

SIR ARNALD SAVAGE OF BOBBING
SPEAKER FOR THE COMMONS IN 1401 AND 1404

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The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

- D.N.B.* = *Dictionary of National Biography*.
C.P.R. = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.
C.C.R. = *Calendar of Close Rolls*.
C.F.R. = *Calendar of Fine Rolls*.
C.Ch.R. = *Calendar of Charter Rolls*.
P.R.O. = *Public Record Office*.
Rot. Parl. = *Rotuli Parliamentorum*.
D.K.R. = *Deputy Keeper's Reports*.
P.P.C. = *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas.
R.S. = *Rolls Series*.

NOT until 1376, seemingly, did the medieval Commons elect a Speaker from among their own number and for the duration of a parliament. This constitutional invention is one of the signs of a development towards a greater political maturity on the part of the lower house of parliament at this time, a development that was assisted by the general weakness of the royal authority under Richard II and Henry IV. It was under these two kings that Sir Arnald Savage lived his eventful and significant career: a knight of the King's Chamber under Richard II, after the Lancastrian usurpation in 1399 he became steward of the Household of the future Henry V and then member of Henry IV's Council. He was one of the two knights of the shire for Kent on six occasions, in the parliaments of January and November, 1390, November, 1391, January, 1401, September, 1402, and January, 1404.¹ But he is chiefly memorable for his two occupations of the office of Commons' Speaker at the outset of the Lancastrian period: here he has a distinctive place in parliamentary history. His biography has a special appeal for the local historian, in that he was the first representative in parliament for the county of Kent to be Speaker, the only one in pre-Tudor times.

The family of Savage of Bobbing near Sittingbourne in Kent by the end of the fourteenth century had long been established in that county, almost certainly for over two hundred years. It was well connected locally by marriage. The first wife of Sir Arnald Savage's father, Sir Arnald, was Margery, a daughter of Michael Lord Poynings. The father's second wife who survived him by only a few months—they

¹ *The Official Return of Members of Parliament*, 1, 238, 240, 242, 261, 263, 265.

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both died in 1375—was, however, called Eleanor and it is very likely she who was the mother of the Speaker. The Speaker himself married but once, his wife being Joan, daughter of Sir William Eckingham of Eckingham, who survived him by over two years—he died on 29th November, 1410, she in April or early May, 1413. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, was married firstly (some time before Michaelmas, 1395) to Sir Reynold, son and heir of Sir Thomas Cobham of Rundale and Allington Castle, a member of the junior branch of the family of Cobham of Cobham and Cooling (Kent), and then on Cobham's death in October, 1405, to William Clifford, the nephew and heir of Sir Lewis Clifford, K.G. Like the Speaker's father and mother, Sir Lewis had been a member of the closely knit household circle of the Black Prince, to whose widow, the Princess Joan, the mother of Richard II, he was an executor. The Speaker's only son and heir, another Arnald (the third in succession) married Catherine, a daughter of Roger Lord Scales (a parliamentary peer between 1376 and 1385).

This latter alliance was contracted apparently not long before St. George's Day, 1399, when Sir Arnald received a royal licence enabling him to entail upon his heir and Catherine Scales the manor of Tracies in Newington by Sittingbourne and a future interest for life in the manor of Shorne between Rochester and Gravesend. This settlement represents the Speaker as having himself no more than a reversionary interest in Shorne. Although nearly ten years before, on 15th November, 1389, he had been pardoned by the King (with the assent of the Council) for having acquired this manor in fee without licence (it being held in chief of the Crown) from Sir Roger Northwood, it is clear that his interest was actually only in the reversion, because not until it fell in (in July, 1405) did he get full possession. The Speaker's elder sister, Eleanor, had married this Sir Roger Northwood. The explanation of this seeming discrepancy in the record of possession at Shorne seems to be that before 1405 Sir Arnald enjoyed from early in 1388 a tenancy of the manor under the Northwood family, as he certainly did from about the same time in certain other of their estates in Iwade, Halstow, and Milton (all in the vicinity of Bobbing), for which he paid a small rent and performed suit in the manor court of Norwood. He was certainly lord of the manor of Shorne in January, 1407, and he died seised in November, 1410. He also died seised of the manor of Bobbing Court, held in gavelkind along with two water-mills there as of the manor of Milton (which properties then went to his son and heir), and also of the manors of Holmes and Funton (both in Iwade) and of Kemsley (in Milton), all three held in gavelkind and of the manor of Milton, which Sir Arnald's widow then entered as her jointure. Although he had parted with the manor of Tracies in Newington by Sittingbourne in favour of his son and Catherine Scales in 1399,

Sir Arnald had apparently retained some landed estate in that vill, because he left directions in his will for the foundation of a chantry at Chesley (in Newington) as well as at Bobbing, where he was buried.¹ With the exception of Shorne, which lay a dozen miles or so to the west of Bobbing Court between the Medway and the Thames, all his estates were in the immediate neighbourhood of Bobbing, that is, in the thick neck of land connecting the Isle of Sheppey with north Kent proper. What was the value of these lands is not known, but it is unlikely that it was very substantial.

