in *The Regiment of Princes*, when he tells the Old Man that he was often swindled of his fees by middlemen, the great men's servants, but dared not complain to the great men about it (lines 1499–1547).¹³ Especially toward the end of his career, one finds Hoccleve repeatedly writing the instructions for the Exchequer to pay certain prominent people; it is not that they are the only ones being paid by the Crown out of the Lower Exchequer accounts, but the instructions regarding these important individuals' payments are more often than not being written by Hoccleve. This choice of only the highest-ranking people is especially true in the 1420s, in his last years in the Privy Seal, when fewer documents written by his hand survive. In 1422 the only E 404 document written by Hoccleve is the instruction to pay Geoffrey Young, Warden of Leeds Castle in Kent (E 404/38/90). In 1423 he writes three documents in this category: three to pay John Radclif Seneschal of Guyenne, John Duke of Bedford, and Edmund Mortimer Earl of March and Lieutenant of Ireland (E 404/39/268, /269, /285, respectively). In 1424 he writes the warrants to pay John Shilley and Thomas Denney, Esquires, serving in France with Humfrey Duke of Gloucester (E 404/40/162) and at the end of that year to pay Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (E 404/41/158). Finally, in 1425 he writes the requests for the Exchequer to pay Roger Fienes, knight; John Grey, knight; and Geoffrey Whightyngton, esquire, who are serving in France under John Duke of Bedford (E 404/41/190, /191, /192); to pay James Butler ("le Botiller") Earl of Ormond and Lieutenant of Ireland (E 404/

¹³Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Regiment of Princes . . . and Fourteen of Hoccleve's Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS, e.s. 72 (1897; repr. Kraus 1988), p. 55.

41/197); and to pay Sir Robert Ogle, Custodian of Roxburgh Castle (E 404/41/344), the latest identified surviving Privy Seal document by his hand.

In spite of his importance in keeping the office running and perhaps in training younger clerks, Hoccleve did not rise to hold more lucrative posts than that of one of the four (or five to six in these years) chief Clerks of the Privy Seal.¹⁴ By contrast, as A. L. Brown points out, “Robert Frye [who] began at the bottom of the ladder like Hoccleve . . . was promoted to the important and lucrative post of Clerk (or Secretary) of the King’s Council, and later became the secondary, or second in command, of the Office of the Privy Seal.”¹⁵ Hoccleve’s never being promoted may have simply been because Frye beat him to the post of Secretary to the Council and thence Secondary at the Privy Seal, for the still-higher office of Keeper of the Privy Seal was very rarely filled from

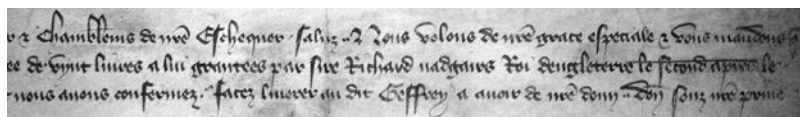
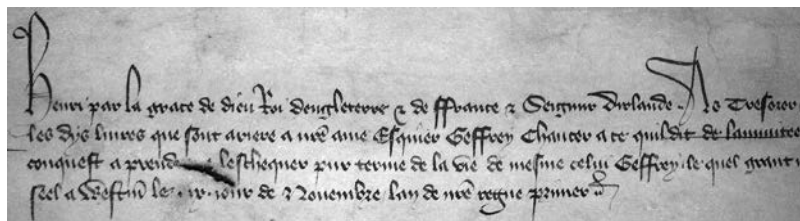
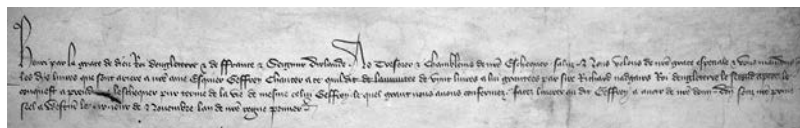


Figure 2 Kew, National Archives E 404/15/62, dated 9 November, 1 Henry IV (1399), entire document, reduced, and right and left sides, reduced. Reproduced with permission.

¹⁴A. L. Brown, “The Privy Seal Clerks in the Early Fifteenth Century,” in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D. A. Bullough and R. L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 260–81; on the number of clerks in this period, see p. 262.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 260.

within the Office. During the years Hoccleve served, the Keepers were promoted from Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery, Secretary to the King's Council, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, other members of the king's personal household, and men who held high office in the Church (sometimes while also holding one of these bureaucratic offices as well).¹⁶ Hoccleve himself was never given a benefice, though he might well have expected one based on the wording of his first annuity grant, offered annually throughout his life or until the king had granted him a benefice without cure of souls worth 20 pounds per year ("*quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum sine cura valoris viginti librarum per annum per nos fieri promotus*").¹⁷ Hoccleve says in his *Regiment of Princes* (written ca. 1410–11) that he often hoped for a benefice but was never given one, and so married, by which he made himself ineligible for one.¹⁸

Besides giving clues to Hoccleve's position within the Office of the Privy Seal, the newly identified documents written by his hand help us with dates, both of his service in the Office and of his "wild infirmyte." With regard to the latter, Hoccleve describes his illness thus in the "Complaint":

Witnes uppon the wyld infirmyte
Which that I had, as many a man well knewe,
And whiche me owt of my selfe cast and threw
(ed. Furnivall and Gollancz, lines 40–42)

¹⁶See *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. Maurice Powicke and E. B. Fryde, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), pp. 92–93.

¹⁷Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, no. 6, p. 34. The grant of larger annuity on 17 May 1409 (Burrow, Appendix, no. 28, pp. 39–40) does not include this clause, and its absence may indicate that Hoccleve had already married by then, or was about to be married, as suggested by J. H. Kern, "Een en ander over Thomas Hoccleve en zijn werken," *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, vol. 1 (1915), 340. See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 12 and n. 44.

¹⁸As Hoccleve remarks in his dialogue with the Old Man in the prologue to the *Regiment*,

I gasyd longe firste, & waytid faste
After some benefice; and whan non cam,
By proces I me weddid atte laste;
And god it wot, it sore me agaste
To bynde me, where I was at my large;
But done it was; I toke on me that charge.
(ed. Furnivall, lines 1451–56; p. 53.)

Brown, "Privy Seal Clerks," p. 268, notes that Hoccleve's colleague John Bailly did receive ecclesiastical benefice(s).

For date and duration he only suggests,

But althowghe the substaunce of my memory
 Went to pley, as for a certayne space,
 Yet the Lorde of vertew, the Kyng of Glory,
 Of His highe myght and his benynge grace,
 Made it to returne into the place
 Whennes it cam, whiche at All Hallwe Messe,
 Was five yeere, neyther more ne lesse
 ("Complaint," lines 50–56).

These clues from Hoccleve tell us to look for a period of inactivity from his work lasting several months and ending around 1 November, All Saints' Day. Scholars have disagreed as to the date of writing of the "Complaint" and "Dialogue with a Friend." Thanks to new and convincing arguments by John Burrow, the whole *Series* beginning with the "Complaint" and "Dialogue" is now thought to have been written between late 1419 and sometime in 1421, perhaps continuing into 1422, rather than beginning in that year.¹⁹ Burrow claims that since the "Complaint" and "Dialogue" come first, Hoccleve must have written them at the beginning of this period, in late 1419, thus the illness would have occurred in the summer and autumn of 1414, with its cure on All Saints' Day 1414. Burrow argues in favor of 1414 on the ground that the *Series* must have been written during Humfrey Duke of Gloucester's first Regency (30 December 1419–2 February 1421) rather than the second, since in praising Gloucester, Hoccleve refers only to his military feats in the second campaign in France, 1417–19 (which preceded the first Regency), not to those of the third campaign. This dating to the first Regency, after return from second campaign, is confirmed by a marginal note of the holograph copy of Hoccleve's "Dialogue," Durham University Library, Cosin V.iii.9, which notes beside lines 542–43 ("As blyue as that I herde of his comynge / ffro ffrance") that this refers to the second return from campaigning in France ("*scilicet de secundo reditu suo de ffrancia*") to distinguish it from the third. Therefore the return of sanity on All Saints' day to which Hoccleve refers in his "Complaint" must have occurred five years before this date, in 1414.²⁰

¹⁹Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 22, 27; Burrow, "Thomas Hoccleve: Some Redatings," *RES* 46 (1995), 366–72.

²⁰Burrow, "Redatings," 370–72.

M. C. Seymour (and others) had argued for dating the illness to the summer and autumn of 1416, based on a 1421 dating of the “Complaint,”²¹ though Seymour’s principal argument for a 1416 dating rested on the unusual collection of Hoccleve’s Easter annuity, paid in July 1416 not to Hoccleve himself but to his underclerk, John Welde and two others.²² Burrow acknowledges that this payment was irregular, but points out that

Hoccleve may have made over some parts of his annuity to creditors (a common practice, see *Chaucer Life-Records*, 142) and left the rest to be collected by his clerk; or he may have been abroad: see n. 22 [where the text to which note 22 is attached suggests, “Henry V passed much of his reign across the Channel, and between 1417 and 1422 a section of the Privy Seal office followed him there. Yet nothing in the documentary or poetic evidence shows the poet as anything but a confirmed Londoner.”]²³

Among the newly discovered documents, none suggests that Hoccleve went abroad with the king in 1415–16, and on the other hand there is a Hoccleve-written document dated at *Westminster* on 1 September, 1415 that suggests otherwise.²⁴

²¹M. C. Seymour, ed., *Selections from Hoccleve* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 133.

²²*Ibid.*, 133.

²³Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 22, n. 88, and p. 7 for the text to which note 22 is attached. See also Burrow, “Redatings,” 371–72.