The Speaker's father, Sir Arnald Savage, had been a closely attached member of the household of the Black Prince for a quarter of a century and more, down to the very time of his death in July, 1375. He had served in Edward III's French wars, in the Crécy campaign of 1346 in the retinue of his father-in-law, Michael Lord Poynings. But by 1349 his main connection was with the Prince of Wales: he was then acting as a feoffee in the Prince's interest in two manors of the honour of Wallingford. He was at that time both sheriff and escheator in Kent and he was to be knight of the shire in 1352. In 1359, 1360, 1365 and 1366 there is evidence of his being in Gascony with the Prince. On 12th March, 1359, the office of Mayor of Bordeaux was committed to him and he retained the post until 1363. His connection with the Black Prince involved him in much diplomatic business. In 1363 he was a party to the negotiations with Pedro the Cruel of Castile. In May, 1366, Pope Urban V was using his good offices in his attempts to restore peace in Aquitaine between the Black Prince and Gaston, Count of Foix, and Gregory XI did the same in 1371, in which year and again in 1372, 1373, and 1375, Savage was a commissioner to treat with France, in the last of these instances (in February and April, 1375) as a member of the English diplomatic corps accompanying John of Gaunt to Flanders. In 1372-4 he was acting as one of two proctors for Cardinal William Indieis, one of the Limousin group in the Sacred College and a nephew of Clement VI, in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, for the fruits of which they answered to the cardinal who was, of course, non-resident. How intimately the Speaker's father was still attached to the Black Prince, who now for some time had been in failing health, is suggested by his appearance among the witnesses of the Prince's charter to the mayor and corporation of Coventry at Candlemas, 1375, a document attested by members of the Prince's council, his chamberlain, his land-steward, his receiver-general, his steward of household, and his secretary, and it was at Wallingford, the centre of one of the

¹ *D.N.B.*, XVII, 824-5. *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXI, 245; XXII, 220; XXIX, 201-8; *Archæologia Cantiana*, XXIX, 157, 164; N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 93; *C.P.R.*, 1396-9, 571; *ibid.*, 1388-92, 152; *C.C.R.*, 1385-9, 475; *ibid.*, 1402-5, 462; *ibid.*, 1405-9, 380; *ibid.*, 1409-13, 165; *C.F.R.*, 1405-13, 210; *ibid.*, 1413-22, 323; *The Register of Archbishop Chichele*, ed. E. F. Jacob, ii, 205.

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Prince's most important honours, that soon after his return from Bruges, Savage died (intestate) on 22nd July, 1375.¹ It was in the Benedictine priory at Wallingford that he was buried, and so later in the same year was his widow, Eleanor, to whom her son, the later Speaker, acted as principal executor. She left him the wainage of the manors of Bobbing and Tracies. How closely the Speaker's mother had been involved with her husband in the affairs of the Black Prince's household is clear from the fact that it was in consideration of her services as the nurse of the Prince's heir, Richard of Bordeaux, that on 13th March, 1380, there was remitted the fine of £40 which her son Arnald had originally been required to pay for a royal licence to marry at will.²

Born in 1358, Arnald Savage (the later Speaker) was at the time of his father's and mother's death still in his minority and was presumably a royal ward; certainly in July, 1376, the manor of Tracies in Newington was in the King's hands as held in chief of the Crown. He was presumably of age when on 28th October, 1379, by a bill of the Treasurer, he received the royal licence to marry whom he wished for a fine of £40 payable in the Exchequer; his sureties were one of his mother's executors and Thomas St. Leger, a near neighbour, in whose manor of East Hall near Sittingbourne young Savage was already a feoffee. As we have seen, the fine was remitted in March following by royal letters patent under the great seal.³ By October, 1380, Savage had offered proof of age, although livery of seisin of his father's estates was deferred until 9th May, 1382.⁴ In the meantime, he already had begun to act as a member of occasional royal commissions in Kent. On 23rd August, 1380, when there was a scare of French invasion he was made a commissioner for the arming of all the landholders of the Isle of Sheppey and the hundred of Milton. A year later, after Kent had undergone all the distress and dislocation of the Peasants' Revolt, Savage was put on a very large commission appointed to keep the peace in the county, with powers of arrest and imprisonment against any who stirred up insurrection and with authority to suppress unlawful assemblies. This commission, issued on 2nd September, 1381, was

¹ *The Genealogist*, *op. cit.*, XXIX, 202; *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem Edward III*, IX, 237; T. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons*, i, 145, 147, 153; *Cal. of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, III, 577; IV, 22, 98; *D.N.B.*, *loc. cit.*; *Exchequer, Accounts Various, Q.R., P.R.O.* E.101/316/no. 9; *Foreign Accounts*, E.364/8, file H; *C.P.R.*, 1422-9, 187; *C.Ch.R.*, V, 241; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report, MSS. of Dean and Chapter of Canterbury*, 427 b (cf. Le Neve, *Fast*, i, 41).

² Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 93; *Archæologia Cantiana*, XXIX, 164; *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 450.

³ *The Genealogist*, XXIX, 202-8; *C.P.R.*, 1374-7, 294; *ibid.*, 1377-81, 313, 396, 450.

⁴ *C.C.R.*, 1381-5, 70.

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renewed on 14th December following and on 8th March, 1382, with enlarged powers. By this date Savage was acting as sheriff of Kent; appointed on 23rd November, 1381, he served for exactly a year. It was only during his term of office that he procured livery of seisin of his father's estates. In June in the same year he was included in a commission for sewers in the hundred of Milton.¹

It is very likely that already he was attached as an esquire to the household of Richard II. Certainly in the Exchequer year 30th September, 1383-4, he was in receipt of an allowance of £2 a year, for winter and summer liveries, from the treasurer of the Royal Household. (He was to remain a retainer in the Household until the end of Richard's reign.)² In this same year, on 29th February, 1384, he was appointed for the first time as a justice of the peace in Kent, a commission to which he was re-appointed in February, 1385 and May, 1386; on 28th June, 1386, however, he was dropped from it. In the meantime, he had served on a variety of casual local commissions of royal appointment: by patent of 6th March, 1384, he was authorized to inquire into the tenure of certain estates acquired by Edward III in Kent, including the castle and lordship of Leybourne, the castle and town of Queenborough, and the manor of Gravesend; on 24th January, 1385, he was appointed a commissioner of array against the eventuality of a French invasion (the commission being re-constituted, with Savage remaining a member, on 15th April following); on 7th March, 1385, he was commissioned to investigate unlicensed hunting in the king's free warren in the Isle of Sheppey.³ Despite the close threat of French invasion in the summer of this year, Richard II personally led an expedition into Scotland. On 29th June, 1385, as an esquire Savage was advanced £3 at the Lower Exchequer for his own wages in the expedition and for the single archer he retained to serve with him. Whether he performed the service of carrying a white banner on the expedition at his own costs, as his tenancy of the manor of Shorne obliged him to do, is not known. One thing is quite certain: that he was knighted during the expedition; it was as a knight of the Royal Household that, on 7th August, 1385, after the death of the King's mother, the Princess Joan of Kent, he was issued with a black mourning gown by the keeper of the Great Wardrobe.⁴ On 20th October following he was again appointed sheriff in Kent and served until 18th October, 1386, again acting in the meantime in the spring of 1386 as a commissioner of array. Earlier in this same year of his shrievalty, on 12th March, 1386, he had

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1377-81, 574; *ibid.*, 1381-5, 77, 84, 135, 138; *P.R.O.*, *Lists and Indexes*, ix, *List of Sheriffs*, 68.

² *Exchequer, Accounts Various*, *P.R.O.*, E.101/401/2, 42.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1381-5, 423, 588-9, 594.

⁴ *Exchequer, Issue Rolls*, *P.R.O.*, E.403/508, mem. 16; *Exchequer, Accounts Various*, *P.R.O.*, E.101/401/16.

taken out royal letters of protection as intending to go on John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain, but, although Lancaster's plans in this direction matured, Savage's did not, and the letters were revoked on 28th July following, on the grounds that he was not making preparations to accompany the duke.¹ It is certain that he did not go: after the parliamentary commission took charge of the administration in November, 1386, and reversed the Lancastrian policy of appeasement with France, Savage, in spite of his connection with the King, joined the maritime force put under the direction of Richard, Earl of Arundel, to prosecute the war more vigorously in the Channel. Savage's recent enhancement of status is exemplified in the size of his retinue, which mustered on 13th March, 1387; it included another knight besides himself, 28 esquires, and 36 archers.²

Sir Arnald Savage's reaction to the political events of 1387-8 is not known. Although he was closely connected with the Court, nothing of ill befell him. Perhaps his joining Arundel's expedition did him no harm. Nothing is known of his doings in 1388 except that he was appointed on 15th March to serve on an enquiry into a complaint of the barons of Faversham that certain presents of fish they had been making to the constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports to secure his good offices with their lord, the Abbot of Faversham, had come to be claimed by him as perquisites of the wardenship; the Faversham barons were evidently turning to their own profit the impeachment (during the Merciless Parliament) of Sir Simon Burley, the late warden, who had also abused his position in other directions. Later in the year, on 22nd October, 1388, Savage was included in a commission of sewers in the Isle of Thanet and between Reculver and St. Mary Cliffe. After the fall of the government of the Appellants in May, 1389, Savage was not restored to the Kentish commission of the peace, but he continued to act on occasional local commissions of royal appointment. On 6th October, 1389, and again on 24th November following, he was appointed to enquire into the previous year's revenues of eleven manors in Kent which, forfeited by the late Sir Simon Burley, had been granted to the prior of Chiltern Langley, who had never received them.