²⁴Kew, National Archives, E 404/31/452. In fact there are very few documents written by Hoccleve that are written from outside Westminster. For instance, when Henry V went to Leicester to hold Parliament there in the spring of 1414, he took three Privy Seal clerks with him (to judge by the number of different hands writing the twenty-two Privy Seal documents from Leicester) but not Thomas Hoccleve. For dates of Henry’s travel to and from Leicester, see E 404/30/96 dated Westminster on 3 May; E 404/30/98 dated Leicester on 4 May; and for the return, see E 404/30/128 dated Leicester on 29 May and E 404/30/136 dated Westminster on 10 June. One document in this period is dated from Westminster, E 404/30/176, when perhaps the king made a quick trip back to the metropolis, but neither is this one written by Hoccleve. I have identified only four Privy Seal documents by Hoccleve’s hand that are written anywhere but Westminster: (1) E 404/17/377 dated at Eltham, 28 December, 3 Henry IV (1401) demonstrates that Hoccleve was at Eltham for the Christmas festivities in 1401 (see John Lavan Kirby, *Henry IV of England: A Biography* [London: Constable and Co., 1970], p. 132). This writ requests the exchequer to pay two men of Sandwich £24 for purchasing a ship called “Juliane” from John Kent and delivering it to mariners of Brittany at the king’s commandment. (2) E 404/19/163, dated at Cirencester 1 November, 5 Henry IV (1403), showing that Hoccleve was in Henry’s entourage for at least part of the campaign in the West country in that autumn: Henry had been in Bristol on 23 October and had intended to hold a Parliament at Coventry on 30 November, but then postponed it to Westminster in the following year (Kirby, *Henry IV*, pp. 160–61). (3) E 404/19/285, dated at Abingdon Abbey on 27 December, 5 Henry IV (1403), showing

While accepting the earlier dating of the *Series* to 1419–21, I would argue with Ethan Knapp that the 1416 (rather than Burrow's 1414) dating for Hoccleve's illness makes more sense not only because of the irregular payment of his annuity in 1416 but also because, as Knapp points out, "the discussion in the 'Dialogue' of Hoccleve's desire to take up writing again fits best a scenario in which his infirmity fell after his composition of the 'Address to Sir John Oldcastle'" and "revision of the *Series* continued through at least 1421."²⁵ If Hoccleve began writing only after he had heard of the duke's return in very late November or in December (the Regency began on 30 December, not before), then Hoccleve's reference to the healing on All Saints' Day occurring five years ago, "neither more ne less," would have been written at least a month after All Saints' Day 1419 by the time Gloucester returned, so not quite "neither more ne less." Since even Burrow argues for Hoccleve's continuing to work on and make changes to *The Series* after its inception in very late 1419 or early 1420,²⁶ we cannot know whether the single word "five" ("Complaint," line 56) might not also have been changed to update the poem at the time it was presented to the duke. Thus the 1419 start-date for *The Series* cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of a 1414 illness.

Besides these arguments based on dates of Hoccleve's other writings and references in the "Complaint" and "Dialogue," the dates of the newly identified documents also support the 1416 dating of Hoccleve's illness. For one thing, Hoccleve's burst of activity in the summer of 1415 in writing documents to see that members of Henry V's army were paid for their roles in the campaign in that year, his most intense

that Hoccleve was again present during the king's Christmas festivities, this year held at Abingdon (Kirby, p. 162). (4) E 404/20/294, dated at Leicester 16 August, 6 Henry IV (1405), showing that Hoccleve was in the king's entourage or had joined him at Leicester as he returned from Pontefract, where he had been negotiating with the Earl of Northumberland (Kirby, p. 172) and before moving on to Lichfield, where on 27 August he confirmed his agreement with Northumberland for the surrender of Berwick: Kirby writes, "After a long stay at Pontefract Henry had made his way to Leicester by the end of July, then curved southwards through the midlands, and come to Lichfield in the second half of August" (p. 173); this document shows him to have been still at Leicester on the 16th.

²⁵ Ethan Knapp, *The Bureaucratic Muse: Thomas Hoccleve and the Literature of Late Medieval England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 159 n. 1.

²⁶ Burrow himself makes a similar argument for continued changes and correction of the *Series* over this period when he argues for insertion of the passage on coin-clipping after May 1421 ("Redatings," p. 369).

activity as judged by the surviving E 404 documents, does not fit with the portrait of someone recovering from serious illness or nervous breakdown. (Nor does his writing the balade “To Sir John Oldcastle” in the summer of 1415.) For another, there is a lengthier hiatus of activity in 1416 than in 1414. In the earlier year, 1414, records show Hoccleve still writing a document for the Privy Seal as late as 17 April (E 404/30/63) and collecting his own annuity as late as 2 May (E 403/617, m. 4). We have no further documents by his hand or annuity collected by him until 29 January of the following year (E 404/30/191), but Hoccleve himself has told us that he was cured on or around All Saints’ Day, that is, 1 November. So in all there are only six months, from 2 May until 1 November in 1414, for which we cannot account for Hoccleve’s activities.

By contrast, there is a much longer period in late 1415 and through most of 1416 in which we cannot account for Hoccleve’s activities. He was very active in spring and summer of 1415, writing eighteen surviving documents in a single month in May–June 1415. The last of these, E 404/31/383 (dated 13 June, 3 Henry V [1415]), is written only two days before Henry V “[rode] through London and formally [took] his leave of the mayor and sheriffs” as he set out for the south coast.²⁷ After this, in July–August 1415, Hoccleve writes “To Sir John Oldcastle” while Henry and his army paused at Southampton in preparation for the crossing to Harfleur, as he notes by way of heading in the holograph manuscript, Huntington Library HM 111, folio 1r: “Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy Henri le Vth (que Dieu pardoint) feust a Hampton sur son primer passage vers Harflete.” He is still active on 1 September 1415, writing the document, Kew, National Archives E 404/31/452 (dated at Westminster 1 September, 3 Henry V) to pay Richard Berall, esquire, who is made Custodian of Roxburgh Castle for a quarter year, taking over the Wardenship from Robert Dumfrauill Knight, previous Custodian of the Castle (so that D’Umfraville could accompany Henry on the campaign), and giving him rights to arm the castle with as many men as needed to safeguard it if it is attacked by the king’s enemies.²⁸

But after Agincourt on 25 October 1415, there is a period of inactivity in late 1415 and most of 1416 in which no documents by Hoccleve’s

²⁷ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London: Methuen, 1992), p. 73.

²⁸ It must be coincidence only that Hoccleve’s last issue warrant involved Roxburgh, too: in 1425 he wrote the Issue Warrant for payment of its Custodian, Sir Robert Ogle (E 404/41/344).

hand survive in the E 404 files or elsewhere in similar files I have examined. After 1 September 1415, his name next appears in the records on 29 February 1416, when he receives his annuity from the Exchequer "*per manus proprias per assignacionem factam isto die*" (E 403/622, m. 11). On 18 July 1416, as noted by previous scholars, his annuity is collected not by Hoccleve himself but by John Welde, together with two other Clerks, John Burgh and Robert Welton (E 403/624, m. 9). He appears next writing a document for the Privy Seal on 9 December 1416 (E 404/32/262), little more than six weeks after All Saints' Day. Thus in the fourteen months between 1 September 1415 and All Saints' Day (1 November) 1416, Hoccleve makes only a single appearance in the records, on 29 February 1416, even then perhaps not appearing in person. Out of forty payments of Hoccleve's annuity recorded by Burrow in his Appendix,²⁹ twenty-six were paid "*per manus proprias*," which means Hoccleve appeared in person at the Exchequer to receive the payment.³⁰ One, in Trinity term 1415, is recorded simply as being paid "*de certo suo annuo*," which does not tell us whether he appeared in person (this was the very busy time when Hoccleve and others at the Office of the Privy Seal were preparing the documents related to the French invasion, and Hoccleve was writing "To Sir John Oldcastle").³¹ One is the unusual collection by John Welde and two other clerks in July 1416, discussed above, each collecting a portion with the remainder to be paid to Hoccleve by the hands of John Welde.³² Another five were paid "*per assignacionem factam isto die*," that is, the payment is not made directly by the Exchequer, but the Exchequer assigns some other royal income-collector—like the wool tax, for instance—to pay the money, giving the awardee (Hoccleve) a tally or another issue warrant.³³ This was a common practice when money in the royal exchequer was tight, and twice when Hoccleve is paid in this way other Privy Seal clerks, Baillay and Offorde, are as well.³⁴ Finally, seven payments, including that on 29

²⁹ Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, pp. 33–49.

³⁰ Burrow's numbers 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 37, 38, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 65, and 66 (*Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 36–49).

³¹ Burrow's document number 40 (*Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 42).

³² See p. 303. Burrow's document number 44 (*Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 43).

³³ Burrow, Appendix, numbers 8, 10, 33, 45 and 48 (*Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 35–44). For assignments, see Burrow, note 46 on page 12, citing Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, *Chaucer Life-Records* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 136–37.

³⁴ Burrow, Appendix, number 45 (p. 44), E 403/630, m. 7, dated 25 May 1417, and numbers 46 and 48 (p. 44), E 403/633, mm. 6 and 13, E 403/638, m. 9

February 1416, were made “*per assignationem factam isto die per manus proprias*” or “*per manus proprias per assignationem factam isto die*.”³⁵ The last of these specifies that the payment is being made “*per manus proprias, videlicet, per assignationem factam isto die*,” which suggests that we are to interpret this combination as a payment made to Hoccleve in person but giving him an assignment to collect from some other source. Perhaps those made only *per assignationem factam isto die* are simply assignments made without Hoccleve coming to the Exchequer, or perhaps it is the other way around, in the longer wording specifying that the payment is to be made to Hoccleve although it is assigned in his absence. If he does appear, this walk to the Exchequer to collect his annuity—then being foiled by being given an assignment instead—on 29 February 1416 seems to be the only sighting of Hoccleve either writing documents at the Privy Seal or collecting his annuity at any time in the fourteen months between the beginning of September 1415 and mid-December 1416.³⁶ In this period he produces no poetry, and at least once assigns others to collect his annuity for him. Thus this longer period in 1415–16 seems more likely to mark the period of Hoccleve’s illness.

John Burrow has noted that “Hoccleve represents himself in his writings as a great worrier, especially about money,”³⁷ and it may be that the poet’s financial difficulties, particularly acute at this period, contributed to his “wyld infirmyte.” Hoccleve states in his “Dialogue” that it was long illness that caused his mind to go astray³⁸ and certainly illness

³⁵Burrow, Appendix, numbers 11, 30, 41, 46 (recording two payments), 54, 55 and 57.

³⁶By contrast, in other periods when there is a gap in the Hoccleve-written documents in these files, Hoccleve does unambiguously appear in person to collect his annuity at least once. For instance, there is a gap in the Hoccleve-written Privy Seal documents between 23 February 1410 (E 404/25/201) and 10 October 1412 (E 404/28/77), but Hoccleve appears in person to collect his annuity (“*per manus proprias*”) on 17 July 1410 and 26 February 1412, with a third payment ambiguously stating only that the payment was assigned to be paid by another office of royal government (“*per assignacionem factam isto die*”) on 11 July 1411 (Burrow, Appendix, documents 32 and 34 and 33, respectively, *Thomas Hoccleve*, pp. 40–41); and again there is a gap of over a year between 7 March 1418 (E 404/33/223) and 21 May 1419 (E 404/35/119), but Hoccleve appeared in person on 1 July 1418 to collect his annuity (“*per manus proprias*”), with another payment ambiguously only reassigned (“*per assignacionem factam isto die*”) on 7 December 1418 (Burrow, Appendix, documents 47 and 48, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 44).

³⁷Burrow comments on Hoccleve’s financial worries (*Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 8); and actual financial difficulties (ibid., pp. 11–12).

³⁸*Dialogue*, line 426.

could well have followed from the overwork at the Privy Seal in the spring and summer of 1415. But there were also financial difficulties. Burrow has noted that there is a missed annuity payment in 1414.³⁹ Hoccleve had recently prepared presentation copies of his *Regiment of Princes* for noble patrons,⁴⁰ and he may have been asked about this time also to prepare a volume of his balades for Edward Duke of York. An envoy he wrote to conclude and dedicate this volume of balades survives in one of the autograph manuscripts (San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library, HM 111, fols. 32v–34), which Furnivall and Gollancz entitled “Balade to my gracious Lord of York”:

Go, litle pamfilet, and streight thee dresse
 Unto the noble rootid gentillesse
 Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,
 My gracious Lord of York, to whos noblesse
 Me recommande with hertes humblesse,
 As he that have his grace & his favour
 Fownden always, for which I am dettour,
 For him to preye & so shal my symplesse
 Hertily do unto my dethes hour.

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,
 How ones at London desired he
 Of me that am his servant & shal ay
 To have of my balades swich plentee
 As ther weren remeynyng unto me;
 And for nat wole I to his wil seyn nay,
 But fulfille it as ferfoorth as I may,
 Be thow an owter of my nycetee,
 For my good Lordes lust and game & play.
 (“Balade to my gracious Lord of York,” lines 1–18)⁴¹

The Duke of York to whom this volume was to be presented was Edward, Duke of York 1402–15.⁴² The volume of balades therefore

³⁹ *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ Of the two surviving copies, British Library MSS Arundel 38 and Harley 4866, Burrow remarks, “These two manuscripts (the earliest surviving copies of any of Hoccleve’s works) are both expensive products, and one may wonder whether the recipient paid for them” (*Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 19).

⁴¹ From the edition of Furnivall and Gollancz, p. 49.

⁴² Furnivall and Gollancz assumed that this balade was addressed to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, father of King Edward IV, and so dated Hoccleve’s poem to midcentury and followed George Mason in assuming therefore that Hoccleve had lived

should be dated after 1402 and before Edward's death at Agincourt in October 1415. But since Edward had asked for a volume collecting together "of my balades swich plentee / As ther weren remeynyng unto me" and Hocckleve wrote the balades and *Male Regle* to which we believe he refers in the first decade of the century, the request by Edward must date from a period of years well after their composition. This period seems unlikely to have been 1409–11, when Hocckleve's resources had already gone into the commissioned presentation copies of the *Regiment*, so it seems likely that the volume of balades was requested and prepared after that. Thus, if after paying for the presentation copies of the *Regiment*, Hocckleve also prepared a volume of balades for the Duke of York sometime in 1412–15, then the latter's death at Agincourt would have created some financial hardship for the poet, just as he had hoped to be rewarded for preparing a requested volume. Of course without means of closer dating of this lost volume of balades, we cannot know whether Hocckleve had been paid for it already, but it remains one additional possible reason for acute financial difficulties at this time.

The newly identified E 404 and E 208 documents probably witness only a small fraction of Hocckleve's work at the Office, since the Office of the Privy Seal was responsible for composing, writing, and issuing documents relaying all of the decisions of the king and the King's Council, and sometimes those of other royal officials as well. A. L. Brown describes its functions:

It was primarily a writing-office where decisions by the king, the Council, and royal officials were translated into formal royal letters and authenticated with the privy seal. It was a "clearing-house," sending out formal warrants to Chancery, Exchequer, and other offices, sending "missive" letters to royal officials in England, Wales, Ireland, Gascony, and Calais, to individuals, towns, cathedral chapters, universities, and all manner of people, and sending diplomatic letters to foreign rulers.⁴³

The slips of parchment commanding the Clerks of the Exchequer to pay out certain sums of money to various individuals in the E 404 series or to cancel certain individuals' debts to the king in E 208 files, some of

to an old age (see Furnivall and Gollancz, *Hocckleve's Works*, p. xxvii); the correct date of his death depended on new identification of the dedicatee of this poem as Edward Duke of York 1402–15, as argued by Schultz ("Thomas Hocckleve, Scribe," pp. 76–81).

⁴³Brown, "The Privy Seal Clerks in the Early Fifteenth Century," 260–81, esp. 261. This same passage is quoted by Burrow, *Thomas Hocckleve*, p. 3.

which are now newly identified as being written by Hoccleve, would have been the simplest and most mundane of documents prepared by the Privy Seal. As a senior clerk of the Office, Hoccleve would probably be called on more often to prepare more unusual or sensitive documents in behalf of the king and the King's Council. The high number of Hoccleve's documents I have discovered for the single year, 1415, probably reflects Privy Seal activity that called for this particular type of document as much as it does Hoccleve's (and the other clerks') intense activity at that time. In the early summer of 1415, Henry V had just decided to go ahead with a French invasion with only a few months to prepare. As Christopher Allmand says, "He badly needed to carry out his attack by the summer of 1415 (or else lose almost a year before a suitable time presented itself again). This required a firm decision to be made by March or April of that year, at the very least. The failure of the February mission to Paris [of Henry's ambassadors seeking concessions from the French] gave him the chance to act within the same year, and to present its failure as offering him the go-ahead for war."⁴⁴ The eighteen documents in the E 404 series written by Hoccleve between 12 May and 13 June probably result from Henry's decision to go ahead, and his need to call upon his Privy Seal Clerks at that time to devote themselves to setting in motion the recruitment of commanders through indentures and advance payments for those who had agreed to accompany him on this military expedition.

Although this example suggests that many of E 404 documents by Hoccleve's hand are related as much to Privy Seal priorities as to his own involvement in work, the newly identified documents nevertheless help us to judge the duration of Hoccleve's career at the Privy Seal and might suggest periods when he was most active and least active. The earliest document definitely identifiable as Hoccleve's in this series of the Privy Seal files is dated 25 July 1391 (E 404/14, files 90–96, Part II).⁴⁵ Hoccleve says in his Prologue to the *Regiment of Princes* that he has

⁴⁴ Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Other earlier documents may be Hoccleve's as well; for instance, E 404/13, file 84, document dated 6 April, 6 Richard II (or 1383), displays several characteristics in common with the hand we recognize as Hoccleve's from later years (as confirmed by Dr. A. I. Doyle when I showed him a photograph of it). This may represent early apprentice or assistant clerk work: if born in 1367, Hoccleve would have been sixteen in 1383. His reference to having "wryte ther . . . xxⁱ yeer / And iijj" in the *Regiment of Princes* (lines 803–5) would then have to refer to some period after he had been an apprentice or assistant, that is, that he had been a clerk since 1387. Support for such an interpretation would come from the documents that show him with three other clerks (Robert Frye,

been writing for the Office of the Privy Seal for twenty-four years, come Easter.⁴⁶ Since the Prologue has generally been dated ca. 1411, it has been assumed that Hoccleve meant that he started work at the Privy Seal in 1387; thus this earliest document certainly by his hand would come four years later. It should be noted that many fewer Privy Seal documents survive in E 404 files from the reign of Richard II than from the subsequent reigns, so in the crucial period when Hoccleve began work, we cannot be certain based on the documents exactly when he entered service there, and there may well be other sorts of documents as yet unsearched that record his hand earlier. It is also possible that he was apprenticed to Guy de Rouclif even earlier than 1387 (Rouclif retired in 1389), and only began to write for the Privy Seal in his own name, as a Clerk, from 1387 onward.⁴⁷

The newly discovered documents also show us that, like Chaucer, Hoccleve appears to have bridged the change of dynasty in 1399, writing for Richard II such important and delicate documents as the command, dated in Shrewsbury on 7 February 1397, commanding the Exchequer to pay Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester a thousand marks, as per the grant made to her in Northampton in July of the previous year; then in the first weeks of Henry IV's formal government, on 17 and 20 October 1399, writing the important command to the Exchequer to pay John Thorpe more than 270 pounds to reimburse those who had supplied him with food and lodging on the Marches in the preceding summer (E 404/15/37), and a second to pay for the expenses of Henry's

John Kethe, and William Flete) already receiving grants from the king in 1389 and 1391 as the "clerks" of the Privy Seal Office (the usual number of senior clerks was four): See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, document 1 on page 33. Further support comes from Guy de Rouclif's naming Hoccleve as his underclerk ("*clericus meo*") in his will dated 1392: see Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, document 3 on page 33. If Hoccleve had not begun work of some sort at the Privy Seal Office until 1387, that would leave only two years' apprenticeship before he presumably took de Rouclif's place as one of the clerks of the Privy Seal. See Burrow, p. 9 and Appendix documents numbers 1, 3, and 5 on pages 33–34. Locating him at the Privy Seal in the 1380s earlier than 1387, as an apprentice, probably under the elder clerk Guy de Rouclif, means that he was beginning life as a clerk at the Privy Seal before Chaucer left the city for Kent, and we believe that he was already expressing an interest in literature by this time since in his will in 1392 Guy de Rouclif left him a copy of a book on the Trojan War (Burrow's Appendix, document 3 on page 33). This would also place Hoccleve in the Office closer to the time that Rouclif sold two properties in East Anglia to John Gower, in 1382: See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 10 and n. 34; E. M. Ingram, "Thomas Hoccleve and Guy de Rouclif," *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 20 (1973): 42–43.

⁴⁶ *Regiment of Princes*, lines 802–5. See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ See note 45 above.

household “*costages et despenses par nous a faire en nostre Chambre auant dite,*” 4,000 pounds (E 404/15/40).

One document from this period may be taken as confirmation that Hoccleve knew Chaucer personally, as he claimed in his later writings. On the ninth of November 1399, Hoccleve himself writes the document that commands the Exchequer to pay Geoffrey Chaucer 10 pounds arrears of his 20-pounds-per-year annuity from Richard II, acknowledging that he has confirmed that annuity.⁴⁸ Given Hoccleve’s claims to have been a disciple of Chaucer, this document may be interpreted as the Exchequer Clerk taking care that his mentor continues to receive his annuity from the crown after the change of dynasty; so Chaucer’s speedy acknowledgment from Henry IV comes not just in response to Chaucer’s “Complaint to his Purse,” but also comes swiftly, a month after the coronation, because his disciple Thomas Hoccleve was on hand to write out the issue warrant.⁴⁹ At about the same time, on 12 November 1399, Hoccleve himself receives his first annuity from the crown, a grant of 10 pounds per annum awarded him by Henry IV.⁵⁰

Hoccleve is active in writing Privy Seal issue warrants for Henry IV through the first ten years of the reign. Then abruptly after February 1410 he ceases for the most part, at least in writing these documents now archived in E 404 files, until after the first year of Henry V’s reign: that is, he writes the last of these documents on 23 February 1410 (E 404/25/201) and writes only two documents at the very end of Henry

⁴⁸ Kew, National Archives E 404/15/62, dated 9 November 1399; see fig. 2. The text reads, “Henri par la grace de dieu Roi d’Engleterre & de ffrance & Seigneur d’Irlande: As Tresorer & Chambrleins de nostre Eschequer, saluz. Nous voulons de nostre grace especiale & vous mandons que les dys livres que sont ariere a nostre ame Esquier Geffrey Chaucer a ce qu’il dit de l’annuitee de vynt livres a lui grantees par sire Richard nadgairs Roi d’Engleterre le second apres le Conquest a prendre a l’eschequer pur terme de la vie de mesme celui Geffrey, le quel grant nous avons confermez; facez liverer au dit Geffrey a avoir de nostre donn, donn souz nostre priue seel a Westminstre le ix jour de Novembre l’an de nostre regne Primer.”