Savage was still retained as a King's knight by Richard II when in January, 1390, he was called upon to act for the first time as knight of the shire for Kent. Re-elected to the second parliament of the year which met in November, 1390, he was shortly afterwards (on 29th December) commissioned to investigate the maladministration of the late escheator for Kent and Middlesex who, first appointed in February, 1388, had been responsible for arranging the seizure of the Kentish

¹ *Lists of Sheriffs, loc. cit.*; *C.P.R.*, 1385-9, 176, 198.

² *Exchequer, Foreign Accounts, P.R.O.*, E.101/40/33.

estates of some of Richard II's friends who had suffered death and forfeiture during the Merciless Parliament of 1388. Only two days later (on 31st December), retained as a King's knight, Sir Arnald was granted for life or until further order an annuity of 40 marks charged on the issues of the county of Kent, in consideration of his father's good service to the Black Prince and his own to the King.¹ Whether Savage was already one of the knights of the King's Chamber is not known, but he was certainly one of the eight Chamber knights in the financial year 30th September, 1392-3, during which he received 10 marks as his fee and 8 marks allowance for his winter and summer robes from the keeper of the Wardrobe. He was still one of the "milites camere et aule regis" in the year September 1395-6 and probably remained so until the end of the reign.² It was with the controller of the Household, Sir Baldwin de Raddington, and two other members of the Household, that on 24th July, 1392, a month after the mayor of London, John Hende, and other prominent citizens had been sentenced to imprisonment for contempt by a Great Council at Nottingham (following the King's quarrel with the City over the raising of a royal loan), Savage went bail in £2,000 for the late mayor; some two months later Hende and his fellow citizens were pardoned and the mainprises annulled. On 4th January following (1393) Savage was granted for life the constableness and custody of the royal castle of Queenborough in the Isle of Sheppey, and five weeks later (by patent of 8th February, 1393) he was given an annuity of 20 marks charged on the fee-farm of Canterbury to offset his own charges while holding this office.³ In addition, he was advanced during the next three years by the Exchequer various sums amounting to over £220 for his repairs, alterations and improvements to the structure of the castle. He surrendered the constableness on 5th June, 1396, when to compensate him for the loss of the annuity and also for the surrender of the annuity granted him in December, 1390 (together worth £40 a year) Richard II granted him a fresh annuity of £50 for life charged (as from the previous Easter) on the petty customs of the port of London.⁴ This annuity he held for the rest of the reign, and Henry IV was later to confirm it.

In the meanwhile, in November, 1391, Savage had been for the second time running re-elected as knight of the shire of Kent. Not for over nine years, however, was he to sit among the Commons again. In the previous February he had been appointed by the Council to act on a general royal enquiry into cases of slackness of administration in the

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1385-9, 465, 551; *ibid.*, 1388-92, 131, 142, 152, 358, 435; *C.C.R.*, 1389-92, 387.

² *Exchequer, P.R.O.*, E.101/403/22; *ibid.*, E.101/403/10.

³ *C.C.R.*, 1392-6, 78; *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, 206, 216.

⁴ *Exchequer, Issue Rolls*, E.403/541-554, *passim*; *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, 286, 719.

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seven hundreds of Kent. On 12th February, 1392, he was put on an oyer and terminer following reports of the neglect of walls, causeways, and dykes, and the resulting depopulation of the Isle of Thanet. At the end of the same month he was included in an enquiry into merchandise thrown ashore at Northbourne as wreck of sea, and a day later was appointed a commissioner of array for Kent in event of a renewal of war with France if the existing truce was not renewed. On 18th September, 1393, he was put on a commission to examine the old bridge over the Medway at Rochester, falling material from which was causing the tide-race to endanger the new bridge erected there by Lord Cobham and Sir Robert Knolles, which the commissioners were also authorized to have repaired. Earlier in this year, on two occasions (in February and May) proceedings in the Exchequer against Savage as a royal commissioner in Kent had been stopped because the commissions had not come into his hands; one was a commission appointing him a justice of oyer and terminer; the other, one appointing him to enquire in Thanet into the liability to find a ferry service over the river Sarre and to repair causeways on its banks.¹ For the first time for ten years he was again made a J.P. in Kent on 1st May, 1396; he apparently served uninterruptedly on this commission of the peace until the end of Richard II's reign. It was five weeks after this that his annuity of £40 as a knight of the King's Chamber was raised to £50.