⁴⁹ See Crow and Olson, *Chaucer Life-Records*, 525–30. The relationship between Chaucer’s “Complaint to his Purse” and the renewal of the annuity and payment(s) for it are detailed by Laila Z. Gross in the Explanatory notes to the “The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse,” in *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p. 1088.

⁵⁰ Recorded in the Patent Rolls, 12 November 1399 (Kew, National Archives, C 66/355 m. 21). See Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, item 6, on p. 34. The volume of work at the beginning of Henry IV’s reign was apparently extraordinarily high, for in 1401, according to A. L. Brown, “Hoccleve asked for and obtained a reward with seven other s[ervitors] in the Privy Seal because of the great amount of work they had done since the beginning of the reign.” (Brown, “Privy Seal Clerks,” p. 267; he cites in a footnote National Archives E 28/9, dated 23 July 1401).

IV's reign (E 404/28/77 and E 404/28/227 in October 1412 and March 1413, respectively) until he becomes a more active clerk, at least in writing these kinds of documents, at the beginning of Henry V's second year, on 17 April 1414 (E 404/30/63). These last years of Henry IV's reign were turbulent, with many people being forced to take sides between the old king and the prince and Council. The fact that there are so few documents by Hoccleve's hand in these years suggests that he was not actively working at the Office of the Privy Seal or not being called upon by either Henry IV or the future Henry V and Council to write out royal commands under the Privy Seal. This absence is particularly remarkable in the first year of Henry V's reign, when, as usual in a new reign, the Office of the Privy Seal was otherwise particularly busy renewing grants and annuities and making other payments related to the new monarch.⁵¹

Besides not writing many of these writs and warrants for the Office of the Privy Seal (E 404 files), Hoccleve was also not being paid regularly in these years, his payments for the two years from Michaelmas 1411 until Michaelmas 1413 not having been made until the autumn of 1413.⁵² The coincidence that Hoccleve seems not to be preparing issue warrants for the Privy Seal and appears to have had to wait until Henry V came to the throne for payment of his annuity for the preceding two years supports R. F. Yeager's argument that, whatever he felt about the king at the beginning of the reign, toward the end Hoccleve has taken the prince's side in the disputes between father and son and therefore slipped from favor with Henry IV.⁵³

However it happened that he was not as active at the Privy Seal, Hoccleve appears to have taken advantage of the involuntary sabbatical, for these are exactly the years to which we assign the writing of the *Regiment of Princes* for Henry V. Again ten years later there is another gap in Hoccleve's activity in writing E 404 documents in the sixteen-

⁵¹There are many Privy Seal documents from the first year of Henry V's reign in the E 404 files, but none that I found to be clearly written by Hoccleve.

⁵²Hoccleve's annuity payments from 1409 to 1413 (Henry V's regnal years beginning 21 March 1413) occurred as follows: 23 May 1409 for half-year to Easter 1409; 22 November 1409 for half-year to Michaelmas 1409; 17 July 1410 for half-year to Easter 1410; 8 July 1411 for half-year to Michaelmas 1410; 26 February 1412 for whole year to Michaelmas 1411; 28 September 1413 confirmation/renewal of annuity, saying Hoccleve has been paid arrears from the preceding Michaelmas (1411–12?) by the king's gift; 1 December 1413 for whole year up to Michaelmas 1413.

⁵³R. F. Yeager, "Death is a Lady: *The Regiment of Princes* as Gendered Political Commentary," *SAC* 26 (2004): 147–93, pp. 150–52.

month period between 9 February 1420 and 3 June 1421, just the period to which we assign his writing of the *Series*. In the *Dialogue with a Friend*, too, he is visited by his friend in his chamber, rather than at the Privy Seal, and the Friend complains that it has been a quarter year since he has seen Hoccleve.⁵⁴ They discuss how Hoccleve could write to gain the patronage of a great lord, settling on Humfrey Duke of Gloucester as the most likely man to appreciate Hoccleve's writings. Hoccleve's devoting himself to writing in the periods of release from some activity at the Privy Seal fits a pattern we see in other writers of this and later centuries who take advantage of a period of enforced rest from their normal labors (imprisonment or dismissal from a job because of political alliances) to gain patronage and financial reward (or release) through their writings.⁵⁵ Writing at such gaps in his normal working routine would also help to explain why Hoccleve's works contain so many references to his need for money.⁵⁶

The newly identified documents also show that Hoccleve was active at the Privy Seal through the remainder of his life. When he returns to writing these documents regularly, he is, as I said above, only writing the documents that will benefit those in high positions (or their immediate followers), and thus equally benefit himself through their fees or rewards. He also continues to write E 404 documents to repay himself for red wax and ink he purchased for use in the Office (e.g., E 404/39/303, dated 19 May, 1 Henry VI, that is, 1423). Hoccleve writes his last E 404 documents in March, April and June of 1425, this last fully eleven months after his previously supposed retirement on receipt of the corrody at Southwick Priory on 4 July 1424.⁵⁷ Even after the last docu-

⁵⁴In the *Dialogue* his friend knocks at Hoccleve's chamber door, which suggests that Hoccleve is in some private space (*Dialogue*, lines 2–7).

⁵⁵For example, Chaucer's begging poems written between periods of service to the crown; Charles d'Orléans's, James I's, George Ashby's, and Sir Thomas Malory's works written while imprisoned.

⁵⁶A. L. Brown notes that "though Hoccleve often complained about money, the begging poems about his annuity may all relate to terms when he was not paid." ("Privy Seal Clerks," p. 271, n. 2.)

⁵⁷As Burrow points out (p. 30 and n. 125), the latest datable piece in the Formulary is "a letter from Henry VI to his Chancellor concerning lands claimed by Sir John Lescrope," dated July 1424. I have found six documents written by Hoccleve in the third year of Henry VI's reign, that is, 1 September 1424 to 31 August 1425, the latest being the document named here dated 29 June, 3 Henry VI (1425). The others are E 404/41/158 (dated 3 December, 3 Henry VI [1424]); E 404/41/190 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]); E 404/41/191 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]); E 404/41/192 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]); and E 404/41/197 (dated 14 April, 3 Henry VI [1425]).

ment of this kind on 29 June 1425, he may have continued in the Privy Seal right up until his death in the following spring, for he received his annuity payment in February 1426, and was repaid still for purchase of wax and ink on the 4 March 1426. He is presumed to have died by 8 May 1426, when his Southwick corrody was granted to someone else.

Finally, one of the newly identified documents shows us Hoccleve's own personal seal. This is National Archives E 43/554,⁵⁸ a receipt for payment of his annuity written, signed, and sealed by Hoccleve himself (fig. 3). It may be that Hoccleve and other recipients of payments from the Lower Exchequer always wrote out such receipts, but that most have not survived or are buried among the still-uncatalogued documents at the National Archives. This one, as I noted above, has been enrolled in this category (E 43) because of the excellent condition of its seal, along with other documents whose seals are in good condition. The text reads,

Sachent toutes gens moye Thomas Hoccleve, Clerc, avoir recoit en nou[m] nostre tres redoute seigneur par les mayns du Tresorer le jour de la fesance de cestes cent soldz d'estre paieez pur le terme de saint Michel darein passez d'une annuitee de dys liures [*erasure*] a prendre en l'eschequer, des que ditz cent soldz [je] [me] cognoise estre paieez & mesme nostre seigneur le Roy eut aquite par

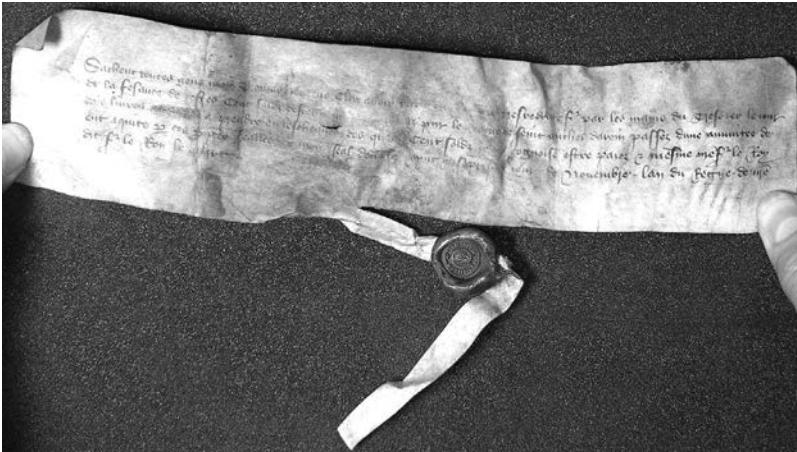


Figure 3 Kew, National Archives E 43/554. Reproduced with permission.

⁵⁸This document is written on parchment, measuring 244 x 56 mm at left edge and 244 x 54 mm at right edge. It is folded tightly to fit a small box filed separately under this shelf number at the National Archives.

ces presentes, sealle par mon seal, don le vynt & septisme jour de Novembre, l'an du Regne de nostre dit seigneur le Roy le quart. (E 43/554)

Let all men know that I Thomas Hoccleve, Clerk, have received in the name of our most noble lord by the hands of the Treasurer the day of the writing of these [words] one hundred shillings paid for the term of St Michael just past, of an annuity of ten pounds [erasure] to be taken from the Exchequer, concerning which said hundred shillings I acknowledge myself to have been paid and also our lord the King to be acquit by these present [words], sealed by my seal on the 27th day of November, the fourth year of the reign of our said lord the King.

Hoccleve does not give a precise year at the end of this document, possibly forgetting to name which monarch, or more likely having confused the numbering of the regnal year (many of his E 404 documents end in this way, naming the year as the last word of the document) with the number attached to the king's name, that is, the fourth year of the reign of King Henry IV. The National Archives catalogue currently lists this document as datable to the fourth year of the reign of "[King Henry IV–VI],"⁵⁹ but the document must date from November 1402, the fourth year of the reign of Henry IV, since in this document Hoccleve acknowledges payment of 5 pounds (100 shillings) for the half-year payment of his annuity, and this would only have applied between 1399, when he was granted an annuity of 10 pounds, until 1409, when this was raised to 20 marks; thus 1402 would have been the only fourth year of a reign in the period when he was being paid 100 shillings per half year.⁶⁰ This document, Hoccleve's receipt, is dated 27 November 1402, but the Clerks of the Exchequer did not enroll the annuity payment until 7 December, ten days later.⁶¹ The evidence this gives of delay on the part of the clerks to enroll payments on the Issue Rolls must force us to reevaluate the delays of payments of Hoccleve's annuities we

⁵⁹It was previously listed as 4 Henry V, i.e., 1416.

⁶⁰My grateful thanks to John Burrow for correcting my former dating of this document and pointing out that this amount of annuity would have been applicable only to this year.

⁶¹Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, Appendix, no. 12, p. 36. The Issue Roll records payment of only 4 pounds, 18 shillings and 9 pence, so 15 pence must have been paid out of this to someone else, perhaps someone to whom Hoccleve owed this amount who accompanied him to the Exchequer to be paid. The discrepancy may account for Hoccleve's erasure in the receipt, noted in my transcription, just as he is to record the amount of his annuity.

have heretofore calculated, sometimes quite precisely, on the basis of the Issue Rolls.⁶²

Attached to this document is Hoccleve's own personal seal, a small⁶³ round seal of red wax attached to a strip of parchment cut away from the bottom, with his motto, "*va illa voluntee*" written around a roundel, followed (or preceded) by a cross at the top, and with the signum of a pointing hand, or *maniculum*, in the middle of the roundel (fig. 4).⁶⁴ The language of the motto is French, the second word apparently an elision of the third person singular pronoun "*il*" and the adverb "*la*," thus, "he goes there willingly." The *maniculum* pointing to a cross could indicate heaven, or simply any direction if we understand the hand to be the king's: thus a Privy Seal clerk willingly goes wherever the king commands. If we take this latter meaning, the motto would match the sentiments of the later writer *cum* Clerk of the Signet, George Ashby, who



Figure 4 Kew, National Archives E 43/554, detail. Reproduced with permission.

⁶²See Brown, "Privy Seal Clerks," p. 271 and n. 2; discussed by Burrow, *Thomas Hoccleve*, 12, who calculates the delays in payments of Hoccleve's annuities by average numbers of days.

⁶³The imprint of the seal is 10 mm in diameter; in red wax that varies from 20 to 22 mm in diameter.

⁶⁴This was my best reading of the motto after much study of the original under a magnifying glass; the imprint of the seal is not absolutely sharp and the lettering is somewhat stylized.

makes a great point of his having been willing to go wherever he was bid to accompany the king (Henry VI) and Duke of Gloucester to write their commands from wherever they happened to be. In “Complaint of a Prisoner in the Fleet 1463,” he says that he was ever ready

Wrytyng to theyre sygnet full fourty yere
 As wel beyond the see as on thys syde,
 Doyng my servyce as well there as here,
 Nat sparyng for to go ne for to ryde,
 Havyng pen and inke evyr at my syde,
 As truly as I coude to theyre entent
 Redy to accomplysshe theyre commandment⁶⁵

Appendix A: Characteristics of Thomas Hoccleve’s Handwriting

In an article in *Speculum*, 1937, H. C. Schulz described four characteristic features of Hoccleve’s hand: his formation of the letters *A*, *g*, *w*, and *y*. As Schulz commented, however, “No one of these four can be said to be unique with Hoccleve, but as a group (and with identical slope, size, shading, position of pen, and degree of curvature) they have not been found to occur in any of the numerous Middle English hands so far examined.”⁶⁶ In descriptions of these letters below, I quote A. I. Doyle’s more detailed analyses from the EETS facsimile edition of the verse works written in Hoccleve’s hand:⁶⁷

1. The uppercase *A* has “a sweeping deep downwards stroke turning upwards counter-clockwise across itself as it turns clockwise either to a flattened head with an angular junction on the right with a straight broken downstroke or else continuing with a simple curve, in each with a more or less strongly seriffed foot” (for the square-topped version, see Figure 5, beginning of line 11, “And”; for the round-topped version, see Figure 6, lines 1, 3, 7, 12, “And”).

⁶⁵ See *The Kingis Quair and Other Prison Poems*, ed. Linne R. Mooney and Mary-Jo Arn (TEAMS, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), p. 155, lines 64–70.

⁶⁶ H. C. Schulz, “Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe,” *Speculum* 12 (1937): 71–81; this quoted from p. 72.

⁶⁷ Thomas Hoccleve, *A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts: Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino (California), MSS HM 111 and HM 744; University Library, Durham (England), MS Cosin V. III. 9*, intro J. A. Burrow and A. I. Doyle, EETS, s.s. 19 (2002), p. xxxiv.

2. The secretary *g* is “flat-topped . . . with variant tails, turning either tightly or in a wide sweep on the left to its head or else turning back more or less sharply to the right” (for the wider sweep, shaped like an old-fashioned coat-hanger hook, see Figure 5, second word of line 3, “purgatorie” or Figure 6, line 13, “mighte”; for the tighter version, see Figure 6, line 12, “thogh”).

3. The *w* occurs in two forms: the most distinctive is “a round or oval *w* made usually with only two strokes, the second like a 2 within the circle”; the other is a “more complex three-stroke bipartite *w* with angular feet” (for the rounded form, see Figure 5, throughout exemplified by the second word in first line, “how,” and Figure 6, line 2, “wall”; for the more complex form, see Figure 6 elsewhere, exemplified by line 1, “how” and “was”).

4. Schulz’s final characteristic letter was the *y*, “with its tail turning right up alongside or often back through the head as a hair stroke to make a dot or tick above” (see Figure 5, third word of line 1, “vnwys”; Figure 6, line 8, “kyng” and “ylyon”).

5. I would add that Hoccleve does much the same thing with tyro-nian *et*, which appears in his writing as a *z*-shape with continuation from the tail at the upper left to circle around under the letter and up toward the right ending in a hook to the right, toward the next letter (see Figure 5, three lines up from the bottom, “art / & haast”).

6. In their description of the hand in “Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century” (p. 185; repr. 223), Doyle and Parkes added the letter *b* to those formed characteristically by Hoccleve, where they noted that “the stem, shoulder and limb drop below the level of the other letters” (see Figure 5, sixth word of line 1, “haue”; Figure 6, third word of line 1, “how”). Still other features characteristic when found in conjunction with these are (7) an initial *V* with distinct spike to the left at the bottom of the initial downstroke (Figure 5, last word of line 5, “veyne”); and (8) an unusually pointed top of kidney-shaped final *s* (Figure 5, second word of line 9, “myndes”). His uppercase *N* has sharply angular feet and the stalk is often detached from the rising stroke to the shoulder (see Figure 6, last line, “No”)

As Schulz noted, and Doyle and Parkes confirmed, Hoccleve sometimes used other forms for each of these characteristic features, so they cannot be sought as the only indicators of his handwriting; but the conjunction of three or more (with, as Schulz noted, the correct duct,

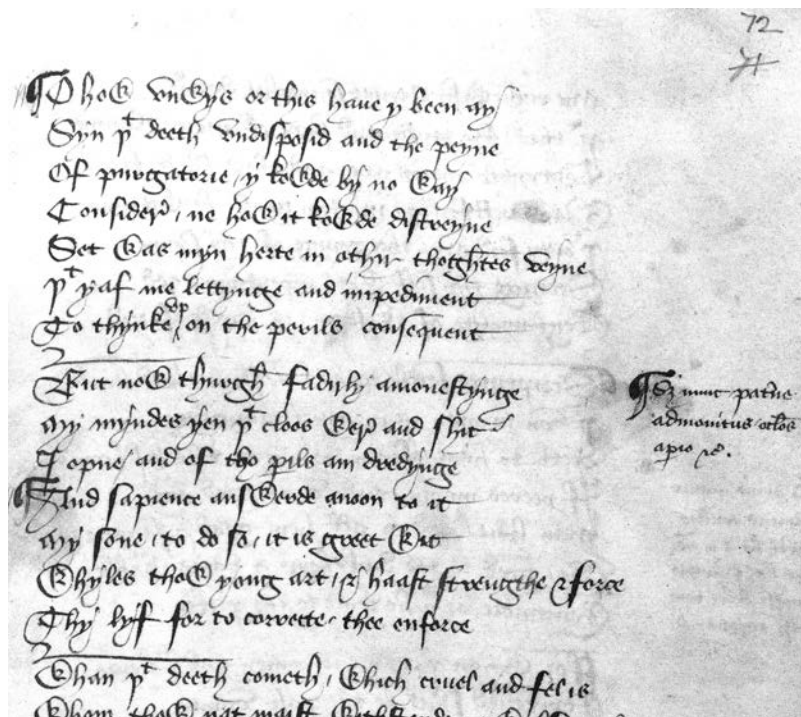


Figure 5 Durham, University Library, Cosin V. iii.9, folio 72, top half, reduced. Reproduced with permission of Durham University Library.

angularity, etc., for Hoccleve's hand) is a strong indicator of his hand. The documents newly identified have these characteristics together with the overall appearance (duct, angularity, etc.) of Hoccleve's hand. In Figure 7, Hoccleve characteristics are: the uppercase *A* in the ninth word of the top line, "As Tresorer"; the coat-hanger tail of *g* in the second word of the top line, "dengleterre"; the *y*, whose descender curls back up through the letter to create the tick above it in the third word of the last line, "Juy!"; the tyronian *et* with extension that creates a circle under and to the right of it, ending in a hook to the right, sixth word of the top line "&"; and the *b* with stem, shoulder, and limb dropping below the line of the other letters, eighth word of the next-to-bottom line, "Johan." Here and in all the documents I have identified Hoccleve does *not* write the rounded form of *w* but rather the more complex and formal form (sixth word of second line, "Welles"), which

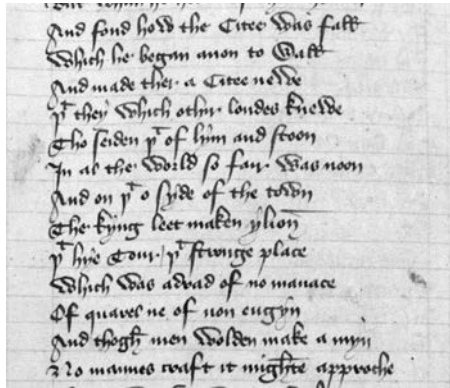


Figure 6 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.2, folio 82^v, col. b, lines 9–21, reduced.
 Reproduced with permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

he uses in his stint of writing in Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.2 (Figure 6 above). Doyle in the EETS facsimile edition (cited above) also mentions Hoccleve's use of the long secretary *r* and the absence of rounded anglicana *e* in this writing, both of which are illustrated in these documents as well as in the examples of his literary hand.