What Savage was doing during the last three years of Richard II's reign can only be the subject of conjecture. On 3rd April, 1398, however, he was ordered on pain of £200 to appear personally before the Council "to declare what shall there be laid before him". It is possible that his actions in 1387-8 had been equivocal in the King's view. It is also possible that he had had relations at that time with John Lord Cobham of Cooling, his neighbour, who, as a prime mover and member of the parliamentary commission of 1386, which Richard II's judges had declared in 1387 to be a treasonable undertaking, had recently been condemned to banishment and forfeiture for his offence; certainly by October, 1395, Savage was one of Lord Cobham's feoffees in his most important estates in Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire, and in London.² However this may be, on 29th April, 1398, within little more than a week of his appearance before the Council, Savage was able to secure repayment of a loan he had made to the King to the amount of £100.³ He does not appear to have accompanied Richard II to Ireland in May, 1399. After Henry of Bolingbroke's landing in July following, he very probably lay low until Henry's accession was assured. Perhaps as something of a precaution in event of trouble, on St. George's Day, 1399,

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1388-92, 439; *ibid.*, 1391-6, 85, 85, 357-8; *C.C.R.*, 1392-6, 120, 142.

² *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, 728; *C.C.R.*, 1396-99, 277; *ibid.*, 1392-6, 498.

³ *Exchequer, Issue Roll, P.R.O.*, E. 403/559, mem. 2.

he had conveyed his manor of Tracies to his son and heir and his young wife (Catherine Scales).

It is reasonably clear, especially from what followed in the reign of Henry IV, that Sir Arnald Savage was not long in giving his adherence to Richard II's supplanter. On 10th September, 1399, some three weeks before Richard was deposed, he was commissioned by the Council to enquire into the removal of the goods and chattels of Roger Walden, who had secured the see of Canterbury following Archbishop Arundel's banishment in 1397 and who was now thrust out to allow Arundel to be restored to the primacy; Walden's property undoubtedly included much of Arundel's own furniture and other household goods which, after their confiscation, Richard II had given to him; the commissioners were to deliver Walden's goods to the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, and William Makenade.¹ Savage was not elected to the parliament summoned to witness Richard's deposition and Henry IV's accession. But on 28th November, 1399, he was confirmed in his office of justice of the peace in Kent, which he was to continue to hold until his death exactly eleven years later. And on 18th December he was put on a commission of array in the county, which was renewed on 23rd January, 1400.²

Nothing further is known of Savage until his election as senior knight of the shire for Kent to the second parliament of the new reign, first summoned to meet at York in October, 1400, and then prorogued to meet at Westminster on 20th January, 1401. On the third day of the session Savage was presented by the Commons "pur lour Parlour et Procuratour en Parlement." The King agreed to his election: Sir Arnald made his official "protestation," then went on to rehearse briefly the declaration of the causes of summons as made by Chief Justice Thirning, and subsequently requested that the Commons should not be hurried into making their answers regarding the most important issues, which was likely if such were only brought to their notice at the end of the parliament. The King, through the Earl of Worcester, disclaimed any such intention. Three days later the Commons asked the King to give no hearing to tale-bearers from among their own number which might excite his displeasure against some of their fellows; the King's answer was that their proposals should be agreed to by all of them before he gave credence to any such bearer of news. The mind of the Speaker can be detected in the Commons' definition on the same day of the three pre-requisites of good government: "seen (sense), humanite et richesse"; and in their statement that they abstained from dilating on the merits of the King, to avoid

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1396-9, 597; *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson, 2nd ed., 37.

² *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 209, 211, 560.

being accounted "flaterers et glossers."¹ The King's financial requirements were to the tune of £130,000, although no figures were laid before the Commons. But the smoothness with which, according to the roll of the parliament, its business was conducted is deceptive and conceals an uneasy atmosphere. The Commons pressed their advantage to push forward their claims. At the end of the fifth week the Commons asked that the business of the parliament should be enacted and engrossed by the clerk of the parliament before the justices left, so that their memory should still be fresh, and on the same day backed up this demand with a request to know the King's answers to their petitions before they made a financial grant. The first of these requests was favourably answered; the King at first temporized regarding the second, saying that he would consult the Lords, but on the last day of the session turned it down as uncustomary. On a later occasion, when deploring the existence of discord between some of the Lords, the Commons emphasized the need for unity between the estates, which could be likened to a Trinity: the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons. Here is surely to be discerned the authentic voice of their Speaker. So, too, in their ingenious demonstration on 10th March, the last day of the session, that a parliament was like the mass, the archbishop beginning the office, the King in the middle at the offertory undertaking to uphold the faith of the Church (a reference perhaps to the statute *De haeretico comburendo* passed during the session) and to ensure the maintenance of just law to poor and rich alike, and then finally the coming of the Commons to say *Ite missa est* and *Deo gratias* for three reasons, namely, that God had granted them a just, knowledgeable and humane King, that the King had taken steps to meet the threat of subversive doctrine, and that there was amity between him and themselves and the Lords. The King had already pardoned the Commons for any offence they had unwittingly given to cause displeasure on his part. The Commons granted a tenth and fifteenth and renewed the subsidies of tannage and poundage. Savage had no cause for dissatisfaction with the session. Nor had the Commons with him: the St. Albans chronicler heard and stated that "tam diserte, tam eloquenter, tam gratiose declaravit communitatis negotia, praecipue ne de cetero taxis gravarentur, aut talliagiis, quod laudem ab universis promeruit ea die". Nor apparently had Henry IV much cause for complaint: three days after the dissolution, on 13th March, 1401, the patent of June, 1396, granting Savage £50 a year for life on the London petty customs, was confirmed.²