In Figure 8, Hoccleve's characteristics are: the uppercase *A* (8b, second word of the top line, "As Tresorer"); the coat-hanger tail of *g* (8b, last word of the second line, "vyngt"); the *y* whose descender curls back

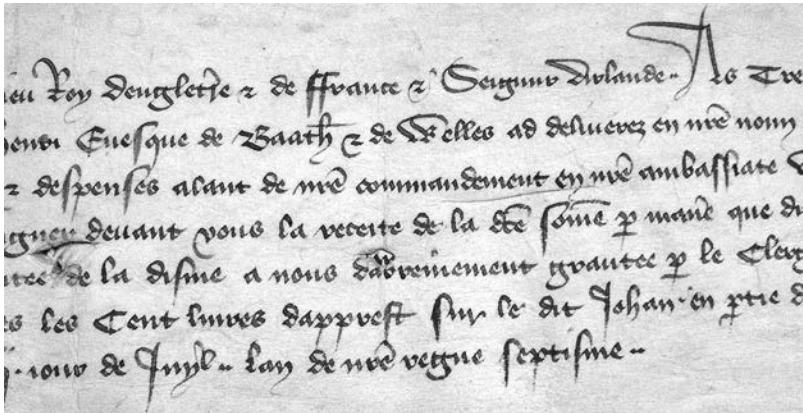


Figure 7 Kew, National Archives E 404/21/294 (dated 24 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]),
 extract, reduced. Reproduced with permission.

up through the letter to create the tick above it (8a, seventh word of the top line, “Roy”); the tyronian *et* with extension that creates a circle under and to the right of it, ending in a hook to the right (8b, second word of the penultimate line, “&”); and the *b* with stem, shoulder, and limb dropping below the line of the other letters (8b, eighth word of the top line, “Eschequer”). Doyle also speaks of Hoccleve’s graphs of *f* and long *s* with “characteristic overhanging curved or straightish heads” (p. xxxvii), which can be seen in this document (8b, third word of the top line, “Tresorer”). A tighter version of the uppercase *N* described above can be seen in 8b, the next-to-last word of the top line, “Nous.”

Appendix B:

Documents Thus Far Identified as Written by Thomas Hoccleve

These documents have been arranged in chronological order, regardless of which collection of the National Archives contains them.

UNDATED?

E 28/29, item 30 First draft of letter / plea from Henry IV requesting aid for fighting war with France (identified as by Hoccleve in Doyle and Parkes, “Production of Copies,” p. 182, repr. 222)

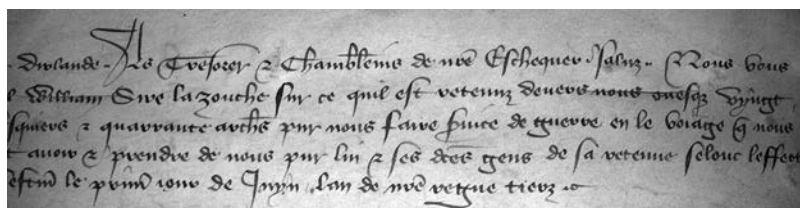
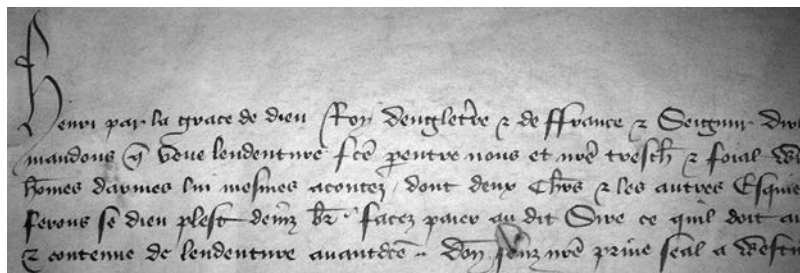


Figure 8a and b. Kew, National Archives E 404/31/351, left side and right side (reduced), dated 1 June, 3 Henry V (1415). Reproduced with permission.

Kew, National Archives E 404/14, file 96, part 1, the unnumbered document dated 25 July, 15 Richard II (1391): pay Raymon Guil-lam, one of the Judges of Aquitaine, his back wages and fees as seems reasonable

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/34 (dated 14 October 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay esquire Henry Betquenezell 20 pounds

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/37 (dated 17 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay clerk John Thorpe 270 pounds, 8 shillings and 5 pence for purveying food and ?lodging for us on the Marches "*destor*"

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/40 (dated 20 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay himself (Henry IV) 4,000 pounds in his Chamber for "*costages et despenses par nous a faire en nostre Chambre avantdite*"

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/45 (dated 30 October, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay the clerks as accustomed for parchment purchased for use by our courts and offices

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/62 (dated 9 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay esquire Geoffrey Chaucer the ten pounds in arrears for his annuity granted him by Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/69 (dated 13 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay Thomas Mowbray his annuity granted by Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/78 (dated 19 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay Clerk William Donne (or Doune?) annuity granted him by Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/81 (dated 19 November, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay John West annuity granted by Edward III and Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/105 (dated 1 December, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay Henry Percy 3000 pounds in accordance with indenture between him and Richard II for being warden of East Marches and of

towns on the Scottish border, renewing this indenture and paying its annuity

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/109 (dated 3 December, 1 Henry IV [1399]): pay 200 pounds into hands of our brother the earl of Somers “*du donn*” 100 pounds by the hands of John Pull, knight, for defense of castles and Isle of Beaumaris to resist the insurrection in Wales, and 20 pounds for expenses of our Chambre

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/141 (dated 1 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]): pay Thomas Hynkeles, Constable of the Castle of Shrewsbury, 15 pounds for repair of said castle

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/154 (dated 19 February, 1 Henry IV [1400]): pay Bartholomew Bosane, esquire, 495 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pence which is owed to him by the Earl of Huntington, as a gift from Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/301 (dated 12 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]): pay Geraud Gautem Burgeois “*de nostre citee de Burbeux*” 95 pounds, 15 shillings for 27 tuns of Gascoigne wine

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/398 (dated 20 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]): pay John Cophill, esquire, 20 marks wages for carrying messages and also pay Geoffrey Roos, Notary, for carrying messages

Kew, National Archives E 404/15/422 (dated 26 May, 1 Henry IV [1400]): pay John Norman Wqhelewright of London 15 pounds, 4 shillings and 7 pence for items he purchased for Richard II and Isabell when John Marchefeld was Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, and pay him a further 4 pounds for diverse things (“*choses*”) bought by him for Richard II and Isabel

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/325 (dated 13 January, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay William Surcestre, haberdasher of London, as follows for goods purchased for the Privy Seal Office since Christmas in the first year of the reign (1399): “*cestassauoir quarrante & sys liures de cire rouge pris la liure dys deniers deux galons vn potel & vn quart de ynke pris le galon*

quarrante deniers, quatre quaiers de papire pris le quaier oyt deniers & demy quaier de papire roial pris le quaier dousze deniers”

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/328 (dated 16 January, 2 Henry IV [1401]): renew grant by Richard II to John Orewell and Peryn Lohar-uauk(?)

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 2, bundle 5, document 1—though unnumbered, on top if knot at top (dated 4 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]): acquit Piers Courteney, Constable of Windsor Castle, for costs relating to this office in reign of Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/401 (dated 22 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Clerk Alein Newerk for being of King’s counsel and treating with the Scots

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/403 (dated 29 March, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay “nostre cher & loial Chiualier Her Nichol Ryvenytz” an annuity granted him by Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/711 (dated 24 June, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Thomas Bromflete, former Butler to King Richard II and former controller of the household, for expenses incurred by him in this office of Butler to Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/725 (dated 2 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Clerk Henry Bowet who has paid William Monutendre, Knight, in Guyenne

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/727 (dated 3 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Clerk Henry Bowet and men who accompanied him to Guyenne their expenses for the voyage

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/730 (dated 4 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Knight, George Welbrigge, for expenses of a voyage in the King’s service

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/738 (dated 8 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay King’s cousin Edward, earl of Rutland, who has been made Lieutenant of Guyenne and Seneschall of Guyenne

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/746 (dated 19 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Sir Edward Hastyns for expenses of service to the King

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/751 (dated 29 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Clerks of the Privy Seal for the extra service they have rendered

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/752 (dated 29 July, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay creditors of the Duke of Norfolk who has died

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/766 (dated 30 August, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Henry's son Henry [later V] a thousand pounds for military expedition to put down rebellion by Owen Glendower

Kew, National Archives E 404/16/774 (dated 23 September, 2 Henry IV [1401]): pay Walter Longe of Southampton for passage of Earl of Pirregort "*lez capitain & Conestable de Curkuffyn*" and their men towards Guyenne

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/254 (dated 1 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]): pay William Surcestre, haberdasher of London, for parchment, paper, ink and wax purchased from him for use in the Office of the Privy Seal since last Christmas

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 8, document 10—though unnumbered, 10th from top if knot at top (dated 6 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]): acquit Sergeant of Arms Robert Markelay of 101 shillings, 5 pence because he spent this much in arresting certain parties and in other commissions as ordered by our counsel

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/289 (dated 11 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]): hand over to our clerk John Legburn, Receiver of our Chamber 4000 pounds for expenses of our chamber

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/328 (dated 23 November, 3 Henry IV [1401]): hand over to Esquire Richard Cressy, usher of the king's Chamber, 40 pounds, 12 shillings and 3 pence for expenses for making a "*see roiale*" for Smithfield for the tournament that will be held there

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/344 (dated 1 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]): repayment (to clerk Richard Kingston who raised the sums) of large amounts to various noble persons, citizens of towns and abbeys etc. for loans to raise troops to fight against insurrection while King was fighting in Scotland

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/363 (dated 13 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]): pay 18 pounds, 9 shillings to Thomas Godestone, esquire, for provisions bought to safeguard the city of Caley in time of predecessor Richard II

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/373 (dated 21 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]): gift of 100 marcs to Thomas, bishop of Bangor, in regard to possessions of church in Bangor being destroyed during uprising

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/377 (dated at Eltham, 28 December, 3 Henry IV [1401]): pay 24 pounds to John Stille and Richard Marcham of Sandwich for purchase of a ship called Juliane which they bought from John Kent and delivered to mariners of 'Bretaigne' at king's commandment

Kew, National Archives E 404/17/787 (dated 26 August, 3 Henry IV [1402]): write letters direct from us to Nicholas Usk, Treasurer of Caley, commanding him to pay John Norbury, Captain of the castle at Guyennes, 1000 marcs to rebuild the keep called "*Cupe*" in said castle

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/207 (dated 26 October, 4 Henry IV [1402]): pay several men "*noz Somtermen du temps de nostre trescher Clerc Thomas Tuttebury nadgairs Tresorer de nostre boustel de lour gages chaucier & autres expenses faiz entour les chivalx quils ont gardez sicome par deux billes.*"

Kew, National Archives E 43/554 (dated 27 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]) [kept in separate box, single document, kept for quality of its seal]: receipt from Hoccleve that he has received his annuity

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/255 (dated 29 November, 4 Henry IV [1402]): pay Thomas Beaufort as Warden of Ludlow Castle 100 marks to be repaid to the Abbot of Shrewsbury ['Salop.'] for 100 marks borrowed ['appresta'] from him for defense against rebels