When the recent parliament had been in session for a month, on

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 455-6.

² *Annales Henrici Quarti*, (R.S.) ed. H. T. Riley, p. 335; *C.P.R.*, 1399-1401, 444.

21st February, the Commons asked for an examination to be made by the Council of any Welsh-born officials of the Crown. The King, by way of answer, ordered his Council and the Council of the Prince of Wales to scrutinize the relevant statutes of Edward I, which had prohibited the employment of Welshmen in royal administration, and to reform them with the advice of Lords and Commons. In the previous autumn Owen Glendower had developed his quarrel with Lord Grey of Ruthin into a full-scale Welsh national rising, which had already required the King's personal intervention (although to little purpose). The primary responsibility for the suppression of the Welsh revolt rested with the Prince of Wales and Henry Hotspur, justice of Chester and North Wales. At the end of November, 1400, all Welsh rebels had been summoned to present themselves at Chester for submission to the Prince. On 21st March, 1401, the Council authorized him to discharge any unsatisfactory constables of castles. In April he moved with Hotspur into Wales and before the end of May had recovered Conway Castle, which the rebels had taken through the negligence of the constable. Before this surrender took place, the terms of the settlement had been already arranged as between Hotspur on the one hand and, on the other, Sir Arnald Savage and the latter's fellow members of the Prince's Council. How long Savage had been a member of Henry of Monmouth's Council is not known, but it is almost certain that he had joined it before the recent January-March 1401 parliament in which he acted as Speaker. He was personally summoned to a Great Council convened at Westminster in the middle of August following. On 7th October he attested the surrender to the Prince of the Anglesey and other Welsh lands of two Welsh rebel landowners. Some two months later together with the Prince's chancellor and chamberlain and on the Prince's behalf, Savage had requested the constable of Chester Castle to take three Welsh hostages into his custody there. Savage is described in the memorandum of 13th December, 1401, relating to their reception as then being the Prince of Wales's steward of Household. How long he had occupied this important office in the Household of the heir-apparent is again not known, but it is highly probable that he was holding it when one of the chief members of the prince's Council in the previous spring, and very likely that he had been doing so when Speaker. Precisely when he relinquished the post is once more a matter for conjecture. By 2nd April, 1403, he had been replaced in it by Sir John Stanley (a Lancashire and Cheshire knight, whose ties with Richard II, like Savage's, had been very close),¹ But it is almost certain that

¹ *Royal and Historical Letters during the reign of Henry IV*, (R.S.), ed. F. C. Hingeston, i, 69; *P.P.O.*, i, 161; *D.K.R.*, XXXVI, 207, 482; *ibid.*, 380; J. S. Roskell, *The Knights of the Shire for the County Palatine of Lancaster, 1377-1460* (Chetham Soc. N.S. vol. 95), 123.

Savage was compelled to give up the office when he became a member of the royal Council; this appointment had taken place at the latest by Michaelmas, 1402.

Whether Savage was re-elected as knight of the shire for Kent to the parliament which met at Westminster in January, 1402, is not known, because all the returns of knights and burgesses alike have been lost, but he was certainly once more elected for Kent to the second parliament of the year which met on 30th September and sat until 25th November following. In July, 1402, he had acted on a commission of array in Kent,¹ but of much greater interest is his appointment at (or shortly before) Michaelmas, 1402, to be a member of the King's Council with a fee of £100 a year. He was destined still to be a member of the Council at the end of 1406.² In the course of the parliament of the autumn of 1402 he was one of a number of recipients of royal letters of privy seal requesting benevolences for the payment of garrisons in S. Wales,³ but two days after the end of the parliament his new office stood him in good stead when (on 27th November, 1402) he was granted the custody of the manor of Milsted (near Sittingbourne, Kent) during the minority of the heir, a royal ward, at a farm of £4 a year payable in the Exchequer; Savage's son Arnald was one of his sureties.⁴ On 4th June, 1403, he was present at a meeting of the King's Council where a petition of his own was favourably considered: he asked that his existing grant of £50 a year for life, charged on the London petty customs, should be raised by 25 marks in view of the additional expenses he would be bound to incur since his appointment (with the assent of a recent Great Council) to be a royal councillor attendant on the King's person; the grant passed the great seal on the same day and, whether or not he was still a councillor at this later date, he was still enjoying the additional annuity along with the old one in October, 1409.⁵ In August and September, 1403, he was again a commissioner of array in Kent. On the day after Christmas following he attended a meeting of the Council, when the King was present and expressed his intention of moving out to Sutton, where some of the councillors (including Savage) were to follow for further discussions.⁶