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/260 (dated 3 December, 4 Henry IV [1402]): pay William Surcestre, citizen and haberdasher of London, for parchment, paper, ink and wax bought from him for use in Privy Seal Office from last day of October in 3rd year of reign until now

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/267 (dated 8 December, 4 Henry IV [1402]): pay king's cousin Elizabeth, countess of Salisbury, for accompanying King's daughter Blanche on travels abroad

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/285 (dated 8 February, 4 Henry IV [1403]): repay Bishop of Winchester

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/292 (dated 28 February, 4 Henry IV [1403]): pay annuities to John Overton, esquire, and John Dray, Sergeant of Arms

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/564 (dated 15 June, 4 Henry IV [1403]): pay William Surcestre, haberdasher of London, for parchment, paper, ink and wax bought by Privy Seal Office since 3 December most recently passed (29 shillings and 7 pence)

Kew, National Archives E 404/18/579 (dated 28 June, 4 Henry IV [1403]): pay Richard Garner merchant "de Pymont" for pearls purchased from him

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/163 (dated at Cirencester, 1 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]): pay Thomas Saunders, esquire, and others in order to pay mariners for passage to Cardiff

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/232 (dated at Westminster 15 November, 5 Henry IV [1403]): pay William Yerde and Thomas Prudence for information about deceits and damages by strangers against our people

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/273 (dated at Westminster 5 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]): award Thomas Talbot wardenship of Montgomery Castle

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/274 (dated Westminster 8 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]): reward Robert Leycestre, deputy of the "*Sercheour*" of the port of London for catching a vessel exporting without license (without paying export duty)

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/281 (dated 11 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]): pay Warden of the Wardrobe for buying vesture for clerks of Royal Chapel

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/284 (dated 20 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]): pay his brother John, Earl Somers, Captain of Calais, for keeping 500 men at arms and one hundred archers beyond the usual guard

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/285 (dated at the abbey of Abingdon, 27 December, 5 Henry IV [1403]): pay John Torrell of Bologne, merchant, 500 marks because he remains in London at King's wish and to repay him for monies borrowed from him by the king among others for wedding of his daughter Blanche

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/292 (dated Westminster 15 January, 5 Henry IV [1404]): pay John Selby and John Peek wages, etc., due to them as clerks during the time of Thomas Tuttebury, Clerk, who is now dead

Kew, National Archives E 404/19/450 (dated 18 June, 5 Henry IV [1404]): pay William Surcestre and John Pountfreit, haberdashers of London, for parchment, ink, and red wax for Privy Seal office

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 3, uncatalogued document near top of pile on 25 May 2005 (dated 29 October, 6 Henry IV [1404]): acquit the abbot of [seint Dag . . . (Name illegible due to wear at end of parchment strip)], Cardigan, in Pembrokeshire, South Wales the collections of seconds and thirds from the clergy [of Cardigan?] under Richard II (2 March, 21 Richard II)

Kew, National Archives E 404/20/133 (dated 26 January, 6 Henry IV [1405]): give sufficient taitles to Richard Whittington that he be repaid 500 marks from the customs of wool at the port of Southampton

Kew, National Archives E 404/20/161 (dated 18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]): pay Duchess of Ireland 100 pounds

Kew, National Archives E 404/20/164 (dated 18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]): pay William Surcestre citizen and haberdasher of London 4 pounds, 3 shillings and 4 pence for parchment, ink, and red wax purchased for office of Privy Seal since 18 June just passed

Kew, National Archives E 404/20/165 (dated 18 February, 6 Henry IV [1405]): pay Thomas Clerc, John Oudeby, John Haddeley, Thomas Knolles, Richard Merlawe, treasurers of our wars(?) to pay to our son, lieutenant of Ireland, for expenses

Kew, National Archives E 404/20/294 (dated at Leicester 16 August, 6 Henry IV [1405]): as per letters signet, pay Gaillard, Provost of Bordeaux, 100 pounds

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/27 (dated 18 November, 7 Henry IV [1405]): give John Arundell 20 pounds gift from Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/32 (dated 1 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]): pay Margerie Lodewyk 30 pounds which is overdue half of her annuity granted 31 October in first year of reign, not paid in last Easter half year payment

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/37 (dated 7 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]): pay the Queen 2500 marks due her and not paid last year from customs and subsidies of Southampton

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/40 (dated 11 December, 7 Henry IV [1405]): pay 100 shillings to Sibille Beauchamp for her services to his late sister the Duchess of Gloucester

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/54 (dated 9 February, 7 Henry IV [1406]): pay John Cristyn 25 pounds, 17 shillings and 4 pence due him for fresh fish provided in time of Thomas Tutbury who is now dead, which sum could not be paid because of the rebellion in Wales

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/73 (dated 24 March, 7 Henry IV [1406]): pay John Mortimer, esquire, 20 pounds toward ransom from the French since he was captured passing through France from Guyenne on king's business

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/104 (dated 3 May, 7 Henry IV [1406]): pay Lord Powys ('le sire de ?Powys?' indistinct because folded and rubbed) for term of Easter

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/254 (dated 12 June, 7 Henry IV [1406]): pay Lucas Feltham, esquire, past due wages of the household from when Thomas More was Treasurer

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 8, document 41—though unnumbered, 41st from top if knot at top (dated 6 July in 7 Henry IV [1406]): acquit Margaret Sharnesfelde, our tenant of Eltham, of 100 shillings owed to John Cranborne who owes this amount therefore to the Exchequer

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/279 (dated 7 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]): pay John Wodecok and Thomas Knolles, citizens of London, in repayment for loans from each of 100 pounds

Kew, National Archives E 404/21/294 (dated 24 July, 7 Henry IV [1406]): repay Henry, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 100 pounds he paid to John Cheyne, knight, for his ambassadorial mission to Rome

Kew, National Archives E 404/22/100 (dated 16 October, 8 Henry IV [1406]): pay Lucas Feltham, esquire, 5 marks due of his wages earned "*deinz*" our household (*bousteil*)

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 3, uncatalogued document near middle of pile on 25 May 2005 (dated 27 October, 8 Henry IV [1406]): since king granted 200 pounds to the mayor and citizens of Southampton on 2 September, 2 Henry IV, to be given on feast of St Michael for next 6 years for making repairs and/or fortifying the town, if accounts for first 5 of these in order, then acquit(?) for 6th

Kew, National Archives E 404/22/271 (dated 26 February, 8 Henry IV [1407]): pay Hugh, Lord Burnell, for being of the King's council since 22 December in 7 Henry IV

Kew, National Archives E 404/22/374 (dated 16 April, 8 Henry IV [1407]): pay John Tiptoft, knight, Keeper of our Wardrobe, amounts he requires from time to time to run our household

Kew, National Archives E 404/23/297 (dated 27 February, 9 Henry IV [1408]): pay Richard Whittington, alderman of London, 100 marks for meeting Ambassiate from France and conducting them to King in Parliament at Gloucester

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 2, bundle 2, document 2—though unnumbered, second from top if knot at top (dated 12 July, 9 Henry IV [1408]): since by great seal on 22 July in 7th year of reign granted to our esquire William Loueney Treasurer of our daughter Philippe queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway to accompany her with knights, esquires, clerks, vallettes, etc. to said countries and back to London, acquit him of repaying money given him for these costs

Kew, National Archives E 404/23/536 (dated 31 July, 9 Henry IV [1408]): pay arrears of annuity to Hans Seintlinger, 40 pounds due on an annuity of 10 pounds per annum; and pay 40 pounds to his brother George Seintlinger as part payment of a large amount due to him in arrears of annuity of 20 pounds per annum

Kew, National Archives E 404/23/544 (dated 1 September, 9 Henry IV [1408]): pay Robert Duddebrook [by another name now rubbed out by wear] 26 pounds, 9 shillings and 8 pence for providing provisions ("*vitailles*") to the Castle of Coytif and other places

Kew, National Archives E 404/24/228 (dated 18 November, 10 Henry IV [1408]): pay Roger Trumpiton, knight, whatever is due and in arrears of his annuity of 100 marks per annum

Kew, National Archives E 404/24/236 (dated 22 November, 10 Henry IV [1408]): pay Thomas Bishop of Durham for expenses daily

according to his rank for embassy (“*Ambassiate*”) to France on King’s behalf

Kew, National Archives E 404/24/293 (dated 21 February, 10 Henry IV [1409]): pay Hoccleve 39 shillings and 9 pence for parchment, ink and red wax

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 4 (this bundle labeled by modern hand “*Augmentation Office*”), document 28—though unnumbered, 28th from top if knot at top (dated 22 April, 10 Henry IV [1409]): since sheriffs of Canterbury and Huntingdon have not paid Marie de Seint Hillere her annuity as awarded by Richard II and confirmed by Henry, and in consideration of her advanced age and long service, Exchequer should insure that she is paid and he will acquit sheriffs this amount owed to him

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 4 (this bundle labeled by modern hand “*Augmentation Office*”), document 29—though unnumbered, 29th from top if knot at top (dated 22 April, 10 Henry IV [1409]): ordering sheriffs of certain counties to pay annuities to those to whom Henry and his predecessors have granted them to be paid from counties, and Henry will acquit them this much owed to him

Kew, National Archives E 208/11, Box 1, bundle 4 (this bundle labeled by modern hand “*Augmentation Office*”), document 5—though unnumbered, fifth from top if knot at top (dated 27 May, 10 Henry IV [1409]): acquit Thomas Erpyngham 400 marcs that he spent as King’s messenger to France in 9th year of reign, and do not charge him in future for this amount

Kew, National Archives E 404/25/177 (dated 9 December, 11 Henry IV [1409]): pay our clerk, Master Nicol Rixton, 100 pounds for his errand to the court of Rome

Kew, National Archives E 404/25/201 (dated 23 February, 11 Henry IV [1410]): that Ralph Ramsey esquire, formerly sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, should be pardoned 100 pounds on account which he spent in office (of which he can account for 60? and 40 more pounds to be given him by king’s gift)

N.B. NONE IN 12 HENRY IV or 13 Henry IV

Kew, National Archives, E 404/28/77 (dated 10 October 14 Henry IV [1412]): pay 53 pounds, 6 shillings and 1 penny to William Marrow, Chariotmaker of London, since he has been unable to collect against the order? (“*par une bille de debentur eut faite au dit William par John Carpenter*”) placed with him by John Carpenter, former Treasurer of the household of Richard II

Kew, National Archives, E 404/28/227 (dated 11 March, 14 Henry IV [1413]): pay Robert Hilliard, esquire, Warden of our “*Estanke*” *de ffosse* next to our city of York his wages granted when he took the Wardenship in 11 Henry IV, which were to be paid from issues, profits, and farms of the county of York by the Sheriff of same, but that Robert says have not been paid, so pay him 9 pounds, 2 shillings and 6 pence

N.B. NONE in 1 Henry V

Kew, National Archives E 404/30/63 (dated 17 April, 2 Henry V [1414]): confirming grant by his father to Richard Longe and Margaret his wife of an annuity of 22 pounds per year to be taken each year through the term of life of Margaret, and pay them arrears for last Easter term

Kew, National Archives E 404/30/191 (dated 29 January, 2 Henry V [1415]): pay John Burgh for self and ten men at arms and 20 archers for 50 days’ service at sea, for each man at arms 12 deniers and for each archer 6 deniers, the term of the 50 days to begin when they set sail

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/219 (dated 12 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): according to the indenture between us, pay Thomas Chaucer what he needs to pay his retinue of 12 men at arms and 36 mounted archers to accompany Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/225 (dated 12 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Nichol Mountgomery ‘le fitz’ what he needs to pay his retinue of 3 men at arms and 9 mounted archers to accompany Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/248 (dated 15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Thomas Dutton what he needs to pay his retinue of ten men at arms and 30 archers to accompany Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/250 (dated 15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay his brother Humfrey duke of Gloucestre for retinue of 200 men at arms, 6 knights, 193 esquires, 600 mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/258 (dated 15 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay his cousin John Talbot, Lord Furnival, Lieutenant of Ireland, two thousand marks as his due for governance of Ireland

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/261 (dated 16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Richard Arundell to bring 10 men at arms and thirty mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/264 (dated 16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay sir Roger Fyenes to bring 8 men at arms and 24 mounter archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/266 (dated 16 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Henry de Percy to bring 6 men at arms and 18 mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/278 (dated 20 May , 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Thomas Earl of Dorset to bring six knights, 92 esquires, and 300 mounted archers under his banneret

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/296 (dated 23 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay our Esquires Robert Lacok, William Wightman, Richard Parker, John Kilner/Kilver, Thomas Lychebarowe and Robert Heton to come and bring three archers each

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/307 (dated 26 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay “nostre ame seruiteur” John Attilbrigge to come and bring three archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/322 (dated 27 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay members of Henry’s household Thomas Tunbrigge, Wil-

liam Bangore, Hugh Bigge, Roger Chieff, Henry Shipley, Thomas Hampton, Richard Burton, John Botiller, John Northfolk, John Hille, Roger Seiner, John Birkyn, Thomas Swetenham, John Spaldy[ng], John Walssh, Richard Filongley, John Bannebury, William Alcok, John Mikelfeld, Henri Scaldar, Gregory Scaldyr, William Shorn, Richard Breustere *et* Rauf Passenham what they need to accompany Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/326 (dated 28 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay “vadletz de nostre houstel” Roger Draycote, William Wykeham, John Lynchelade, John Yaroughdale, Estiephene Frenssh, Laurence Combe, Thomas Walssh, Oliver Shorthale, Richard Castell, William Petham, Thomas Holme, Wauter Kendale, John Stokes, John Kirton, William Cryse, Alisandre Smetheley, William Malthous, John Sauky (or Sanky?), Thomas Thorp, John Peterburgh, John Elys, Richard Marchant, John Kexby, Robert Castelton, John Bukenham, William Lavender, Richard Lavender, John Dent, and John Hall what they need to accompany Henry

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/344 (dated 31 May, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay sir William Bourghchier to bring 30 men at arms and 80 mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/351 (dated 1 June, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay William Lord Zouche to bring 20 men at arms among whom two knights and the rest esquires, and 40 archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/355 (dated 4 June, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay esquires William Brokesby and Bawdewyn Bugge for William to bring 2 men at arms and 6 archers and for Bawdewyn to bring “*sa propre lance*” and three mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/364 (dated 5 June, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Master Philip Morgan, Doctor of Laws, for bearing message to Calais in behalf of the King

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/383 (dated 13 June, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay John Cobyng Esquier to bring 2 mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/31/452 (dated 1 September, 3 Henry V [1415]): pay Richard Berall Esquier who is made Warden of Rokes-

burgh Castle for a quarter year from taking over the Wardenship from Robert Dumfraville, Knight, former captain of the castle, and give him rights to arm the castle with as many men as needed to safeguard it if it is attacked by our enemies

Kew, National Archives E 404/32/262 (dated 9 December, 4 Henry V [1416]): pay Knight William Bourghchier, Constable of the Tower of London, all that is in arrears from 10 April just past for “*la sustenance*” of John Sire Destouteville put into his guard, that is to say 5 shillings per day and continue to pay him this for duration that the said is under his guard

Kew, National Archives E 404/33/194 (dated 10 December, 5 Henry V [1417]): turn over to the Ushers of our Chamber certain furnishings (e.g. “*tout lestuf de deux Chambres, vn drap destat deux lb de corde*” and a “*Charette pur la cariage des dites choses de nostre Garderobe tanque a nostre Palais de Westminster*”)

Kew, National Archives E 404/33/219 (dated 22 February, 5 Henry V [1418]): according to indenture between king and Thomas duke of Clarence by which he was to bring to France for an entire year 60 men at arms and 180 archers, and according to another indenture made between them in 4th year of reign, with set rates of pay for men, pay Thomas Duke of Clarence what he needs in accordance with these indentures

Kew, National Archives E 404/33/223 (dated 7 March, 5 Henry V [1418]): pay Hoccleve 42 shillings and 9 pence for red wax and ink bought by him from Walter Lucy of London for use in office of Privy Seal between 1 April in 4th year of reign and 6 March of this month

N.B. NONE IN 6 HENRY V

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/119 (dated 21 May, 7 Henry V [1419]): pay knight John Radclyf, Constable of Bordeaux, for guarding the Castle of Fronsac in the Duchy of Guyenne and the lands surrounding it (“*la pais de ffrounsadeys*”) for six years, 1000 marks per year and for the first year [now] paying him 500 marks with another 500 to be paid at the time of his departure from England

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/123 (dated 28 May, 7 Henry V [1419]): pay esquire William Troutbek, king's Chamberlain of Chester, the expenses he has had in making trips from Chester to London each time carrying with him a large number of ?"deniers" (pennies) [badly rubbed and partly illegible]

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/131 (dated 10 June, 7 Henry V [1419]): pay Thomas Hoccleue 12 shillings and 2 pence for red wax and ink bought by him from Walter Lucy of London for use in the office of the Privy Seal from the 6th day of March in 5th year of reign up to now

Kew, National Archives E 28/97/9a (dated 29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]): from Henry V requiring Earl of Dorset to raise troops for service and be in attendance at council at Westminster the "*quinzeme de seint Hiller prochain*" with names of those enlisted

Kew, National Archives E 28/97/22A (dated 29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]): from Henry V requiring knights and esquires of county of Northampton prepare themselves for service and be in attendance at counsel at Westminster the "*quinzeme de seint Hiller prochain*" with names of those enlisted

Kew, National Archives E 28/97/25 (dated 29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]): from Henry V requiring knights and esquires of county of Rutland prepare themselves for service and be in attendance at counsel at Westminster the "*quinzeme de seint Hiller prochain*" with names of those enlisted

Kew, National Archives E 28/97/28 (dated 29 December, 7 Henry V [1419]): from Henry V requiring knights and esquires of county of Somerset prepare themselves for service and be in attendance at counsel at Westminster the "*quinzeme de seint Hiller prochain*" with names of those enlisted

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/272 (dated 9 February, 7 Henry V [1420]): pay Walter Hacluyt Esquier for service to King in the war in France with three men at arms and 9 archers brought by him

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/273 (dated 9 February, 7 Henry V [1420]): pay John duke of Bedford for service in the war in France for a

year with 120 men at arms of which 6 knights and the rest esquires and men at arms and 300 mounted archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/274 (dated February, 7 Henry V [1420]): pay Ralph Langton Esquire for service in war in France for a year with 11 men at arms and 33 archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/35/275 (dated 9 February, 7 Henry V [1420]): pay John Lyuerpole Esquire for service in France in war for an entire year with 7 men at arms and 21 archers

N.B. NONE IN 8 HENRY V

Kew, National Archives E 404/37/102 (dated 3 June, 9 Henry V [1421]): pay to Louis duke of Bavaria, 300 marks due to him for the term of Easter just past, to pay into his hand or that of his attorney in his name [with name of attorney John Ladbaum written over "*au dit duc ou a son*"]

Kew, National Archives E 404/37/103 (dated 3 June, 9 Henry V [1421]): pay to Henry de Percy, Earl de Northumberland since the first of June when Henry was made Warden of the town of Berwick and all the Scottish marches for period of two years, and protect the said town [Berwick] and East March, in time of war being paid 5000 pounds and in time of peace or truce 2000 pounds

Kew, National Archives E 404/38/90 (dated 20 June, 10 Henry V [1422]): pay Geoffrey Yonge Guard of the "port" of the castle and park of Leeds Castle in Kent

Kew, National Archives E 404/39/268 (dated 4 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]): pay John Radclif Seneschal of Guyenne and his retinue with numbers of men and archers

Kew, National Archives E 404/39/269 (dated 4 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]): pay John [duke of Bedford] for guarding loyally to best of his power the Castle of Fronsac and land of Guyenne for six years, paying him now 500 marks and another 500 marks when he departs from England

Kew, National Archives E 404/39/285 (dated 11 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]): pay Esmon Conte de la Marche [Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche], who is made lieutenant of Ireland over which he shall have the governance for 9 years, for the first half-year 2500 marks, and paying him each quarter one month before the quarter, and paying him also for passages to and fro across the Irish Sea for himself and his retinue

Kew, National Archives E 404/39/303 (dated 19 May, 1 Henry VI [1423]): pay Thomas Hoccleve 23 shillings, 7 pence for red wax and ink purchased from Wauter Lucy of London and used in the office of Privy Seal from 9 February, 9 Henry V (= 1422) up to the present

Kew, National Archives E 404/40/162 (dated 8 February, 2 Henry VI [1424]): pay John Shilley and Thomas Denney, Esquires, fighting in France with Humfrey Duke of Gloucester

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/158 (dated 3 December, 3 Henry VI [1424]): pay Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/190 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]): pay Roger Fienes, knight for fighting in France with Duke of Bedford

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/191 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]): pay John Grey, knight for fighting in France with Duke of Bedford

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/192 (dated 4 March, 3 Henry VI [1425]): pay Geffrey Whightyngton, Esquire for fighting in France with Duke of Bedford

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/197 (dated 14 April, 3 Henry VI [1425]): pay James Butler ("le Botiller"), Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant of Ireland

Kew, National Archives E 404/41/344 (dated 29 June, 3 Henry VI [1425]): pay Sir Robert Ogle, Custodian of Roxburgh Castle

N.B. NONE IN 4 HENRY VI [1425–26]: Hoccleve died in 1426