The first parliament to meet after the Percy revolt ended at Shrewsbury in July, 1403, had already been prorogued to meet at Westminster on 14th January, 1404, having first been summoned to Coventry for

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1401-5, 115.

² *Privy seal warrants for issue, P.R.O.*, E.404/21/270; *Exchequer, Issue Rolls, P.R.O.*, E.403/580, mem. 2; 585, mem. 1; 587, mem. 14; 589, mem. 12; 657, mem. 1; *P.P.C.*, i, 222, 238, 244, 246, 295; ii, 83, 87, 89.

³ *P.P.C.*, ii, 74-5.

⁴ *C.F.R.*, 1399-1405, 180.

⁵ *Ancient Petitions, P.R.O., S.C.*, 8, file 186, no. 9256; *C.P.R.*, 1401-5, 236; *C.C.R.*, 1402-5, 192, 444; *ibid.*, 1409-13, 6.

⁶ *C.P.R.*, 1401-5, 290; *P.P.C.*, ii, 83.

3rd December, and Sir Arnald Savage had been re-elected knight of the shire for Kent. On the second day of the session the Commons presented him once more as their Speaker. His otherwise normal "protestation" was extended to include a request that the Commons should not incur the King's displeasure (as a result of unauthorized reports) if they complained of his conduct of affairs. The Commons were not long before they expressed (on 25th January) their concern about the dangerous state of the North after the Percy rising and the abuses of the practice of giving liveries, complained of excessive royal expenditure, and attacked the Royal Household as extravagantly organized and as overrun with aliens, the Breton entourage of the Queen included. A two years' appropriation of income from certain specified sources of revenue, amounting to over £12,000, was agreed upon, together with the appointment of special treasurers of the yield from whatever taxes parliament would be prepared to grant. The King's Council Henry IV was prevailed upon to nominate at the Commons' special and insistent request, in order to ensure the remedying of all the complaints and grievances disclosed during the session, and twenty-two lords, knights and esquires were appointed in parliament to act until it should meet again: among the seven commoners were three knights of the shire in the parliament, John Doreward (for Essex), John Curson (for Derbyshire), and the Speaker himself who was continued in office.¹ The parliament ended (after nearly ten weeks of session) on 20th March, 1404, with a provisional grant of a novel tax of five per cent on landed income which, as further concessions of taxes in the Coventry parliament of the following October suggest, proved quite inadequate to the King's needs. The rôle played by Savage suggests one of two things, or perhaps both: that being a royal Councillor did not prevent a supporter of the King from offering loyal criticism as a member of the Commons, or that the Speaker for the Commons could in that capacity only speak and act as the Commons required him to do. It had been a very unsatisfactory session from Henry IV's point of view. And it proved to be Savage's last; he never again sat as knight of the shire.

In the course of his Speakership Savage had been re-appointed a justice of the peace in Kent (on 10th February, 1404) and he was re-appointed again two years later when the next commissions were issued. He continued in the meantime to act as a member of the King's Council, perhaps in this capacity taking the musters of the retinues of the admirals for the North and West respectively at Sandwich and Southampton, along with one of the receivers of the parliamentary subsidies, in accordance with writs of 11th June, 1404. Although his re-appointment as King's Councillor in the January, 1404, parliament was

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 530a.

expressly made (according to the terms of a special grant of 50 marks as a reward for his attendances made to him on 2nd December, 1404) until parliament should reassemble, Savage evidently continued in office after the Coventry Parliament of the autumn of 1404. By the middle of August, 1406, some £208 was owing to him for his fees during the previous four years, of which he then managed to secure a cash payment of little more than a third at the Lower Exchequer. During the second session of the long parliament of this year, on 22nd May, 1406, he had been again personally nominated in parliament by Henry IV as one of his Council, and two days later the reconstructed Council undertook office provided that funds were made available for its proper functioning.¹ Governmental and administrative inefficiency and the character of Household rule were again the burden of the Commons' complaints, but finance was the root of the trouble. After the second parliamentary session, on 28th June Savage was made a commissioner for the raising of Crown loans in Sussex and Kent, and on the same day he was included in another commission for the same counties and for the Cinque Ports authorized to inquire into malversation on the part of the sheriffs and other accountable officials, into the state of Crown leases and fee-farms, and into annuities charged on such sources of royal revenue. About this time he was also serving on a commission of array in Kent against the possibility of French invasion and, as a councillor, on commissions set up to investigate specific appeals against judgments given in the Court of the Constable and Marshal.² He was in active attendance on the Council during the final and extremely critical session (13th October-22nd December) of the Long Parliament of 1406. Savage was not, however, present at an important meeting of the Council on 8th December, when a group of the most important officials of State and Household foregathered with the Prince of Wales to discuss reforms in the Household, especially the appointment of a good Controller; perhaps because his name was then put forward for this office as an alternative to that of Sir Thomas Brownflete, a Yorkshire knight. Brownflete was preferred, and when Sir John Tiptoft, Speaker in the Long Parliament, who was now appointed Treasurer of the Household, resigned this office in July, 1408, it was to be Brownflete who then moved up into his place.³

Savage continued as a royal councillor and it is possible that he acted as such until the Council was re-shaped early in 1410. Certainly as late as October, 1409, he was receiving the 100 marks a year from the petty customs of London, to which figure his old Ricardian annuity

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1401-5, 517; *ibid.*, 432; *Exchequer, Issue Rolls, P.R.O.*, E.403/580, mem. 2; *ibid.*, E.403/585, mem. 1; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 572b.

² *C.P.R.*, 1405-8, 61, 155, 198-9, 231-2, 269.

³ *P.P.C.*, i, 295-6; J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry IV*, ii, 475n.

of £50 had been raised in June, 1403, in consideration of his expenses and work as a member of the Council. In the meantime, he had served on a number of royal commissions, local and otherwise. In February, 1407, he was re-appointed J.P. in Kent. In March and April following he was again made a member of commissions of oyer and terminer after appeals had been made against certain judgments in the Court of the Constable and Marshal. In May he was put on an oyer and terminer touching escapes of felons in Kent, and in June was included in a commission of array in the county and in one of sewers from West Greenwich round the Thames estuary to within a short distance of Dover.¹ In October, 1408, he was appointed to serve on a royal embassy to France along with the ex-chancellor, Bishop Langley of Durham; in May and September, 1409, he was one of the further embassies sent to France to treat for reformation of breaches of truce and for a perpetual peace. These were his last important appointments, for the commissioner of array for the Isle of Thanet appointed in March, 1410, was probably his son.²

In the meantime, Sir Arnald had acted as a trustee to Sir Nicholas Hawberk, who on the eve of his death on 9th October, 1407, made over to him and a few others all his goods and chattels. These they subsequently transferred to his widow, Joan Baroness Cobham of Cooling (Kent). Sir Nicholas, who was this lady's third husband, had served as sheriff and raglor of Flintshire and as constable of Flint Castle from 1396 to 1406, had fought at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 as a member of the Prince of Wales's retinue, and had been one of the knights of the King's Chamber and Hall; within a year of his death his widow married the notorious Lollard knight, Sir John Oldecastle, who was summoned to parliament for the first time in 1410 as Lord Cobham.³ In the year after Hawberk's death, another friend of Sir Arnald Savage died: John Gower, the "moral" poet, who on 15th August, 1408, made Savage one of his executors.⁴

Little more than two years passed after this before Sir Arnald's own life ended: aged about fifty-two, he died on 29th November, 1410, and was buried at Bobbing. His son and heir was another Arnald, then aged about twenty-eight years; he secured the family estates in July, 1411, was knight of the shire for Kent in November, 1414, went overseas with Henry V's first expedition to Normandy (in the retinue of his wife's step-father, the lieutenant of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, Admiral of England) and died childless in 1420. His father's will was

¹ *C.C.R.*, 1409-13, 6; *C.P.R.*, 1405-8, 493, 303, 326, 350-1, 353, 357.

² *Exchequer, Issue Roll*, E.403/598, mem. 3; T. Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 585-6, 599; *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, 223.

³ *Archæologia Cantiana*, XI, 91; *Coll. Topogr. et Geneal.*, VII, 336; Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii, 290-1.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, VIII, 300.

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then still not fully executed, for provision had not yet been made for the establishment of his chantries at Bobbing and Chesley. The tomb of the former Speaker and his wife was not yet completed either, for Sir Arnald the son left 20 marks for a brass for them both; his mother had not long survived her husband, dying in the spring of 1413.¹ The younger Arnald's wish to have his parents commemorated in this way was evidently fulfilled, for a brass, representing the Speaker as an armoured knight and his wife as a widow in weeds, still survives in Bobbing Church.

¹ *Hasted, Kent*, ii, 635; *The Genealogist*, XXIX, 202-8; *C.O.R.*, 1409-13, 165; *C.F.R.*, 1405-13, 190, 210; *Chichele Register*, ii, 205.